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**Department of Architecture
and Interior Design**

Transformation of Urban Identity: An Exploration through the Emerging High-rise Buildings in Bahrain

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the
Master in Architecture Degree in Urban Design

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Abstract

Urban identity is a broad concept that includes cultural, historical, economic and social characteristics, and it has both material and non-material dimensions. Individuals are affected by the characteristics of the environment through their senses or without awareness, and accordingly build a network of relationships with their surroundings and others. Thus, identity is defined as something specific to each urban environment. Recently, many cities, especially the cities of the Gulf states, faced problems with the new urban trend towards high-rise construction, driven by the forces of globalization and modernity. This rapid urbanization in the cities of the Gulf states, encouraged by sudden oil wealth, has brought about a fundamental change in planning and organization that has given the economy priority over social ties. The rapid development of cities in the Gulf states has led to their citizens losing the ability to identify and maintain familiarity with the place, resulting in feelings of alienation.

In light of the loss of identity in new environments, this study discusses the concept of urban identity, and the experiences of people in contrasting urban environments within the city of Manama, the capital of kingdom of Bahrain. The aim behind this is to identify identity-forming factors in urban environments.

Manama, in particular, is a multicultural city that contains the old traditional environment that derives its shape from social values and local culture. Contrasted with this is the modern environment with high-rise construction, which imported its designs from Western methods, thus nullifying social ties and norms.

Investigating these contrasting environments contributes to an understanding of how the environment expresses itself and individuals through evaluating people's spatial experience. The thesis is concerned with understanding the tangible and intangible factors of identity in the urban environment that some decision makers do not attach importance to in the design. This thesis uses qualitative approaches because it needs to understand people's experiences and their relationship to their urban environment. The study is conducted through primary research using various methods, such as interviews, focus groups and children's drawings. It is expected that the discussion will lead to a broader and deeper understanding of the concept of urban identity, and to develop a conceptual framework for tangible and intangible urban identity factors that will help assess current urban environments, and be taken into consideration in future environment designs. The findings will also lead to a number of recommendations and models for improving the current environment in respect of what it means for local identity as a part of that environment.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my esteemed mother, who was the starting point for this journey, and who continued to support and encourage me and took it upon herself to carry out this work to the fullest. To my dear husband, who believed in me and provided all kinds of support and assistance, and to my children. You all have been a source of inspiration and motivation to me, so I extend my sincere thanks and gratitude to you.

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat.....	N
1.1 Background	2
1.2 The issue in the Gulf region and Bahrain	4
1.3 Research questions	6
1.4 The research aims and objectives.....	6
1.5 Research significance.....	6
1.6 Research settings.....	7
1.7 Research terminologies	9
1.8 Structure of the thesis.....	10

CHAPTER TWO - LITRATURE RIVIEW

2.1 Overview.....	13
2.2 Definitions.....	13
2.2.1 City and urbanism	13
2.2.2 Urban identity	14
2.2.3 Globalization	16
2.2.4 High-rise buildings.....	17
2.3 History	18
2.3.1 Historical overview.....	18
2.3.2 Spread of high-rise buildings.....	21
2.4 Factors of urban identity	21
2.4.1 Tangible experience	22
2.4.1.1 Landmark	22
2.4.1.2 Economic symbolism.....	25
2.4.1.3 Environmental sustainability	27
2.4.1.4 Human scale.....	28
2.4.2 Intangible experience.....	31
2.4.2.1 Social life	31
2.4.2.2 Human behavior and psychological impact.....	33
2.4.2.3 Cultural aspect	36
2.5 Bahrain and the Gulf region.....	44

2.5.1 Bahrain overview	45
2.6 Conclusion	48
2.6.1 Summary	48
2.6.2 Benefit from previous studies.....	49C
CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY	
3.1 Research context	51
3.2 Research paradigm and the approach.....	52
3.3 Research methods and techniques.....	53
3.4 Data collection instruments.....	54
3.4.1 Interviews with locals	54
3.4.2 Interviews with concerned authorities	58
3.4.3 Focus group.....	60
3.4.3.1 BSE seminar.....	60
3.4.3.2 Network mind map	62
3.4.3.3 Children's sketches	64
3.5 Researcher's experience.....	66
3.6 Data analysis instruments.....	67
3.6.1 Empathy map	68
3.6.2 Thematic coding.....	68
3.6.3 Social Production of the space theory	69
3.6 Conclusion	71
CHAPTER FOUR - DATA ANALYSIS	
4.1 Interviews with the public.....	73
4.1.1 The past and memories	74
4.1.1.1 Social life	75
4.1.1.2 Movement and flow.....	77
4.1.1.3 Relationship	79
4.1.2 The transformation	82
4.1.2.1 Expansion and migration	82
4.1.2.2 Returning to Manama.....	84
4.1.2.3 Preservation	87
4.1.3 The new part of Manama	89
4.1.3.1 Impression.....	89
4.1.3.2 Association to high-rise environments	89

4.2 Focus group.....	91
4.2.1 Mind Map.....	92
4.2.1.1 Landmark	92
4.2.1.2 Movement.....	94
4.2.1.3 Feelings	99
4.2.1.4 Behavior	101
4.2.2 Kids' sketches	104
4.2.3 Seminar with BES	111
4.2.3.1 Identity	111
4.2.3.2 High-rise identity.....	112
4.2.3.3 Globalization	114
4.2.3.4 Urban planning.....	116
4.2.3.5 Related to our environment	117
4.2.3.6 Sustainability.....	118
4.2.3.7 Social life Investment	119
4.3 Interviews with concerned authorities	121
4.3.1 Types of urban application in Bahrain	121
4.3.2 The problem is in modern applications	124
4.4 Social Production of Space Theory.....	132
4.4.1 Old Manama	133
4.4.2 New part of Manama	139
CHAPTER FIVE -CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
5.1 Overview	145
5.2 Research Discussion and Findings.....	149
5.3 Vision, strategy and recommendations	159
5.4 Contribution to knowledge.....	173
5.5 Conclusion	174
5.6 Future studies and limitations	177

List of Tables

Table (1.1): Research terminologies’	9
Table (2. 1): Conceptual framework of urban identity (source: Lugt, 2013)	15
Table (2.2): Charter for Preserving the Urban Heritage in the Arab Countries	39
Table (3. 1): interviews with locals questions	57
Table (3.2): Seminar Agenda	61
Table (3.3): Seminar participants	61
Table (3. 4): The 3 dimensions in the process of space production (source: (Fuchs, 2019), modified by author)	70
Table (4. 1): local interviews participants	74
Table (4. 2): Tangible and intangible factors, inferred in the past and memories part of the local interviews.....	81
Table (4. 3): Tangible and intangible factors, inferred in the transformation part of the local interviews	89
Table (4. 4): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from the New Manama part of the local interviews	91
Table (4. 5): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from mind map	103
Table (4. 6): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from children’s sketches	111
Table (4. 8): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from BES seminar	121
Table (4. 9): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from interviews with the concerned authorities .	132
Table (4. 10): Old Manama based on Lefebvre’s triad.....	138
Table (5. 1): The consolidated table of local interviews determining tangible and intangible factors in the urban area	151
Table (5. 2): Focus group, youth category’s most prominent urban factors	152
able (5. 3): Focus group, children category common points	152
Table (5. 4): The common points of identity in urban environments according to practitioners and high-rise buildings developers	153
Table (5. 5): The result of measuring social life in old Manama and Bahrain Bay	154
Table (5. 6): Defining the tangible and intangible factors	156
Table (5. 7): Bahrain Bay area	158
Table (5. 8): AlJuffair area	158

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 A cartoon of the similarity in the cities of the world, the loss of pleasure and feeling of moving from one city to another (source: slideshare, 2011)	4
Figure 1. 2 Manama, the capital of Bahrain location (source: Capital Governorate, 2022, modified by author)	8
Figure 1. 3 points of Manama selected to conduct the study (source: Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)	8
Figure 2.1 Example of high-rise, Height Relative to Context (source: CTBUH, 2021)	18
Figure 2.2 Bable Tower (source: taramid.com, 2022)	19
Figure 2.4 Burj Khalifa tallest tower in the world at 828m2 high, located in UAE. The tallest tower in the world, 1 km high, is under construction in the Saudi city of Jeddah, according to (Saeah, 2021). (source: thaqafati.com, 2021).....	23
Figure 2.5 Shanghi tower in the second tallest tower in the world at 632m2 high, located in China. (source: MK, 2018).....	23
Figure 2.6 30 St Mary Axe, or the Gherkin (source: Wikimedia, 2007)	24
Figure 2.7 Exclusive views through the skyscrapers of Manhattan (source: Bods blog, 2019)	26
Figure 2.9 Taipei101 in Taiwan (source: WIKIARQUITECTURA, 2021)	30
Figure 2.8 Shreepati Skies building in Mumbai (source: CTBUH, 2021)	30
Figure 2.10 The urban design trend of high-rise building environments, separated from people's culture, past and natural conditions (source: author).	34
Figure 2.11 The user's mood improves when he finds his needs in the surrounding environment (source: author).	35
Figure 2.9 Marrakech city, The city maintains its historical shape while at the same time keeping pace with the daily needs of society (source: Go live go travel, 2021)	43
Figure 2.10 Damascus city, Bab Tuma quarter, the city of Damascus is one of the oldest cities continuously inhabited. The city has preserved its historical essence while ensuring the participation of the community through its interaction with the place. (source: Alsalloum, 2016).....	43
Figure 2.11 The tasks of the municipality in organizing the streets (source: Manama story, 2020).....	46
Figure 2.12 Aerial photograph shows the extent to which Manama has grown as a dense contagious area to the south between 1957-1967 (source: Al-Nabi, 2012)	47
Figure 2.13 The development and expansion of Manama throughout history, the above border of Manama selected based on Manama Governorate website (source: Ansari, 2009 and Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)	48
Figure 3.1 Research instruments map (source: Author).....	54

Figure 3.2 The map shows the old Manama, which is the geographical area from which the population was chosen (Source: Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)	55
Figure 3.3 Mindmeister website (source: Mindmeister, 2021)	63
Figure 3.4 empathy map template developed (source: Qaed, 2021).....	68
Figure 3.5 Selected points (source: Google Earth, 2021, modified by author).....	71
Figure 4.1 Manama, Bab Al-Baharin street.....	78
Figure 4.3 Landmark answers (Source: Mindmeister, 2022)	93
Figure 4.4 Bab Al Bahrain area in Manama (source: author)	94
Figure 4.5 Place movement (Source: Mindmeister, 2022).....	95
Figure 4.6 old Manama where people prefer to walk around (source: author).....	95
Figure 4.7 High-rise movement (Source: Mindmeister, 2022).....	96
Figure 4.8 The financial harbor high rise area (source: author)	97
Figure 4.9 A walking area around the financial harbor (source: author)	97
Figure 4.10 high rise in Juffair area (source: author).....	98
Figure 4.11 Feelings toward high-rise buildings (Source: Mindmeister, 2022).....	100
Figure 4.12 Feelings toward high-rise buildings (Source: Mindmeister, 2022).....	101
Figure 4.13 People’s level of comfort and behavior in high-rise environments (Source: Mindmeister, 2022)	103
Figure 4.14 The first sketch, what she knows about Manama	105
Figure 4.15 How to make Manama beautiful	106
Figures 4.16 and 4.17 Two sketches with same ideas for making Manama better.....	107
Figure 4.18 he knows about Manama	108
Figure 4.19 Manama defined by Bab Al-Bahrain	110
Figure 4.20 Sheikh Isa bin Ali house (source: artravelers.com, 2022)	113
Figure 4.21 Bin Khalaf house (source: manamastory, 2022)	113
Figure 4.22 Juffair buildings (source: author)	117
Figure 4.23 Manama skyline (source: travelblog.org, 2018)	118
Figure 4.24 Equation of form follows family (source: author).....	122
Figure 4.25 Equation of form follows finance (source: author).....	123
figure 4.26 Petronas Towers, inspired from Islamic and Malaysian culture patterns (source: ziadblog, 2013)	124
Figure 4.27 The Louvre Museum in Paris, in the middle the transparent pyramid as a contrasting element (source: Pronina, 2021).....	128
Figure 4.28 John Hancock Center in Chicago (source: 360chicago, 2022).....	129
figure 4.29 John Hancock Center observation deck (source: 360chicago, 2022)	129
figure 4.30 John Hancock Center Signature Room restaurant (source: gayot.com, 2022)	130
Figure 4.31 Selected points (source: Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)	133
Figure 4.32 Varied transportation walking, bicycles and some cars (source: Instagram, Naderkhadhim, 2020). Other pictures show donkeys	134
Figure 4.33 Manama port with workers and goods (source: Manama story, 2020)	134
Figure 4.34 Manama market (source: Facebook, Manama story, 2020).....	134
Figure 4.35 Missionary dr. Samuel Zwemer (source: joelsjottings.com, 2019).....	135
Figure 4.36 Girls’ school in Manama (source: Manama story, 2020)	135
Figure 4.37 Religious buildings in Manama (source: Manama story, 2020).....	136

Figure 4.38 Bahraini ladies roaming Manama market (source: Manama story, 2020)	137
Figure 4.39 Manama celebrating new year, people roaming Manama streets starting from shaikh Isa Alkaber street (source: Manama story, 2020)	137
Figure 4.40 Bahrain Bay and Lefebvre's triad (source: Mayfair, 2022 modified by author)	139
Table (4. 11): Bahrain Bay Lefebvre's triad	141
Figure 5.1 The Produced Social Space triangle (source: author)	149
Figure 5.2 Residential high-rise area in Juffair compares the current state of the environment with the projected presence of semi-private gardens for residents (source: author).....	161
Figure 5.3 Comparing the current state of streets in Juffair area with proposed pathways for walking and cycling in safety, shaded areas and street furniture (source: author).....	162
Figure 5.4 Some elements attracting people to walk, such as pedestrian paths, coffeeshops and greenery (source: author)	163
Figure 5.5 Promoting commercial activities, restaurants, cafes and shading elements (source: author).	165
Figure 5.6 Leadenhall Building London (source: theleadenhallbuilding.com, 2015)	166
Figure 5.7 The Dayabumi Complex in Kuala Lumpur, a high-rise building with Islamic elements (source: zoomroda.com, 2022)	167
Figure 5.8 The Dayabumi Complex in Kuala Lumpur (source: zoomroda.com, 2022)	168
Figure 5.9 The Al Bahar Towers in Abu Dhabi (source: Albayan, 2015).....	168
figure 5.10 Mashrabiya style as a canopy for the building inspired by traditional Arabian houses (source: Albayan, 2015).....	169
Figure 5.11 Bahrain World Trade Center (source: Zawya.com, 2022)	170
Figure 5.12 Picture 1 shows the current situation of BWTC. Picture 2 shows the towers built the other way round (source: Eindhoven University of Technology, 2014).....	170
Figure 5.13 Sketches showing proportion and rhythm in high rise environment (source: Al-Kodmany, 2013)	172
Figure 5.14 A picture of Bahrain Bay showing a safe walking path, a road for cars with parking and some green elements (source: author)	176

List of Appendices

Appendices	Number
SEMINAR TRANSCRIPT	1
INTERVIEWS WITH LOCALS	2
MIND MAP	3
KIDS SKETCHES	4
INTERVIEWS WITH CONCERNED AUTHORITIES	5

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Description
BSE	Bahrain Society of Engineers
CTBUH	Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background

1.2 The issue in the Gulf region and Bahrain

1.3 Research questions

1.4 The research aims and objectives

1.5 Research significance

1.6 Research settings

1.7 Research terminologies

1.8 Structure of the thesis

1.1 Background

Cities have recently witnessed a clear period of transformation, with the focus on design shifting to concerns for the quality of social life, housing, energy and the environment. However, previous economic and technological changes that brought about a tremendous change in the design of cities also led to the emergence of many problems, such as gigantism, loss of public life, placemaking and loss of identity (Jacobs and Appleyard, 1987).

Perhaps the most prominent of these changes affected the city's demographic composition and structure, as the traditional organic city form was transformed into modern industrial and functional structures (Al Khalifa, 2015). According to Salman (2016), architecture in cities is oriented according to global and economic forces, as globalization has become the pioneer of the urban transformation movement in most of the world's cities. Shekhar (2017) endorses this, and argues that the central force behind cities around the world has become more compatible and in harmony with the driving force of production and consumption instead of targeting individuals and their requirements. In addition, the rapid urbanization that followed on from the industrial revolution has resulted in the disappearance of the element of uniqueness, and it is similarity that has become the main feature of the world's civilized cities.

In an attempt to solve the problems of rapid transformation, such as congestion, rising prices and land scarcity, high density vertical megacities have emerged as an obvious result of globalization (Ruitens, 2014). According to Britannica (2013), developers resorted to a new method of construction in the form of high-rise buildings, which offered solutions by providing spacious areas in a vertical plane in response to limited space on the ground.

The first skyscrapers were built in the late nineteenth century in the United States, specifically in Manhattan. By the twentieth century, high-rise buildings had become prevalent in most cities of the world as a successful solution to limited space (Britannica, 2013). However, according to Maslovskaya and Ignatov (2018), it seems that, apart from limited space, there is the challenge and satisfaction of vanity. Maslovskaya and Ignatov believe that the skyscraper form in itself does not represent any deep spirit, that it is a form that possesses a specific practical function in a single pragmatic context. Rather, the

concept of height is the driving force behind a competition to be at the head of the updated lists of tall buildings. “We celebrate the push upward to be nearer the clouds and we celebrate our tussle with nature, gratified it allows us the notion of supremacy. We can now build higher than ever before and realize the celebration of height is primal and constant” (Maslovskaya and Ignatov, 2018: 4).

Bielawski (2010), citing Ralph, points to the phenomenon of placelessness as a consequence of globalization, claiming it is this which has led to an increased similarity between places and the subsequent lack of character. According to the Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat (CTBUH), 63% of skyscrapers are located in the Asian continent. The imported architectural style poses a threat to the local identity, where the similarity has become a feature of modern global cities (Figure 1.1). Appert and Montes (2015) argue that the architectural lines of the twenty-first century tend to be similar in cities, which has led to the creation of cities that communicate with each other from a distance instead of merging with their immediate surroundings. Ruiten (2014) and Gultekin (2017) support the foregoing and say the spread of high-rise buildings in the twenty-first century and the adoption of the approach of vertical high density mega-cities as a face of modern cities has become a real threat to local identity (Ruiten, 2014; Gultekin, 2017). Ruiten says in this regard, "Nowadays, architecture appears to be moving towards one of neutrality, uniformity and the indefinable. A search for the absolute zero point of architecture, the absence of style. For this new phase in architecture, notions such as location, context and identity seem to be losing their meaning. The once specific and local becomes interchangeable and global" (Ruitens, 2014: 1).

Globalization forms the basis of modern urbanization trends, and it is seen as a justification for the rapid process of city planning. A resistance line stands out from the aspect of the city's historical form that is closely associated to the community, culture and geographical context of the area, represented by planning that provides a counter to global trends and adopts a local and internal orientation (Al-Mohannadi and Furlan, 2018).

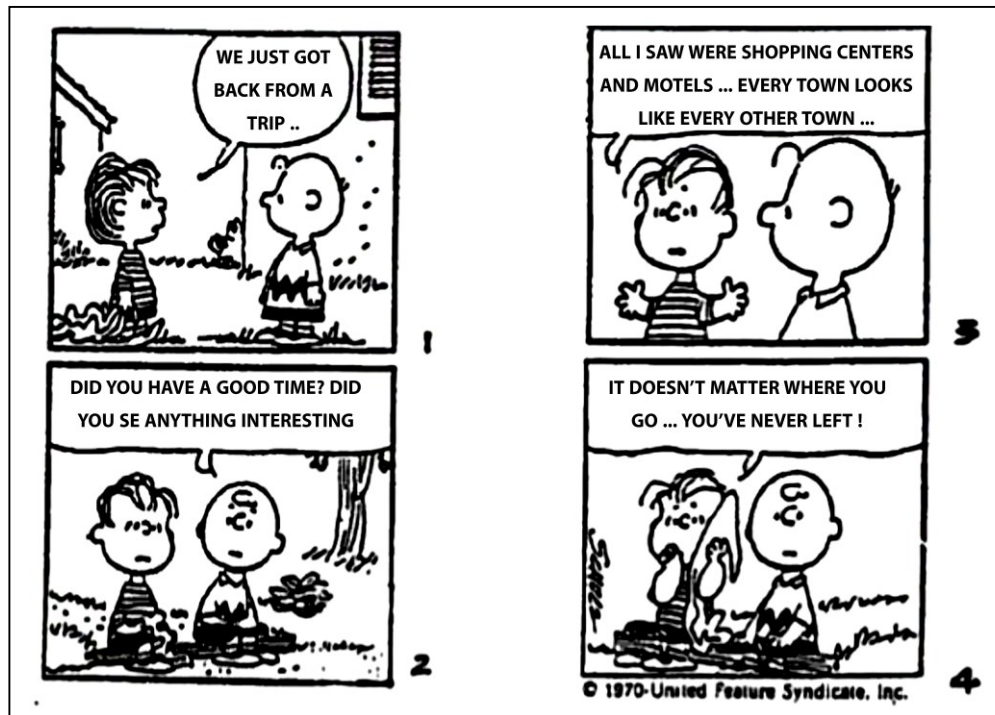


Figure 01 A cartoon of the similarity in the cities of the world, the loss of pleasure and feeling of moving from one city to another (source: slideshare, 2011)

1.2 The issue in the Gulf region and Bahrain

Urbanization began on the coasts of the Arabian Gulf, where the sea was the source of life, income and contact with the world. The population relied on maritime trade, pearling and fishing, until the seventies of the last century. Immediately after the discovery of oil, the Gulf countries began to give more priority to urban planning, which followed a Western pattern in view of the logistical and economic interests between the British Empire and the Gulf states. The sudden oil wealth in the Gulf states led to a qualitative shift in urban life, which is still ongoing. Today, the desire of the Gulf states to ride the wave of globalization is very clear, as the cities of Gulf states continue to grow as global centers. The most prominent results have been a large population growth, the emergence of mega projects and the use of international planning companies (Al-Mohannadi and Furlan, 2018).

In the words of Zahran (1979), cited in Boussaa (2000), “In the Middle East the gushing new wealth fueled massive construction developments enveloped in deceptive and contradictory architectural pronouncements of utter irrelevance and invalidity. Mushrooming cities, in this region and elsewhere, display a carnival of kaleidoscopic forms, colors, textures, styles and fashions which can only undermine local values, threaten

cultural continuity and isolate unquestionable validity". The magical beauty of Arabian cities, has been replaced by tasteless and bizarre buildings. This discontinuity with tradition has led to a crisis of identity, to people disruption, to the dehumanization of cities and huge social, economic, physical and environmental issues (Buossaa, 2000).

Some argue about the dangers of globalization to local identity. As Buossaa says "In fast growing cities such as Dubai, the issue of identity and its implications are increasingly complex and multi-dimensional. Traditionally, people were able to maintain a strong identity in their urban environment because everything was locally influenced, created and managed (Buossaa, 2000: 2). Today it is different, as the world turns towards globalization, global trade and economy, the smooth exchange of ideas, money, people and media. However, when considering the issue of urban identity, the matter becomes complicated, as there are a number of important concepts that must be dealt with, the most prominent of which is preserving urban heritage (Buossaa, 2000).

Buossaa (2000) also posits that Dubai has attained global status as it has become a gateway for investment and has gained global renown. However, it has lost a large part of its historical architectural identity and has lost many landmarks such as Sheikh Saeed House in Dubai and Al Jahili Fort in Al Ain, which means a lot in the memory of the place and the people who live there.

As for Manama, according to Al-Mohannadi and Furlan, Bahrain is similar to the other Gulf states, as it is seen as an oil-rich country, somewhat small, with a high income and good human conditions with small differences in the social and economic aspects. Al-Mohannadi and Furlan confirm that Manama has always been interested in the practice of urban planning, taking into consideration its social and historical aspect. However, "Globalization has fiercely changed the urban morphology of Manama and distorted its historical core. Similar to Abu Dhabi and Doha, the trend of mega-projects overlooks the globalized urban scene of Manama, resulting on a conflicted urban fabric as the vertical character and exhibitionist architecture contrast sharply with the low-profile skyline and local style of the old town." (Al-Mohannadi and Furlan, 2018: 140).

1.3 Research questions

The following research questions were formulated to achieve the desired objectives:

1. What are the dimensions that define the current transitional urban identity in Bahrain?
2. How can architects and practitioners help in reinforcing the local urban identity?

1.4 The research aims and objectives

The main aims of this research are an in-depth understanding of identity factors in the urban environment and the extent to which urban transformations represented in high-rise buildings impact on identity. To achieve this, aim this study intends to attain the following objectives:

1. To understand the user experience of a city, and how the environment affects people's interaction with their surroundings and with each other.
2. To understand the factors that represent local identity in the urban environment.
3. To prepare a framework of descriptors to evaluate the presence of identity in modern urban environments with high-rise buildings.
4. To develop a set of recommendations and models for developing the current environments to ensure an urban transformation that respects the local identity and its socio-cultural dimensions.

1.5 Research significance

The literature that deals with the issue of local identity in high-rise building environments, and the relationship of people in these new environments from social and cultural aspects, is almost non-existent. Some have highlighted the identity of Dubai historically, such as Buossaa. Others, such as Al-Mohannadi and Furlan pointed out the similarity of the cities of the Gulf states in building mega projects and responding to globalization. Although the issue of urban transformation in the light of identity preservation and aspects of place association is an issue of interest of urban designers around the world, there is a lack of literature in this field regarding Bahrain. This research

attempts to bridge the mentioned literary gap by focusing on the elements of local identity and the relationship of people to places.

In addition to what was mentioned above, the importance of this research lies in increasing social and institutional awareness about the importance of urban identity in high-rise building environments. It also investigates the reasons why people are more attached to their cities or why they are moving away from them. Finally, the research extracts some recommendations to enhance the Bahraini identity in modern environments, and to attract people to more friendly environments.

1.6 Research settings

The research follows the qualitative method and is conducted geographically in the Manama region (Figure 1.2). The research found Manama to be the most suitable area compared to other cities in Bahrain, because it is a diverse environment that contains multiple building styles such as environments of high-rise buildings and others, traditional and old. The researcher chose several points from the city of Manama to conduct the research. First, is the old Manama area represented by Bab Al Bahrain and its surroundings. The second, Al-Juffair, the new area, bordered on the north by Prince Saud Al-Faisal Avenue, on the west by Sheikh Abdullah bin Khalifa Avenue, on the south by Awal Avenue, and on the east by Avenue 22. Finally, Bahrain Bay area (see Figure 1.3). This diversity may benefit from studying the environments and comparing them according to their geographical proximity.

The methods of data collection include interviews, drawings and multiple focus groups. The data will be analyzed based on qualitative methods as well. Thematic coding and empathy maps will be used to analyze the interviews. It is also expected that the most prominent outputs of the methods will be based on Lefebvre's philosophical theory (Social Production of Space) in order to match the results of the study with the existing urban reality.

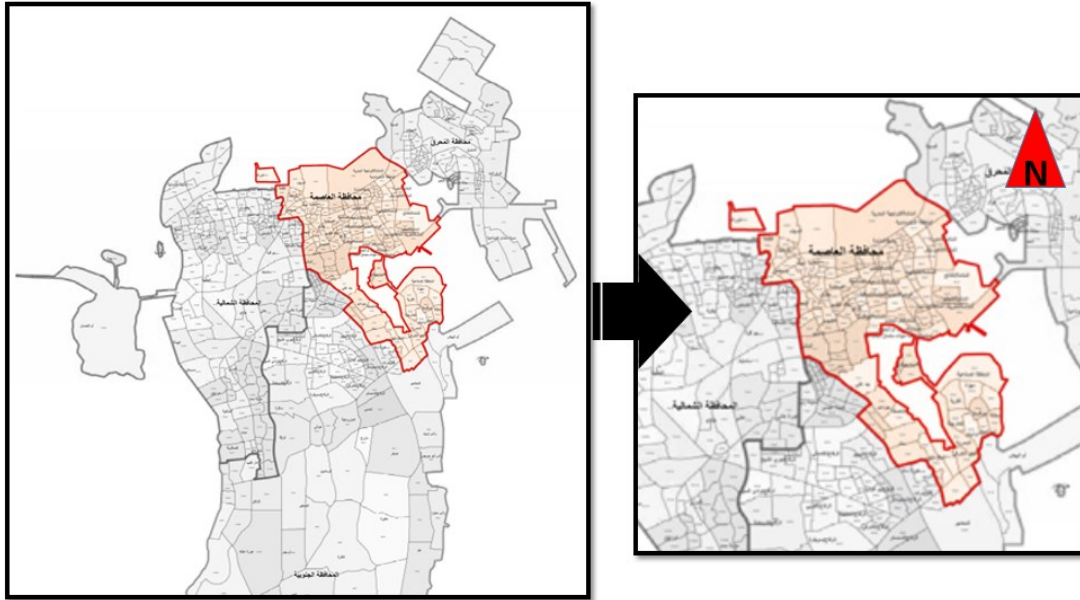


Figure 1. 2 Manama, the capital of Bahrain location (source: Capital Governorate, 2022, modified by author)



Figure 1. 3 points of Manama selected to conduct the study (source: Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)

1.7 Research terminologies

Table (1.1): Research terminologies'

Term	Definition
Transformation	According to the Cambridge dictionary, transformation is a complete change in the appearance or character of something or someone. Urban transformation according to Hölscher and Frantzeskaki (2021) is urban change that stems from the need for change due to increasing social, economic and environmental problems. It also describes urban transformations as complex and comprehensive transformations of continuous and renewable environmental, political, social and economic networks. Arbelaiz (2019) defines it as changing a certain area of a urban settlement to accommodate new city functions (What are cities?, para. 4).
City and urbanism	The city has certain characteristics such as greater geographical area, larger population, laws and regulation. The concept of urbanism also refers to the development of service places, job opportunities, institutions and a large-scale trade network that attracts people from the countryside. Accordingly, the concept of city and urbanism are directly related and difficult to separate (Lampard, 2017; Al Khalifa, 2015).
Urban identity	Urban identity is a broad concept, where most agreed in this research that it cannot be defined or framed by a specific template. The issue of identity deals with several geographical, environmental, social, cultural, architectural and all aspects of urban life. Identity has been given two basic dimensions, one of which is physical, which includes all that is tangible by the senses, and the other is incorporeal and psychological, which is what a person feels and the nature of his interactions with a specific environment. Perhaps the most prominent concept of urban identity is Lynch's concept, which most writers refer to in this research, which is the uniqueness of the place and its distinction from other places (Relph, 2018; Lugt, 2013; Lynch, 1960; Yaldiz et al., 2014) and others.

Globalization	Globalization is a broad term that includes all sectors. It can be used in any context and refers to openness and smoothly increasing exchange between peoples. Thus, it is a merging of cultures, economics, technology, architecture and other things (Al-Mohannadi and Furlan, 2018).
High-rise buildings	The term high-rise buildings often refers to just height. However, the CTBUH sets out more detailed criteria. The height of the building alone is not an indication that it is a high-rise building, as the height of the urban environment must also be taken into consideration. Other criteria include the use of certain technologies and the appearance of the building.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

This research contains 5 chapters:

Chapter One: Introduction to the study, defines the research problem and refers to the literary gap. In addition, it provides an overview of the topic globally and regionally, in order to understand the problem locally. It defines the structure of the thesis and also clarifies the objectives, questions and significance of the research in the local context.

Chapter Two: Literature Review, covers reviewing the literature with regard to the urban transformation from around the world and defines some concepts. In addition, it discusses high-rise buildings and their impact on the existing environments and their inhabitants in the context of imageability, human scale, social life and cultural design

Chapter Three: Methodology, explains the methodology used and explains its suitability to the research issue, after which it identifies and justifies the tools of the chosen methodology.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis, searches for answers to the research questions by analyzing the raw data collected using the methods explained earlier in Chapter 3. This includes the views of some of the elder citizens of Manama, sharing the experience of the

youth in the city, drawings by the children and analysis of interviews from official bodies and some specialists in the field of engineering.

Chapter Five, Conclusion and Recommendations, is the last chapter, which discusses the results of the research. It provides recommendations to relevant bodies and decision makers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

2.2 Definitions

2.3 History

2.4 Factors of urban identity

2.5 Bahrain and the Gulf region

2.6 Conclusion

2.1 Overview

This chapter attempts to explain some of the concepts related to the transformation of urban identity and high-rise buildings such as urbanization, the city, globalization, urban identity and high-rise buildings. The chapter also refers to the factors that shape the urban environment from the perspectives of philosophers and researchers. The chapter is based on a division of the city-forming factors into two main headings: tangible and intangible experiences. Under each of them is a list of the most prominent influences on the urban environment and individuals from several environmental, economic, social and cultural aspects. The chapter concludes with reference to the urban transformation in the Gulf countries, especially Bahrain.

2.2 Definitions

2.2.1 City and urbanism

A city is more important than a town or village in terms of size, organization and population density. The designation of city is given to certain urban places that are characterized by the presence of laws. The concept of city differs from one place to another, but in general it refers to a specific type of civilized society known as "urbanism" (Lampard, 2017).

Weber's (n.d) definition, supports that of Lampard, that a city must possess some characteristic to be called an urban community, such as: "(1) a fortification, (2) a market, (3) a law code and court system of its own, (4) an association of urban citizenry creating a sense of municipal corporations, and (5) sufficient political autonomy for urban citizens to choose the city's governors". The source argues for another point of view that this is a limited concept of the city because it excludes all pre-modern cities and some eastern cities dominated by familial or tribal identity.

It seems that the concept of city and urbanism correlate directly and thus cannot be separated from each other. For Al Khalifa (2015), urbanization is the establishment of facilities and residential and commercial institutions to create a city that attracts the migration of people from rural and suburban areas. Urbanism also refers to the study and analysis of people's interactions within their urban areas or cities.

2.2.2 Urban identity

Much of the literature has discussed urban identity. According to Lynch (1960) identity is " the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity", in other words, the concept of identity depends on the extent to which an individual is able to identify places and remember them as being different from other places. As Relph (2018) argues, identity is not only what distinguishes a place from other places. It is also about resemblance to other places, meaning similarity and difference in place. He also adds that identity applies to states, people, plants and everything, yet it is difficult to frame it in a specific template. Relph believes identity in urban space consists of three basic elements: buildings, activities, and meanings.

Lugt (2013) agrees with Lynch's definition and argues that "the urban identity is now commonly understood as very much a dynamic and fluid concept". He adds it is associated with culture and heritage preservation. Scheffler et al. (2009), see urban identity as "a complex and multireferential phenomenon – it embraces linkages between the material and immaterial; it has different scales: local, city, regional, national; it can be seen from various perspectives: personal, collective, external; it develops in time, affected by change, and influenced by many factors." (p. 1).

Lugt (2013) also refers to a number of researchers who have tried to point out some of the elements and descriptions in the urban environment that express identity. A conceptual framework has been developed from three dynamic axes, which are physical, economic, and social, then analyze features and pictures of each of them in 3 time periods, past, present, and future. The following table (2.1) shows the conceptual framework that Lugt referred to in understanding urban identity.

Table (2. 1): Conceptual framework of urban identity (source: Lugt, 2013)

Category	Past	Present	Future
Physical	Physical characterization of the past: <i>historical image/identity of the city</i>		
	Current physical characterization: <i>current image/identity of the city</i>		
	Future physical characterization: <i>expected image/identity of the city</i>		
Economical	Economical characterization of the past <i>historical image/identity of the city</i>		
	Current economical characterization: <i>current image/identity of the city</i>		
	Future economical characterization: <i>expected image/identity of the city</i>		
Social	Social characterization of the past <i>historical image/identity of the city</i>		
	Current social characterization: <i>current image/identity of the city</i>		
	Future social characterization: <i>expected image/identity of the city</i>		

According to Yaldiz et al. (2014), “The identity concept from the point of cities and architectural products includes a wide definition covering natural, geographical and cultural products and social life norms. Urban identity, architectural identity and the urban images about them are sometimes formed by very different components in a long period in urban space”. Eldik et al. (2019) define urban identity as a product of the daily experiences of the individual in the context of the city. In this view, the city is considered the background and a symbol for these experiences, providing a sense of stability and continuity, as the city is a physical and symbolic form of daily life of the individual and forms part of his self-identity.

Shekhar (2017) argues that in order to understand and cover all aspects of urban identity, Lynch can be relied upon to define a sense of space and take in its side the concept of social identity, which refers to a set of key features shared by a group of individuals who categorize themselves into the same social category, as they share emotional involvement and the right to evaluate the group which they belong. Lalli (1992) agrees on the idea of associating urban identity with the concept of social identity. This has led to the

identification of the relevant social identity that depends on the identity of the site itself and its impact on people. Karpovets (2012) also linked urban identity to Anthropological studies in the field of sociology, dividing urban identity into several divisions, such as urban identity dynamic reality, urban identity and everyday life, human activity and adaptation.

Ghosh, Nag and Roy (2019) support giving importance to the psychological dimension because it constitutes the meaning of the physical form. However, they believe that visual communication in identification has a major role. They argue that vision is more powerful than the other senses combined because it can provide a unique experience on its own. Urban visual perception has the most powerful effect in the art of creating a place and taking care of its arrangement and appearance.

2.2.3 Globalization

According to UKESSAYS "globalization is an umbrella term that refers to a complex and global phenomenon that has affected various dimensions including economics, politics, science, history, geography, environment, culture, management, international relations, professional practices, etc. Depending on the context it is used in, globalization can be defined as the “increasing interdependence of the peoples of the world ... a process that integrates not only economics, but culture, technology, and governance. People everywhere are being affected by events in far corners of the world.” According to the previous definition, it is, therefore not surprising that it has spread to architecture too.

Al-Mohannadi and Furlan (2018) agree with this definition and they believe that globalization is a general and multi-faceted concept that can be included according to the researcher's targeted topic while preserving the essence of the definition as the trend towards global connections and openness continues. Al-Mohannadi and Furlan believe that the integration of the global economy, allowing freedom of interaction and the removal of barriers is the appropriate definition of globalization in the context of urban planning.

As for Elsheshtawy (2004), globalization is a modern word associated with the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, as it is also linked to the loss of identity and character of the city because of the frightening similarity of cities

around the world. The concept of identity for the cities of the third world may take a dimension linked to Western hegemony. The source refers to Saeed (1979), who refers to the West's attempt to impose an imperial culture with all its values and beliefs on the East. On the contrary, Jacobs believes that globalization does not erase distinction and difference in cities, but rather confirms and highlights it (Jacobs, 1996 as cited in Elsheshtawy, 2004). Alsayyad (2001) supports this point of view and says that colonialism tried to create hybrid environments, yet these environments do not come with completely different components and characteristics, but rather a space in which the various elements meet and change each other, and with the continuation of this process an environment is created which he calls the third space. The third space is the place where colonialist ideas are hybridized and resisted.

2.2.4 High-rise buildings

The Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat (CTBUH) sets international standards for the definition and measurement of tall buildings. The Council indicates that there is no comprehensive or specific definition of buildings that can classify one as tall. However, they point to the following criteria as considerations: First, Height Relative to Context. As an example of this, a 14-story high-rise building in a city like Chicago or Hong Kong might not be considered a tall building, but in a European suburb, it might be considered one in relation to the urban standard (Figure 2.1). The second criterion is one of proportion; the building doesn't have to be high but is nevertheless thin enough to give the appearance of being a tall building. Finally, embracing technologies relevant to tall buildings, the building's containment of special technologies such as specific vertical transport technologies and structural wind bracing technology etc. are a determining factor. If any of these characteristics are found in any building it is considered high-rise, as the number of floors is not considered an indicator for determining the classification of the building (CTBUH, 2021).

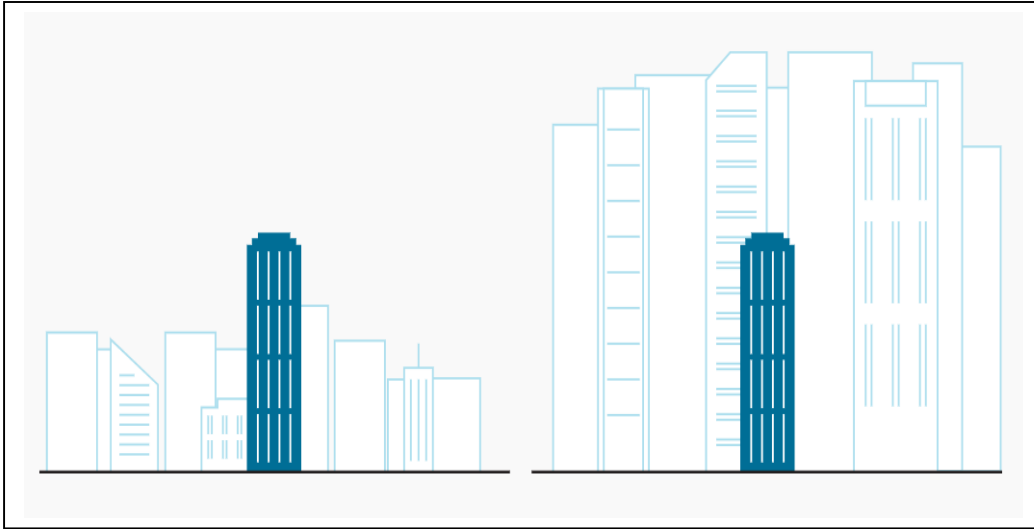


Figure 2.1 Example of high-rise, Height Relative to Context (source: CTBUH, 2021)

Based on Senthilnathan (2016), high-rise buildings are defined as tall buildings associated with height, but this is not consistent across time and space. The terms are varied and it becomes difficult to distinguish between them. Whether called tall buildings, high-rise or skyscrapers, in the end, all refer to the size and extreme height. No specific criteria indicate what measure can be used relative to each term, but the term skyscraper is the most dogmatic.

Hallebrand and Jakobsson (2016) agree with Senthilnathan's definition. They conclude that to call a building tall is descriptive of a construction when it is much higher than the surrounding buildings or is high enough for us to say it is a tall building.

2.3 History

2.3.1 Historical overview

Maslovskaya and Ignatov (2018) believe that skyscrapers are rooted in human nature and have been since ancient civilizations. It is not only an innovative structure, it is an example of paradigmatic architecture. The source cites Dutch researcher, Thomas A. P. Van Leeuwen, who called the skyscraper a modern version of the Tower of Babel: “Skyscrapers were the fulfillment of the Babylonian promise; the realization of both its technical enigma and its utopian-cosmopolitan objective”. (figure 2.2).



Figure 2.2 Bable Tower (source: taramid.com, 2022)

Gifford (2007) agrees with the above. He says that the idea of high-rise buildings has been around since ancient times, as pyramids can be considered the oldest high-rise buildings in history. When the minimum definition of a high-rise building was three floors, the pyramids were 48 floors high. The ancient Egyptians are considered to be the first who applied high construction techniques. The construction of the pyramids was very accurate and well thought out in all respects and angles, including complex and sophisticated calculations, and the Great Pyramid remains until this day the largest stone building in history.

Li (2013) points out, that tall buildings have been around since ancient times as humans have been striving to build high-rises for various reasons, including religion, beliefs and culture. Examples from different civilizations over time are evident, such as the pyramids, temples and cathedral towers. Undoubtedly, the architects of the Gothic cathedrals were inspired by the pyramids and there were attempts to build churches of height. Also, he adds, people tested the high-rise buildings of the time in defenses and demarcations of city walls (Gifford, 2007; Li, 2013).

The matter was not limited to the construction of tall buildings for religious or military purposes. Attempts to construct tall buildings continued into the seventeenth century, but these did not exceed 6-7 floors (Gifford, 2007). Li (2013) agrees with Gifford

that in the seventeenth century there were attempts to construct high-rise residential buildings of up to 11-14 floors, but they reflected poor conditions, lacking elevators and with a shortage of both water supplies and toilets. They seemed to represent practical housing models, but they were not accepted until later during the period of urbanization and industrialization in Europe and America.

In the nineteenth century the development of the Equitable Building in New York was considered the highest building equipped with an elevator, which consisted of six floors. At the same time in Chicago, buildings taller than the New York building were completed using new technologies, and they were up to 10 stories high (Senthilnathan, 2016). (Figure 2.3).

Riad (2016) says in this regard, today there is a number of reasons for building skyscrapers. We must understand the driving force behind such construction. As mentioned above, high-rise building is not a modern matter. The reasons, from the very beginning of the construction of tall buildings, may be put down to the rise in land prices and the desire to live near city centers. However, today the reasons are more varied. In addition to those mentioned, the goals of sustainability through the establishment of denser cities or the construction of a symbol of the city that competes with other cities are also motives behind high-rise construction.

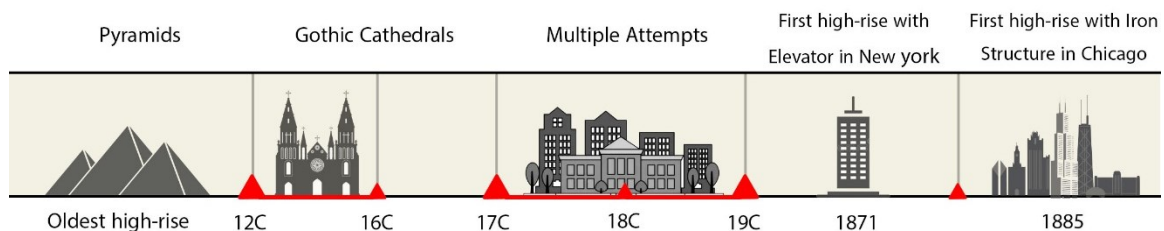


Figure 2.3 High rise time line (source: author)

2.3.2 Spread of high-rise buildings

Reddy (2014) argues, it is also likely to have been the invention of elevators, along with modern building methods that contributed most prominently to the spread of tall buildings. A clear turning point appears to be the Equitable Building in New York and the development of construction methods in Chicago that adopted the steel skeleton and deep foundation method that proved to be fairly reliable. New York and Chicago became the leaders in high-rise construction at the beginning of the century. Moreover, the massive influx of immigrants was linked to the rise of skyscrapers to accommodate the increasing numbers of people.

Reddy (2014) and Senthilnathan (2016) both assert that interest in high-rise buildings has shifted outside America and has become widespread in world cities such as Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur and several cities in Germany, and some have even exceeded the height of buildings in America. Hallebrand and Jakobsson (2016) argue this was for several reasons, most notably:

- Ease of construction methods.
- During the Industrial Revolution, European cities needed more factories and multi-story warehouses, which prompted them to contribute to the manufacture of building materials and the innovation of new ones to serve high-rise buildings.
- Reconstruction movement after the Second World War that took the form of modern high-rise construction had a share in the growth of these types of buildings.

2.4 Factors of urban identity

Most philosopher theorists such as Lefebvre, Relph, Norberg-Schulz and others point out that space is produced primarily from a physical, social, and psychological aspect. Norberg-Schulz considers that the ability to connect with the physical environment is what enhances the identity and performance of individuals (Lefebvre, Relph and Norberg-Schulz as cited in Al-Kodmany, 2013). Lutz (2013) also refers to Relph's opinion, which is "the need for places to be in possession of a distinctive identity" and says in this regard, that there is an urgent need in the depths of the human being to be associated with the place. If we ignore this, it will result in an environment without a place, and vice versa. If we

respond to the human need to relate to the place, it will result in places that support and enhance the experience and development of the human being. Relph (2018) indicates that the components of identity in the place are buildings, activities and meanings, which represents the physical, psychological and social aspects. Based on this, Al-Koudmany (2013) identifies 4 factors that help in improving placemaking and take into account the physical aspect and social and psychological experiences, which are: 1) Imagibility, through good design of cities that supports a sense of place and results in clear environments that are "memorable environments" and easy to navigate; 2) human scale, which is for the city to be at the level of the human scale. In the case of high-rise buildings, it is important to pay attention "the city-wide level, the towers' base, and the overall architectural and site planning design"; 3) social life, promoting social and economic life, especially those activities that can be accessed in high-rise buildings; and 4) historical and cultural aspect, the cultural connection and the way of life of people with the surrounding environment, including high-rise buildings, is important.

It is clear from the previous discussion that urban identity is also linked to placemaking factors. Thus, in alignment with the literature, two lists of tangible and intangible factors that express urban identity have been identified, and within each list a number of points affecting the urban environment are included.

2.4.1 Tangible experience

2.4.1.1 Landmark

Regardless of the local identity of the place in the field of construction, the skyscrapers have become representative of today's cities. As Kodmany (2013) states, one of the characteristics of the success of tall buildings in a city is that they symbolize it. The symbol or landmark is an easily recognizable physical reference signal due to its distinctive height and clarity of vision across distances and from different angles. Tall buildings, by their unique shape, become one of a city's major landmarks. Skyscrapers were a purely American innovation, but today, skyscrapers have become a noticeable element in modern cities and can be recognized by their distinctive individual shape or in conjunction with a group of tall buildings that form the city's skyline and define it. Tall buildings became a means of power and competition between countries, as the symbolic statement of these

architectural edifices was better and stronger than low or mid-rise buildings. So the fierce competition continues for the tallest building in the world because the soaring height represents strength, pride and authority in the city (Zahiri et al., 2017) (Figure 2.4) and (Figure 2.5).



Figure 2.4 Burj Khalifa tallest tower in the world at 828m² high, located in UAE. The tallest tower in the world, 1 km high, is under construction in the Saudi city of Jeddah, according to (Saeah, 2021). (source: thaqafati.com, 2021).



Figure 2.5 Shanghai tower in the second tallest tower in the world at 632m² high, located in China. (source: MK, 2018)

According to Riad (2016), one of the most important motives for high-rise construction is for the building to become a symbol of the city. Riad asserts that this is not a new matter, as churches in the Middle Ages were rising in construction to show strength. Riad argues that there are other considerations that make a building a landmark besides height, such as proportions, facade and form. However, in order for the building to be a landmark, its actual height is less important than the need for it to be seen from a far distance. For example, The Gherkin in London is noticeably taller than the surrounding buildings (it can be seen from afar), yet its height is not half the height of the tallest buildings in the world. Nevertheless, it is considered one of the most prominent landmarks in London (Figure 2.6).

Maslovskaya and Ignatov (2018) agree with Riad that height has been used to define a city's landmarks from the times of ancient cultures and it extends to today. A high building attracts attention because of its height. Elevation expresses strength and glory and a source of pride and exaltation.



Figure 2.6 30 St Mary Axe, or the Gherkin (source: Wikimedia, 2007)

2.4.1.2 Economic symbolism

Formaneck (2013) argues that skyscrapers were established in the United States as a center of economic power. However, they lost their popularity and symbolism in strength and importance for several reasons, most notably the events of September 11th and the decline in the real estate market. In contrast, in developing countries, skyscrapers still promoted their economic power in the global business world. As Formaneck also asserts, the economic situation can be studied by observing and analyzing skyscrapers, as studies have been conducted over several decades to arrive at business dynamics and the economy of skyscrapers. It has found that the development of skyscrapers helps in launching stock markets, and the presence of skyscrapers in the city indicates confidence in economic strength. The presence of skyscrapers reflects on the local economy as well, as it provides sufficient and abundant spaces that lead to lower sales and rent prices and an increase in vacancies (Formaneck, 2013).

Drawing on Koster, Ommeren, and Rietveld (2013), the high-rise building is a landmark, a symbol that increases its economic appeal. This is likely for two reasons. First, workers are more productive in high-rises because tall buildings gather workers in one place which makes it easier for them to meet. In addition, to the advantages of high-rise buildings, which include restaurants, cafes and their own gyms, this encourages and facilitates the process of interviews, discussions and business, whether between employees in the same institution or between different institutions. Second, the high-rise is preferred by investors because of the great media interest that accompanies it, which always makes it the focus of attention. Thus, it has a reliable position in attracting customers.

Riad (2016) also supports the importance of high-rise buildings as an economic landmark, attracting many organizations that want to draw attention to themselves through the building. He adds the wonderful and exclusive views provided by high-rise buildings is one of the most important reasons for people to wish to live in a high-rise. Moreover, rent or purchase prices are related to the height of the building, as the higher the building is, the better the views are supposed to be, as is the case in Manhattan (Figure 2.7).



Figure 2.7 Exclusive views through the skyscrapers of Manhattan (source: Bods blog, 2019)

Reddy (2014) says that there are a large number of workers, families and companies whose economic situation is related to high-rise buildings. The high-rise building has an economic weight as it affects the municipal authorities and service companies. The most we can say is that the failure of the tall building has a reverberation that is felt all over the country, or sometimes even the world. On the other hand, Reddy believes that there is a downside to tall buildings as they attract a certain class of people and exclude others due to high rents. Rents are high because of the quality of the building and the high costs of its construction and maintenance, and any failures in the quality of the building or infrastructure results in the building being abandoned and transferred to the poor. As for the office aspect, Reddy believes that it encourages stratification within a single institution, since if the institution occupies several floors, priority is given to managers by obtaining the upper floors with distinctive views.

Riad (2016) argues in this regard and claims that individuals are willing to pay for quality housing, investment, or services provided by the building. Riad identifies four economic factors that affect high-rise buildings: First, area efficiency, which is the benefit and the ability to claim rent for every centimeter of the project. Second, repeatability, which is a special design and construction method that helps save construction costs. Third, in

compliance with demands, people are usually willing to pay more for excellent quality, so a tall building cares about the value and quality of what it offers in order to ensure that people are willing to pay money. Finally, structure and material efficiency, since construction strategies in tall buildings represent the use of as few materials as possible and thus save money.

2.4.1.3 Environmental sustainability

According to Ali and Armstrong (2008) sustainability mainly seeks to provide ecological balance, conserve resources that meet the needs of the current generation and ensure the future of the next generations. The issue of air quality, building components and systems, construction methods, the extent of the toxicity of the materials used and its environmental damage is a source of concern for users in tall buildings. Tall buildings are a dominant component of the urban environment due to their size and performance and, at the same time, they are huge energy consumers. Hence it is very important for mega environments to follow green building methods and be the "center of sustainable design".

The Academic Library Ebrary.net supports the notion that tall buildings consume energy excessively and unnecessarily. In many cases, tall buildings are built with closed facades, where there is no possibility of relying on natural ventilation even in periods of comfortable temperature of 18-26 degrees Celsius. One of the simplest ways to reduce cooling loads is to control solar energy. It is known that planting around the building softens the surrounding environment by controlling solar energy and protection from wind, in addition to making it more enjoyable and beautiful. According to studies by Harazono et al. (1990), the roofs of buildings or houses covered with vegetation provide a lower temperature inside the building, in addition to the vegetation cover contributing to improving air quality and mitigating pollutants.

Wood (2015) argues that tall buildings are the future of urbanization and that it has already passed several steps in sustainability such as people concentration, space, land use, infrastructure and resources. However, these are still small steps in the area of sustainability and these buildings still need to reduce rates of energy and carbon expenditure in order to be truly sustainable.

Kovacevic and Dzidic (2018) concur that, despite their importance in a city, high-rise buildings cause serious damage to the environment. They refer to the quality of materials used in the manufacture of high-rise buildings and the extent of their safety and resistance in general. It is cast iron and steel structures that are designed to form a solid frame. In the beginning, concrete was excluded as a structural material, but with research and progress made within the concrete industry, specialists came to the conclusion that concrete is more fire-resistant and more durable. Despite the advantages of concrete, it has a huge environmentally harmful impact as it represents 5-7 percent of global carbon dioxide emissions. Kovacevic and Dzidic believe that with an amendment to the materials used in the manufacture of concrete, it can be made a more environmentally friendly material.

Mills and Bachand (2018) believe that sustainability is more than just green building methods. Tall buildings have succeeded in applying energy-saving technologies such as double facades that provide natural lighting and reduce solar energy gain. Also, high-rise buildings seek to integrate energy generation solutions into buildings, for example, Al Bahr Towers in Abu Dhabi, which use kinetic facade technology to control the entry of external lighting.

2.4.1.4 Human scale

Teng (n.d) discusses a number of concepts and standards related to the city, including the scale of the building, which takes several levels: First, environmental, which is concerned with the size of the building with the function of the area (i.e. commercial or residential) and with studying the building's relationship with neighboring buildings as well as distances one must walk or ride a bike. Second, there is the length and height of the building. Teng refers to Jan Gehl's philosophy for livability in respect of tall buildings which concludes that the maximum height for human communication to occur is five floors. This means that after the fifth floor the building will lose its sense of intimacy and thus the problem of lack of connection in the social life of the city begins. Others argue about the number of floors. As Radwan and Morsi (2019) state, some claim that the maximum height is four floors while others argue for six floors with some requirements in

the exterior design of the building such as a wide base and stepped floors, in order not to affect the urban view.

Teng (n.d) argues that the number of floors is not the main metric; there are other factors that count, such as the distance between people and the angle the floors form. Osman (2018) agrees that there are other factors to be taken into account besides height and suggests that the contrast in sizes reflects on human feelings, as it may give a feeling of fear, loss of scale, or comfort and satisfaction. He adds that trees affect the human scale, as they help soften the scale of the building and link it to urban space and people. He also showed several other influencing factors, including street furniture, paving patterns and building decoration, all of which help to connect the individual with his urban surroundings.

Kodmany (2013) agrees with Osman in using some elements for softening the scale of buildings. He claims that since tall buildings are large, they violate people's scale in nature. The task to provide a sense of place to large towns with a conglomerate of soaring buildings is a big challenge. Huge construction projects make pedestrians feel small, dwarfed and insignificant. However, using proper design elements for the foundation, the shaft, the landscape, the atriums, the site and the sculptures could help the overwhelming vertical scale be mitigated (Kodmany, 2013).

Burke (2016) supports what has been mentioned, which is that architecture affects feelings, noting that recent studies have shown that larger-than-life structures appear to be boring structures that put pressure on people. He points out that "dictators took advantage of the impact architecture can have on the mind. By creating architecture at a monumental scale, rather than a human one, they inspired fear and awe in their citizens". Burke also refers to some opinions that see the human scale related to perception, which means that there are no constants for the human scale, as it depends on what every society believes is a human scale. For example, a 20 story building might be huge and brutal somewhere, but on the streets of Manhattan, it is considered to create a beautiful and functional street.

Some believe that one of the essential problems of high-rise buildings is their great height, which makes them disconnected from their surroundings. Based on what Radwan and Morsi (2019) say, in light of technology and rapid growth, modern-day cities do not

think about paying attention to the human scale, but rather are more interested in cars. This is observed in cities where high-rise buildings have spread to include huge shopping centers, residential complexes and wide street networks, which have led to several problems such as those of people not belonging to their cities, gigantism, and loss of control. The urban environment is increasingly in the hands of developers and public agencies. As city elements are growing in size relentlessly, massive transportation systems are being separated from individual travel modes, and vast areas and complexes are being created that have made cities unfriendly to pedestrians, leaving people feeling marginalized as well. Jacobs and Abelard (1987) agree with this and believe that people have less sense of connection over their homes, neighborhoods, and cities than they did when they lived in slower-growing communities, where the components of the city were of normal size and scale.

Kodmany and Ali, (2012) argue that the problem of skyscrapers is that many of them are out of urban context due to their scale, and such buildings lose connection and harmony with other city components, as for example the Shreepati Skies building in Mumbai (Figure 2.8) and Taipei101 in Taiwan (Figure 2.9).



Figure 2.8 Shreepati Skies building in Mumbai (source: CTBUH, 2021)



Figure 2.9 Taipei101 in Taiwan (source: WIKIARQUITECTURA, 2021)

2.4.2 Intangible experience

2.4.2.1 Social life

According to Almahmood (2017) the social formation in urban life plays a fundamental role as it is concerned with issues of daily, spatial, social and cultural life. This formation differs from one city to another, but it combines in its fundamentals social life such as places where people spend their free time and meet with friends. Therefore, consideration must be given to the design of these places and make them livable, safe, enjoyable and comprehensive.

Others like Kodmany (2013), Jacobs and Applyard (1987) agree with the above. Kodmany gives a more profound dimension as it includes emotions, experiences and memory. He says, social interactions occur on multiple levels, individual or societal, active or passive, and others. A variety of social interactions stimulate and consolidate memory, which leads to attraction and attachment to the place. The memory of a place is related to a person's past as well as encouraged by the historical environment, natural and physical dimensions that enhance social life. As for Jacobs and Applyard (1987) the social issue is a very important one that must be taken into consideration in urban planning and construction. Achieving livability means considering creating a place where everyone can live, obtaining privacy, raising children, and practising daily activities with ease. The social aspect also encourages participation and responsibility towards the environment.

Eichner and Ivanova (2018) investigated people's evaluation of tall buildings from a social aspect, dividing them into supporters and opponents. For the latter, high-rise buildings are viewed as having a negative impact on social life and are seen as ugly and inconsistent with the city. Some have described them as symbols of hostility to historical cities. Those holding positive attitudes, on the other hand, thought it was a good idea to experiment with living in tall buildings. However, among the former group, some parties expressed a preference for keeping the high-rise buildings for office work only and to limit the height of residential buildings between 9-12 floors to promote a better social life.

Despite the importance of the social aspect of the city, Al-Kodmany believes that tall buildings push people into isolating themselves from social life in the city. He says in this regard that it is clear that successful high-rise buildings correlated with access to street-

level activities such as walking and sitting. Sadly, several big buildings have turned their back on the street with their high walls and without window openings. Today, much of high-rise buildings' shopping, retail and social operations have been completely internalized and isolated from social life in the city. They have created their own spaces totally separated from outdoor spaces, and have become isolated activities, rather than integrated elements in the city (Al-Kodmany, 2018).

Khatri (2017) echoes Al-Kodmany's sentiments, adding that tall buildings tend to separate people and reduce the chances of experiencing propinquity which is "one of the main factors leading to interpersonal attraction. It refers to the physical or psychological proximity between people. Propinquity can mean physical proximity, a kinship between people, or a similarity in nature between things." High-rise buildings reduce opportunities to participate in open urban environments and are self-sufficient, especially those that include gymnasiums, entertainment and restaurants. Thus, the chances of propinquity decrease.

Reddy (2014) also agrees with Al-Kodmany. He refers to the critical aspect of coexistence in tall buildings, which does not go as smoothly as it does in popular and historical places that combine many residences. The high-rise buildings look like residential factories due to their complete isolation from other residents and lack of contact with them. Reddy argues that tall buildings are urban worlds which are isolated from the temperature, the smells, and the sounds of the industrial world around them, having a negative effect on those who live and work in them.

On the contrary, Li (2013) argues that high-rise buildings provide for more effective communities in terms of equality and equity. From this perspective, functionally integrated high-rise residential buildings create bonds between residents and aim to create a social fabric that encourages interaction and exchange of ideas. Also, high-rise construction is the best choice in terms of protecting the natural environment, as it represents the best use of the land by providing a large number of houses, as high-rise buildings can achieve denser construction and at the same time offer more privacy and open spaces. Gifford (2007) adds that high-rise building has many social benefits, since having a large number of close neighbors it is possible to have friends and acquaintances in the same place. Residents of

high-rise buildings on upper floors do not suffer from outside noise, and they breathe cleaner air. High-rise buildings create better and more social interactions compared to families who live in independent homes.

Modi (2014) believes that tall buildings do not attract or provide adequate prices for different classes of society. For the middle class, it is becoming increasingly difficult to purchase homes. In addition, tall buildings do not offer design solutions and living experiences suitable for everyone. However, practically, high-rise buildings are a model that provides solutions to land scarcity and the growing demand for quality housing.

Reddy (2014) believes that developing high-rise buildings and attracting social life in them is also linked to infrastructure development. For example, there was an experiment in creating a new city of London in the heart of the Docklands, integrated in terms of office space, shops, hotels and apartments. Despite its modernity and distinction, it did not attract businesses or residents due to poor access, with its lack of connection with the main subway, and insufficient transport systems. Reddy says "almost every high-rise construction project is doomed to at least economic failure if the infrastructure is not considered, planned and actually installed down to the very last detail". (Reddy, 2014, p.15). The area continued to be undesirable until access was improved through the construction of a series of transport networks linking Docklands to the city and a number of suburbs. The plan included several projects, most notably the Docklands Light Rail (DLR) and the construction of new roads and highways (Rossetto, 2015).

2.4.2.2 Human behavior and psychological impact

Referring to a number of those interested in environmental influences on human behavior, Butterworth and Fisher (2000) mentioned that places are not only physical environments in people's lives, but are saturated with meanings and feelings and symbolize both personal and collective history as well as reflecting relationships, events, families, society and cultures. Places are the repository of collective memories. People may feel sad when areas dear to them are destroyed or changed. It is like being uprooted or displaced from a loved place, resulting in a severe psychological effect on people. In recent times, developers have paid more attention to the material and economic return of places, often neglecting factors of psychological importance and aesthetic values in the environment. Thus, people are not

participating sufficiently in urban environments, living instead in buildings that either inspire or frustrate them, while they do not even realize it (Butterworth and Fisher, 2000). Boussaa (2000) realizes the psychological impact of tall buildings and says in this regard, "For the sake of progress, and fast modernization, buildings are erected, without any link to the local cultural values and natural conditions. In addition, the loss of orientation and identification has a grave psychological impact on part of the population. People cannot identify themselves and cannot be identified; they are thus strangers in their own localities" (Boussaa, 2000, p.11) (figure 2.10).

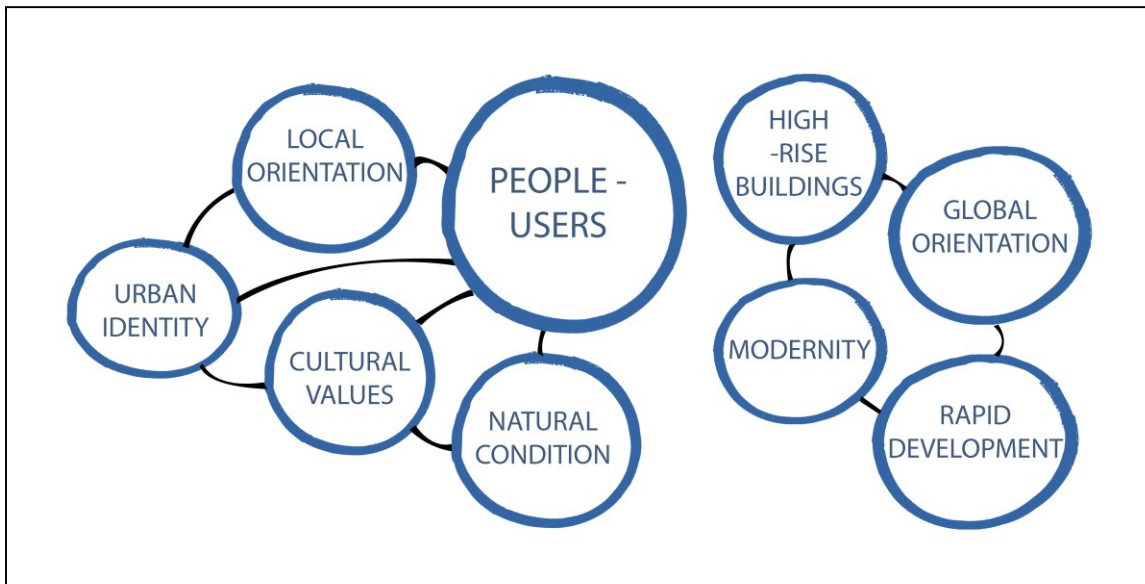


Figure 2.10 The urban design trend of high-rise building environments, separated from people's culture, past and natural conditions (source: author).

As for Wener and Carmalt (2006), they believe that buildings are physical forms with a psychological dimension, where buildings provide shelter, facilities, and human needs. However, they should be designed to support human psychological and social needs. High-rise buildings are criticized for not taking into account the psychological aspect of users. High-rise buildings are accused of separating users from the natural environment, and the higher the building's height, the greater the feeling of isolation from the outside environment. This is related to users' feeling of malaise. Wener and Carmalt refer to Wilson's interpretation, which states that the negative feeling in high-rise places is due to the innate human need to connect with nature and the importance of creating an analogy between the place where the user lives and his past. In addition, there is the importance of

natural spaces and greenery, which have been proven to reduce fatigue and stress, and have positive psychological results. The introduction of natural elements, such as light, green, and some open spaces in schools and hospitals, was experimented with, and it was found that they contributed to improving health and happiness, and reduced stress and hostility (see figure 2.11).

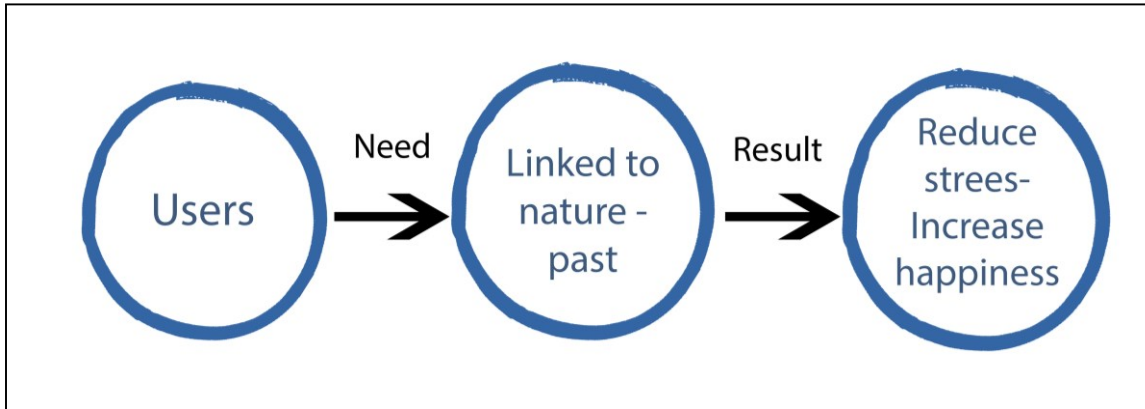


Figure 2.11 The user's mood improves when he finds his needs in the surrounding environment (source: author).

According to Gifford (2007), the lack of participation, isolation, and the growing problem of unconsidered urban development has a clear negative impact. High-rise buildings are said to be the cause of many unpleasant consequences for individuals, such as fear, stress, dissatisfaction, lack of participation and assistance, suicide and hindering a child's healthy development. There is also an inherent feeling of anxiety along with common fears among the residents of these buildings, which are fear of a family member or neighbor jumping out of the window, being trapped during a fire, fear of the entire building falling due to an earthquake, the building being attacked, fear of the number of strangers sharing the dwelling, thus fear of crime and increased fear of contracting and transmitting infectious diseases due to the large number of residents in one building. These fears may not be realistic, but they are representative of the kind of concerns that huge environments produce in individuals.

Reddy (2014) adds that besides the feeling of fear in high-rise building environments, there is an effect on individuals' behavior, the tendency towards violence in some cases. He says that criminal activity is promoted in huge communities, especially high-rise buildings, due to the ease of concealment and anonymity, as well as the design of these

places that favors crimes, such as the presence of elevators, dimly lit corridors empty of people, underground parking etc. Studies have shown that the number of murders, burglary and rape committed in huge high-rise environments is much greater than that in less densely populated residential areas.

2.4.2.3 Cultural aspect

2.4.2.3.1 Placemaking

Aravot (2010) defines placemaking as an urgent necessity in humans to live in well-being and safety. Creating a place is a remedy for feelings of loneliness and alienation and results in a sense of belonging. Taking his lead from a group of modernity critics and sociologists in defining placemaking (e.g. Alexander, Jacobs and Lynch), Aravot argues that the making of a place can be achieved through "the timeless way of building". Others have pointed to the lively streets, and the use of historical and cultural methods to create an urban place.

Kodmany (2018) agrees, asserting that placemaking is the creation of physical environments that give a special sense of place, taking into account the psychological and social aspects of all people, whatever their age, culture or social class.

As for Lynch (1960), placemaking is the design of an urban landscape that promotes pride and ownership of the physical and social environments as an act of placement. Sense of a place is the emotion one develops from a certain area of comfort, happiness and connection, belonging and attachment. Lynch argues that 'place' needs to "speak of the individuals and their complex society, of their aspirations and their historical tradition, of the natural setting and the complicated functions and movements of the city world" (Lynch, 1960, p.119).

Kodmany (2012) points to a number of opinions that see modernity as a reason for the neglect of placemaking. The emergence of globalization, the expansion of urban growth, mega-projects and the lack of placemaking in cities are all part of this neglectfulness. The causes of the problem are also likely to be the lack of cooperation between architects, landscape architects and urban planners when creating projects, each of them working separately, and when assembling works, the lack of harmony and failure

to create a clear place. A new, multi-faceted approach is necessary to improve social participation and a sense of place.

Jacobs and Appleyard (1987) believe that urban development threatens placemaking in a big way, especially the giant buildings, where cities have become strange places that have no meaning for their inhabitants, causing individuals to shrink into themselves and withdraw from public participation into their private worlds. It became necessary to confront the giant and the fragmentation that transformed the city from a place that encourages public life to a warring group of interests and classes that put public social life on the edge of danger.

Al-kodmany and Ali (2012) agree and add that skyscrapers have negatively contributed to the creation of places in many ways. When people talk about the issue of "instability," skyscrapers sometimes conjure up images of a chaotic, work-addictive environment and, in residential terms, they conjure up images of people cut off from each other by living in restricted apartments. Tall buildings with strange designs make public spaces seem noisy, meaningless, and soulless.

He also argues that place-making is an art, but it is not like the visual, musical, or dance arts that are concerned with attracting a small number of audiences. Creating a place should attract all members of society, because people have a daily experience with the city, and the use and feel of the city are through the success of placemaking that makes individuals more comfortable, reassured and proud. Conversely, failure to create places produces frustration and disappointment.

Zahiri et al (2017) claim that placemaking has been under threat in urban settings due to the modern urban movement, population growth and vertical expansion represented by tall buildings. This creates many problems, the most important of which is harmony with the international architectural approach while neglecting the local side. This has led to a diminution of the meaning and sense of place, a decrease in the level of the relationship between people and place, the lack of a sense of stability, the separation from the place, the false relationship, the obliteration of the reality of the place, and the inability of individuals to engage and partially participate in the place.

Skyscrapers do, however, reflect progress and modernity and they have many economic advantages. The move towards sustainability is also likely to provide the best quality buildings to those who live and work in them. However, the development of tall buildings and their global spread has followed a pattern of recurrence and repetition. The scene dominating cities has been one of unified boxes threatening diversity and cultural pluralism (Zahiri, Dezhdar and Foroutan, 2016). Wood (2015) agrees and he says the performance of high-rise buildings and their systems has improved, but in terms of shape, the vertical air-conditioned, glass-covered box is still the main mold for most high-rise buildings.

2.4.2.3.2 Heritage and preservation

UNESCO defines Cultural Heritage as "monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features which are of outstanding value from the point of view of history, art or science". The organization links heritage with culture and emphasizes its prominent role in re-evaluating cultures and identities, as it expresses cultural diversity, connecting generations and promoting belonging.

In referring to UNESCO's definition of heritage, Bello (2006) adds that we must go beyond physical qualities and understand intangible qualities. Heritage has many definitions, and is not limited to material political and economic aspects, but the social dimension also has an important role. In addition, at the present, the biggest focus is on human beings where heritage cannot be determined without reference to society and its considerations. Cultural heritage expresses cultural identity, but community values are changing with time. Therefore, heritage can be identified as "the contemporary purposes of the past" or "that part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social" (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge as cited in Loulanski, 2006, p. 212). Also Loulanski sees that the concept of heritage is complex and multi-faceted, one that is self-defining with an impact felt across time and place in all cultures.

Sultan (2013) defines urban heritage as an image from the past that reflects the authenticity of people and their contemporaries. Heritage is what has been produced by a

period of time that falls in the past, separating it from the present by a distance of time, thus forming an urban gap. Sultan refers to the Charter for Preserving Urban Heritage in Arab Countries: urban heritage is all that a person builds, including cities, villages, neighborhoods, and buildings of historical, archaeological, architectural, economic, scientific or cultural value. He gave three main axes that include the above-mentioned criteria, namely, heritage buildings, urban heritage areas and urban heritage sites (Table 2.2). Abid (2016) argues the concept of cultural heritage at the present time refers to a group of buildings and monuments. Heritage protection agreements are concerned with giving a role to heritage in the life of societies and integrating protection into planning programs.

Table (2.2): Charter for Preserving the Urban Heritage in the Arab Countries

Preservation axes	Description
Heritage buildings	These include buildings of historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific and social importance, including decorations, fixed furniture, and the environment associated with them.
Urban heritage areas	These include cities, villages and neighborhoods of historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific and social importance with all their components of urban fabric, public squares, roads, alleys, infrastructure services, and others.
Urban heritage sites	These include buildings associated with a natural environment distinct from its nature or man-made.

Based on Sultan (2013), heritage is extremely important because of the values and principles it carries, as it strengthens the cultural, social and economic identity. Sultan affirms that urban heritage is the main tool for transmitting common values and rules, communication between the past and the present, and strengthening the national spirit of people; hence the importance of preserving heritage in cities.

Abid (2016) agrees with Sultan, and says that through heritage, we can explain how societies view the relationship between the past, the present and the future. He defines heritage as tangible and intangible inherited things, the preservation of which is extremely important to protect the local identity of a place, which gives it value, as there is no heritage without cultural value. The heritage values may vary between, among others, aesthetic, societal, historical and evidentiary.

Shekhar (2017) believes that history plays an essential role in the formation of the identity of a place. The accumulation of experiences and memories makes for a stronger connection between the person and the place. The association of individuals with the history of a place means rootedness, and often rooted individuals are tied to their past and are proud of it. The historical character also provides a point of contact with the past and it affects how people perceive it, as it affects the residents' perception of the place today and in the future.

Today, Aziz (2005) considers that communities have become fragmented in an age of modernity and technology. Developed industrial communities rejected the historical methods in building, which has led to a loss of identity in buildings, as the architects of the modern movement aimed for a unified international design. From this similarity emerged the need to return to history and traditions in order to preserve identity and cultural heritage, and communities began to realize that old buildings and old urban character were very precious and must be preserved. Aziz also refers to the opinion of Taglor, who believes that the cause of the disintegration of society and social conflicts is due to stripping people of their traditional values which are represented in the historical fabric of cities. Jacobs and Appleyard (1987) agree with Aziz, and say in this regard that urban environments should be designed for those who use and are affected by them, not those who own them. This is not an objection to evolution or anything new, but innovation should increase people's sense of responsibility through a sense of identity and rooting. Planned renovation must be better than the current renovation, and its use must enhance the community's sense of shared identity and heritage.

Boussaa (2000) argues that historical centers are the nucleus of cities and the secret of their beauty. He criticizes development that does not take into account the historical

dimension and the traditions of a city, thus creating an identity crisis and divesting cities of their humanity and their social, environmental and economic concerns. He confirms that the decline of local identity is directly linked to the deterioration of the physical environment of historic centers. It is not a good idea when developing the appearance of the city to avoid the historical dimension as it greatly affects the sense of identity. In spite of this, many important historical areas are subject to demolition, neglect and vandalism with the aim of replacing them, making them seem marginal places symbolizing poverty and backwardness.

The most important thing that contributes to the enrichment of urban identity is conservation. The focus of the conservation process is simply city life in its entirety, in both its material and immaterial configurations, with its state and process components. As a result, conservation aims to preserve the built environment as well as the cultural practices that surround its use. It is thus a process involving the preservation of material resources, such as the built and natural environments, as well as cultural processes, all of which contribute to the urban structure and identity (Zancheti and Jokilehto, 1996).

Sultan (2013) defines preservation as the protection and preservation of the facility and the architectural elements of historical character. In addition, it relates to material interventions that ensure the safety and continuity of structural buildings through ongoing maintenance and repair. The preservation process is carried out without damaging the building or destroying it or falsifying its historical value, ensuring that it performs the function for which it was found with high efficiency, thus extending the life of the building.

However, caring only for its preservation creates an economic and impractical burden. Bello (2016) believes that it is impossible to safeguard the heritage of buildings, as more and more become the subject of the preservation debate, by following the current practice of converting them into museums without encountering prejudice. Today, it has become clear that this is an unsustainable method of preservation because it is considered the definitive concept of preservation, which is to not allow a historic building to be used for any other purpose because of its cultural significance. However, other forms of preservation, in reality, mean adaptation and modification in line with the importance of cultural heritage. As Loulanski believes, “The greatest successes in heritage preservation

can occur when the heritage component is in actual use and thus is able to generate revenue to pay for its preservation” (Loulanski, 2006, p220). Boussaa (2000) believes that the best way to preserve heritage is to integrate it with modernity. He also believes that new technological and social developments contribute to the quality of present-day life, but that we must integrate rather than replace modernity within historical cities. However, such developments should be rejected if they pose a threat to the city's historical character. The role of change is to create a strong relationship by merging the old with the new instead of widening the gap between them.

Alraouf (2014) argues that it is perhaps because of erroneous methods of preservation that makes some countries prefer not to preserve their urban heritage and opt instead for modern construction, even if it is at the expense of local history and culture. He asserts that the current concept of conservation is wrong, not comprehensive, and unsustainable, as it focuses on single isolated buildings without focusing on those around it, leading to often flawed preservation projects that serve to separate the physical environment from the local community, thus exacerbating the problem. Preserving urban areas which are then given over to tourism, often to the exclusion of the local community, has led to a feeling among locals of isolation and marginalization from their heritage that is enjoyed by the tourists. The correct concept of preservation is a comprehensive process of society and environments, thus it helps the continuation of the social, cultural and economic aspects that distinguish a community. Feilden (1985) agrees and says, conservation and development can be integrated partners. The issue of identity should not be considered only as a mere stylistic matter of transposing tradition. However, it should be well integrated into the heart of the processes by which cities are shaped, managed and financed.

Alraouf refers to several opinions, the most prominent of which (Lewcoc, 2004; coleman, 2001; Daher, 2006) clarify that heritage should not be limited to documentation and registration, but rather be a continuous process. By persuading the local community to contribute to the development and prosperity of architectural heritage through linking it to the present and the future of the community, "Cities' historic centers can be rejuvenated and act as an alternative provider to the community's identity and emphasize its valuable past without compromising the pressing needs for development and progress" (Alraouf,

2014, p. 8). If heritage is properly preserved, it can be used to support government resources through the promotion of tourism which can contribute to future development and prosperity. Marrakech and Damascus cities are considered successful examples in investing in history and benefiting from it (Figure 2.9) and (Figure 2.10).



Figure 2.9 Marrakech city, The city maintains its historical shape while at the same time keeping pace with the daily needs of society (source: Go live go travel, 2021)



Figure 2.10 Damascus city, Bab Tuma quarter, the city of Damascus is one of the oldest cities continuously inhabited. The city has preserved its historical essence while ensuring the participation of the community through its interaction with the place. (source: Alsalloum, 2016)

Boussaa (2000) argues about the danger of not preserving familiar historical places, as preservation "preserves the citizen's sense of identity and continuity". Replacing cultural values with unfamiliar and strange things leads to a lack of any feeling or connection to a place. The cities of Dubai and Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates are examples of the loss of identity and personality, according to Boussaa. People need to continually affirm their connection to the past and the place they belong to in order to reinforce identity and belonging to that place. Therefore, demolishing an important part of people's memory as it relates to a place has a profound psychological impact on the souls of the people and may lead to serious social and psychological problems, since people "cannot identify themselves and cannot be identified; they are thus strangers in their own localities" (Boussaa, 2000, p.11).

2.5 Bahrain and the Gulf region

Neil (2004) believes that leaving old building techniques and local materials to which people were accustomed in the past, and following the Western pattern of planning and urbanization, has led to an imbalance in the distinctive identity of traditional environments in the Gulf, thus creating a rigid urban fabric. As Boussaa (n.d) points out, in recent decades those buildings constructed on older and traditional principles have been left to perish, being seen as a sign of poverty, misery and backwardness. Governments have directed their efforts towards erasing and replacing the old cities with newly developed cities that are symbolic of progress and modernity. However, old cities and their historical buildings do reflect the essence of the place and its culture. Cities in the Gulf region face several challenges in trying to hold out for tradition on the one hand, and keep-up with the pressures from globalization on the other. Unfortunately, this means cities are being demolished and many of their historic centers and regions have been destroyed to accommodate overcrowding and modern urbanization, circumstances which have created alien environments to the community's culture and constitution.

Tall buildings serve as an example of alien buildings that have entered the Gulf environment. According to Alotaibi and Sinclair (2015) "The cities in this region have changed dramatically – transforming overnight from traditional human-scaled settlements, built by local materials and local expertise, into the modern oil-driven technology propelled

metropolitan hubs of today" (Alotaibi and Sinclair, 2015: 395). Bahrain has had its share of this transformation and rapid urbanization, which has led to a conflict between the past and the present. Thus, due to the lack of local expertise and the failure to take into account the Bahraini identity, the urban gap in the country has increased (Alkhalifa, 2013).

According to Hamouche (2004) architecture is generally relevant when it comes to globalizing a city's image. In addition to the dominance of height and scale, the contrast between old and new, foreign and local, is sharpened to an intense degree. New buildings reflecting new developments is another criterion in the phase of city globalization because successful international businesses pursue a certain logic of site selection which does not always comply with the guidelines for local planning and master plans. He believes that building tall remains the preferred style in the Gulf capitals, as it stands as a sign of development. Despite the harsh climatic conditions, most of these buildings are clad in steel-framed glass. This glass-box design appears to reflect the degree to which the city is "globalized," both in the minds of decision-makers and laypeople.

2.5.1 Bahrain overview

According on El-Arifi (1986), the urban and economic changes were very slight in the pre-oil period due to the limited water resources, the harsh environment, and the poor soil. Most of the population was concentrated on the coasts to meet their needs easily from the sea, and some were concentrated in the inland villages far from the sea, relying on limited agricultural production. According to Salman (2016), with the beginning of the twentieth century urbanization expanded on a large scale and a large percentage of the population was concentrated in coastal cities and large villages. According to statistics, by 1900, 25% of Bahrain's population was concentrated in Manama only (El-Arifi, 1986; Salman, 2016).

In 1919, the Manama Municipality was established. This was fully responsible for all administrative and organizational matters in Manama, such as electricity and water stations, cleaning, building codes and organizing streets (figure 2.11) (Kadhim, 2020). The municipality continued its work until the arrival of Sir Charles Dalrymple Belgrave, the British advisor to the ruler of Bahrain from 1926 to 1957. Belgrave recorded daily life and described Manama in that period. According to Kadhim, Belgrave contributed mainly to

the development of Manama. During his tenure, Manama transformed from a simple city containing only three two-storey buildings and the majority of its houses made of Arshan (palm fronds) or sea stone, into a prosperous and integrated city. Salman (2016) also refers to Belgrave's description of "the sea view and the short line of mud-coloured houses along the shoreline. The height of the buildings was low, and there were no minarets and nothing green, except some palm trees".



Figure 2.11 The tasks of the municipality in organizing the streets (source: Manama story, 2020)

With the passage of the thirty years that Belgrave spent in Bahrain, Manama witnessed great developments in the level of streets and building methods, and the skyline of Manama was changed, "The Manama skyline became pierced with tall minarets and groups of trees among the buildings" (Salman, 2016, p. 13). The streets too expanded. There were only a few cars in Manama when Belgrave arrived in Bahrain. When he left, the number exceeded 7,000. Moreover, the huts made of palm fronds were replaced with stone houses (Salman, 2016). The source also refers to Bab Al Bahrain, which was designed by Belgrave as government offices. According to Al-Nabi (2012), initially, the city of Manama began as a portal to the main Bahrain Island. The original Manama Port, on which the current Bab-Al-Bahrain structure was built in 1945, was the beginning point for Manama's expansion, which extended "eastwards towards Ras Ruman and westwards towards Naeem along the coast. Gradually it also expanded towards the south" (Al-Nabi, 2012: 41) (Figure 2.12). All buildings at that time consisted of one or two floors, until 1956

when Yousef Al-Moayad built the 9-storey Al-Moayad Tower, the first building of this height in Bahrain, the other being the Zamel Tower. Manama continued to expand towards Juffair (even after Belgrave left) (Al-Nabi, 2012).

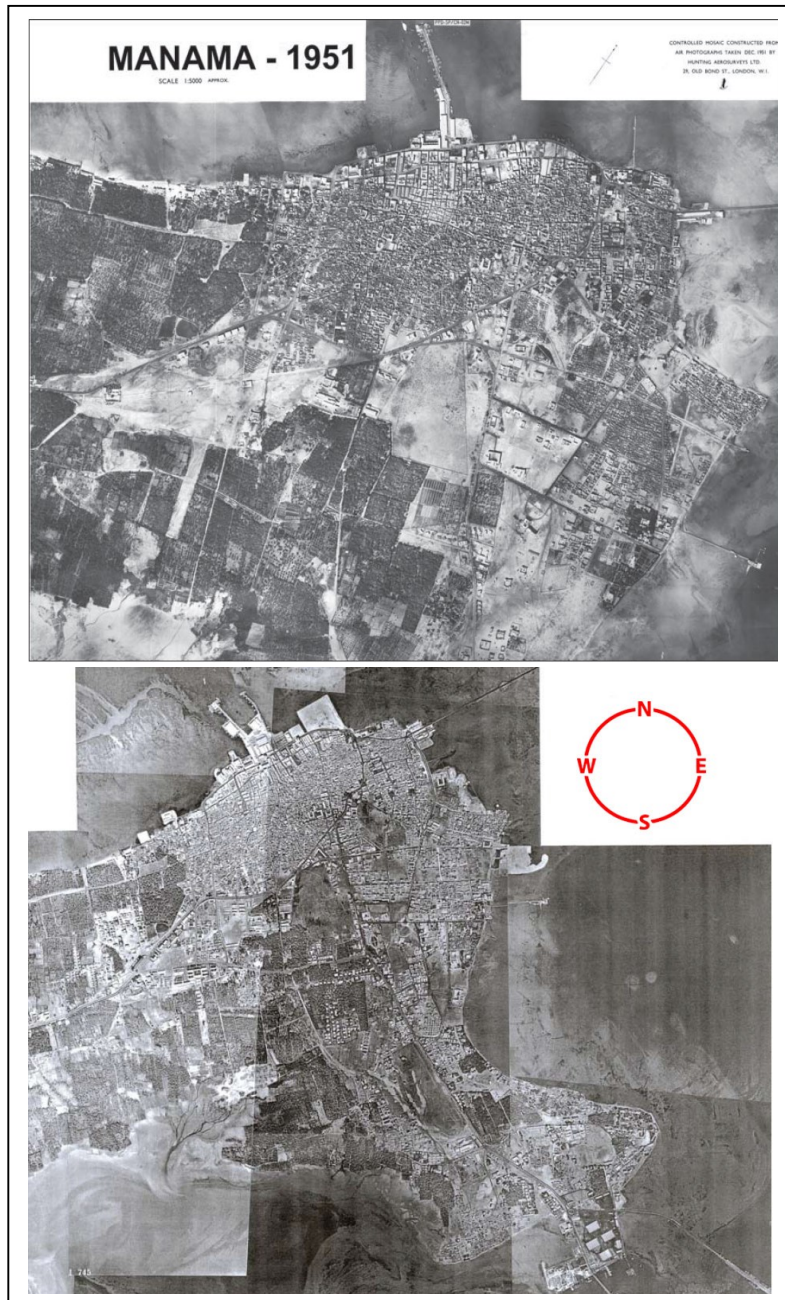


Figure 2.12 Aerial photograph shows the extent to which Manama has grown as a dense contagious area to the south between 1957-1967 (source: Al-Nabi, 2012)

Currently, the city's borders have extended due to reclamation work, and the Manama municipality as a city now occupies an area greater than the Manama area itself. Manama contains several suburbs and villages, according to the existing official borders of the Capital Secretariat and the Capital Governorate, including the region to the west of Karbabad in the far west and Nabih Saleh Island in the far south (**Figure 2.13**) (Ansari, 2009).

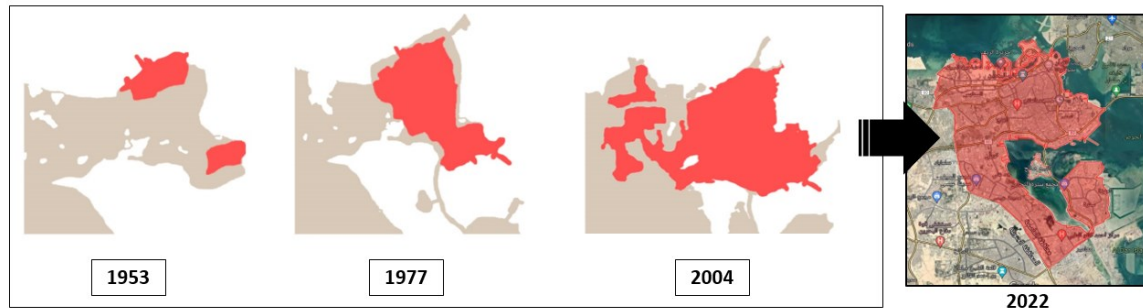


Figure 2.13 The development and expansion of Manama throughout history, the above border of Manama selected based on Manama Governorate website (source: Ansari, 2009 and Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)

The Manama plan aims at the present time to continue the development of the post-globalization era for urban development and to create an acquired balance between internal and external systems. Planning theory aims to rethink outdated methods and must respond to modernity, globalization and rapid urban growth, and must adapt to the context of the place. What happened in Manama is that it preserved the modern planning practices, which it conducted at an early date, on the social cohesion of the city and its historical value, but with the drift behind the current of globalization, the authenticity of the historical city was distorted and it followed the western styles, the lavish projects, and the high-rise construction that clashed with the low horizon and the local style of Manama (Al-Mohannadi and Furlan, 2018).

2.6 Conclusion

2.6.1 Summary

This chapter was the foundation stone for understanding urban identity and its components. The chapter revealed the seriousness of urban transformations and the trend towards high-rise building, and the extent of the impact of this movement on the environment and users. The highlights of this chapter are:

- A set of definitions of city and urbanism, urban identity, high-rise buildings and globalization.
- Man's desire since ancient times to build tall buildings and the continuous attempts to reach the highest height.
- Reasons for the spread of high-rise building style.
- Based on the views of philosophers and writers who identified the elements of urban identity, the study developed two main sections of urban identity, namely, the tangible and intangible experience.
 - (A) Under the tangible experience are a number of material matters important in determining the place, such as landmarks, economic symbols, sustainable environment and human scale.
 - (B) Under the intangible experience, a number of things that are not material and depend on the individual's sense of comfort, belonging, safety and others. This part discussed social life, human behavior, psychological impact and cultural dimension.
- Finally, the chapter provided an overview of the history of urban transformation in the Gulf area in general and Bahrain in particular.

2.6.2 Benefit from previous studies

This chapter deals with a wide range of opinions of experts, philosophers and theorists in defining urban identity and shedding light on its most prominent elements. This literature review acted as a contextual study that provides a multidisciplinary approach into understanding the research context and finding the gap in which this research exists and will be focused. This literature review reveals that the research orientation requires a qualitative approach to understand the socio-cultural dimensions of the users' experience. This exploratory approach will require qualitative methods to investigate in depth the issue of understanding urban identity and the effects of a rapid urban shift towards high-rise construction on the user in Bahrain.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research context

3.2 Research paradigm and the approach

3.3 Research methods and techniques

3.4 Data collection instruments

3.5 Data analysis instruments

3.6 conclusion

3.1 Research context

This research discusses the urban transformations that have emerged as a result of globalization, which led to the development of new building patterns in the form of high-rise buildings. At the core of this research are today's urban design strategies that are geared toward production and consumption rather than people and their needs. Undoubtedly, this new pattern has caused many problems. The research discusses this dilemma within the context of Bahrain with a view to investigating the most prominent of those that pose a threat to local identity and to the uniqueness of each city, thereby creating social alienation in a world where similarity has become a feature of modern global cities.

The literature in chapter two indicated that the establishment of new urban environment should enhance individuals' sense of rooting in their cities, the community's sense of identity and heritage, and people's interaction with the place. However, several authors point to the fact that in environments where high-rise buildings are predominant, the opposite is the case. This is because their huge size, when compared to the human scale, reinforces social isolation and stagnation (Al-Kodmany, 2018; Khatri, 2017; Reddy 2014).

Bahrain and the Gulf states have not been immune to this, as these countries have participated in the rush towards globalization since the discovery of oil, a part of this being adopting a globalized style of construction. Bahrain has been influenced by contemporary architectural style and international designs that focus on building skyscrapers and mega malls. Some Bahraini neighborhoods have been completely sacrificed and replaced with high-rise buildings to represent and enhance Bahrain's global image.

The literature was reviewed in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the research context and related issues. This has been achieved through understanding the concept of urban identity, and discovering the impact of modern building patterns on the sense of identity, distinction of place and connection in the urban environment. The literature also revealed the problems and advantages that the new architectural styles represented in the design and construction of high-rise buildings. Thus, the literature has helped to identify the main frameworks and ideas for the present research, and to identify the literature gap that this research attempts to address. This study aims to develop a framework for understanding the factors of urban identity, and the extent to which urban

transformation affects users and identity, by considering tall buildings in the context of Bahrain.

3.2 Research paradigm and the approach

This study seeks to reveal opinions, experiences and different perspectives on what constitutes the urban identity factors in the city. In addition to exploring how urban transformation affects individuals, the way they interact and their relationship to place, by taking the environments of tall buildings as a case study. In order to reach the desired goal, it is supposed to talk with users of all groups by various means such as semi-structured interviews, seminars, mind maps or drawing. Users are asked to share their daily experiences and stories in the city. Through this, it is expected to reach an answer to the research questions, which are;

- What dimensions define the current urban identity?
- How can architects and practitioners help in reinforcing the local urban identity?

Accordingly, it was found that exploratory qualitative research is the appropriate method for conducting this study. According to Groat and Wang (2013), qualitative research is defined as an attempt to understand and analyze phenomena in their natural environment. It is a multi-approach in focus that attempts to understand the meanings of things from people's point of view. It also relies on the inductive method by asking open-ended research questions that explore first, and then develop questions during the research to form an expanded understanding of the research issue.

Jackson, Drummond & Camara argue that qualitative research is "primarily concerned understanding human beings' experiences in a humanistic, interpretive approach" (Jackson, Drummond & Camara, 2007). According to Hammarberg, Kirkman and Lacey (2015: 499) "'qualitative' methods are used to answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective, most often from the standpoint of the participant. These data are usually not amenable to counting or measuring". Arriving at an understanding of the meaning of urban identity, and to establish the factors that influence its strengthening cannot be calculated in numbers or placed on a specific scale.

As Thomson (2011: 78) says in this regard "If the aim of the research is exploratory in nature, and seeks to unearth an understanding about an area that little is known about ... or if the research is attempting to find the meaning of or understand the experience of a given situation to a group of individuals ... then qualitative methodologies would be appropriate". Narrating the daily pattern of users, their experiences or discussing the places they like to visit as well as the opinions of some practitioners, to exploring the environments with which users relate more than others, and discovering the reasons for this will all help to answer the research questions mentioned above. This is also supported by Masson, who states that "Through qualitative research we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate" (2002: 1).

Since this research targets the urban transformations and environments of high-rise buildings in Bahrain, it was necessary to select a specific zone to be examined within the research context. Manama, the capital of Bahrain, was chosen as a region to conduct the study. This is due to the openness of Manama, as it has been known to keep pace with urban transformations throughout history. Moreover, Manama is the only area in Bahrain that has witnessed development through the construction of high-rise buildings. Manama is characterized by containing two types of urban environments, the old traditional environment represented in the Bab Al-Bahrain area, and the modern environment with high-rise construction, such as Al-Juffair and Bahrain Bay area. Because of the conflict between the two environments in form, lifestyle, activity and relationships, it was necessary to understand, study and analyze each of them to find out whether the urban environment has an impact on those who live and work in it, and where they feel that they are in an environment that represents the identity of Bahrain.

3.3 Research methods and techniques

The study uses several research methods to collect data, and other methods to accurately analyze it. Determining the methods of analysis comes after the completion of

data collection. Primarily the research uses interviews with locals, interviews with concerned authorities and various focus groups, to gather information and communicate with people. Then it uses thematic coding and empathy maps to analyze and classify the information. Finally, the theory of "Social Production of the Space" was used to examine the social environment in Old Manama and high-rise areas and to evaluate the perceived presence of identity in each. The figure below shows a map of the research methods (Figure 3.1)

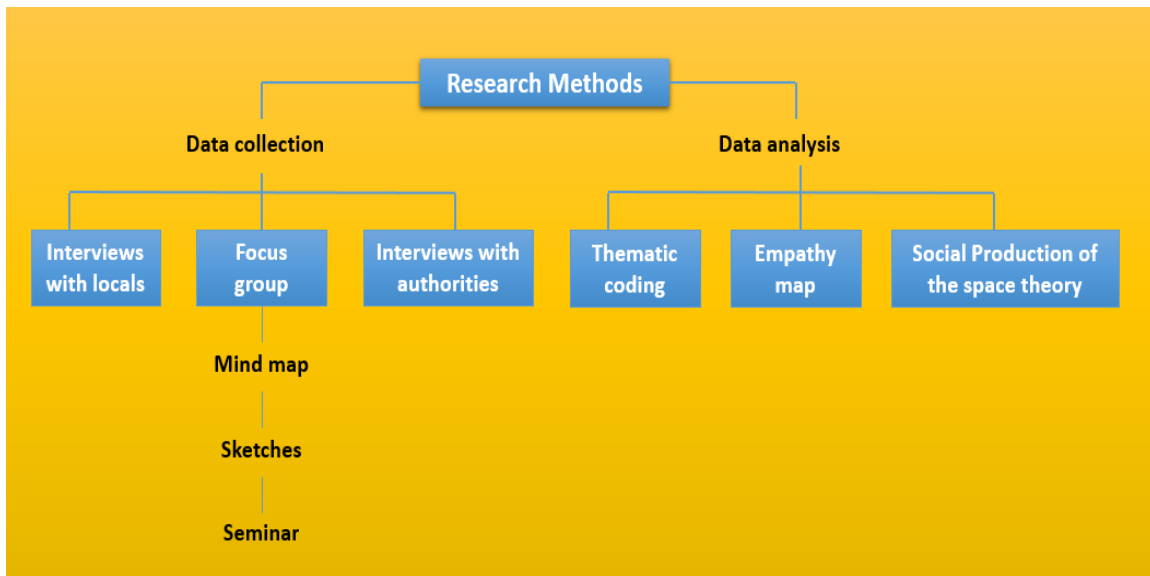


Figure 3.1 Research instruments map (source: Author)

3.4 Data collection instruments

3.4.1 Interviews with locals

The importance of interviews lies in direct communication with individuals to reveal their feelings for, memories of and stories about a place. The literature review in understanding urban spaces has shown the importance of the socio-psychological dimension and the emotional relationship of individuals that may arise from childhood. It may be possible to come up with the physical elements of urban spaces and their symbolism ourselves. However, it is important to communicate directly with users to more accurately reveal the intangible factors that represent the identity of the place for them.

The interviews were conducted over the phone as a safe method of communication in the current circumstances of COVID-19. It is an effective and time-saving method.

According to Fox, "Telephone interviews can be a very effective and economical way of collecting data where the sample to be contacted are all accessible via the telephone ... telephone interviewing can be ideally suited to busy professional respondents, such as general practitioners, when the telephone numbers can be easily identified and timed appointments set up" (Fox, 2009: 9).

Interviews were conducted with the locals, and it targeted Manama residents aged 54 and above. This age group was chosen as it is the group that has witnessed a considerable part of the urban transformation in Manama and can compare between Manama in the past which they inhabited (see figure 3.2) and the new Manama represented by the environment of Bahrain Bay.



Figure 3.2 The map shows the old Manama, which is the geographical area from which the population was chosen (Source: Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)

The researcher was able to persuade 4 people to participate in the interviews over the phone. Due to the isolation and social distancing conditions imposed by the Corona pandemic, it was difficult to meet directly with the participants. Knowing that this age group in Bahraini society likes to talk at length about their past and tell stories, provided that the meeting is friendly and face to face. Some considered that sharing over the phone was unpleasant, and it was strange to ask questions that some considered within their privacy. Most of the male also refused to participate on the grounds that they do not like to talk long on the phone. One male agreed to be interviewed by telephone for the research service. He expressed his support and encouragement to conduct studies, because he had gone through the stages of postgraduate studies until he obtained a doctorate in the study of history and archeology, and he appreciates the importance of conducting interviews with residents for research and researchers.

Manama is currently known to have a relatively small number of local residents. Nevertheless, interviewees also included participants who at one time had lived in Manama, even if for only a short period of time in childhood or youth. Accordingly, under these circumstances, the number of 4 persons, three of whom were women, was the maximum that the research could find.

Interviews aim to collect verbal information directly from the participants. As Fox says, "The interview is an important data gathering technique involving verbal communication between the researcher and the subject. Interviews are commonly used in survey designs and in exploratory and descriptive studies" (Fox, 2009: 4). Interviews in research vary between structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. This study used semi-structured interviews as a method to reach its objectives. Several questions were asked as a basic framework for the interviews, and some of them were branched out with more details and sub-questions. The following table shows the basic set of questions asked in the interviews (table 3.1):

Table (3. 1): interviews with locals questions

1. What does Manama mean to you? 2. How do you remember Manama, its buildings, its streets, the way you lived in Manama in the past? 3. How would you like to get around in Manama? 4. If they renovate Manama, would you prefer attention given to cleanliness and restoration, or would you like to see it in a new, different style? 5. What is your favorite place in Manama and where do you spend most of your time?	Part 1
6. What do you think of the new Manama and the areas of high-rise buildings, for example, Moda Mall or the Bahrain Financial Harbour area and beyond in Bahrain Bay? 7. Do you support the existence of tall buildings? 8. Do you think that the environment plays a role in the fabric of relations between families?	Part 2

According to the QuestionPro blog, in semi-structured interviews, the researcher can set a basic structure for the interview, and then have the freedom to investigate a specific idea and discuss it with the participant in a more flexible way than the structured interview permits. Fox (2009) also endorses this and says the semi-structured interview "provides opportunities for the interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail. If the interviewee has difficulty answering a question or provides only a brief response, the interviewer can use cues or prompts to encourage the interviewee to consider the question further. In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer also has the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee" (Fox, 2009: 6).

The interview questions proceeded in accordance with the above in an attempt to make the participants go on talking and express their feelings. The first part of the interview questions focuses on trying to understand the nature of respondents' relationship with their

urban environment in Manama. The questions try to encourage the participants to share memories and some stories of the normal daily activities in Old Manama. This is useful in gaining knowledge of both the tangible and intangible factors in the urban environment. As for the second part of the questions, it attempts to reveal whether the relationship in the environments of high-rise buildings is similar or different from the popular environment in the old Manama. This helps to establish the differences between the two environments as well as which one people prefer, and why. Interviews with locals mainly serve the first two objectives of the study, which are gaining an understanding of people's experience, its interactions with their surroundings, and the factors that define identity in an urban environment.

3.4.2 Interviews with concerned authorities

Three interviews were conducted with the concerned authorities, first, the Urban Planning and Development Authority. A telephone interview was conducted with Mr. Virgilio Perada, an urban detail planning consultant from the Urban Planning and Development Authority. The research considers the issue of highlighting the local identity in urban environments and understanding all its tangible and intangible aspects as one of the most urgent and complex issues at the same time. Hence, the research found that it is of great importance to conduct an interview with a person concerned with planning urban details in the country.

Secondly, developers of high-rise buildings such as Gulf House Engineering Company. The interview was conducted with Dr. Souheil Al-Masri, Director of Architectural Design at Gulf House for Engineering. Questions sought to find out which approach they follow for designing tall buildings? Why do large companies prefer to follow the Western style of construction? How is it linked to local identity? The interview also included more questions about the problems and solutions produced by these environments. The interview attempted to reveal the view of the implementers of high-rise building environments, how they assess the presence of identity in the environments they design. It also sought to establish awareness, and attention to the intangible aspect that is often ignored during design.

Finally, an interview with Dr. Fouad Al-Ansari, Chairman of the Building Facades Committee and Dean of the College of Engineering at the University of Bahrain. Dr. Al-

Ansari holds two positions, and his opinions in this regard can be used in the professional and academic fields. In general, building facades are seen as a title that expresses the building and its connection to the urban environment. From this point of view, the questions sought to reveal whether tall buildings are linked to the urban surroundings through their facades. And how to attract users to it.

This approach was taken in order to understand the viewpoint of concerned authorities about the design of modern cities with high-rise buildings, and whether aspects of identity are taken into account. It was also useful for assessing the current urban environments from the point of view of specialists. Interviews with the concerned authorities inform a more in-depth understanding of social and cultural life in urban spaces and help to reveal what is missing from high-rise building environments to make them better in terms of user activity and their relationship with the place.

The interviews used the semi-structured style of interviews to allow room for discussion and more detail for a more comprehensive and clear understanding of high-rise building environments. The interviews mainly employed the following list of questions and were divided into other sub-questions based on the participants' answers:

1. How do you identify the urban identity?
2. Do you think today; Bahrain architecture is affected by globalization?
3. How related are high-rise buildings to the local environment?
4. Do you think human behavior and how people experience the city are affected by the type of environments?
5. Many people say these environments are not attractive to them for living in or wandering about since they feel they are not welcoming or comfortable environments. Why do you think people feel like this toward these places?
6. How you can you explain the current urban identity in Bahrain in which we have two types of environment, the high-rise and old traditional areas, and do you think they are in conflict?
7. Are high-rise building environments sustainable?
8. What can we do in future projects in order to consider the uniqueness of the local environment? (Some global experiences were discussed in this regard).

It is expected that the results will be useful in reaching the objectives of the research, as the results will help in preparing a contextual framework evaluate urban identity. In addition, they will lead to an understanding the factors of urban identity, and to proposing recommendations and models for urban design that respect the local and cultural identity of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

3.4.3 Focus group

Focus group discussion, one of the qualitative methods, is a technique where a researcher assembles a group of individuals to discuss a specific topic, aiming to draw from the complex personal experiences, beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of the participants through a moderated interaction (Nyumba et al., 2017: 21). This will help in understanding the relevance of how connected residents are in the urban setting as well as the reasons for their preference for some places over others.

Focus groups include several types. This thesis will use an online focus group, which uses the Internet as an alternative to traditional methods, through online meetings, chat rooms, or other online means (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005 as cited in Nyumba et al., 2017). Although online focus groups do not provide direct contact (face to face) with people, they give the same results and effectiveness as direct focus groups. Online focus groups have been selected due to the COVID-19 pandemic which led to restrictions being imposed, preventing full interaction and thus limiting the impact of such important communicative signals as facial expressions and body language.

3.4.3.1 BSE seminar

The focus group took three different dimensions. First group (A) a seminar with the Bahrain Society of Engineers via the Zoom portal. A set of questions and pictures were presented by sharing a prepared presentation in PowerPoint. This seminar targeted architects and practitioners who are involved in developing urban spaces. The Society was initially contacted through the Secretary of the Bahrain Society of Engineers. Then a seminar entitled the thesis was announced within the association for the interested members. The points to be discussed were also clarified and a timetable was prepared for each paragraph, (table 3.2). Signed up to participate in the symposium seven members. On

the day of the seminar, three participants withdrew due to special circumstances. The following table shows the participating members (table 3.3).

Table (3.2): Seminar Agenda

Time 11:00 am – 1:50 pm	Description	Note
11:00 – 11:15	Introduction	-
11:15 – 1:40	Discuss seminar prepared questions	Need members participation
1:40 – 1:50	Conclusion	-

Table (3.3): Seminar participants

Seminar participants	Description
MJ	Architect, photographer, artist and work in BSE
NM	Architect and work in BSE
EY	Architect, work in different residential and commercial projects. As a member he invited to the seminar by BSE
MH	Architect and as a member he invited to the seminar by BSE

The seminar discussed the definition and existence of urban identity and the extent to which local culture is reflected in new urban environments. Questions were raised to discover where the errors lie - if any - in the environments of high-rise buildings and how they can be avoided in future projects. The seminar included an invitation to analyse some of the presented images and draw comparisons between the traditional environment of the old Manama and the environments of high-rise buildings such as Juffair, the Bahrain Financial Harbour area and Bahrain Bay. The following list shows the questions that will be discussed in the seminar;

1. How do you define urban identity?
2. What are the main elements that represent urban identity?
3. To what extent do you agree with this following statement?
 “As the central force behind cities across the globe become more harmonized, cities across the world looking similar (Greefield, 2016).”

4. What is the difference between the old Manama and Manama today?
(e.g. How do people adopting to live or deal with these places? Do you think it affects their behavior?).
5. In one sentence how would you interpret the current local urban identity in Bahrain?
6. How related are high-rise buildings in the local environment?
7. How can we reflect Bahrain identity in these places? What can we do in future projects in order to consider the uniqueness of the local environment? Some examples are given here:
 - a. Some people suggest keeping high-rise buildings for office work only and maintaining the height for residential buildings between 9-12 floors.
 - b. In Germany they have made Frankfurt a center for skyscrapers, with other cities, including its capital, retaining their more traditional character and where high-rise buildings are rare.

It was expected that these questions would help in achieving the objectives of the study and answering the research questions leading to an understanding of the natural development of the urban environment in Bahrain and how the patterns of high-rise building were reached. It was also expected that the questions would help to identify the urban identity factors that appear in different environments as well as in making the final recommendations of the study.

3.4.3.2 Network mind map

The second group (B) targets Bahraini youth through a network mind map. According to Janice (2021), "a mind map is a visual tool that helps us understand any concept in a more straightforward manner by breaking it down into dedicated parts. It takes various graphic elements to analyze, explain, and elucidate existing concepts or brainstorm on new ideas ... Since mind maps are non-linear and don't follow strict rules, you can use them the way you like".

One of the advantages of using a mind map is that it can make it easier to break down a complex topic. "Most mind maps follow a divide-and-conquer approach in which we break a complex topic into smaller segments and further link them to explain the

concept" (Janice, 2021). Therefore, this research found it appropriate to use this tool to discuss the experience of young people and their comfort in different environments, to analyze their behavior and interactions in the place and reveal the impact of environments on them.

This method invited the participants based on the age group, the beginning was from the researcher's WhatsApp list. A relative (in his thirties) and a friend (in his twenties) were invited to participate. This tool requires the age group of 18-40 years. The first two people were chosen from the contact list on this basis. The third person was chosen through a WhatsApp group that announces job opportunities for recent graduates (who fulfills the required age requirements). And then the participants were asked to invite others - using the snowball technique - the group included 10 people.

A mind map was designed on the Mindmeister website (figure 3.2), with the places of the answers to the questions to be asked. A WhatsApp group was created that included all the participants and it was confirmed that everyone was ready for the meeting via Zoom. Participants could answer by entering the Mindmeister website link or via the application. Questions were asked orally to the participants via Zoom, and everyone added their expressions in the specified place on the application or website.

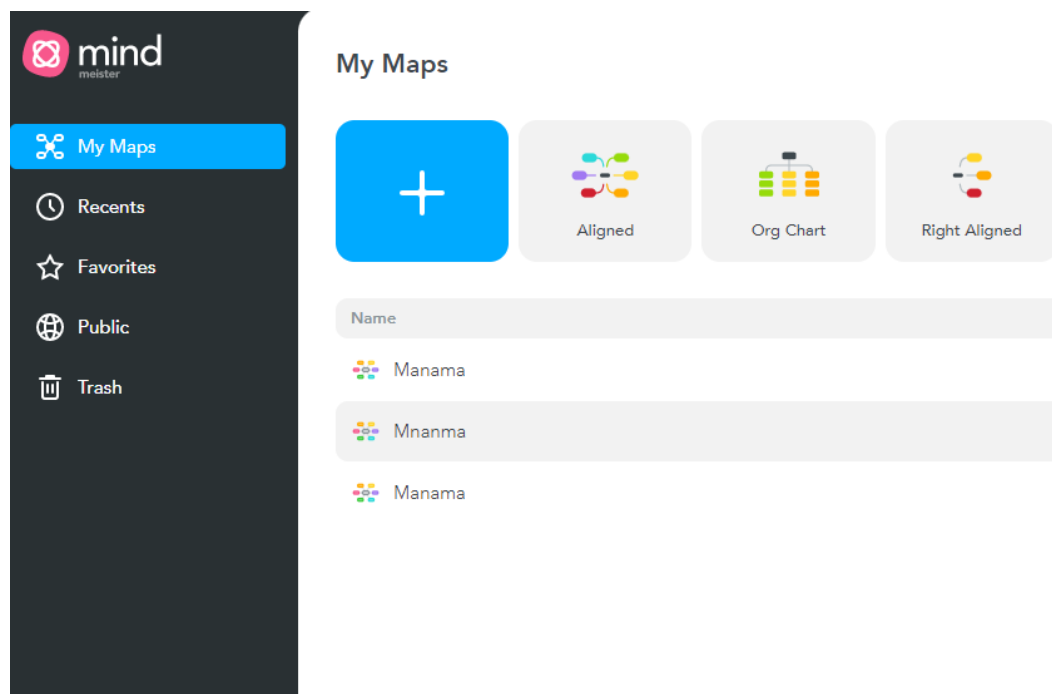


Figure 3.3 Mindmeister website (source: Mindmeister, 2021)

The meeting was planned to last half an hour, with the possibility to be extended to 45 minutes due to the participants' interaction with each other and their external answers. Participants were asked to answer the following questions:

1. What is the first landmark that comes to your mind when you mention Manama? Why?
2. What is your favorite place in Manama? What is your feeling toward this place?
3. What is the way you prefer to roam in Manama? Why?
4. Why didn't any of you mention places with tall buildings?
5. If all of Manama were tall buildings, how would you feel?
6. What is the way you prefer to roam in these places? Why?
7. Do you think that you are in the same level of comfort in both places, in terms of dressing, movement, communication with others, distance?
8. You can't imagine Manama without what?

The questions fulfilled the objectives of the study and were able to answer the research questions. The most important landmarks and favorite places for those asked were mentioned as the most prominent tangible factors in the urban environment. As for the intangible factors when expressing their feelings, comfort and interaction with the place came out on top. Some questions (such as questions 5 and 6) also stimulated the imagination of the respondents, and, as expected, they provided decisive answers in stating their identity, and their desires for the way they experience their city.

3.4.3.3 Children's sketches

The third group (C) responded using the sketch method. Drawing is one of the means of participatory visual research, which includes drawing, photography and video (Lerat, 2013). Participatory drawing is also considered a modern method suitable for children and adults alike, to reveal their perceptions and views towards various topics or phenomena. This is due to its fun participatory nature and lack of reliance on language proficiency (Mitchell et al., 2011).

According to Burke and Prosser, words are the domain of adult researchers. However, “Children have the ability to capture feelings and emotions through drawings and paintings while lacking an equally expressive written or spoken language” (Burke and Prosser as cited at Mitchell et al., 2011). Children's drawings will reflect details they have seen in the urban environment, and this will help to reveal the intangible feelings associated with the urban environment.

This group targeted children from 7 to 12 years old. 6 children participated in it, 3 of them originally from Manama. The children were asked to create two drawings. The first of these required them to draw a place in Manama with which they were familiar. The second asked them to imagine their dreamy version of Manama if they were given the power to change it.

It was difficult to find the age group in the conditions of home quarantine. The first participant was a relative of 8 years old. The requirement was explained directly to her. Then a friend of the girl (from the school) was contacted through her mother, who allowed to talk to the girl over the phone to explain what is required. The little girl did not interact much, and it seemed that she did not clearly understand what was required of her, and claimed that she doesn't know Manama! The child's mother expressed her desire to share another child (her nephew) and she explained what is required of him. There was no complete response from the child, he shared one drawing and decided to withdraw. Based on the interactions of the last two children, the researcher intended to have the coming participants from Manama to avoid the foregoing, such as unwillingness to respond or claiming not knowing Manama, since Manama is a well-known environment for them. A friend with a number of relationships and acquaintances in Manama was contacted. He offered his assistance as a mediator between the researcher and the parents of the children who would like to participate. The parents of the children did not want to communicate directly with the researcher and were satisfied with communicating and sending their children's sketches to the mediator.

The drawings aimed to help understand the children's relationship with their urban surroundings, which made their relationship with the place a strong one. What did they think of different environments and what environment represents Bahrain for them? This tool was useful for knowing the most stable and influential places in the minds of children

in their perception of Manama, and what was missing from their point of view in order to feel closer to the place. Drawings are also useful in revealing environments that are most expressive of children's connection, experiences, and consideration of them as part of society and as a future occupants of a city in which their spatial experience will be lived out. It was expected that this tool would benefit the study objectives for this age group, helping to derive the factors that express children's view of a place's formation, its identity, and for the researcher to formulate some recommendations.

3.5 Researcher's experience

The researcher found that it is possible to continue conducting research and studies despite the quarantine conditions. The use of some means was more effective than direct encounter, and on the contrary in some other means.

For instance, the phone interviews with the concerned authorities were very useful, and saved the trouble of going, and arranging the interviews was easier for officials because of their concerns, and some preferred them over personal attendance. Interviews with the concerned authorities, such as the Urban Planning and Development Authority, require an official permit from the university, allowing the student to enter the institution and conduct the interview. But the telephone interview did not require this and was arranged faster.

The second method, which also received an unexpected interaction, is the focus group, the mind map of the youth category. The young people enjoyed the participation and all the invitees attended. The group initially identified 10 people because some were expected to apologize, but on the contrary, some of them asked to invite more friends. The idea was interesting to them, asking questions and allocating a place for each person to answer, and there were some side discussions of some of the answers. Choosing a group of youth to participate via Zoom was a good idea, because not everyone would be able to attend directly, and it would be difficult to determine the right place for everyone.

In contrast, interviews with locals had difficulty gathering the numbers of participants. Attempts were made to persuade some people over the phone and failed, as it was getting more difficult with men. The researcher believes that if interviews were conducted face to face with this group, it would help to infer their facial expressions and body language, although some of them could be deduced through the tone of voice or direct expression. Some have considered talking over the phone about personal experiences and

infringement of privacy even though they do so in direct interviews. As it turns out that direct encounter with this age group removes barriers and gives some comfort. The researcher made frequent visits to the research points (Old Manama, Juffair and Bahrain Bay). Some pictures were taken, and the movement of people was observed, which helped in understanding the place more and linking what the participants discussed.

Focus group, children's drawings, this group faced the most complexities. The conditions of the general closure due to the epidemic did not permit direct meeting or cooperation with institutions such as schools, children's clubs or even public parks. It was possible to obtain more samples by going to the places where the children are concentrated, and the explanation would be direct to the child, with an explanation of the idea and the ability for them to ask questions for clarification. Some children could not understand what was required over the phone, some lost the pleasure of participating and decided to evade the task or withdraw. And others were communicating with a third party, and this matter made it difficult to get the idea clearly and as it was in the first place, and led to different results that the researcher extracted the useful from them.

Regarding the seminar with the Society of Engineers, the sudden withdrawal of 3 participants on the same day of the seminar caused some confusion. However, the matter was controlled, as the qualitative means do not depend on the number of participants, but on their opinions, experiences and ideas that were rich and useful.

3.6 Data analysis instruments

Various methods were used to analyze and examine the responses of the participants. These methods were used to facilitate the analysis, as many important opinions and information related to the substance of the topic were mentioned. The Empathy map was used in interviews with locals, then Thematic coding was used in both locals and concerned authorities interviews, mind map and seminar. And the last is the "social production of the space" theory to examine participants responses from the social point of view in two contrasting environments, old Manama and Bahrain Bay (environment of high-rise buildings).

3.6.1 Empathy map

After doing interviews with locals, it was important to arrange the answers of the participants into groups according to their nature. An empathy map was used for this purpose. According to Dam and Siang (2020), an empathy map is an instrument that can assist in empathizing and synthesizing research findings, as well as uncovering surprising insights into respondents' requirements.

An Empathy Map is divided into four quadrants that represent four essential qualities proven by the respondent throughout the observation/research stage (figure 3.3). It's very simple to figure out what the respondent said and did. Nevertheless, establishing what they thought and felt should be based on thorough observations and analysis of how they acted and responded to various activities, ideas, discussions, and so on (Dam and Siang, 2020). The following template was used for the empathy map developed by Qaed (2021).

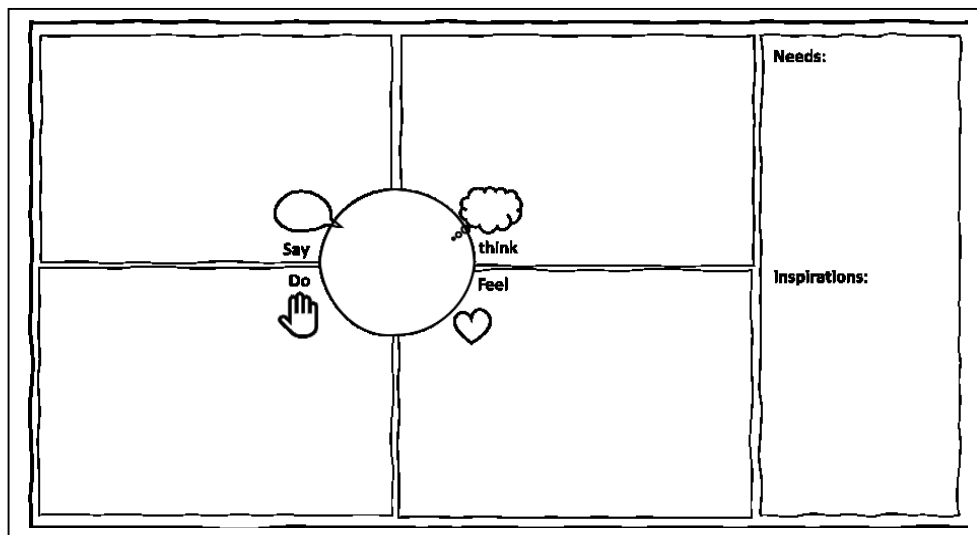


Figure 3.4 empathy map template developed (source: Qaed, 2021).

3.6.2 Thematic coding

After segmenting the interviewees' responses according to the empathy map, the headlines and backgrounds shared in the interviews were extracted using thematic coding. The research found this method of analysis to be compatible with the nature of the research, in addition to its effectiveness in the organization and division of a large number of results. Drawing on Gibbs (2007), "Thematic coding is a form of qualitative analysis which

involves recording or identifying passages of text or images that are linked by a common theme or idea allowing you to index the text into categories and therefore establish a “framework of thematic ideas about it” (Gibbs 2007).

Seal (2012) says of thematic coding, it is the best way to analyze the results of qualitative and ethnographic methods, as it reduces the volume of data and summarizes it according to the most prominent topics and concepts mentioned in the research findings.

3.6.3 Social Production of the space theory

This tool was used to measure social life after the results of the previous tools suggested its importance. Henri Lefevre's theory of "space production" was chosen. Lefevre developed the axes of his theory by adopting three views of 3 German philosophers who refer to different approaches to the production of spatial reality. The first of these is Karl Marx, who believed that the form of modern urbanization was influenced by the increase in human needs and the decrease in production. Second is Friedrich Hegel, who believed that the built environment is the result of "thinking and recognition". And finally, Friedrich Nietzsche, who "understanding of the world from an aesthetic point of view". And through merging the three perspectives, "the physical, the mental and the subjective", he arrived at the trinity of social space (Wiedman and Salama, 2019, p. 3).

The social space production theory is considered to be a theory that can measure the success of social life in three main axes. Lefebvre believes that modern urbanization and globalization have led to several problems, including the increasing social imbalance, and the emergence of clearly conflicting urban spaces. These have become a threat to the urban environment around the world's cities. Although-Lefebvre focuses on the evolution of the social and historical space, his ideas aim at a future society integrated with the environment in all respects (Wiedman and Salama, 2019).

Lefebvre proposes the theory of the urban environment through his dialectical understanding and gives the environment 3 dimensions in the process of space production, namely: perceived space, conceived space and lived space (Table 3.1).

Perceived space is formed by the spatial practices of all inhabitants of a space as a result of their everyday interaction, resulting in complicated economies. Conceived space is created by knowledge and ideologies. According to Lefebvre's concept, space is generated by the unseen degree of people's commitment to a particular location, in addition to spatial

practice and planning (intellectus). This subjective component of space was identified by him as lived space (intuitus) or representational spaces, which include intricate and frequently coded symbolisms (Wiedman and Salama, 2019: 4).

Table (3. 4): The 3 dimensions in the process of space production (source: (Fuchs, 2019), modified by author)

	Perceived space	Conceived space	Lived space
Subjects	Members of society, family, working class	Experts, scientists, planners, architects, technocrats, social engineers	Inhabitants and users who passively experience space
Objects	Outside world, Locations, spatial sets, urban transport routes and networks, places that relate the local and the global, trivialised spaces of everyday life, desirable and undesirable spaces	Knowledge, signs, codes, images, theory, ideology, plans, power, maps, transportation and communications systems, abstract space (commodities, private property, commercial centers, money, banks, markets, spaces of labor)	Social life, art, culture, images, symbols, systems of non-verbal symbols and signs, images, memories

The comparison is supposed to be made with two different urban environments, the old Manama and the new Manama mainly, passing through Juffair as the first area in Bahrain built on the western style and containing a number of high-rise buildings. The following map shows the selected points (Figure 3.4). It is important to know the urban hierarchy (progression of developments in the urban area). This is to understand where Bahrain has reached today, if it has grown naturally and gradually, whether there are threads connecting the past and the present, or if there is an identity that goes with this urban transformation, and many more questions. The theory allows a deep understanding of the nature of social and cultural life in Bahrain in the past and whether it continues today or it is missing. The theory will reveal whether urban design has a role in this.

Category	Past	Present	Future
Physical	Physical characterization of the past: <i>historical image/identity of the city</i>		
	Current physical characterization: <i>current image/identity of the city</i>		
	Future physical characterization: <i>expected image/identity of the city</i>		
Economical	Economical characterization of the past <i>historical image/identity of the city</i>		
	Current economical characterization: <i>current image/identity of the city</i>		
	Future economical characterization: <i>expected image/identity of the city</i>		
Social	Social characterization of the past <i>historical image/identity of the city</i>		
	Current social characterization: <i>current image/identity of the city</i>		
	Future social characterization: <i>expected image/identity of the city</i>		

Figure 3.5 Selected points (source: Google Earth, 2021, modified by author)

Lefebvre determines the success of the environment according to the integration of the three pillars of his theory, and on the contrary, when one of them is absent or a deficiency appears, it is considered a defect in the success of social life within the urban environment.

3.7 Conclusion

Based on the nature of the research, qualitative methods were chosen in the examination and analysis of urban environments. The search tools have been diversified to try to reach more credible and reliable results. The research tools will also help to reach the desired goals of research in a comprehensive understanding of urban identity factors, analyze human behavior in different environments, prepare a contextual framework of descriptors for evaluating and reinforcing urban identity in high-rise building environments, and finally reach some recommendations that take into account the local identity of the country.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Interviews with the public

4.2 Focus group

4.3 Interviews with concerned authorities

4.4 Social Production of Space Theory

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the various tools were used to serve the objectives of the study and answer the research questions represented by "the dimensions of urban identity, and how to facilitate and enhance their understanding in the urban environment". This chapter contains the results of the research tools, starting with interviews with local residents, then focus groups, and ending with interviews with the concerned authorities. Each tool concludes with at least a table specifying tangible and intangible factors of urban identity.

4.1 Interviews with the public

The Interviews with Manama residents who were at least 54 years of age were chosen because they represented the category of people that had witnessed a large part of the major transformations in Manama and would be familiar with the old narratives and stories of Manama. The objectives of these interviews were twofold: first, to identify the elements that represent place identity and create a sense of belonging, and second, investigating the influences that enhance people's attachment to a place through their spatial experience.

According to the in-depth observation on the data collected by interviewing 4 residents of Manama, the following thematic analysis is divided into three main parts. The parts represent the time periods that Manama has passed through, and they are as follows:

The past and memories, representing the period of childhood or the period of youth they spent in Manama. This part expresses their memories, tours of the place, their relationships and some stories.

The urban and social transformation, representing the period witnessed by Manama with the migration of many of its residents and the settlement of Asian communities in it.

Up to the current situation, the new part of Manama, which represents the respondents' experience and feeling for these new environments. The table below shows the participants in the local interviews (Table 4.1).

Table (4. 1): local interviews participants

Interviews with local participants	Description
(P.1)	A woman over 55 years old who lived her childhood and 9 years after marriage in Manama, after which she had to move to another area, but was unable to live outside Manama, so she returned again.
(P.2)	A woman almost 67 years old has moved to more than one house in her life, but she sees that her house in Manama is different and is eager to return.
(P.3)	A woman of approximately 55 years, who settled for some time outside Manama, but did not adapt despite her limited relations in Manama. This is because she traveled to complete her higher studies, then returned to settle in Manama.
(P.4)	A man in his fifties from Manama with a PhD in Archeology.

4.1.1 The past and memories

Memory means the cognitive process storing acquired information, with the aim of retrieval when needed, after a period of time that may be long or short. As for remembrance, it can be defined as the mind's ability to retrieve information, experiences and knowledge that we have learned, when needed. It is clear that the concept of memory is more comprehensive than the concept of remembrance, as remembrance is the activity of memory (Al-Neami, 2016).

According to Hayden (1995), "Place makes memories cohere in complex ways. People's experiences of the urban landscape intertwine the sense of place and the politics of space". Perhaps we are not exaggerating if we say that every aspect of our behavior and our daily life is affected in one way or another by our abilities to remember past events, experiences, the present or to plan for the future based on our past experiences (Al-Neami, 2016).

4.1.1.1 Social life

Generally, in all the interviews, the first part mentioned when talking about Manama was "social life". Everyone described it as simple, beautiful, honest and full of love. The way it was mentioned was very emotional, using emotional terms referring to nostalgia, love, and regret reflecting the current state of Manama. Each participant pointed out that the social relations in Manama are distinguished, and they believe that they are characterized by integration, respect and closeness, regardless of tribal or religious origins. It is also said that the matter of harmony is very specific to Manama, unlike other areas and villages in Bahrain.

P.1 points out that it is love and harmony that govern relationships, and says, "There was a house for a Jewish woman who bequeathed it to her Muslim neighbor, and she asked him to use it in the service of his religion ... the relationship of neighborliness is stronger than the relationship of religion". P.1 adds, "I remember Manama well. Manama was beautiful. Our house had a courtyard in the middle, surrounded by rooms, as well as the house of my in-laws. The buildings were beautiful and clean, but the city doesn't suit us these days. I remember that my neighbor was my friend and I would talk to her through an opening in the wall (like a small window), we would exchange conversations and things through this inner opening, so we didn't need to exchange visits and exit through the main entrance of the house. As we knew the homes of all the residents of the neighborhood, we never felt that we were living in a big city. ... Manama city was like a single house and its houses were like rooms". This is what Kadhim (2020) confirms. Manama was a city whose area did not exceed 2-3 km. It included many components of religions, sects and races, all of which coexist and mix with each other in harmony. This is also evident in the convergence of churches, mosques, maatams and a Hindu temple, all in close proximity.

Everyone points to the simplicity of life and the ease of reception and welcome. P.1 says, "We were used to receiving guests and meeting strangers, and we never bothered. We were also used to leaving our doors open for neighbors, friends, or even strangers to enter at any time. However, things are different in other areas of Bahrain. For instance: I went to visit my cousin in one of the villages. I stood on the side of the door and rang the bell. A woman came to me, she was a stranger to me, but she was from the village, and began to

question me. "Who are you? What do you want? What are you doing here? What is your relationship with the owners of the house?" I felt annoyed. The people of Manama did not do that with strangers". In this regard, Kadhim (2020) says, Manama was distinguished as a cosmopolitan city, to which visitors flocked from various places in Bahrain or from outside Bahrain, whether for work, trade or settlement, without feeling alienated from the original inhabitants. However, if foreigners at that time went to any of the villages in Bahrain, everyone would look at them with astonishment and suspicion.

In the social aspect, it is necessary to mention religious activities, as it is clear that religious activities do not carry religious content only, but rather enhance the social and cultural aspect. P.2 says that, "the days of Muharram had a great spiritual impact. A large number of people used to gather and cook large quantities and would serve them to everyone. She also adds, "When I was young, I used to go to Juma'a Square to watch my father's religious activity. I remember this place well. I used to meet everyone, relatives and friends that we had not seen for a long time, and there would be a lot of crowding. Now, although I left Manama a long time ago, I still visit it on religious occasions".

Others talk about another social aspect, which is playing in the street with the neighbors' children. P.3 says, "My relations in Manama were not extensive, but I knew the neighbors. Our house was with a group of houses that formed a narrow corridor. I only knew the residents of this corridor. I knew their daughters and sons, and we used always to play together, and no one would tell us that this was immoral or forbidden behavior." "In primary school, my mother used to take me to school. When I grew up a little and moved to the middle school, I started going with girls from the region. I did not know them personally, but I knew that they were from the same locality as me". Despite the simplicity of her social relations, she stresses that her life and soul belong in Manama and she cannot give up living there.

All participants shared their feelings of sadness and regret over the changes in the social situation, as it was one of the most prominent characteristics of Manama. The combined influences of close relations and the cooperation of people were reflected in the urbanization of Manama, where one could see the overlap of places of worship and houses of different races and religions in a small place. According to what was shown in this aspect

of the interviews, the hospitality and the ease of mingling was one of the most important things that encouraged an active social life, i.e., a person could use public places comfortably and without restrictions, for example, on the days of the religious occasions of Muharram. People from all sects and religions would gather in Manama and around Shiite Matams (Shiite religious activity places) and cooperate in order to make the occasion a successful one. The people of Manama claimed that even the houses were always open to all. There remains a strong feeling of nostalgia for the former days of Manama, prompting people to try to restore it by visiting the same places or returning to live there. Some are waiting for the opportunity to return, and some have already returned, trying to revive their relationships with others and with the place.

4.1.1.2 Movement and flow

People prefer to walk in the streets of Manama for several reasons, the most important of which is that it is narrow, and there are no places to park nearby. It was originally designed for humans and some animals, and is thus not well-suited to cars, which is a serious problem nowadays. The interviewees were asked whether they would prefer to walk or drive if parking spaces close to shops and services were readily available. The majority answered that they would walk. P.1 says that she prefers to walk because it takes longer when she is touring the city using her car, and she loses the pleasure of watching things in the market closely. She also mentioned that the Bab Al Bahrain market is one of her favorite places to wander around (figure 4.2). P.3 adds, “I do not need to use the car much in Manama. Everything is close to me: the tailor, the grocery, the market and places of worship. I can reach them all easily. Sometimes I use the car, but I prefer to walk and pass between the shops towards Bab Al Bahrain up to Moda Mall. Sometimes I wake up in the morning with my friend and we go for a walk in the area, we reach the Avenues and come back. It's an interesting thing to do and we never get bored”.

According to what P.3 says, it is proven that urban design has a role in forcing people to use their cars or walk. Ease of access to places is essential to encourage movement in the urban environment. Many cities in Bahrain lack these advantages. This results in a lack of interaction with the place and others. Therefore, the urban experience of Manama is unique and beloved by all.



Figure 4.1 Manama, Bab Al-Baharin street

Most of the participants said that they walk when they are in Manama, while they do not do it in other cities, towns and villages away from the capital, even though they affirm that they like to walk and say it is a healthy habit. Indeed, some of them mentioned the benefits of walking in their memories as a special part of Manama's identity. P.2 stated that, “We used to walk and get to our destinations by walking, which is a healthy and useful thing”. She adds that she loves to see the old houses in Manama while wandering, and would like to preserve the old houses, even the narrow streets. Although it only accommodates a limited number of cars, it would be good to preserve it in a way that would restore the old spirit.

This indicates that the experience of walking in and around the city generates a special attachment to it. According to Jagannath (2016), the majority of daily activities, such as walking to work or seeing a friend, take place on a street. Walking gives people a sense of belonging, even if they are strolling alone, because they are surrounded by other people and activities. On a pedestrian street, amenities such as benches and public art can improve the environment and generate a sense of sociality in the place.

Many urban theorists and planners, as well as those reaching a wider audience through the internet such as disciples of Jane Jacobs (<https://janeswalk.org>), are advocating a reduction in the flow of urban traffic and creating pedestrian streets instead, which enhance the experience of a place and encourage a healthy lifestyle. Based on the group

interviewed, Manama was developed to attract mainly pedestrian, rather than vehicular, traffic, therefore it does not accommodate a large number of cars today. Many have indicated that they prefer to walk in it to be close to public activities, and walking between the shops gives them a high sense of pleasure.

4.1.1.3 Relationship

People relate to more things than memories in Manama. P.2 says, "Our grandparents and mothers tell us stories about houses in Manama and stories of places. Every wall and every alley has a name behind it, a story and a meaning. It is unfortunate that today no one we talk to about these stories is interested. Manama is full of foreigners and they do not care to hear these stories." "When I go to Manama I know that this is the place of my ancestors and my family and I remember them even though I did not live with them. My mother tells me stories of many people who were born in Manama, anecdotes recounting details of accidents, houses and places."

While talking, this lady was overwhelmed with feelings of love and a sense of pride that she belongs to this place. She wanted to confirm that what binds people to a place is not only their birth in it, but the depth of the connection that goes back to the history of families and origins of ancestors. It is only through those who know how the place was built and how it reached its present form that its stories and incidents might be passed on to the next generation. There may be a need to document these notions and narratives because the generations that inhabited Manama are about to die out, and their children from the next generation do not find pleasure in hearing the stories of a place where they do not live.

P.3 also adds that because of the complexity of Manama's environment and the abundance of the place with stories and meanings, it deserves to be the capital of Bahrain despite its simplicity. This is what most of the participants expressed, that they are proud of Manama being the capital of Bahrain, and that it is justified in being so.

The participants repeat their talk about simplicity. On the surface, the lifestyle in Manama may seem very simple in its impressions. However, it reflects a complex web of connections and relationships based on the unwritten stories and narratives about it.

The Manama environment in which they grew up, even for a period of their lives, may have established in themselves a nature of relationships that they could not find outside the borders of Manama. It has shown in more than one interview that it is difficult to adapt and establish relationships with a new place, even if it is more comfortable. Some think that the reason for this is the nature of the villagers who are not welcoming to others from outside their villages. Others think that the reason is that life has changed and no one cares about developing a relationship with the neighbors, often limited to knowing nothing more than the names of those who live around them. Despite saying this, P.3, after her return to Manama, was able to form simple relationships and restore some of her old ones. This shows that the matter is not only due to the development of life and the preoccupation of individuals with their houses, but it is about residents of Manama themselves who view social relations from a limited perspective within the framework of Manama only, and who cannot integrate and form relationships outside comfortably.

Jane Jacobs says this about the concept of social capital: "The everyday activities and interactions that occur in a neighborhood slowly build up a network of relationships between neighbors. This "social capital" provides a foundation for mutual trust, shared efforts, and resilience in times of trouble" (Jane's walk Vienna Blog, 2021).

This is what happened with most of those who left Manama, as they lost confidence in their social surroundings and were unable to interact in the new neighborhoods. They described their new homes as modern and detached homes (they are not attached to each other as they are in the old Manama). The urban environment also did not encourage them to move, interact and form relationships, as they say that most of their movement is within the neighborhood by car and that, unlike in Manama, there are no external activities in their urban environment in which they can participate.

Everyone described their feelings when visiting Manama. P.3 said: "I feel a palpitation in my heart when I visit Manama." P.1 said: "I feel like the earth is talking to me," while P.2 said: "I love Manama very much. Manama is my soul and my life". It appears here that there are emotional attachments as a result of social relations and direct contact with the place. In addition to knowing the stories and history of the place from the ancestors, there exists a history that differs from what we read in books, related to the

events experienced by the people who inhabited the place. This, in turn, strengthens in people's hearts a special relationship with the place filled with feelings of love, pride and belonging. These feelings contribute to the formation of the identity of the place through the interaction of its inhabitants.

The previous part of the interviews represented the past period, memories and stories from the participants' lives. This part reveals many emotional ties with the place based on the participants' past, and includes the most important places they would like to visit again and again. The strength of social relations between people also emerged clearly, and it was this they miss the most these days. This paragraph concluded that memories have a great impact on the hearts of people. Some would like to revive them again by visiting the same places or talking about their stories about the place. This part of the interviews arrives at some factors that constitute the urban identity. These have been divided into two main parts, tangible and intangible factors, which are illustrated in the following table (4.2).

Table (4. 2): Tangible and intangible factors, inferred in the past and memories part of the local interviews

Factors	Tangible	Intangible
	• Houses of worship • Squares • Streets • Houses • Shops • Accessibility • Heritage buildings • Simple buildings methods • Generations	• Memories • Participating • Interaction and Relationship (with the place and people) • Cooperation • Spiritual feelings • Belonging • Sense of pleasure/tradition/sociality • Love/ pride/ stories • Association with the place and its meaning

4.1.2 The transformation

During the period of urban transformation in Manama, the city began to expand and the population began to move out to other areas. Expatriate workers settled in Manama and their numbers increased significantly until they exceeded the number of local residents.

4.1.2.1 Expansion and migration

Manama experienced many upheavals, most notably that the main port did not remain in Manama. Improvements in the health of the city's inhabitants that took place in the forties led to a boom in births and a higher average life expectancy than before so that the narrow streets of Manama could no longer accommodate the population. Hence, the need for expansion arose. Based on Kadhim (2020), in the 50s the expansion towards the south and the construction of the southern areas of Manama (Al-Qudaibiya, Salmaniya, Al-Gufool, etc.) began to accommodate the population.

In the 1960s, some expatriate families who lived in Manama returned to their countries. Isa Town was developed, and the migration movement began outside Manama, which lasted until the 80s. Hence, the relationship of the people of Manama with the city became linked to religious occasions and weekend holidays (Kadhim, 2020).

This is what the respondents emphasized when being interviewed. Manama, with its narrow alleys, was no longer sufficient to accommodate the people and the growing number of residents. This is one of the most important reasons for them to migrate away from Manama. One said that "I love Manama very much, but the style of homes and the difficulty of parking are no longer suitable for these days". According to the people, the migration outside Manama was a necessity due to the living conditions. One of them commented that Manama has expanded a lot and now includes a large number of areas far from the original center of Manama. Today, even Seef area is called Manama. As P.1 says, "I do not consider these to be areas of Manama, as they are far from the original center of the Manama that I know". The participants confirmed that they no longer visit Manama except on religious occasions, or to spend some enjoyable time on vacation.

Asian workers are now settling in Manama, where housing conditions are considered unfavorable due to the narrowness of its streets, the dilapidation of homes and the difficulty of movement. However, it is inhabited by workers in large numbers. P.2 says that many of these workers belong to companies that rent abandoned houses from their owners at cheap prices due to the previously mentioned conditions in Manama, which encourage an increasing number of immigrants.

4.1.2.1.1 Labor

Many of the people of Manama criticized and expressed their annoyance with the increasing number of laborers, mostly originating from south-east Asia who migrated and settled in Manama. Today, the number of Asian workers in Manama is more than the number of the original inhabitants, which has had a negative impact on the place in terms of the way these workers conduct their day-to-day lives. Drawing on Kadhim (2020), migration away from Manama by its local residents allowed immigrants to settle there. Workers come to stay temporarily and then leave, which has been responsible for the deterioration and moribundity of the place. These workers do not care about the city's condition, its cleanliness, vitality and the fabric of daily interaction in it in the same way as the people of Manama do. According to P.2, "when we visit Manama, we can't even find a place to park our cars there, because the city is full of Indians and we have become their guests! Moreover, they have changed much of the environment of Manama, in which Indian culture predominates, different from how it was before. Houses, streets and shops are rented by them. In the past, our ancestors would tell us stories about Bahrain and Manama. This is how the culture of the place was formed over generations. Today, these Asians do not repeat the stories of the place, and they do not care about that".

The workers can adapt to the difficult conditions in Manama, as they come to work as individuals and not as families. As their motives to settle in Manama are temporary, therefore, they do not care about the development of the city and its environment, they only consume it. This has led to deterioration and has become a cause for concern among its local residents. Kadhim (2020), claims that today Manama is resilient, and states that, "The heart of Manama is still beating despite all the blows it has received". However, one may question for how long the heart of Manama will continue to beat in the face of this continuous deterioration? How can a city with a long history stand or preserve its

authenticity when most of its residents are foreigners who treat it as a temporary housing environment? They don't belong to it, and don't care about its condition or its evolution and progress, being concerned only in benefitting from it as much as possible before leaving, even if the benefit they receive is at the expense of the place itself.

4.1.2.2 Returning to Manama

The people of Manama yearn to return for several reasons mentioned previously, mainly the human relationships, the social interactions and the strength of their sense of belonging. Through the interviews, some have already gone back to live and settle in Manama after the transformation that has taken place there, returning with their old thoughts of a social life that they could not find outside Manama. The urban setting encourages social connection by seeing people frequently, thus creating a kind of indirect relationship to the neighborhood. Ehrenhalt (2014) refers to Montgomery in this regard that individuals are happier when they live in an associated existence, forming informal but frequent interactions with the people they encounter just by living in close proximity. In his perspective, casual companionship is a necessary counterbalance to the intensity of nuclear family life, and urban design decisions are critical to this.

Ehrenhalt says, "The power of scale and design to open or close the doors of sociability, is undeniable" (Ehrenhalt, 2014). In the case of modern environments, they do not encourage interaction due to the lack of activities and meeting places within the neighborhood, in addition to the neighborhood's lack of greenery and pedestrian walkways. Movement in the neighborhood depends on cars, which is in accordance with what the participants mentioned previously, and therefore the chances of meeting, even by chance, with neighbors are reduced. In addition to the aforementioned inadequacies in the urban environment that are detrimental to social life, their occurrence in the environment of high-rise buildings will only make matters worse. Owing to the size of these buildings and their lack of connection to each other and their urban surroundings, they will be environments that are not welcoming to social contact at all, such as is witnessed in the Juffair district of Manama.

Although some Manama residents have returned to the environment that encourages them to socialize, they have faced new obstacles, which are represented in the new

generation, who have rejected the idea of going back to Manama. People who did not grow up in Manama and experience its social environment are unable overlook the problems of narrowness, and the lack of parking spaces in exchange for living in Manama. The lifestyle has changed beyond recognition and it seems that the new generation is not concerned with a social living environment as much as being concerned with a luxurious lifestyle, living in spacious houses and owning multiple cars.

4.1.2.2.1 Conflict

The interviews confirmed that the temptation and desire to return to Manama was in the generation who were born and raised in Manama, even for a short period of their lives. Their children do not view Manama from a social or cultural perspective. Rather, they view it as a city to which they don't belong and with which they have no connection, perceiving it to have a weak infrastructure, a lack of necessary facilities such as car parking, being characterized by narrow streets and inhabited mainly by immigrants who have disturbed the image of the city. Therefore, it is a less comfortable and luxurious place. One of the interviewed women says, "Our sons were young and did not discuss our desires and aspirations to return to Manama. Today, my sons are trying to persuade me to leave Manama again for a better place. But I am determined and cannot abandon Manama, for I have found comfort and reassurance since I returned to settle there".

It turns out that the generation who were born and raised in Manama are happy in Manama and admire the social interaction with others as they once did before they moved out. However, the children's generation are less happy because they did not experience the social environment in the city. It is possible that their view will change and their connection with the place will develop, if they can integrate, build more relationships and trust in their surroundings. According to Montgomery (2014), it is possible to change the behavior and opinions of individuals who are not accustomed to cooperation and relationship building. Through successful urban design, there is a potential to enhance social life and make people more integrated and more able to trust their community. Montgomery personally experienced this in New York City, (he describes it as a practical environment that does not trust its social surroundings), testing people for three months, through a game called Urbanology. The game consists of asking the participants some questions via a short questionnaire in a specific urban environment. Some questions were general, as in: What

kind of city do you want? What kind of community do you want? Others were more specific, an example being one that asked respondents if there should be an increase in the wages of workers employed on the evening shifts? For the first three months, the answer was no. However, after inviting the people of the area to a celebration night that included many activities designed to encourage people to integrate into society and build some confidence between each other, their answers changed from a majority rejecting the increase to more than 90 percent in favor. Montgomery's experience confirms that urban design encourages social interaction, influences behavior and opinions, and creates a collaborative community (Montgomery, 2014).

4.1.2.2.2 Weather

Most agreed that the hot weather represents a major challenge in the direct experience of the city, especially for the new generation. P.3 says that "our sons do not want to wander around in Manama under the pretext of the hot weather. Sometimes they convince me to go out with them to malls and sealed air-conditioned places. In return, I try to convince them with the idea of the pleasure of touring the Manama market and experiencing the variety of its products and prices, but most of the time they do not respond, knowing that Bahrainis flock to Manama market from different regions. However, P.4 comments that "people today do not want to spend time outdoors because of the heat, sitting in a popular open cafe as opposed to a closed and air-conditioned one. Surely no one wants to drink tea while they are sweating. In fact, the weather is hot and there are closed and air-conditioned alternatives that most people prefer".

Heat may be a serious issue for some interview participants, but it was not mentioned by others. On the contrary, someone said that "many people like to wander around in Manama despite the heat." The issue of heat is not new. In the past, people faced similar climatic conditions, but they had no other options. Also, the nature of buildings in previous times, built using local, environmentally friendly materials, helped to cool the atmosphere. The construction method itself, such as the use of air towers, the proximity of the houses to each other and the narrow corridors provide shade and moderate temperatures. The problem of the hot weather is more prevalent among those of the modern generation who are accustomed to roaming indoors or inside the car. But is the experience of the city

indoors or behind a car window a real sensory experience that creates a relationship and connection with the place?

In the search for solutions to this problem of detachment, the experiences of some countries that resemble Bahrain's environment in terms of the weather are represented in a model put forward by the city of Abu Dhabi (the capital of the Emirates). Masdar City is a zero-carbon city project that relies on renewable energy. One of the main objectives of the project is to create a more friendly environment for pedestrians and cyclists.

The problem of heat was overcome by the use of traditional technology, through the construction of a 45-meter-high wind tower that absorbs air from the top and pushes it down to cool the streets. By constructing buildings in a way that affords protection from the sun, the resulting natural cooling effect is expected to create an environment with a temperature of 15-25° C (Saad Eddin, 2015). As was previously indicated, air tower technology was previously used in Bahrain in homes, and it is not new to Manama. It is possible to take advantage of this technology, similar to Masdar City, according to what suits the environment of Manama.

4.1.2.3 Preservation

P.4 says “we have lost many traditional houses that were owned by the great pearl merchants. The interest of preservation in Manama came late after many houses had already been demolished”. P.4 regrets that the most important historical features of Manama have been demolished, such as the house of Sayed Saeed and the house of bin Khalaf al-Kabir and others. The former was demolished and its land turned into parking lots. Opposition to the demolition of the latter was defended by its inheritors, who claimed that the authorities did not tell them it should be retained as a heritage site.

He also believed that, from the beginning, a serious plan should have been followed to preserve these places. Inviting investors and large institutions to cooperate with the Authority of Culture and Antiquities and to contribute to the preservation of heritage sites was one suggestion, but now it is too late. As for the opinions of others in the interviews, everyone agreed that it is not yet too late, as Manama is still beautiful and it could be preserved. They called for determined actions and the drawing up of development plans

from the Culture and Antiquities Authority in order to preserve what is left and prevent any further loss of the city's heritage and identity.

Manama's citizens would like to preserve their history, memories, socio-cultural relationships and interactions with people and the surrounding environment, and they would like to be inherited by their sons as well. Despite this, they do not mind developing the place and using technology to keep it up to date with the current era. Most of the interviewees mentioned that "there is no place like Manama". Everyone meant - albeit indirectly - that the urban environment of Manama was a successful model for good urban design. This is what has made Manama a cosmopolitan city bustling with life, and difficult to abandon. The nostalgia that pushes people to return, despite the difficulties, is evidence of a strong attachment to the place, and the urban environment has played an important role in its success. The development of Manama today requires the application of modern technologies that make it adapt to the modern era, while at the same time preserving its originality. As mentioned previously, it is possible to benefit from the experience of Masdar City in applying open space cooling technology and providing the place with more multi-story car parking. It is possible to search for and study more solutions and strategies that improve people's lives and encourage them to return and revitalize Manama, especially as it still bears the characteristics of successful urban design.

This section discussed the period of Manama's transformation and the most important reasons for the migration of its residents and the settlement of Asians in it. It also revealed great feelings of nostalgia for returning to it. The people of Manama face many challenges represented by the current generation, and its unwillingness to abandon the features of the places in which they live in exchange for living in Manama. Despite the challenges faced by the people, the strength of the social relations that existed in the past was sufficient to bring them back to Manama to try to re-establish it. In respect of this, the research found a set of urban identity factors which are summarized in the following table (4.3).

Table (4. 3): Tangible and intangible factors, inferred in the transformation part of the local interviews

Factors	Tangible	Intangible
	• Removing the port • Narrow streets • Expansions/ people grew • Style of houses • The difficulty of parking or car movement • New generations • Renewing houses • Majority of foreigners • Historic areas and houses • Demolishing old places	• Difficulty to continuing live in Manama • Nostalgia • Cultural change • Strong association • Happiness • Belonging • Social trust • Regret • Hope

4.1.3 The new part of Manama

4.1.3.1 Impression

Everyone appreciates the new part of Manama that includes the Financial Harbor area and Bahrain Bay. One says that the new part of Manama is another skyline of Bahrain that reflects the cultural and economic development. However, they believe it would be better if the old part of Manama retained its popular heart. Another adds that the high-rise areas have beautiful and elegant buildings, but people prefer to keep the old ones next to them to live the past and the present at the same time. As for P.4, he says, "part of the new buildings in Manama were built at the expense of large heritage houses containing wind towers that had to be preserved. However, my impression of modern Manama is that it is organized, tidy and has solved many problems that were in the old Manama. Now the construction depends on the conditions for providing parking spaces and takes into account the movement of cars, which is something we lack in the old Manama".

4.1.3.2 Association to high-rise environments

It seems that everyone accepts the idea of transformation, but most refuse to replace the old city and its heritage with the style of high-rise buildings, given their connection to the place and its historical value. One interviewee expresses concern by saying that "these buildings do not represent me and do not concern me. It is outside the borders of Manama

where I like to spend my time. I hope that if there is a development in the old Manama, it will not be in this way. High-rise buildings mean commerce and a lot of crowding. Manama simply cannot tolerate more”.

P.2 says areas of modern development may represent Bahrain, but even tourists prefer not to visit them because they are similar to what they have in their own countries. Tourists prefer to visit what are to them unfamiliar places that ~~are~~ specifically represent the uniqueness of the country they are visiting, such as the old part of Manama where they can be exposed to part of the country’s history and heritage. She feels that she doesn’t belong to them, that they are borrowed/imported from somewhere else, and they are for showing off and luxuriant. She says, “A person who possesses originality and things with deep meaning does not care about boasting about anything else”. Furthermore, she expresses that these structures are not part of our industry, and living in them does not give her a pleasant feeling; they have no meaning or memories.

Another says, “I think that there is no connection or feelings towards these new environments. The places do not concern me, perhaps because we did not grow up around them, or perhaps because they’re not 100% accessible at all times to everyone.”

P.4 says high-rise buildings do not represent Bahrain; they come with modernity and development similar to what is found in the West. He claims not to be emotionally attached to them, but thinks that tall buildings are visions of the future and that there is nothing wrong with their existence. He points out that everything is changing now, including restaurants, markets, groceries, and more, all of which are found adopting a new style within closed malls and air-conditioned places different from how they were before, along with high-rise buildings offering a new lifestyle.

It seems that everyone welcomes the idea of transformation, change and the existence of new building patterns. Perhaps this is due to the nature of the people of Manama who have been accustomed to accepting modernity and new ideas since ancient times. Despite the many transformations in Manama that people used to live with, they considered it part of them and their identity and maintained an association with it both physically and psychologically. However, they are not reacting in the same way to the environments of high-rise buildings that are also part of Manama and its transformations. Some give the

reason for this as not having lived or grown up there, while others believe that such development came from the West without introducing any local touches to it. The most prominent reason for not interacting with these environments may be the difficulty of accessing and inhabiting them, as they are not always open to everyone, unlike the old Manama buildings.

This part discussed the Manama of high-rise buildings and establishes how participants feel about the new environments in Manama. It turns out that everyone welcomes the change. However, there is no direct contact or experience of the place. The participants do not have any intimate feelings about the place like the ones they hold towards the old Manama. Everyone assumed poor social relationships in these environments and stated that they did not want to experience living in them. The following table (4.4) shows some of the urban identity elements of this part.

Table (4. 4): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from the New Manama part of the local interviews

	Tangible	Intangible
Factors	• Organized and tidy area • Considering car circulation and enough parking area • Development economy • High-rise buildings • Similarities • Closed area • Imported way of development • Accessibility	• Not represent or concern Bahrainis' • No emotional association • Meaning and memory • Pride

4.2 Focus group

In focus groups, the analysis was based on the thematic coding method. The nature of the questions was aimed from the beginning at extracting what were the most important places in Manama for Bahrainis, in respect of their movement and behavior, in two conflicting places (Old Manama and environments of high-rise buildings). The desired results are useful in helping to answer the research questions in extracting the elements of

urban identity, and the extent of the impact of the transformation on the relationship of individuals to the place and their behavior within it.

4.2.1 Mind Map

A mind map was used to simplify and deconstruct the topic. By asking various questions to the audience and collecting them again, one can get a picture of what represents identity, the effects of transformation on the youth group and how it can be supported.

4.2.1.1 Landmark

When the participants were asked about the first landmark that comes to mind when Manama is mentioned, everyone answered Bab Al Bahrain and the Old Manama area. They chose this place for several reasons: one of them is that it is one of the oldest landmarks in Bahrain and the center of Bahrain in general and has been since ancient times. Others see it as the most prominent landmark because they used to spend some time there with the family and practice some activities such as shopping and eating. Others thought that it is important because it is a destination for tourists. One of them said that it is a place that reflects the old architecture and we draw many lessons from it, such as how the houses were built with courtyards side by side and the creation of narrow wind corridors that help reduce the heat in the neighborhood (Figure 4.3).

Webster (2013) has several definitions for milestones, adding the time factor as necessary to 'embodied experience'. Accordingly, a landmark is a building or place that was significant in history. "Milestones are not only what is easy to see and recognizable but also what was easy to see and recognize in the past and thus can still be located by memory." The Bab Al Bahrain area in Manama is famous for its abundance of commercial, social and cultural activities throughout history, as it was considered a center of modernity and integration. Despite the urban transformations that Manama has undergone, which may have reduced its activity, it still holds a lot of importance for Bahrainis (Figure 4.4). Everyone sees that Manama is a place with a variety of goods, prices, restaurants and cafes, which is what attracts them. Moreover, it is a place characterized by simplicity and history at the same time, which play a role in highlighting and representing the place. Most add

that they are proud of the old Manama, despite its simplicity, and feel that it resembles them and is closer to their nature and taste than other places are.

Sims (2016) says tall buildings have become a city hallmark, "cities want to send a signal to the rest of the world" that they are economically strong, to attracting investment and the wealthy. On the other hand, they are not there for everyone and do not solve the problems of the social housing crisis at reasonable prices. Moreover, they provide office space that is often empty because it is aimed at the wealthy and investors only. Sims is also of the opinion that the construction of tall buildings is often not aimed at solving problems like density because they are much higher than is necessary, and are mostly aimed at creating a landmark, satisfying vanity, and generating fame. For example, little was known about Taipei until the rise of the Taipei 101 tower in Taiwan (Sims, 2016).

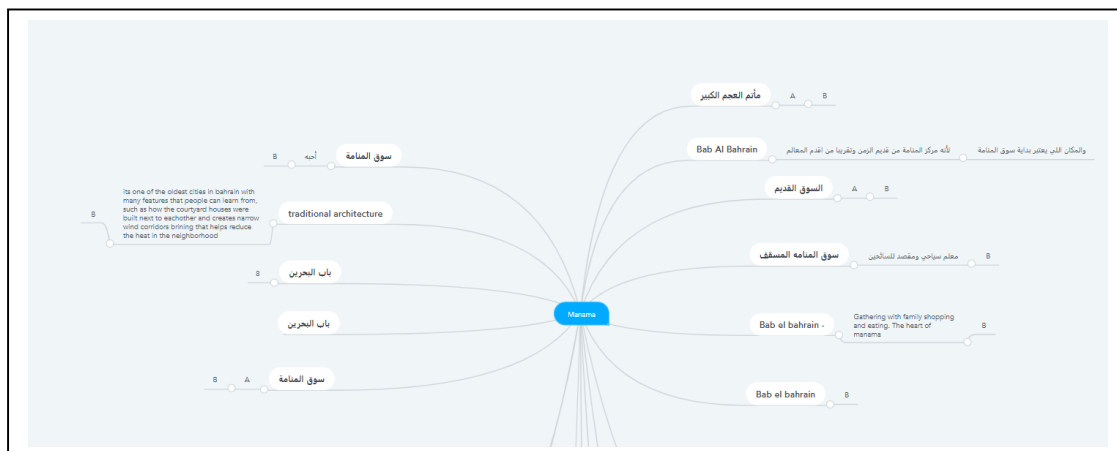


Figure 4.3 Landmark answers (Source: Mindmeister, 2022)



Figure 4.4 Bab Al Bahrain area in Manama (source: author)

4.2.1.2 Movement

According to Tan et al, walking improves mental and physical health. The importance of walkable urban spaces lies in promoting belonging and social participation (Tan et al., no date), This is what is happening in the old city of Manama (Figure 4.5). People prefer to walk and there are many reasons for this. Some say that because of the congestion in Manama, people prefer not to use cars. Others say they walk because the place itself encourages them to explore it more closely through walking. Some prefer walking because it is healthier (Figure 4.6).

In high-rise environments, however, the answers are different (Figure 4.7). People prefer to travel by car for many reasons. As one of them says, “I will lose the pleasure of walking because there are no open shops, so I will prefer comfort and transportation by car”.



Figure 4.7 High-rise movement (Source: Mindmiester, 2022)

The pictures below (Figure 4.8) and (Figure 4.9) show the way high-rise building environments are designed, with huge flat-sided objects that have no outlet except for external doors on their edges or in the middle. Thus, they do not attract people or provide a pleasurable experience.



Figure 4.8 The financial harbor high rise area (source: author)



Figure 4.9 A walking area around the financial harbor (source: author)

The pictures also show attempts to make pedestrian friendly environments by creating walking paths and taking care of providing vegetation cover. However, the walking area compared to the size of the building seems insignificant. In addition, it is an area around the harbor only and is not connected to the rest of Manama.

Some say they prefer the car because it is safer in hot and cold weather, while others claim that the size of tall buildings means they will not be able to see them well if they walk next to them. By going further by car, they argue, means they will be able to get a panoramic view, and contend that that the environments of tall buildings are often not suitable for walking (Figure 4.10). Furthermore, some think that the environment of high-rise buildings suggests speed and modernity, so they would prefer to travel by car or even by train. This is an indication of the sense of a loss of control in high-rise environments, where people feel insecure walking next to giant buildings. As already mentioned in Chapter Two, Radwan and Morsi (2019) consider the views expressed by informants are indicative of the spread of high-rise buildings, huge shopping centers and wide street networks.

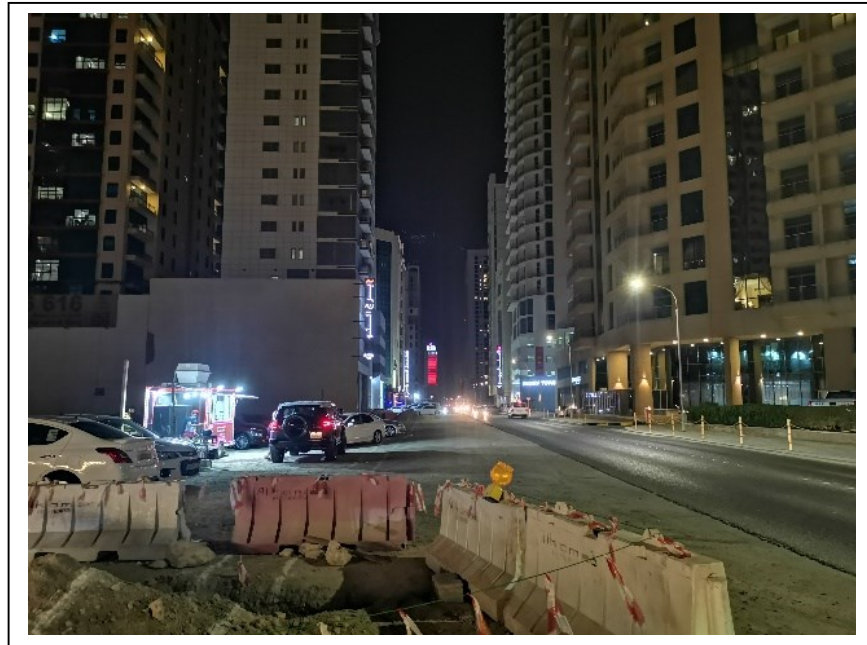


Figure 4.10 high rise in Juffair area (source: author)

The image from the Juffair area suggests an environment that is not suitable for walking at all, as it lacks paved paths for pedestrian traffic and lacks greenery, not to mention that it does not have features that attract people to experience the place on foot. Although there are some scattered kiosks on the side of the road, they cannot be readily accessed due to the lack of the previously mentioned elements.

The opinions of the focus group participants changed according to the change of urban environments. The reasons indicated that the design of urban environments is often what prompts people either to walk or go by car. There is a preference for walking in places that are more connected to the street and have daily activities that give the pleasure of being in a particular environment, in contrast to the environments of high-rise buildings that do not communicate with people except from the entrances on their facades. Montgomery's (2014) experience of two urban environments in New York, one old environment and the other organized and modern, is evidence of this. People said they were much happier in front of jumbled up messy old blocks of New York style tenements than they were in front of new mixed-use blocks with trendy supermarkets on the ground floor. The difference was that in happier environments there were lots of doors, windows, openings, small shops and services and lots of social interaction. In the less happy environment, on the other hand, there were totally blank facades, with frosted glass and a door at either end of the building. He refers to the architect Jan Gail, who said that in less happy environments, people walk more quickly as they feel less social and less safe. This explains why people choose the car in places dominated by tall buildings, in addition to the fact that they are not pedestrian friendly.

4.2.1.3 Feelings

The feeling of the participants about high-rise buildings was mixed with excitement, fear, hesitation and pride at the same time. Some seemed enthusiastic that all of Manama would be high-rise buildings, thus resembling Dubai and international cities, and they saw it as a great architectural progress. The impact of globalization was evident in them. However, this is the least numerous category, and with the rest of the questions, their willingness to give up seriously the heart of Manama and allow the style of high-rise buildings to dominate over it was not apparent. As for most, they felt high-rise environments were scary, lacking in warmth and welcome because of their huge scale. Others say that high-rise buildings should be present in moderation so that they do not dominate Manama and cause the city to lose its identity, as is the case in cities the world over (Figure 4.11) and (Figure 4.12).

People's fearfulness of these environments may be justified. According to Turner and Wigfield (2017), tens or hundreds of people live side by side in high-rise environments. However, when sharing public spaces with strangers, they nonetheless feel lonely, a lack of community and fear of crime. Fear and isolation are among the most dominant emotions of the population. Studies indicate that living in high-rise buildings has a negative impact on psychological and mental health. In Singapore, for example, the suicide rate rose to 30% between 1960-1976, a period during which the percentage of residents of high-rise buildings increased from 9 % to 51%.



Figure 4.11 Feelings toward high-rise buildings (Source: Mindmiester, 2022)

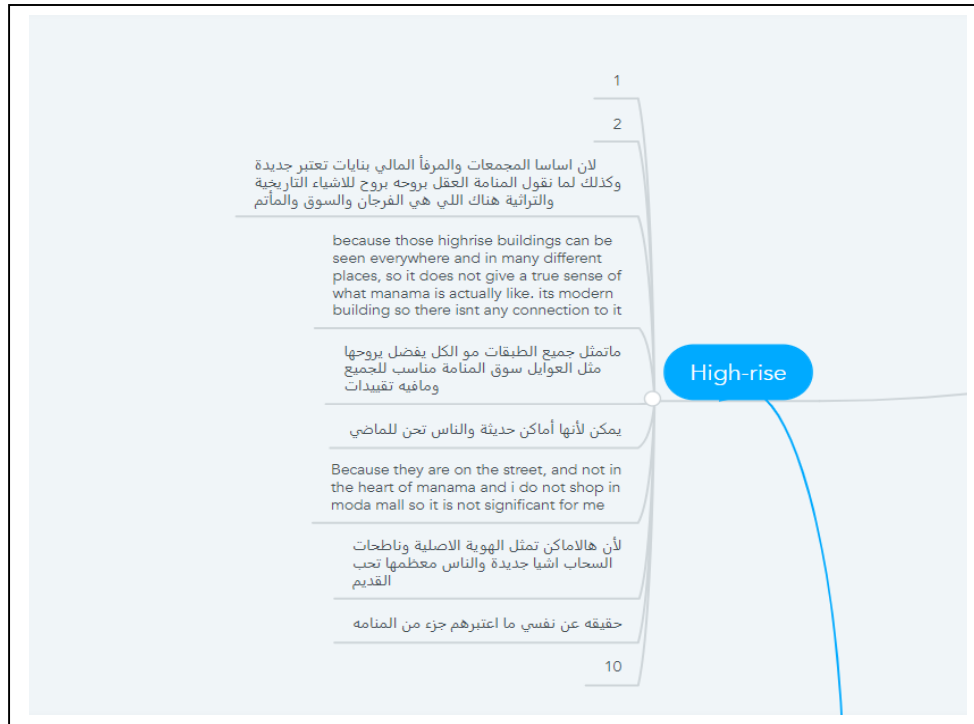


Figure 4.12 Feelings toward high-rise buildings (Source: Mindmiester, 2022)

4.2.1.4 Behavior

One participant stated that going to places was dependent on what mood he or she was in, while another claimed they did not differ in appearance or behavior, remaining the same, whatever the place or occasion. Some answered that they feel more comfortable in popular places because they are simple compared to the environments of high-rise buildings where people pretend and act. Some say their appearance and behavior differ in places. “I like to wear what I like in Manama, but if I go to high-end places, I will wear more elegant clothes and ensure that they will not get dirty”. Another says that modern places are more comfortable in terms of movement, climate control, cleanliness and have many options and services (the participant meant closed places).

The participants in this question were divided into two groups, one of whom believed that regardless of the environment, it did not affect their interactions with their surroundings. Others thought the opposite, that the simplicity of the environment and the extent of their interaction with it may reflect on their behavior. One gave the example of when he is in a café or a popular restaurant with the family, he would eat with his hand if necessary (without using the fork and knife). He would not feel ashamed if his children

moved between the dining table and the door or make some noise while he gave his order. On the contrary, in a luxurious place, he would use eating utensils even if he needed to use his hands, and he would feel much embarrassment from his children if they did not stay in their places. Others expressed the clothes as being different in elegance and comfort. The old environment of Manama allows them to wear a variety of clothes, but the environments of tall buildings, which are often luxurious, give the impression that they should wear more elegant clothes. Thus, it turns out that people's behavior changes according to the surrounding environment, even if only slightly. People may be more simple, sociable and less formal in environments that provide opportunity for more interaction. The same people may seem more formal, serious and strict in other places and this is due to the extent to which they are affected by the surrounding environment.

Comfort is an important factor in places, since if people do not find comfort in the surrounding environment, they cannot fully interact and communicate with their surroundings or others. In this regard Montgomery (2014) says that built environments have a behavioral effect as they change the way people treat each other. Cooperating with an NGO in Seattle, he conducted an experiment to measure people's behavior. They sent a group of volunteers to pose as lost tourists to two different locations. They found people were much more likely to help out the lost tourists on varied, active, lively streets than they were in blank-fronted environments. Montgomery points out that the environment influences not only clothing and movement but also cooperation, communication and social interactions.

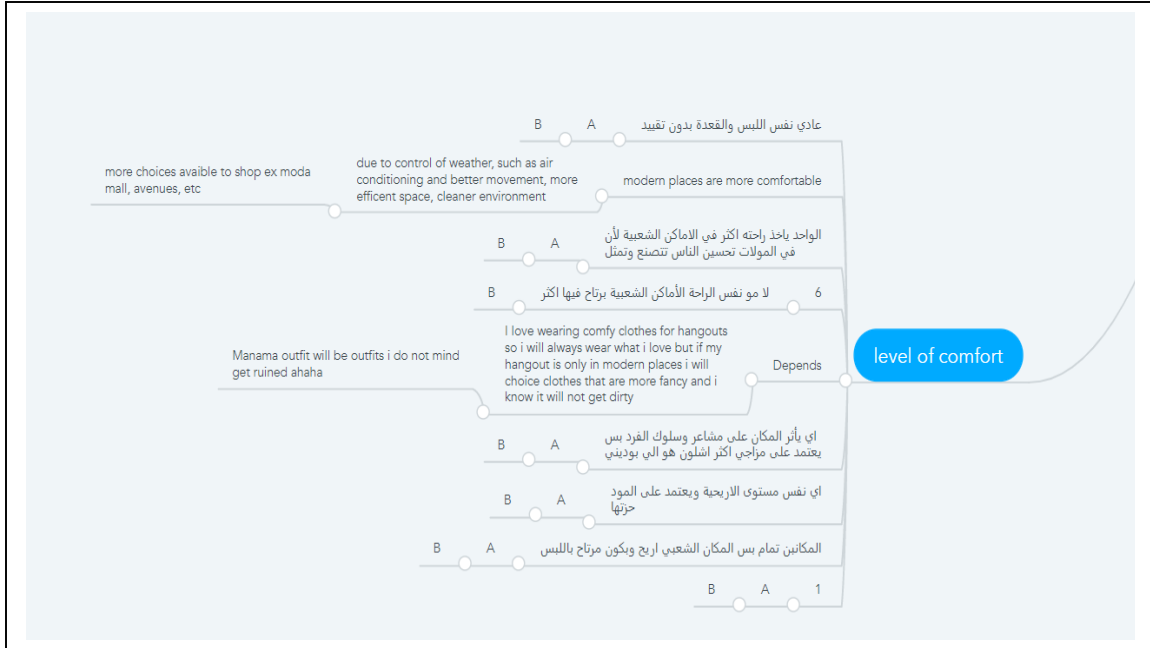


Figure 4.13 People's level of comfort and behavior in high-rise environments (Source: Mindmeister, 2022)

The mind map of the youth group was directed to analyze their interactions in the urban environment and reveal its effects on their behavior. It was found that the urban environment contributes to encouraging interaction, cooperation and friendliness among people if it is well designed. Many participants expressed their satisfaction and preference for visiting and spending time in Old Manama. They also indicated that it is an environment that encourages walking and enjoying at the same time. Findings in this section arrived at several tangible and intangible factors that contribute to the formation of the urban identity of the youth group, as illustrated in the following table (4.5).

Table (4. 5): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from mind map

Factors	Tangible	Intangible
	- Variety (shops/ restaurants/ cafes/houses/ houses of worship) - Pedestrian street - Building scale and façade - Buying and selling	- Simplicity - Comfort level - Closeness and intimacy - Interactions - Happiness - Memory of the place

4.2.2 Kids' sketches

Drawings were considered the best way of expression for children because they do not have a high level of linguistic expression. The children were asked to produce two drawings. The first requirement was for them to draw a picture of the most important place they know in Manama. This drawing was useful to get to know what children consider the most attractive places in Manama.

The second drawing was about how they imagine their dreamy version of Manama if they were given the power to change it. This drawing aimed to gauge the extent to which the children are attached to Manama, and if Manama looks attractive to them or is associated with their experiences. Six children in the 7-12 years age group participated, three of them from Manama. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, communicating with children has its difficulties, which complicated their understanding of what was required of them. Results were mixed, some being little more than a single drawing accompanied by oral or written suggestions.

The first drawing was by an 8-year-old girl, not originally from Manama but familiar with the city having visited it several times. She tried to draw Manama market, because she had been there twice with her grandmother (this is all that she knew about Manama). She drew shops selling such items as gold, clothes and toys, as well as people walking around them. It seems that the commercial life and its interactions are what attracted the child's attention. This is because she directly experienced the place herself by walking between the shops with open facades. Open shops attract children and invite them to explore, touch things and use their senses, which makes them more pleasant than looking through a car window. She also drew a single car (Figure 4.14), despite the well-known crowding of Manama, but she did not pay attention to drawing cars, as she focused on the details of her direct and personal experience of Manama. The child drew the car on the outer part of the main core where she placed the shops and the people. This indicates that the experience of the city from a car is mainly located at the edges, while in the core people are facilitating lots of interactions and this is mainly what created the image of the city in her mind.

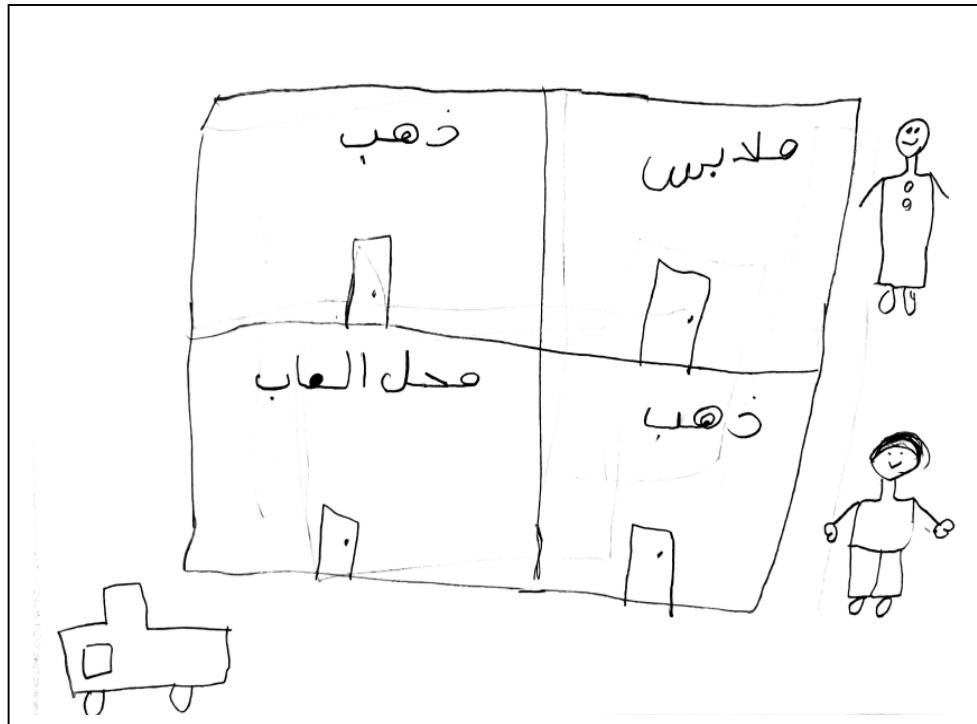


Figure 4.14 The first sketch, what she knows about Manama

The second drawing was the child's idea of how to make the place more beautiful (she said that the place was beautiful, and she remembered that her grandmother had bought her toys from Manama which she had chosen ~~them~~ herself). But after some thought, she decided to draw the shops next to them with flowers and trees to make them more beautiful (Figure 4.15). For this child the experience of Manama revolved around shopping for toys, hardly surprising for a child of her age. However, one may question why she was shopping in Manama rather than in a mall for instance. It may be that the social relations that bind the child with her grandmother express the possibility of finding links between the old and future generations. It also revealed the older generation's attachment to the place that new generations might inherit by using stimuli such as shopping for toys. As for drawing flowers and trees in front of the shops, the girl noticed, after some thought, the absence of greenery in the place. It has been shown that greenery is important for young children as an expression of their aesthetic ideals, and this is what prompted the girl's suggestion to add them to the place.



Figure 4.15 How to make Manama beautiful

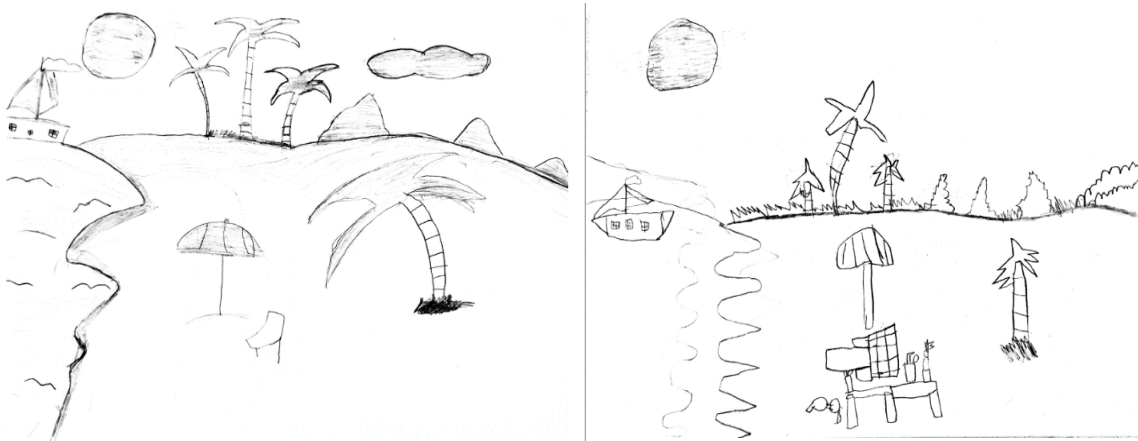
The second group of drawings is divided into three categories: (A) knows Manama, but cannot draw it; (B) doesn't know Manama at all; and (C) knows Manama but not how to make it more beautiful.

Category A is represented by two girls, aged 7 and 10. Both are residents of Manama and know Manama, but they claim not to know how to draw it. However, they do draw what makes it better from their point of view. The two drawings are the same for the two girls who are from different families. They drew a sea, palm trees and a seating place in front of it. Both suggested that having many restaurants and gardens make Manama more beautiful (Figure 4.16) and (Figure 4.17). This indicates that they know Manama and are not completely satisfied with Manama's current appearance.

UNICEF studies indicate that green spaces are extremely important in a city, as they provide a place to play, and offer refuge and relaxation. Green spaces increase mental health, well-being and reduce stress and depression (especially for children of limited income families). Green spaces help build trust and tolerance in the local community, and strengthen social relationships when neighborhood residents meet in internal gardens.

Children also realize the importance of social cohesion in their neighborhoods, if they are close to green places and spend their time there (UNICEF, no date).

The children commented on Manama's lack of natural elements and expressed a wish to see nature in the heart of Manama. The children were aware of the lack of nature particularly in respect of the sea and palms, which can be put down to the nature of Bahrain and the natural scenes familiar to children in the country (Bahrain is an island bordered by water on all sides, and is also called the country of a million palm trees). Regardless of the type of local nature, the presence and provision of play areas and meeting places is very important in an urban environment.



Figures 4.16 and 4.17 Two sketches with same ideas for making Manama better

A 9-year-old girl from outside Manama represents category B. She does not know Manama and has never visited it, and confesses to not knowing anything about it. But she believes the presence of restaurants on the sea front can make any place beautiful.

It may not seem logical that a nine-year-old girl does not know the country's capital, even though, according to her mother, she sometimes passes through Manama by car with her child. It seems that this girl has not experienced Manama directly, and that all she knows about Manama is through the car window only. Her simple experience may not help her get to know the place well. It also points to what she knows in general about the nature of Bahrain, which is the sea, and she thinks the presence of activities, cafes and restaurants

open to the elements of nature is exciting and enjoyable. This is according to her experience, as she says that she has visited similar places where she felt happy and had fun.

Representing category C is a drawing by an 8-year-old from outside Manama. He drew Manama market, where he had been with his father. He described it as beautiful, but he did not know how to make it more beautiful. It is noticeable that his sketching reflects happiness and liveliness within the shops he drew. Once again, the child's attention is drawn to the commercial activity and the interactions that individuals have with each other. From his point of view, the child sees that the place pulsates with vitality, activity and joy, and urban design plays a role in this, as all interactions take place on streets where the shops are close together.

According to Jagannath (2016), “It gives people a sense of belonging even if they are walking on the street on their own, as they are surrounded by other people and activities around the streets. Amenities such as seating and public art on the pedestrian street can also enhance its surrounding and create a sense of sociality in space.”

The child also marginalizes the presence of cars and they do not figure at all in his drawing, perhaps because of his contentment and satisfaction with his direct experience of Manama. The child enjoyed visiting Manama very much, he said, and he couldn't find a way to improve the place. It was perfect for him.



Figure 4.18 he knows about Manama

The last drawing is that of a 12-year-old girl, the oldest target age group. She expressed her orientation towards tall buildings and her desire to see more of them in Manama because she believes that they are beautiful and great. Yet, despite her preference for high-rise buildings, she drew Bab Al Bahrain as defining Manama (figure 4.19). This may be due to the influence of globalization. A girl has seen, even in a simple way, perhaps through her phone, pictures of international cities and the beauty of skyscrapers, and she would like to see them in her country (the force of cultural globalization). However, she knows well that she cannot identify Manama with skyscrapers, as they are not a local idea unlike Bab al-Bahrain, which is unique and location specific. The girl at this age seems to be in a state of natural contradiction as a result of the intellectual and cultural invasion versus her young age. There is a need for education at an early age to implant the importance of and preservation of identity in the hearts of children, so that children who share this girl's preferences for skyscrapers can more accurately determine whether they really want to see Manama as a high-rise building environment.

According to Mohammed (2019), the impact of globalization has become significant and it is a preoccupation of research centers, major institutions and universities. The problem that societies face lies in the difficulty of preserving the local identity and culture, which is the spread of some ideas and manifestations coming from abroad. It spreads in society because of ignorance about what it includes. Indeed, the effects of fascination with Western civilization have begun to appear in our society, especially among young people and children, through the tyranny of the material aspect over the moral aspects, which is something that must be taken seriously (Mohammed, 2019).

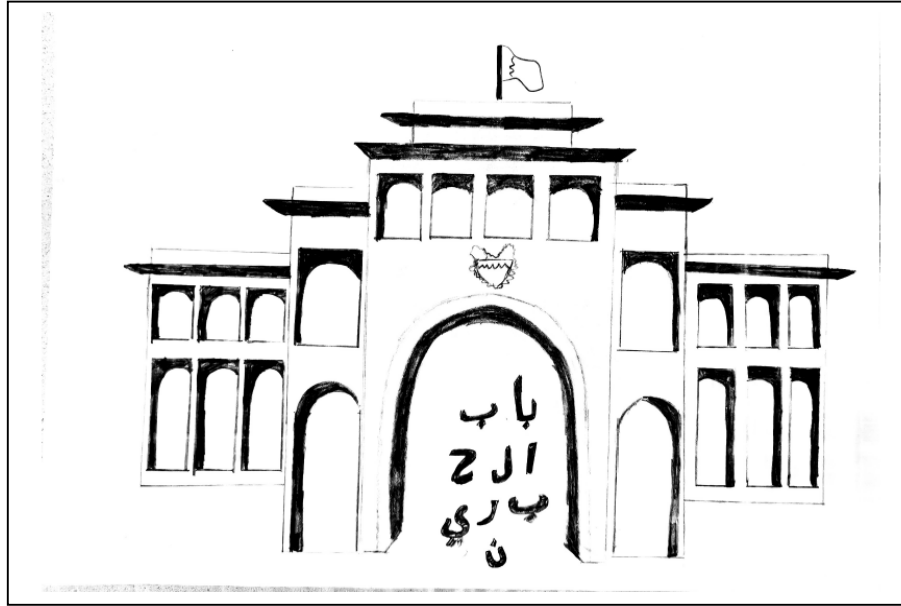


Figure 4.19 Manama defined by Bab Al-Bahrain

All the children who drew Manama define it by Bab Al Bahrain and the market area. Bab Al Bahrain is considered representative of the identity of Manama because everyone referred to it when talking about Manama. Everyone who drew people using the place drew them looking happy while they were in the place (smiling), thus expressing their happiness at experiencing the place. The children experienced the place directly through their senses. They were, through their descriptions and drawings, close to the shops, touching things with their hands, listening to the sounds and conversations between sellers and buyers, and smelling the aroma of foods. This made the experience more enriching for them than roaming in the car. Of the children who did not walk around Manama except through the car, it was found that they could not clearly identify the place or remember it or talk about their experience in it.

As for the second part of the drawings, depicting what children lack in Manama, or how it can be more beautiful, it was found that, in general, Manama lacks natural features, whether in the streets or public places. The children noticed this and pointed out that it is important. They verbally expressed their desire to have gardens. With their drawings, they expressed other natural elements that represent Bahrain's identity, such as the sea and palm trees. Through this, the table below lists some of the elements that form the idea of local identity in the minds of children (table 4.6).

Table (4. 6): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from children's sketches

Factors	Tangible	Intangible
	• Commercial shops • Moving around shops • Bab AL Bahrain market • Bahrain trade center • Sea and palm trees • Restaurants	• Joyful • Attracts attention • Interactions • Happiness • Active/ liveliness • Direct city experience, using their senses

4.2.3 Seminar with BES

A seminar was held with the Bahrain Society of Engineers under the title of this thesis. The seminar aimed at identifying the opinions of professionals in determining the elements that constitute urban identity, and whether they noticed the effects of transformation on people's behavior. The main aim of holding this seminar was to gauge the extent to which practitioners can reflect on the local urban identity and to seek their opinion regarding what could be offered to enhance people's engagement with their urban spaces. By using the thematic coding method to analyze the seminar, the following themes were extracted.

4.2.3.1 Identity

The views of practitioners attending the seminar regarding the definition of identity overlap and some add more points. Most agree that urban identity for them is not only associated with construction, but also architecture, people's connection to the place, their customs and even the weather.

In general, according to Yaldiz et al. (2014), urban identity is "The identity concept from the point of cities and architectural products includes a wide definition covering natural, geographical and cultural products and social life norms. Urban identity, architectural identity and the urban images about them are sometimes formed by very different components in a long period in urban space".

Peng, Strijker and Wu (2020) argue that place identity refers to the culture, elements of nature and human life that give an area an advantage over others. The authors also refer to other definitions stating that the identity of the place is anything that the place is

recognized by within the spatial system. There are no fixed components of the identity of a place; it may be language or structures and physical objects, or a combination of physical and practical processes.

MJ added more depth to the definition when he elaborated by saying, “from my point of view, identity is a group of layers that includes food, weather, habits, and many more. They meet with each other and give a special feeling to a place. It is possible that in one country there is a mixture and diversity of feelings. For example, when visiting Muharraq, you get a feeling that is different from Manama, and in Manama a different feeling from other places. This feeling is the identity of the place”. NM supports the association of people, weather, and food with a sense of identity. She gives an example of this. If we build a city like Venice in Dubai, it will not give us a sense of the civilization of Rome, because it is a city that does not have the same weather as Rome, the same culture or faces of the people.

In this regard Peng, Strijker and Wu (2020) say, mostly people have something to do with defining the identity of a place or defining themselves through a place. A person with a certain appearance or certain physical characteristics may be judged to belong to a specific geographical area, with its customs, qualities and culture. This also confirms the connection of place and people to identity. Thus, people relate their clothes and their outward appearances to a place and in doing so express its identity.

4.2.3.2 High-rise identity

MJ says, if having high-rise buildings would be considered as a success then the credit of this wouldn't be to Bahrain itself, because today's high-rise structures are nothing more than a show of wealth and a surrender to capitalist forces. According to him, it also indicates a cultural and intellectual gap. He claims that these surroundings have little to do with community engagement because skyscrapers are erected by foreign firms and their construction carried out by Asian employees. On the other hand, there are old sites that locals are proud of since they were built with and by local thinking, development, and industry, such as Sheikh Isa bin Ali's or Bin Khalaf's houses (Figure 4.20) and (Figure 4.21). People's attention and pride should be directed towards what has been created locally not what has been imported.



Figure 4.20 Sheikh Isa bin Ali house (source: artravelers.com, 2022)



Figure 4.21 Bin Khalaf house (source: manamastory, 2022)

High-rise buildings, everyone admits, lack a feeling of local identity. The skylines they create are distinguished by their similarity to other skylines, which is a result of globalization and global architecture, in which the skyline of Manama might be a carbon

duplicate of any other current metropolis. Indeed, this may be viewed as a significant threat to the local cultural identity.

Based on Kodmany and Ali (2012), people desire to preserve their values, customs, and traditions, which is an aspect of pride in customs and collective entities. Thus, it pushes groups to carry on cultural practices and pass them on from one generation to the next. This is the reason for the different civilizations in the regions of the world because they want to preserve the heritage of their ancestors. Architects and urban designers must consider cultural issues and ensure the production of environments that encourage continuity through design and the use of space (Kodmany and Ali, 2012).

4.2.3.3 Globalization

According to NM, "Globalization has had an effect on many aspects of life, including clothes, culture, customs and buildings. This is normal. Today we may say that big cities are built by people who are not architects from the same area. This is what is called global architecture, as seen in the work of the British architect Norman Foster, especially his projects in Hong Kong and Singapore. Zaha Hadid as well". MJ agrees. He says that all know that architecture today is affected by globalization and similarity is clear in a lot of countries, where the harmony has disappeared. From his point of view, "It is the control of capitalist forces on the world's food, ideas, clothing and even urban life. Thus, there is a tendency to copy from one place to another without regard to local environments and values".

- **Economic**

For NM₇ economic projects represent the driving forces of countries. Skyscrapers are just one result of this. Another can be seen in manpower mobility in the banking profession. A person working in Riyadh at a bank branch can move to Dubai or Hong Kong and work in the same way with the same systems since there is a link between the world's economic systems. Without a doubt, high-rise buildings represent economic power; height means force. The presence of high-rise buildings means diversity of economic power, unlike a city where there are no such buildings. In Muscat, for example, where there is no economic attraction, the highest building consists of just 10 floors. The economic level is also

reflected in people and cultures. There is no disparity in the types of cars and types of restaurants. There is no upper or lower class, the level of all people seems equal. However, if we visit a city with high-rise buildings, there is a clear difference between simple neighborhoods, their cars and their restaurants, creating a distinction between the city's downtown area and the center of the economy.

EY argues that the high-rise buildings do not reflect the real power. "In the architecture, a building is power but on the ground it is not considered a force." In other words, it is not real power. For example, there are a lot of tall buildings in Egypt and since ancient times, pyramids have been there. However, Egypt today is not considered a global economic force. A country's force depends on its popular component, its social component and its culture. This what reflects real strength, not the height of its buildings.

- **Bragging**

Showing off and bragging is one of the main reasons for the trend towards high-rise construction today in the environment of the Arabian Gulf. For NM, it is not a matter only of today, but a desire that has existed since ancient times. It has always linked height to strength, not only economically, but to strength in all respects. Examples of this in various civilizations include the pyramids, the Great Wall of China and numerous temples. Today, it is exactly the same. Countries are investing a lot of money to show their strength and throw down the gauntlet with their architectural achievements.

As pointed out by MJ, there was strong competition between the Safavid state and the Ottoman Empire in the display of architectural forces. Today there is also an architectural show, but this is a parade of money rather than one of power. "It only reflects intellectual and cultural emptiness". This is because there is no local participation in this show other than providing the finances. The high-rise building is a completely imported style, which was not created by local ideas, means or manpower.

Kodmany and Ali (2012) point to extravagance, claiming that the building of many skyscrapers reflects affluence and capitalism, boasting expensive, grandiose design, as well as excessive and ostentatious interior design. Buildings have achieved global status due to

the high cost of their construction. For example, it is difficult to justify the reasons for the construction of the Burj Khalifa in a low-density city like Dubai.

4.2.3.4 Urban planning

By comparing the planning of the old Manama and the modern one MH says, "the urban fabric began to spread and grow gradually in Old Manama and with the passage of time, Manama reached its current form". EY confirms the matter, saying that randomness gave Manama a distinction in terms of diversity in height and in the spaces between the buildings, which were formed organically over time. This has created an environment in which some buildings are larger than others and, having grown without intentional planning, it has become very cluttered. This is something that gives it a beauty not found in the neatly designed spaces.

MH believes that oil has had a great impact on changing cities, their physical shapes, and the lifestyles of those who live in them. A sudden change occurred in the method of construction in Bahrain, only for it to be discovered after a while that this change did not suit our society. For example, the Juffair area (Figure 4.22), is turbulent and haphazard. There was no time for thoughtful planning or design. Perhaps the reason for this rush was to show the world that Manama can project this image. Concerning Juffair, MJ agrees that it is randomly planned and it is not part of an urban plan, as it has no identity and does not reflect any theme. As for the financial harbor area, it is copied from Singapore, Dubai, Malaysia and the like, and does not differentiate between them, meaning that, unless knowing the place well, there are no clear distinguishing features to give a picture of which country one is in.

MJ places the burden of responsibility on those overseeing urban planning and the Culture and Antiquities Authority. As he points out, there are many examples of successful projects around the world effectively reviving historical cities and making them habitable. "Renovation and populating a place reflect good decision making in urban planning. These decisions affect the shape of the city, how it looks and how it is perceived." He also believes that the Culture and Antiquities Authority has made great strides in Muharraq and can do so in Manama. EY argues that the new areas, such as the Financial Harbor, were built based on developments in law, regulation and the organization of buildings. These systems may

have given it a character similar to that which is present in global cities. Therefore, it should not be surprising to find that there are similarities between the Financial Harbor area and Sheikh Zayed Road, both displaying the same ideas regarding specific spaces, specific heights and specific shapes.

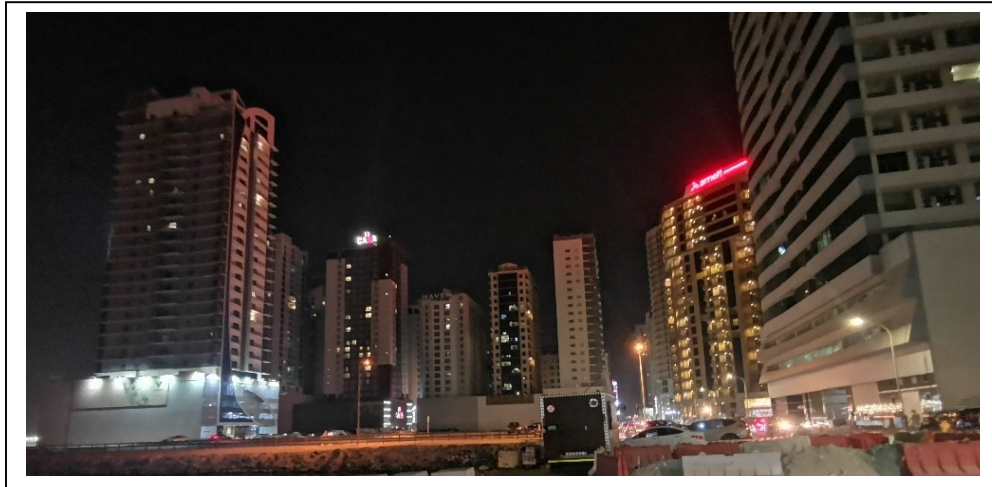


Figure 4.22 Juffair buildings (source: author)

4.2.3.5 Related to our environment

MJ says, “When I look at this skyline, I do not see anything that reflects me or represents Bahraini architecture, even if I give the picture a broader dimension, it does not represent Islamic or Asian architecture either. It is something brought to us from the West and copied in our environments” (figure 4.23). We may see there are attempts or some touches to give the Bahraini character, such as the Zamil Tower trying to give a character of Arab architecture or the Bahrain World Trade Center trying to give the shape of a sail, but they are shy attempts that belong only to the building itself, and which are not related to the urban environment.

As for EY, he supports this. He says there is no point in having buildings that provide a lot of services but have no sidewalk in front of them. Proper urban planning would take into account a path for pedestrians and bicycles as well as for cars, in order to encourage people to go out in their urban places. Today we are in a desert situation and we lack greenery in our urban environments. We need to intensify the green spaces to improve the harsh weather which will encourage people to walk as well. He also adds that the skyline is not related to the reality behind it. It is a virtual image, where we see worn-out houses

behind these buildings. From his point of view, everything should be on one level. Old Manama should stand out more, as it is the essence of Bahrain. Arranging and effecting everything according to a good level of organization is better than building a new facade that reflects only an image that is not related to the reality of the city.

EY believes that Bahrain did not integrate the high-rise city skyline and the historic heart of the city on one level. This is what Kodmany and Ali (2012) argue, that the design of skyscrapers must take into account the architectural appropriateness of the surrounding environment. The task may be very difficult considering the historical urban fabric, and the wrong design may cause severe irreparable damage. Such a matter has been at the center of contentious discussions in London regarding the modern-looking Swiss Reinsurance Building. The building, consistent with the contemporary pluralistic architectural style, was placed amidst buildings dominated by the Victorian style, including the nearby St. Paul's Cathedral. They advise that the way to avoid such issues is to allocate high-rise developments to a place away from the city core.



Figure 4.23 Manama skyline (source: travelblog.org, 2018)

4.2.3.6 Sustainability

MJ claims that these buildings are not sustainable at all and constitute an environmental disaster in all respects. They are built out of unrecycled materials that cannot be recycled and constitute long-term environmental pollution. The materials used do not

help in rationalizing energy consumption, as they consume very high electrical energy (for the purpose of air conditioning, lighting and other services). Thus, it produces a large amount of carbon dioxide that is harmful to the environment.

By comparison, old building materials can be reused in respect of all parts of the demolished building. The building materials also help with the internal ventilation/cooling of the building and can adapt to different conditions, unlike tall glass and steel buildings, which do not withstand shocks. In August 2004, for example, there was a nationwide power outage in Bahrain (it was called the Black Day). Due to their utter reliance on energy, the high-rise regions were severely handicapped and remained closed as the power outage lasted all day and night. People flocked to the ancient city to escape the heat, where the old dwellings are known for their self-ventilation. To cite another example, MJ claims that he personally experienced a modest reduction in oil prices in Abu Dhabi, which had a detrimental and immediate impact on these structures, as they became entirely deserted, as if a disaster had befallen them. Such an example demonstrates the buildings' vulnerability and incapacity to withstand shocks.

4.2.3.7 Social life Investment

The goal of a high-rise is to solve the problem of limited land by expanding vertically. We may see here in Bahrain something of a contradiction, as Bahrain is considered one of the highest population densities in the world. However, most of the local residents do not live in high-rise buildings, which are used for investment only. In addition, if they are earmarked for housing, it is not via a government project. Rather, they are private projects whose design does not aim to enhance social life, because the investors do not care about that, as they are looking for profits. In the case of Bahrainis, they prefer to treat them as temporary housing through necessity.

MJ agrees that high-rise buildings are investment projects and there is no diversity in prices, as they target a specific group. The cost of a small housing unit in high-rise buildings ranges between 90 to 100 thousand BD, which is the same cost as a larger housing unit in a horizontal neighborhood that regulates social life. So high-rise buildings will not be an option for Bahrainis.

The seminar discussed the opinions of practitioners in diverse urban environments and extracting local identity factors in them. In addition, it sought to reveal whether the presence of high-rise buildings affected the way the place is deployed and the behavior of those in it. It has been found that there are many defects in the planning and design of urban environments with high-rise buildings. The environment of Juffair was criticized as an environment that does not have a clear plan and was built as a high-rise building environment, but it is random, lacking walkways, cycle lanes, and even transportation. The environment of Juffair also lacks humanization in the streets. There is no greenery or public squares that attract people. It also criticized the environment of Bahrain Bay on the grounds that its shape has nothing to do with the Bahraini identity, and that it lacks what attracts people to the place. When the mentioned environments were compared to the old Manama environment, it was found that there is a similarity between Old Manama and Juffair. However, Old Manama is more friendly and familiar to people, according to the evaluation of most practitioners. In the end, the seminar arrived at several factors that constitute the urban identity from the perspective of practitioners, as shown in the table below (table 4.7).

Table (4. 7): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from BES seminar

Factors	Tangible	Intangible
	• Buildings • Historical buildings • People • Generations • Local materials and design • Economy • Transportation • Luxurious • Heritage • Urban planning • Similarities	• Sense of the place • Culture - history • Local idea • Social life

4.3 Interviews with concerned authorities

Interviews were conducted with practitioners and concerned authorities to learn more about their plans and intentions. One of the main topics of discussion was what makes the environment of tall buildings distant from people in their view. This served to highlight the factors that create urban identity, and how they are taken into account in today's high-rise building environments.

After collecting the data, the thematic code method was used to analyze the interviews. Two main titles were produced with a number of topics under each of them. The first of these concerned the types of urban application in Bahrain. The second was focused on the problem of modern applications.

4.3.1 Types of urban application in Bahrain

The shape of the urban environment depends on two main factors, the people and the environment, and once they are integrated, they try to create a certain environment in a certain way. These two factors make up an equation in the urban environment: what you put in, you get out. They are separated by a line of interventions based on design goals, people's thinking and available materials. SE divided the urban application in Bahrain into 3 categories which are detailed below. These were agreed upon by all interviewees although there were variations in terminology.

- **Form follows family**

In the early 20th century, development was driven by family ties that were identified for each family of the Freej (neighborhood). The environment was produced accordingly, using limited local resources and materials, a development that arose based on the culture of the place (figure 4.24). This is confirmed by Kadhim (2020), who says Manama consisted of isolated neighborhoods for families who settled in them, and the labeling of the neighborhoods was associated with their professions. And then Manama developed as it is known now, based on the emergence of the market and the presence of its main port. Manama continued to develop to accommodate its status and importance as a cosmopolitan city, and then settled on its current known form in the late 19th century (Kadhim, 2020).

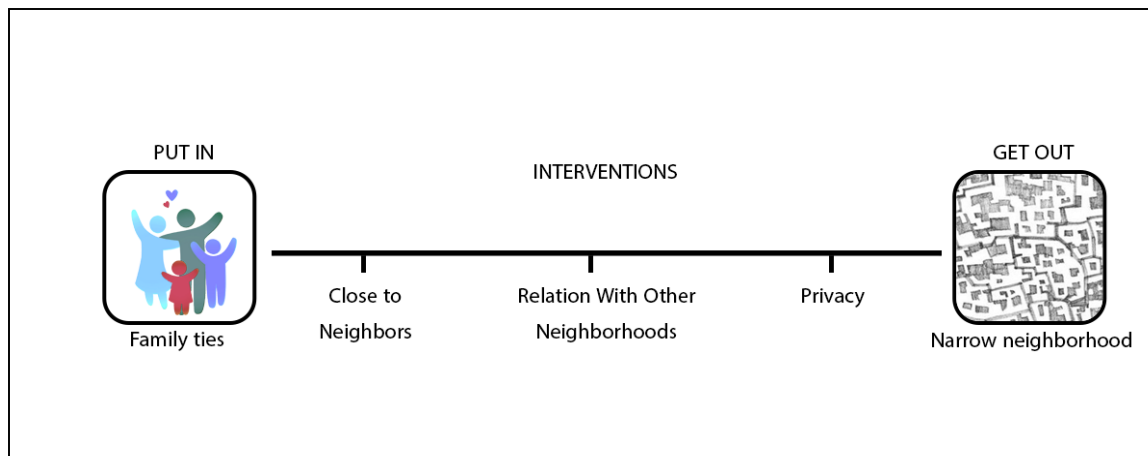


Figure 4.24 Equation of form follows family (source: author)

- **Form follows function**

Kadhim (2020) refers to the aforementioned transformation of the status of Manama from form follows family, to a global city with a market and a port, where the development began following its function. Manama continued to develop into a form that serves its position. Most of the interviews indicate that the transformation at this stage affected homes and families as well, in order to keep pace with modernity. People were interested in more modern and luxurious house designs without paying attention to other social or environmental factors, and this led to a kind of isolation in the neighborhood.

- **Form follows finance**

This category relates to real estate developments and economic finance. By applying the urban environment equation to the environments of high-rise buildings, we find that this is indeed what the investments in construction focused on (figure 4.25). Most argue that the problem is not with the environments themselves but with the design. Bahrain does not have the capabilities or local materials to help build skyscrapers. So we ended up using everything from the outside in terms of tall buildings, including solutions, technologies, and architectural language. Kodmany and Ali (2012) argue, "if every building imitates the Western architectural style, very soon the so-called “Manhattanization” of world cities will take place. Cities will then begin to lose their own identity and turn into “placeless” places. They refer to Malaysia's successful experience in Petronas Towers, where the Malaysian Prime Minister asked to highlight cultural and Islamic references in the design of the towers. Today, Petronas Towers are of national significance in Malaysia (figure 4.26).

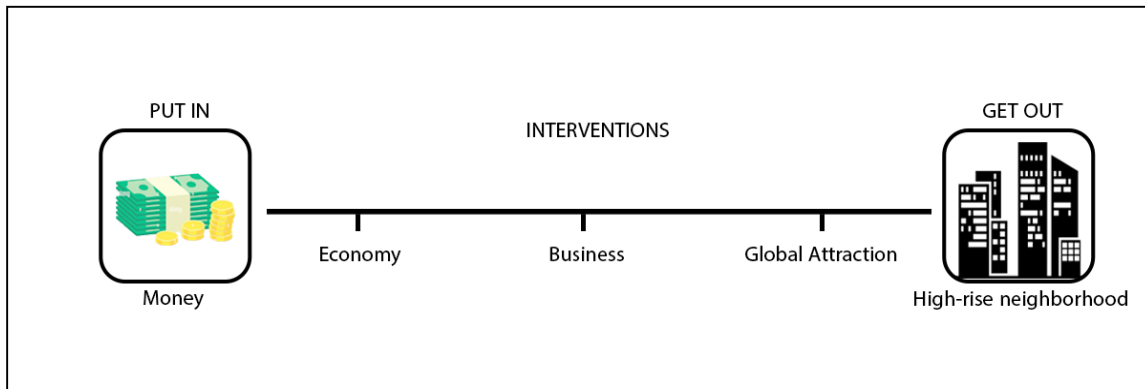


Figure 4.25 Equation of form follows finance (source: author)

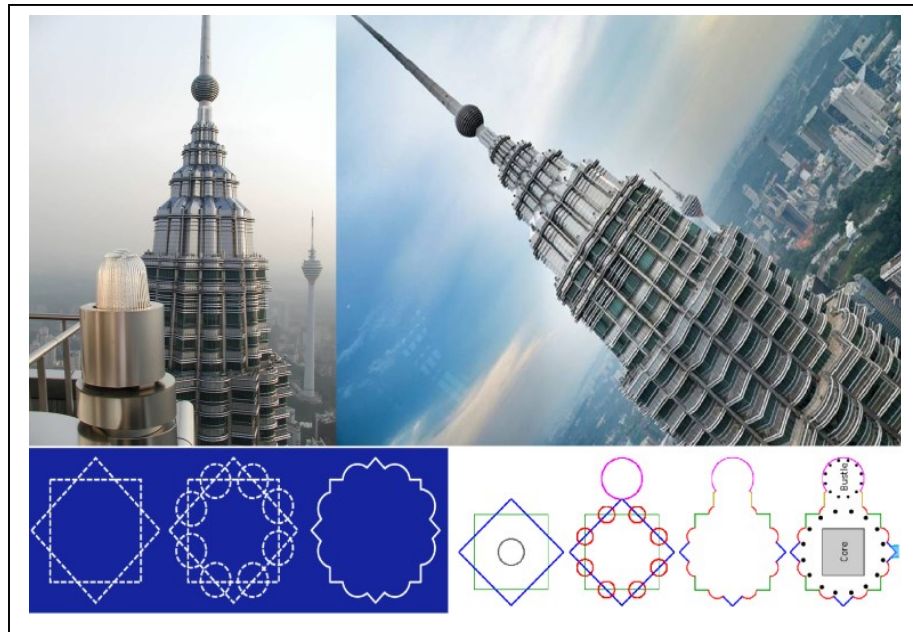


figure 4.26 Petronas Towers, inspired from Islamic and Malaysian culture patterns (source: ziadblog, 2013)

FA says that Manama follows the style of western cities in development, where the expansion and creation of high-rise architectural environments moves away from the heart of the city, through the reclamation of surrounding land. That is, high-rise buildings are concentrated on the edge of the sea rather than in the heart of the city. This has caused several problems, such as the difficulty of sharing the sea view with everyone. It also caused stagnation and death in the heart of the city, in the same way that Tokyo developed, starting with reclamation on the waterfront. Later, given the value and density of the land, developers began to return to the heart of the city and invest in it.

4.3.2 The problem is in modern applications

- **Urban planning and transportation**

Most of those interviewed say the problem lies in the way we design and plan cities. It's not about high-rise environments, but rather the lack the humanity and greenness in cities. Cars dominate the planning of the city, not other means of transportation, which has resulted in walkways that are not pedestrian friendly. We need to encourage walking through the design, planting trees, and placing public facilities (such as a schools, mosques, groceries) in places easy for people to access safely and without the need to use a car. SE

believes that Bahrain is heading towards establishing a transportation network (the metro), which is a good thing to convince people and change their view on the use of transportation, "Not every home needs 5 or 6 cars". It is possible to change people's behavior to walking and using other means if we provide them with the appropriate environment.

Jagannath (2016) says in this regard, in several regions of the world, pedestrianized ways are not as widespread, as traffic movement is seen as the most essential road activity. Pedestrianization can be difficult in car-dominated cities where people rely heavily on automobiles to move about. It is tough to shift people's way of thinking when they are car-dependent, but it is vital to remember that cities such as London and New York were previously car-dependent. Although changing people's mindsets might take time, if government is strong and it can show people the benefits of pedestrianizing squares and plazas, it can be a win-win scenario for everyone.

SE also adds that design plays a major role in enhancing the social environment. Today's society lives in a kind of isolation, and that is because the urban environment did not give importance to the social dimension. He believes that when we create opportunities for walking, meeting and providing greenery in urban areas, opportunities for social participation will increase, regardless of whether the environment is high-rise or low-rise.

VP says that planning must be adapted to the requirements of the market and the size of the land area. The trend towards condensation, high-rise residential buildings is imperative in Bahrain, because perhaps after 50 years we can no longer provide additional residential land spaces. Since people here do not prefer to live in high-rise buildings compared to a single-family home, planning policies should accommodate these preferences, providing, for example, the concentration of important services, transportation, infrastructure, and work near places of high urban density. Providing housing in low-density places in exchange for a longer distance to access services is another consideration. This method is called condensation, to entice people to live in service centers, and to provide the use of transportation. According to Burchfield (2010), intensification is a way of accommodating the largest number of people in a specific geographical area. It aims to improve the use of infrastructure and services such as water pipes, sewage, schools and social services in the urban environment. The development is

considered one of the city's strengths rather than the distribution of resources over larger areas. VP also adds that it is preferable to review urban plans every five years, and to take into account the expectations of future growth and consider them in modifying and implementing new plans.

- **Sustainability**

Drawing on Eldemery (2007), sustainability is considered as the most important challenge in the development process. Sustainability aims for a design that considers the environment in terms of landscape quality, environmental capacity, safety, pollution control and public transportation. It also about taking care of the advantage of sun movement. " Many major cities require every proposal for a new high-rise building to include a Sunlight Access and Shadow Impact Study. The study guidelines state that ... Each building is evaluated on its shape, height and orientation, focusing on environmental factors, by creating better relationships and harmony between buildings and their urban and environmental contexts" (Eldemery, 2007 p.5).

Most believe that high-rise building environments do not take into account the importance of building materials. Bahrain is characterized by a harsh and very hot climate compared to Europe. All tall buildings have a glass facade, glass means a lot of heat being conducted into the interior. Thus, we face a high cost of maintenance and thermal insulation of the building. It must also be taken into consideration that maintenance is expensive. It may be available today, but it is important to look for greater use of inexpensive energy in the future.

- **Architectural contrast**

Kodmany and Ali refer to the results of several case studies they conducted on tall buildings in various cities, and they concluded that it is "because of their extreme height, they tend to dwarf their neighboring buildings and largely violate human scale. In these cases, skyscrapers' visual exposure in the sky is immense and they do constitute a problem to placemaking at the sidewalk level. They declare their individuality and glory, and they are all about themselves" (Kodmany and Ali, 2012 p.58). Thus, it is not connected to the surrounding urban environment.

Some argue that the identity is not necessarily in the materials used in the past that are not consistent with our times today. The architect can also benefit from and draw lessons from traditional architecture and put them in a modern framework linking history and modernity. One of the interviewees pointed out the importance of the phenomenon of architectural contrast, which may be one of the methods of linking modern and ancient environments without isolating one environment from the other. Contrast is a powerful and sensitive means and may succeed in linking two different urban environments if they are carefully studied and how they can be adapted without distortion in any of the surrounding environments

Based on Pronina (2021), contrast is the inclusion of modern forms in the historical architectural group. "Architecture always reflects the values of the era and society in which it was created, it always coexists with the artificial or natural environment that existed before its appearance. Buildings built in the past exist now. Buildings built in our time will exist in the future. Due to this duality of the temporal and social nature of architecture, contrast at different levels is inevitable" (Pronina, 2021 p.2).

The Louvre Museum in Paris is one of the most successful contrasts in a historical setting. A glass pyramid was added to the interior space. The pyramid is an entrance to the new underground space. The pyramid stands out simply and transparently and performs its function by defining a spatial center, in addition to it not conflicting with the surrounding environment (Pronina, 2021) (figure 4.27). The modern form refers to a new area at the bottom that protrudes on the surface in the form of a transparent pyramid. The transparent pyramid allows the continuity of the historical form of the museum without spoiling or obscuring the view.

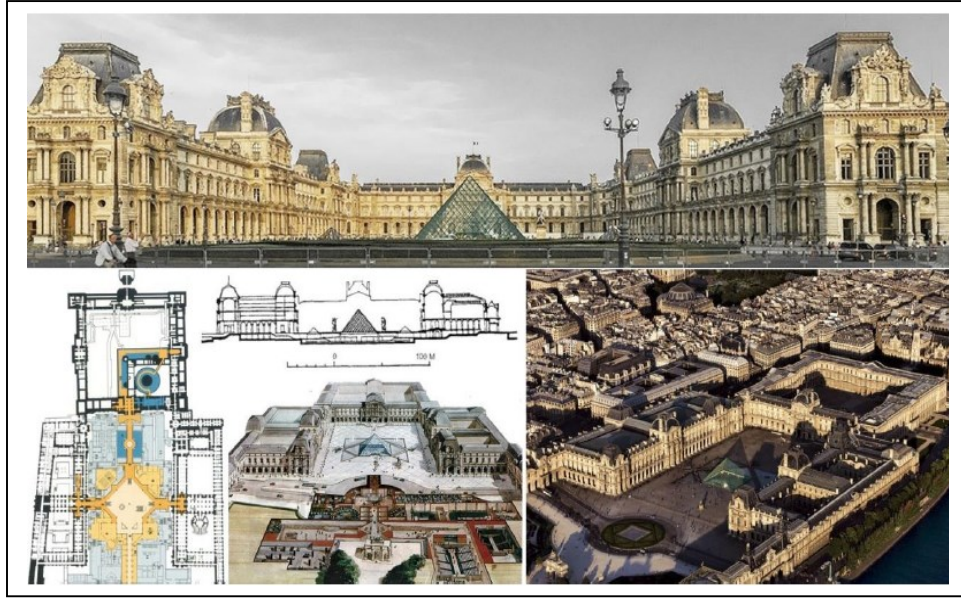


Figure 4.27 The Louvre Museum in Paris, in the middle the transparent pyramid as a contrasting element (source: Pronina, 2021)

- **Accessible**

Everyone agrees that some people reject high-rise buildings in Bahrain due to their design that isolates them from urban surroundings and people. There are successful examples of high-rise buildings around the world that are acceptable to people such as the John Hancock Center in Chicago, which includes a number of restaurants and cafes on the high floors, providing a distinctive view of the city that everyone wants to experience (figure 4.28), (figure 4.29) and (figure 4.30).



Figure 4.28 John Hancock Center in Chicago (source: 360chicago, 2022)



figure 4.29 John Hancock Center observation deck (source: 360chicago, 2022)



figure 4.30 John Hancock Center Signature Room restaurant (source: gayot.com, 2022)

FA says that high-rise buildings in Bahrain are considered elite buildings, so the public is completely separated from them because they are not allowed to walk around these buildings or even enter and see how they look from inside. There are no services, restaurants or cafes that attract people and create any social events, as they are not accessible to the public. On the contrary, it repels them. He says, "when you go to roam in the Bahrain Bay area between buildings, security prevents you from doing so on the pretext that it is not a public area, and it is not allowed to take pictures". So, if people can't access and form memory and direct experience of the place, they certainly won't feel that they belong to it or consider it part of the place. He adds that lack of memory and personal experience is also one of the reasons for not adapting to the urban environment.

In addition to the rapid pace in which these environments are created, "when there is a gradation of events and developments, you feel that time is passing slowly, it helps you to adapt to the environment and create solutions to needs through the surrounding environment. On the other hand, when things move very quickly, the adaptability is less likely." High-rise environments have spread quickly compared to traditional ones. According to VP, they came to be in great demand in the market. At the same time, there are attempts by investors to create and provide these environments in the market, even if it is at the expense of the urban environment. Therefore, this makes it difficult to adapt to such environments.

VP says Bahrainis do not want to experience living in high-rise buildings, but they must accept and adapt because in the coming years there will not be enough land for everyone, and they will have to live in high-rise environments. People may not be aware of this now, but this is the reality. If only they had a real and successful experience in high-rise buildings, perhaps this would help them integrate and devise solutions that help in developing environments and make them more suitable for them.

In this regard Ariza, Quintero and Alfaro (2019) argued for Gehls' theory in Copenhagen, which is to involve the community in city decisions, and to suggest solutions. The theory aims to enhance general social life, and takes into account the human dimension. By getting people involved in the city and making it for everyone from different classes and backgrounds. The theory works on measuring, evaluating and creating new goals at every step in order to better develop the interests of its population. This responds to their needs and involves them in shaping public policies. Thus, people feel that they are part of the place. Copenhagen is one of the most successful cities with the highest standards of quality of life.

The interviewees discussed the perspectives of developers and practitioners in high-rise building environments and their problems. Furthermore, they discussed their suggestions for improving the urban environment of high-rise buildings in Bahrain. The interviews also shed light on the concept of identity in modern environments and the extent to which identity is taken into account in modern designs. Moreover, they revealed the stages of development of the urban environment in Bahrain, down to high-rise buildings. The interviews indicated a number of application problems in these environments. Accordingly, the table below (4.8) shows the tangible and intangible factors in shaping the urban environment.

Table (4. 8): Tangible and intangible factors inferred from interviews with the concerned authorities

Factors	Tangible	Intangible
	• Finance • Heart of the city • Humanization • Accessibility • Easy to move around • Greenery • Pedestrian friendly • Transportation • Human scale	• Isolation • Social life • Social events or activities • Participation • Cooperation

4.4 Social Production of Space Theory

Based on the foregoing, all the methods used in investigating urban identity factors resulted in tangible and intangible factors, and there were differences in some points. However, the results indicated the importance of social life interactions in shaping urban identity. Accordingly, it was supposed to verify the strength of this factor in the environment of high-rise buildings because of its great role in shaping the urban identity. The social life in the old Manama environment was also compared in order to reveal the contradictions between the two environments. Lefebvre's "Social Production of Space" Theory was used to assess both environments. The image below shows the areas in which social life has been investigated according to Lefebvre's theory. It includes Old Manama, Bahrain Bay, parts of the Financial Harbor District and The Avenues (figure 4.31).



Figure 4.31 Selected points (source: Google Earth, 2022, modified by author)

4.4.1 Old Manama

- **Perceived space:** shows variation in means of movement and the communication network that connects the city with other cities and the world. Representing buying and selling transaction, market movement, workers and traders. This pillar generally refers to the economic side of the city.

The pictures (figure 4.32, 4.33 and 4.34) show the active economic movement in the city. There is a port for the import and export of goods and workers, which indicates the commercial movement and the connection of Manama with the world. The internal trade movement fills the streets with shops and stalls, which encourages people to head to the city for shopping. The pictures also show the diversity of transportation according to people's needs at that time. The narrow, shaded streets promote pedestrian, bicycle and donkey traffic. As for cars, they stop at a specific place and users complete their tour on foot in the market, because Manama was not designed primarily for cars to enter.



Figure 4.32 Varied transportation walking, bicycles and some cars (source: Instagram, Naderkhadhim, 2020). Other pictures show donkeys



Figure 4.33 Manama port with workers and goods (source: Manama story, 2020)



Figure 4.34 Manama market (source: Facebook, Manama story, 2020)

- **Conceived space:** represents the cultural diversity of the city and includes the cultured and influential personalities who lived in the area as well as the cultural and entertainment institutions. For example, cultural clubs, sports centers, libraries and places of worship. It also includes services such as electricity and petroleum stations.



Figure 4.35 Missionary dr. Samuel Zwemer (source: joelsjottings.com, 2019)



Figure 4.36 Girls' school in Manama (source: Manama story, 2020)



Figure 4.37 Religious buildings in Manama (source: Manama story, 2020)

With regard to conceived space known as the cultural and recreational aspect of the city, Old Manama included a wide cultural diversity, with cultural clubs, libraries and the first schools being concentrated in Manama (figure 4.36). Discussion sessions and seminars were held periodically, according to Kadhim (2020). Many intellectuals and influencers lived in Manama and practised their activities in it, such as the missionary Samuel Zwemer (figure 4.35), the first person to study religion at Al-Azhar, Ahmad Al-Mahzaa, and the thinker Muhammad Salih Al-Khonji. It was also distinguished by its religious plurality, despite its small area. There are churches, mosques, matams and temples for Hindus and Jews in close proximity (Figure 4.37). Manama was distinguished by being the city with the opening of the first power station in 1930, according to Al-Ayyam newspaper (2021), the first petrol station and many other services.

- **Lived space:** shows part of social life, celebrations with new year, religious occasions in streets/open areas that let people participate or just pass by the celebration leading to a relationship of greater understanding and social trust.



Figure 4.38 Bahraini ladies roaming Manama market (source: Manama story, 2020)



Figure 4.39 Manama celebrating new year, people roaming Manama streets starting from shaikh Isa Alkaber street (source: Manama story, 2020)

The lived space is also defined as the intangible social ties that may be created between individuals and the place. This is particularly evident in Old Manama. Users love their place and the people around them. Through the interviews, some spoke that they liked to pass by a certain road in the old Manama. The reasons are varied according to each person, some because of memories, others because of the shape of the place that attracts them, and others because of the people who live in the neighborhood that they might meet (figure 4.38). In addition, annual religious events have been held in Manama since ancient times, organized by the people, in which everyone participates, distributing tasks among themselves. This promotes harmony, understanding and close relations between them. Also worthy of mention are the official occasions such as the New Year and national holidays,

during which parades are held in an open square, as shown in Figure (4.39), which encourage people to gather, exchange conversations and strengthen relations.

Table (4. 9): Old Manama based on Lefebvre's triad

	Perceived space	Conceived space	Lived space
Subject	Workers / Traders / Residents	. The first person who went to learn religion in Al-Azhar (Ahmed Al-mihzaa). . A group of early intellectuals (Mohammed Saleh Al-khonji). . A group of Christian missionaries led by the well-known missionary (Samuel Zwemer)	. Families that live in Manama . Visitors who visit Manama for shopping or entertainment and then return to their villages . Visitors who come from outside Bahrain stay for a while and then leave.
Object	. A simple and varied transportation network, including walking/donkeys/ bicycles/some cars. . The port of Manama connects Manama with the world and trade (import and export). . A market in which commercial transactions take place.	. There are the first schools that opened in Bahrain . Cultural clubs/libraries/ women's associations/ petrol-electricity station/ bank/public park/radio/ pharmacy/mosques/ maatams/churches/ synagogues.	. Active social life. . Movement between neighborhoods, streets and shops. . Connectivity and social sharing According to Montgomery, social trust drives people to interact in their urban setting.
Activities	. Buying and selling transactions . Going to work	. Cultural seminars . Religious and social occasions . Entertainment . Celebrations	Strong social relationship

4.4.2 New part of Manama



Figure 4.40 Bahrain Bay and Lefebvre's triad (source: Mayfair, 2022 modified by author)

- **Perceived space:** The definition of perceived space refers to the economy and internal commercial movement in the city. Bahrain Bay is considered successful in securing large investments and as an attractive proposition for foreign investments. According to Albilad newspaper (2018), Golden Gate, one of the residential projects in Bahrain Bay which was established with a Bahraini-Indian partnership, was able to market nearly 80% of its residential units within a short period of time, while economic movement at the internal level in the same environment does not match up. As for non-residential developments, there is the Avenues shopping mall overlooking the other side of Bahrain Bay as well as a few kiosks in the areas designated for walking only, such as the Bahrain Bay Walkway or The Park. This means that there is no activity that attracts people to the street in the Bahrain Bay development. At the level of transportation in general, Bahrain Bay does take into account pedestrians and provides public transportation points. However, there is no pedestrian connection between the two opposite sides of Bahrain Bay, as shown in (figure 4.40).

- **Conceived space:** A conceived space is defined by cultural diversity and outstanding cultural figures. Unlike the old Manama, Bahrain Bay is devoid of cultural associations, public libraries, culture and arts centers, schools, or a sports club representing the area, but there are high-level services in a modern style such as the Paragon cooling station, Arcapita and Gulf electronical stations and petrol stations. The construction of the area is not entirely completed, but the residents of the area are diverse, being both Bahrainis and foreigners (according to a conversation I had with the founder of the Golden Gate Residential Tower). Prices are considered high in this area, so it targets the wealthy class in society. Because of this, it is difficult to find elite thinkers and influencers in this environment.
- **Lived space:** The lived space is defined as the invisible fabric of relations between residents and place. In Bahrain Bay, on the surface, social ties between residents of the same area are almost non-existent. There are some events and activities that enhance social ties in the place, such as celebrations of National Day or the New Year. In general, these are very public events organized by state administrations or the like. That is, it is not established or arranged with the cooperation of the people of the region among each other. According to interviews conducted with the people of Manama, it was found that the events organized by the people have a special impact on the souls and enhance cooperation, brotherhood and love among the residents.

Table (4. 10): Bahrain Bay Lefebvre's triad

	Perceived space	Conceived space	Lived space
Subject	Businessmen/employees	. There is nothing that refers to science, education and culture. . There are no prominent names (in the field of education or culture) living in the area and practicing their activities there	. Golden Gate, the tallest residential tower in the region, aims to attract families and individuals of different nationalities. According to Al-Bilad newspaper, about 80% of the housing units have been sold. . Visitors come for entertainment
Object	. Transportation depends on cars - There are places designated for walking and cycling (walkways), not on the street. . There is a port/The Avenues shopping mall	. There are power/cooling/water/sewage stations . There are gardens . There are no schools/cultural clubs/associations/hospitals	. There is no movement between neighborhoods and streets, movement is limited to walkways
Activities	. Buying and selling transactions . Going to work	. Entertainment . Limited celebrations: Eid/National Day	. There are no signs of solid social relations

According to Lefebvre “each urban space has to be seen as a historic product of its society interacting with the surrounding environment.” (Wiedman and Salama, 2019). This seems to be non-existent in the Bahrain Bay area. There are no historical or cultural ties in the design of the place. Even users cannot form these connections mentally because many of them are not residents of the country and they are not related to it historically or culturally.

Based on Lefebvre's triad, which classifies the maturity of the urban environment as the completeness of his triad pillars, we can conclude that the old Manama in a certain period of time was a successful symbol, "an integrated urban environment", one that was

diversified and met the needs of the population in all respects with its diversity of transportation, activities, and socializing. Bahrain Bay, according to Lefebvre's triad, has succeeded in the perceived space category only, and it was not able to successfully achieve the other two pillars. Accordingly, the urban environment of Old Manama is considered a more successful model than the contemporary urban environment of Bahrain Bay, as it took into account the existence of people and their needs in all respects: social, scientific, cultural and emotional. It was a model to attract people in a certain period of time.

Old Manama may not be up to today's requirements as many of its residents deserted it. Old Manama needs some attention to and maintenance of the urban environment, as well as some laws that limit the flow of cars on its narrow alleys. Thus, it can attract its residents again. The same is true with the Bahrain Bay area, which needs some urban modifications and additions that make the place more social and cultural, as it should encourage the building of social trust among its residents. Thus, it can become one of the best contemporary urban places.

This chapter discussed the results of the research methods adopted in this study, which sought to answer the research questions, which are designed to establish the dimensions of defining urban identity and how can architects and practitioners help in reinforcing the local urban identity? First, the interviews were directed at the elderly population of Manama. The results of the interviews were divided into three groups that represented the transformations of Manama between the past and the present. It also revealed people's behavior and feelings in the three groups and the impact of the surrounding environment on them. The three groups provided many factors that constitute urban identity, and gave great importance to contact with place and social life. This is agreed by the focus group directed at the youth category, most of whom referred to the comfort and interaction with the place when visiting Old Manama, compared to the environment of high-rise buildings. The study was also interested in taking the views of a group of children, who expressed through drawing the kind of interactions commonly seen in Manama, focusing also on their importance. The conflict of globalization and identity also emerged among some of the participants, as they represented Manama with Bab Al Bahrain as its most prominent feature, while also wishing to see more skyscrapers as there

are in other countries. The methods also targeted practitioners, professionals and decision-makers, finally arriving at a firm idea of what is meant by urban identity and the possible ways of how it might be applied in a modern and developed way in contemporary environments, especially in high-rise environments. Based on the above, the theory of "Social Production of Space" was used to understand social life in two different environments and to reveal the differences between them, in an attempt to promote and develop the weaker social environment (i.e., the environments of Bahrain Bay and Juffair) in order to reach an environment of high-rise buildings that take into account the local identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

5.2 Research Discussion and Findings

5.3 Research recommendations

5.4 Contribution to knowledge

5.5 Conclusion

5.6 Future studies and limitations

5.1 Overview

This research was conducted to investigate the issue of rapid urban transformations in the Gulf region and Bahrain in particular. The high-rise building environments have emerged as new building styles that dominate Gulf cities, which in turn seem to have had an effect on the uniqueness of the local identity of the city in terms of tangible and intangible experience. Several studies, referenced in the first two chapters, indicated that cities around the world have adopted high-rise construction in order to keep pace with globalization and urban development. This has made them similar to each other, and separate from their surrounding environment. Studies have shown that this has a negative impact on inhabitants, as urban environments seem strange, leading to confusion and a feeling of being stripped of one's identity that is a consequence of one's attachment to a place, its uniqueness and how it is distinguished from other places. Accordingly, it was found that there is a gap in the literature with regard to urban transformations, which are represented in the environments of high-rise buildings and the preservation of the local identity in Bahrain.

The first chapter of the study posed research questions to bridge the literary gap, which is to investigate the dimensions of urban identity, and how can architects and practitioners help in reinforcing the local urban identity. Considering the issue at hand, a clear framework for the research context was developed by defining the objectives and justifications for the research, which are as follows:

1. To grasp the physical and emotional components that reflect identity in the urban environment.
2. To comprehend people's experience in a city and how individuals communicate with their surroundings.
3. To prepare a reference of values that recognize the presence of identity in high-rise environments.
4. Produce a series proposals and recommendations for urban transformation that takes into account the local identity as well as the historical, social, and cultural components.

Studies in chapter two indicated that the desire for high-rise buildings has existed since ancient times. Globalization has contributed mainly to the spread of this type of construction around the world, which has led to the emergence of a number of problems. Opinions varied on the concept of urban identity, some, headed by Lynch, believing it is to do with the uniqueness and distinctiveness of the place. Relph, on the other hand, put forward the idea that it is similarity defining identity, meaning that in addition to the difference of a place from others, there is its similarity with other places as well. Some researchers offered the concept of identity heritage and the local dimension. However, others saw it taking on regional and external aspects. The concept of urban identity was considered a broad and comprehensive concept that is difficult to frame according to a single specific definition, as many referred to psychological, social, cultural, natural and geographical aspects participating in the formation of identity.

Through the many definitions of urban identity, this research found that, in addition to what has been mentioned, identity has two main components to its definition, namely, tangible elements, and intangible elements. The tangible elements are represented by buildings, the movement of people and the street. The intangible elements relate to a sense of place through the social presence of a group of people who are interconnected with each other and with the place to form a social network based on intangible foundations, such as belonging, pride, love, memories and comfort, all interacting with the place and with each other. For example, when investigating places, whether cities or islands, researchers seek to find out about their people, their customs and way of living as the place alone does not fully express identity. It may fill the physical aspects of identity, but it lacks the spirit of place and is filled with questions about its identity. Therefore, it is important to discover the lives of communities and the nature of their relationships as well as their places in order to know their identity.

In this regard, some literature refers to a definition similar to what was extracted in this research in terms of tangible and intangible factors. According to Peng, Strijker and Wu (2020), place identity is defined as the dimensions of the physical environment as well as the thoughts, principles and feelings associated with a specific environment. The definition of place identity is broad and complex and is linked to several other concepts

such as “place attachment, rootedness, sense of place, place dependence, and place satisfaction.” Nevertheless, it is difficult to find clear differences between these concepts.

The research indicated that the concept of high-rise buildings that it is not fixed and limited to a certain number of floors, but is linked to the surrounding environment in terms of its height and the materials used. It also discussed the spread of this style of construction, causing problems in the imbalance of local identity in many ways and adding monotony and boredom to the urban environment. On the other hand, this research found the importance of finding solutions to identity problems in high-rise building environments due to its significance in several aspects, such as economic, its ability to be a landmark and solutions to housing problems.

In discussing the concept of urban identity in the second chapter of this study, the views of philosophers and theorists such as Relph (2018), Al-Kodmany (2013), Lutz (2013) and others have been taken into account. Urban identity factors that are in line with the literature have been identified and they consider the physical, social and psychological aspects. As a result, two major factors in the formation of urban identity have been identified. These are tangible and intangible experience, each of which includes a variety of titles that affect urban identity and the people who inhabit a place.

This study used the qualitative research method based on the findings of the literature review. A number of research tools were used in an attempt to answer the research questions and achieve its objectives. Below are detailed the various interviews, focus groups and analysis of archival documents that were used as research methods.

1. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with some of the older residents of Manama who have witnessed an important part of the urban transformation. It turned out that there is a desire for this group to return and live in Manama, despite all the challenges mentioned in the previous chapter. A number of tangible and intangible factors were also deduced from the experience of Manama in the past and present. The second part of the interviews was with decision makers such as the Urban Planning Authority and leading companies in the field of high-rise construction in Bahrain. It aimed to discover elements of local identity in new environments and how it can be demonstrated.

2. Focus groups were the second tool and were divided into three groups directed at young people, children and practitioners:

(A) The youth category highlighted the most important landmarks that represent Manama and the impact of the environment on people's behaviour. The results were an understanding of the physical and psychological dimensions of the urban environment in Manama.

(B) Children's drawings revealed that the children who had direct experience of the place were more likely to draw, remember, describe the place and express its identity. They also referred to a number of intangible aspects such as interaction and integration with the urban environment.

(C) The group of professional practitioners contributed a number of the most prominent physical factors that constitute identity in the urban environment.

Interviews with the elderly residents of Manama and decision makers, along with the data gathered from the focus groups, produced many comparisons, all of which ultimately indicated the importance of the social role in urban environments. The results concluded that the intangible aspects of social life and interaction with the place played the most prominent role in the formation of urban identity and its spirit. Therefore, the study took an additional approach to measure the extent to which social life in high-rise building environments is successful, and whether it enhances urban identity with its tangible and intangible aspects. The Production of Space theory of Lefebvre has been adopted as the method to measure the success of social life in the area of Bahrain Bay and the old Manama.

Lefebvre's theory is summarized in three basic dimensions with regard to the formation of social space: the perceived space, the conceived space, and the living space. These dimensions express the movement of transport and the flexibility of commercial or economic movement, institutions, social activities, culture, art, and religious movement in urban society. According to Lefebvre's theory, when the three dimensions are fulfilled, the urban environment is considered socially successful.

5.2 Research Discussion and Findings

According to previously discussed aims and objectives of the research, this thesis arrived at the formation of a list that defines identity factors in urban environments divided into two main sections, tangible and intangible factors. The two sections represent the physical and psychological dimensions in understanding a place.

Subsequently, the most important things mentioned by the participants of the primary research (interviews and focus group) were classified under these two headings. It was noted that the participants shed light on the social aspect, in particular, they refer to the strength of the social part in defining and forming the identity of the place, which is something agreed upon by much of the literature. Lefebvre's social production of space theory was used to measure the extent of the strength of social life in different environments. As mentioned in the previous chapter, according to Lefebvre's criteria, the strength and success of the social environment is considered to be the integration of the triangle's pillars that form the conceived, perceived and lived space (figure 5.1).

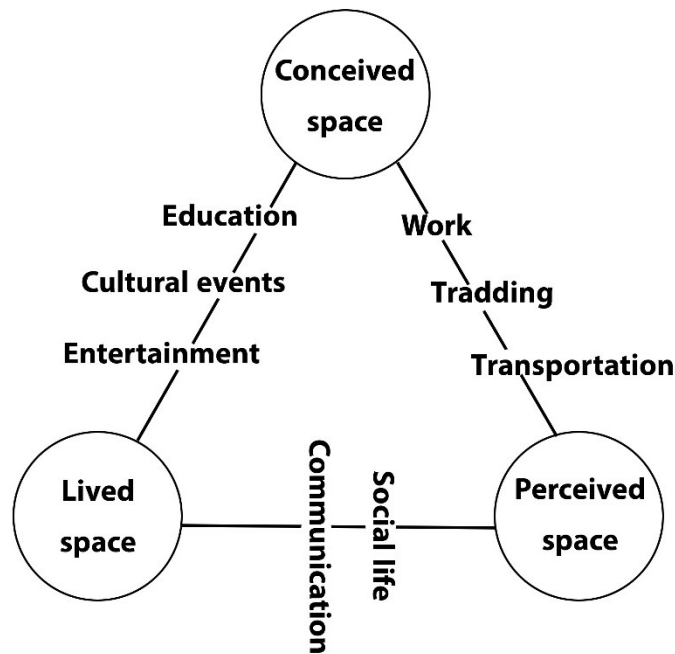


Figure 5.1 The Produced Social Space triangle (source: author)

The tables below show the results of the most prominent tangible and intangible factors mentioned in the analysis chapter. First, interviews with the elderly (residents of Manama), the results were divided into three stages according to the data analysis: 1. Manama in the past. 2. The period of transformation. 3. The modern part of Manama.

The following table (5.1) is a consolidated table of the results of the three phases. The table identifies the similarities between the participants' opinions. It was agreed that tangible factors are the buildings themselves, their accessibility, mobility, streets and people. The participants also used similar terms that describe the old Manama environment, such as randomness and uniqueness, and other terms that describe the regions of Bahrain Bay and Juffair, such as organization and similarity.

As for the intangibles, memory has been highlighted as the most mentioned aspect in various terms such as nostalgia, the old days, the meaning of the place, the activities, and the experiences of the people in it. Emotional expressions were used at all stages such as pride of being from Manama and belonging to it despite its narrow alleys and dilapidated houses. Feeling of grief over its current situation and the disintegration of the solid social system that Manama was characterized by. Finally, happiness when visiting it or even passing on those beautiful memories. In addition, the participants wanted to share stories and talk about the place. The social aspect also emerged significantly in which the following terms were mentioned, such as social activities, interaction, participation, cooperation, social trust and harmony, which they miss in high-rise building environments.

Table (5. 1): The consolidated table of local interviews determining tangible and intangible factors in the urban area

	Tangible	Intangible
Common themes between the participants' opinions	• buildings • accessibility • mobility • streets and people. • randomness and uniqueness • organization and similarity	Memory: • nostalgia • old days • activities • meaning of the place • people's experience Emotional expressions: • pride, • belonging, • regret • happiness Social life: • participation • corporation • participation • interaction • stories of the place

Second, everyone in the focus group (youth and children's category) agreed in defining the tangible characteristics as representing the market, restaurants and cafes, houses of worship, the facades of buildings and houses and the Bab Al Bahrain area. Young people considered that they are vital areas in the old Manama that encourage human interaction. These places ensure the flow of movement into Manama from time to time as they act as attractions for everyone. The youth shared consistent expressions of their experience of the place, such as the level of comfort, simplicity and memory of the place, which they miss in high-rise building environments. The following table expresses the most prominent consensus of the youth group regarding the tangible and intangible elements in the formation of the urban environment (5.2).

Table (5. 2): Focus group, youth category's most prominent urban factors

	Tangible	Intangible
Common themes of opinions in the youth category	• market - shops, • restaurants and cafes, • Bab Al-Bahrain area • Worship houses • building facades • houses	• level of comfort, • simplicity • memory of the place, • interactions with the place

In the third category, that of children, the terms were not present in the minds of the participants. Nevertheless, their drawings were sufficient to extract the most prominent urban factors. The children referred to the shops, the movement around the market and buying and selling transactions. Others explained the importance of the presence of restaurants, cafes, and natural elements such as greenery and the sea. In their drawings, the children focused on expressing the places they experienced first-hand and enjoyed in Manama, despite the fact that some of them were unable to say or even identify Manama! This highlights another concern is regarding the experience of Manama by the new generation, one of whether they actually visit the city and are aware of its divisions, amenities, places and spirit. The table below shows the common points in children's drawings (5.3).

able (5. 3): Focus group, children category common points

	Tangible	Intangible
Common themes in the opinions of children category	• market - shops, • movement around the market • buying and selling transactions • restaurants and cafes • sea and greenery	• happiness • interactions with the place • activities • joyful • attract attention

The fourth point to be tackled is related to the findings of interviews with concerned authorities and high-rise building developers, as well as the seminar with practitioners. The two parties agreed to identify the tangible factors, namely, integrated urban planning. The

most important thing that preoccupies the city's planners at the present time is an integrated transportation network available to all, while also considering walking as an essential means. This is what the urban environment of Bahrain lacks in general, where walking places are allocated in parks or walkways, but not along safe paths on the street. Some have pointed out that the urban developments taking place in Manama contribute to the isolation of the old heart of the capital, rather than linking it to the new parts. People connected with each other in the old Manama where the heart of the capital represents history and witnessed a thriving economy once upon a time. While high-rise environments may attract economy, they lack connection to history and people in terms of shape and size. Practitioners have suggested using local ideas and materials in the construction of new high-rise building environments to support and accentuate the local identity in them. However, the developers of high-rise buildings objected to this proposal with a more pragmatic and realistic argument, which is that the style of high-rise buildings is an imported Western style, so we have to import materials, designs, problems and solutions because it is a style in which we do not have enough local experience. The two groups also identified social life activities as intangible factors, such as cooperation, participation, activities, and isolation. The table shows the similarity of the views of practitioners and developers of high-rise buildings in determining local identity factors (5.4).

Table (5. 4): The common points of identity in urban environments according to practitioners and high-rise buildings developers

	Tangible	Intangible
Common themes in the opinions of practitioners and high-rise buildings developers	• urban planning • transportation network • materials • historical buildings • economy • human scale • similarities in modern environments • people	• culture • history Social life: • activities • cooperation • participation • isolation

The results of the first group (interviews with locals) and fourth group (interviews with concerned authorities and high-rise building developers) clearly and explicitly stated the importance of the social aspect in the formation of a place, something that to some degree was also mentioned in the second group (youth focus group) and third group (children's sketches). This confirms that social life has the most prominent impact on the environment and individuals. Based on the results of the groups, it was found that social life must be prioritized. In the old Manama environment, the participants thought it represented a successful social life, while in the environment of high-rise buildings, such as the Bahrain Bay area, participants considered there to be a lack of social life. The extent of social success in both environments was measured according to Lefebvre's social production of space theory. The results are shown in the following table (5.5):

Table (5. 5): The result of measuring social life in old Manama and Bahrain Bay

	Old Manama	Bahrain bay
Perceived space	▲	●
Conceived space	▲	●
Lived space	▲	■
▲ Clearly applied	● Limited application	■ Not applied

The table confirms the complementarity of the sides of Lefebvre's triangle in the old environment of Manama. In the high-rise building environment, there are some differences. This table classifies the perceived space that indicates economic movement and transportation. The perceived space is considered moderately applied. This is due to the discrepancy when comparing the movement of the economy between large and small business concerns. The Bahrain Bay area is famous for large investments and a strong economy; the fourth chapter mentioned an example of this. However, the small economic movement (such as kiosks and shops) that attracts the general public walking the streets is assessed as being limited to certain points and within shopping malls. Thus, it is something that does not encourage everyday commerce or even social movement. As for transportation, it is integrated and supports walking as well as public and private transportation networks.

The conceived space is represented by the services available, including cultural institutions and intellectual personalities. In Bahrain Bay, high-quality electricity, water,

maintenance, cleaning and other services are available. However, it is not an incubating environment for cultural centers or social institutions. According to what was mentioned in the fourth chapter, the Bahrain Bay area attracts investors and the wealthy. Therefore, the conceived space appears weak in the Bahrain Bay area.

As for the living space that represents the social relations between the people of the area, there are no indications of strong relations. As indicated in the previous chapter, the residents' knowledge of each other and the mere habit of seeing the same people in the street creates a kind of special relationship to the place and people. In addition to this, the residents organizing and arranging activities themselves, will help strengthen the connection between residents. This result confirms the lack of integration of social aspects in the environment of high-rise buildings, thus the lack of social trust among residents, which is the main engine for establishing the identity of a new place.

Participants believe that the environment of high-rise buildings, despite its modernity and development, lacks the most important component of identity in the urban environment, which is social life. In contrast, there are many challenges facing the old environment of Manama, such as its narrow streets, the difficulty of obtaining parking spaces, and the large number of Asian workers. However, the old Manama remains the strongest in highlighting local identity because it is the strongest socially according to Leverbe's theory as explained above. The role of urban design is important in this social integration. According to what was previously mentioned in the literature, Manama in the past developed taking into account the cohesion and social relations between the residents and their needs. Old Manama was considered a cosmopolitan and ideal city because it combined various recreational, cultural and religious aspects, fulfilling the community's need for such activities by providing them and making them easily accessible. Comparing Old Manama to the modern environments of high-rise buildings, in which the global economy takes priority in design while ignoring the social composition, one can see that there is a clear gap in between them in respect of local identity.

The strong social composition underpinned by urban design influences the consolidation of the identity of the place in the minds of people. The old Manama is an example of this, where people have kept its image in their minds even after they migrated

out of it, and with its growing social, urban and cultural problems. People still had something of nostalgia, belonging, memory and the desire to return and revive this environment anew.

The findings of data analysis agreed on the possibility of defining the tangible factors clearly. Buildings, streets, mobility and movement, markets, commercial transactions, places of worship, houses, restaurants, cafes, and all elements that can be touched by hand and seen directly with the eye were considered as tangible aspects of the identity. On the other hand, the intangible factors that determine identity were identified as, first, the emotional expressions that were used, such as nostalgia, pride, belonging, happiness and others, and second, social life, such as cooperation, participation, interaction and activities. A third category included history, culture and heritage, which were expressed directly or in other terms, such as the memory of the place or the stories around it table (5.6).

Table (5. 6): Defining the tangible and intangible factors

Factors identifying urban identity	Tangible	Intangible
	• Buildings • Streets, (transportation system: pedestrian streets, transport) • Economy (commercial transactions)	• Memory (heritage and culture) • Emotional expressions • Social life

In the search for tangible and intangible factors that formulate urban identity in the environments of high-rise buildings, the following framework was prepared based on the above result, table (5.7) and table (5.8). To know the extent of identity in the environment of high-rise buildings, there must be clear tangible and intangible factors that make up the character of local identity in the place, according to the framework. Two high-rise environments were evaluated first, in the Juffair area, which is the oldest high-rise zone, and it was found that it lacks the essence of local identity and its features according to the tangible/intangible scale. According to the same framework, the environment of Bahrain Bay reflects the tangible factors of identity, such as an integrated transportation network that guarantees safe walking and cycling, and access for cars and public transportation. Bahrain Bay includes the Four Seasons as a prominent landmark of the country. In addition,

to the economic aspect, the Bahrain Bay area represents a strong economic force in the country and huge commercial transactions take place in it. But the direct processes, such as those represented in simple buying and selling in the urban environment are an important aspect of revitalizing the street, and motivating people to participate. Also, its huge buildings are not connected to their urban surroundings and do not welcome visitors. On the other hand, the intangible factors are weak or barely appear, with the exception of the feeling of pride in being a modern environment, with services and an economy that is strong.

Table (5. 7): Bahrain Bay area

Tangible										Intangible						
Environment				Transportation				Economy	History		Culture and social				Emotional expression	
Landmark	Accessibility & welcoming	Buildings	Place to sit	Walking & cycling	cars	Transportation	Buying & selling	Stories	Memory	Related to Bahrain	interaction with place	Cooperation & participation	Activities	pride	belonging	
▲	■	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	●	■	■	●	●	■	■	▲	■	
Strong ▲							Medium ●			Weak ■						

Table (5. 8): AlJuffair area

Tangible										Intangible					
Environment			Transportation				Economy	History		Culture and social			Emotional expression		
Landmark	Accessibility & welcoming	Buildings	Place to sit	Walking & cycling	cars	Transportation	Buying & selling	stories	Memory	Related to Bahrain	interaction with place	Cooperation & participation	Activities	pride	belonging
■	■	▲	■	■	▲	■	●	▲	●	●	■	■	■	■	■
Strong ▲						Medium ●				Weak ■					

It was noted that the environment of Bahrain Bay featured more clear identity factors than the older Juffair. This indicates that the lack of social interaction is no longer desired and there is an increased awareness among people and developers towards the importance of urban identity, that is, appreciating the ease of access and use of the urban environment, its activities and social interactions. This indicator raises hope for progress towards urban planning policies that support a positive perception of the city as a safe place to live and work. However, the environment of Bahrain Bay remains incomplete due to its lack of several important factors, and they are often intangible factors such as social trust and interaction.

5.3 Vision, strategy and recommendations

For decades, the policy of the Kingdom of Bahrain has been based on development in its various economic, human, infrastructure and urban sectors with the aim of advancing the country and the citizen. His Majesty King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa directed his recommendations in this regard, which prompted government agencies, private institutions and civil society institutions to unite and develop sustainable local strategies (Bahrain 2030), commensurate with the international sustainable development agenda and goals (bahrain.bh).

Sustainable development depends on the basic pillars, which are environmental, economic, social and cultural. Sustainability in its pillars urges the preservation of the local identity of the urban environment, which is in line with the country's approach and the Bahrain 2030 plan. Accordingly, this study recommends the following:

1. Promoting social life by creating an urban environment that is conducive to social trust. This can be achieved through a deep study of urban environments in Bahrain, and prepare a comprehensive and sustainable rehabilitation plan for high-rise building environments such as Juffair and Bahrain Bay. The following points indicate the general aspects that are important to consider in promoting social life.

- In residential areas, the low rise detached houses feature a backyard and a semi-private garden. Family members can practice their hobby and cultivate it according

to their taste. In addition, it creates opportunities to meet with neighbors (Modi, 2014). From this point of view, the study suggests allocating common ground space for the residents of one building in high-rise environments. Each group of units shares a private garden area for planting, decorating, maintaining and practising several activities such as meeting neighbors, children playing, eating snacks etc. It also provides opportunities to meet with other residents (see figure 5.2). According to Montgomery (2017), people are the main factor of a happy city. People meeting each other, even simple daily encounters in the city such as short conversations on the side of the street, opening the door to someone or performing an act of kindness makes a positive difference in the context of city life, making it happier and contributing to the building of social trust. Moreover, it will also help break the stereotypes, monotony, and boredom in high-rise building environments. According to Modi (2014), "The expression of uniqueness and personalization of private and semi-private spaces along streets and courts in low-rise neighborhoods naturally lends heterogeneity to the social environment. It makes the walks and outdoor stays pleasurable and exciting".



Figure 5.2 Residential high-rise area in Juffair compares the current state of the environment with the projected presence of semi-private gardens for residents (source: author)

- Enhance the social experience in the urban environment. Getting to a specific destination is a fun-filled journey that provides a rich physical and visual experience. This can be achieved by making the street lively, safe for walking, provided with resting places (street furniture) and easy to use for transportation (see figure 5.3 and 5.4).



Figure 5.3 Comparing the current state of streets in Juffair area with proposed pathways for walking and cycling in safety, shaded areas and street furniture (source: author)



Figure 5.4 Some elements attracting people to walk, such as pedestrian paths, coffeeshops and greenery (source: author)

- Make high-rise buildings accessible. High-rise building environments suffer from their massive architecture in terms of scale, which might be overwhelming and closed to users. Some describe them as repellent or unwelcome environments. High-rise buildings in Bahrain are not fully accessible if you are not a resident or have no compelling reasons. People may want to enter the buildings to look at them from the inside or to take some pictures from the top, like the John Hancock Center mentioned in Chapter Four. The inability of users of different classes to access and take advantage of the building creates a barrier between high-rises and people, and discourages them from visiting these environments because it is not welcoming to visitors. Making such buildings open to all should be in tandem with a design that imposes a new kind of cultural behavior in their environments. For instance, allowing people to interact on the ground floor by enhancing commercial activities, such as restaurants and cafes (5.5). According to Montgomery (2014), this makes the city happier through more lively, healthy, safe and walkable streets. In addition, from Montgomery's previous experiences in urban environments, this affects behavior and makes people more tolerant, kinder and more interactive with each other, with the bonus of having economic returns as well.

In considering this point in particular - the general use of the ground floor - in high-rise building environments in Bahrain, it found that it does not exist in Juffair area. The Bahrain Bay area tried to address this matter, however, it is considered an attempt that needs to be developed. As the use of the ground floor of the buildings is limited to restaurants and cafes and does not support other commercial activities. It is also restaurants and cafes that attract with their prices the wealthy class of society, thus indicating that they are repelling other classes. When comparing the two environments with the old Manama, it found in the latter the required diversity and its attraction to the various strata of society. This is one of the most important reasons for its success.

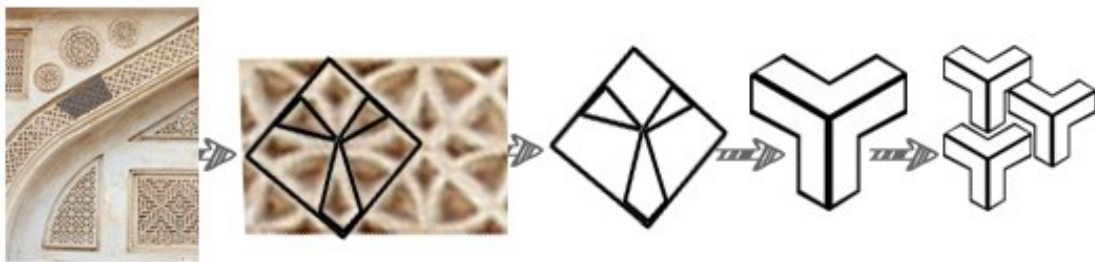


Figure 5.5 Promoting commercial activities, restaurants, cafes and shading elements (source: author).

2. In an urban environment, the building must relate to the surrounding environment, and the cultural and historical characteristics of the place.

- The building should respect the contextual specificity, which is considered a historical and cultural heritage that creates an integrated picture of the place. For example, when high-rise buildings are in the foreground of the low-rise, historical places or in front of a monument, the building must be designed in harmony with the environment and not block the view of important landmarks. The Leadenhall Building in London is an example of this. The sloping shape of the building preserves the view of St Paul's Cathedral and St Andrew's Lower Church (figure 5.6).



Figure 5.6 Leadenhall Building London (source: theleadenhallbuilding.com, 2015)

- Take into consideration cultural aspects by drawing inspiration from local lifestyles. This can be made possible by adding some local designs or cultural patterns to make it a symbol that is close to, and beloved by people and is in line with the local environment. An example is the Dayabumi Complex in Kuala Lumpur, which represents the Islamic style in architecture (figures 5.7 and 5.8). Another example is the Al Bahar Towers in Abu Dhabi, the design of its two towers inspired by the mashrabiya found in traditional Arab homes. The building is surrounded by a structure of canopies that tracks the movement of the sun to limit the entry of sunlight into the building and also reduce the air-conditioning energy (figures 5.9 and 5.10).



Figure 5.7 The Dayabumi Complex in Kuala Lumpur, a high-rise building with Islamic elements (source: zoomroda.com, 2022)



Figure 5.8 The Dayabumi Complex in Kuala Lumpur (source: zoomroda.com, 2022)



Figure 5.9 The Al Bahar Towers in Abu Dhabi (source: Albayan, 2015)



*figure 5.10 Mashrabiya style as a canopy for the building inspired by traditional Arabian houses
(source: Albayan, 2015)*

- Take into account the country's harsh climatic conditions. Sustainability is an Islamic and cultural heritage, as traditional architecture has been built on this basis. The solution to the problem of the climate is to benefit as much as possible from the natural factors such as the sun, wind and rain in the conservation and generation of energy. It is recommended to try to take advantage of natural ventilation and cooling for the longest possible period of the year. The Bahrain World Trade Center (BWTC) is a unique global model for high-rise buildings, which applies wind energy generation technology, indicating that efforts are directed towards sustainability (figure 5.11). However, the project made the mistake of not adequately studying the movement of the wind, which resulted in design errors. According to Blocken (2014), that if the building was in the opposite direction, it would have been able to generate approximately 30% of the energy, which is twice the energy produced by the building in its current form (see figure 5.12). Not to mention that the wind strength in Bahrain is weak compared to the strength of the sun. According to Meteoblue (simulated climate and weather data for Bahrain), Bahrain has the highest insolation rates in the world, which can be used to generate clean energy.



Figure 5.11 Bahrain World Trade Center (source: Zawya.com, 2022)

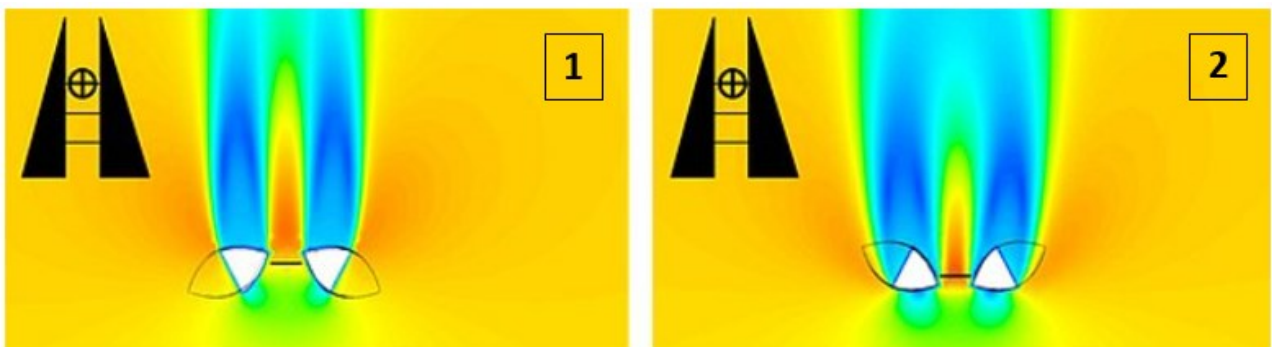


Figure 5.12 Picture 1 shows the current situation of BWTC. Picture 2 shows the towers built the other way round (source: Eindhoven University of Technology, 2014)

3. It is recommended that some design principles that help link elements of the urban environment be followed.

- Ensure that the proportions between the height of the buildings and the width of the street are balanced, so that the street is not narrow in front of a very high building or wide with buildings of lower height. Organize the arrangement of buildings, so that they do not appear random and indicate chaos and disorder. This includes arranging buildings and maintaining rhythm so that each building is not built individually without linking it to its surroundings with other buildings in terms of height and integration. The professionals interviewed pointed to this problem of the environments of high-rise buildings in Bahrain suffering from chaotic appearance because they are designed individually and express themselves without being linked to the urban environment, resulting in a lack of the harmony in a given environment.

Al-Kodmany (2013) referred to what has been mentioned above in his study of the development of high-rise building environments (figure 5.13). He also emphasized the importance of large public spaces and making them accessible to people because of their role in enhancing social cohesion, a sense of identity and providing psychological support. This is done by encouraging people to meet, engage in recreational and social activities and get sunlight from public squares (Al-Kodmany, 2013).

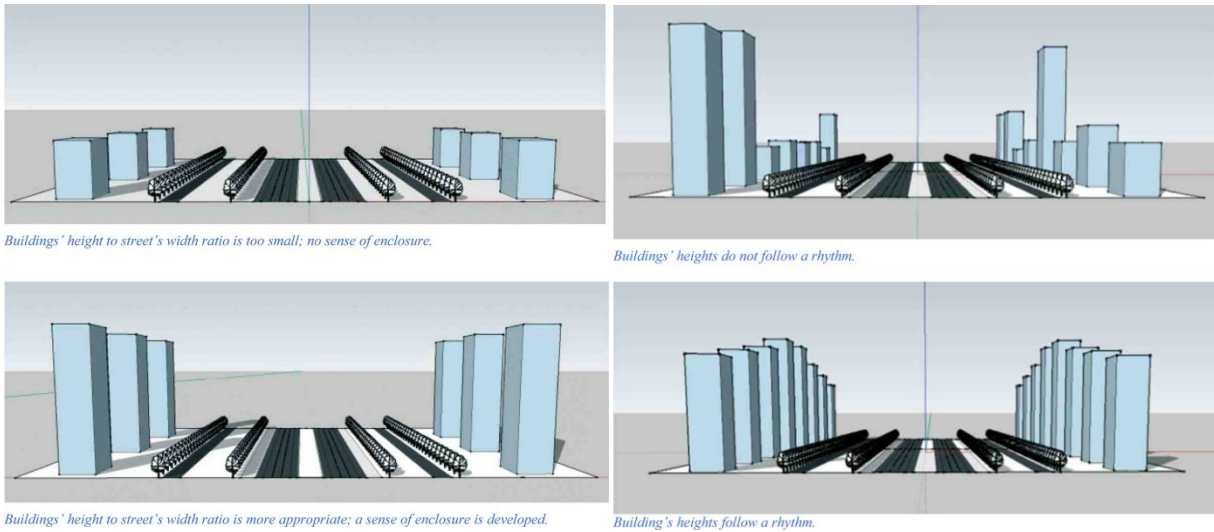


Figure 5.13 Sketches showing proportion and rhythm in high rise environment (source: Al-Kodmany, 2013)

- It is suggested that the identity scale table (5.6) and (5.7) prepared in this study be used during the development of future environments, in order to have modern environments that keep pace with globalization and take into account the coherence of local identity. This can be achieved with the help of official authorities through the inclusion of some rules and regulations that promote new urban environments.
- Continue to spread awareness through events and seminars for individuals, professionals and children, all of whom, one way or another, have been affected and/or influenced by globalization. The second chapter mentioned the dominance of high-rise environments on the cities of the world and the danger of globalization on urban identity and place-making. One of the objectives of this study was to raise awareness, and foster appreciation, of the local identity in Bahrain's new environments. Through the study's various research methods, it was found that there are practitioners of the profession who do not care to adopt the features of local identity in urban environments, and they deal blindly with Western construction methods and seek to promote and copy these methods in the Bahraini urban environment.

5.4 Contribution to knowledge

Most of the literature focused on the transformations of urban identity in the era of globalization and the post-industrial revolution. Many parts of the world have experienced a boom in high-rise building, yet most of the literature is concentrated on the effects of globalization and identity in the Western world. It was found that there is a lack of coverage of the impact of urban transformations in the Gulf region and Bahrain in particular.

There is, however, some research in the field that discusses urban transformation in the Arab Gulf states, which deals in depth with the phenomena of high-rise construction and its relation to identity. To expand on current knowledge, this research contributes to the classification of the factors that shape urban identity, and puts them under two main headings, tangible and intangible factors. Based on the results of interviews with locals, focus groups and interviews with professionals, a contextual framework was formulated to act as an indicator of the achieved level of the urban identity of a city. The identity framework was used to understand the presence of identity in high-rise building environments in Bahrain. The framework can be used in any urban environment to know the extent to which urban transformations affect it, and what each environment lacks in order to express its local identity.

The scale contributes to supporting and enhancing identity in modern environments. It can be used before construction to rectify the mistakes that city developers make. It can also be used in an effort to develop and improve existing urban environments as much as possible.

The research sheds light on the importance of understanding, appreciating and maintaining the uniqueness of the urban identity in Bahrain. It also stresses the significance of local character in relation to how environments impact on individuals in an indirect way and from several aspects. It has been proven that urban environments either invite interaction or fragmentation of their inhabitants. The research highlighted the most prominent errors that occur in high-rise building environments in Bahrain. These are represented in the lack of connection of tall buildings with their surroundings, their difficulty of access and the lack of interest in promoting the social and cultural aspect. Such deficiencies have led people to move away from these environments and not accept them.

The research made several recommendations that can be taken in building the cities of the future. It also presented some models of high-rise building environments in Bahrain that can be developed and made more vibrant and expressive of identity. Adopting these models would be the first step towards enhancing people's lives and contributing to a better spatial experience, leading to greater prosperity and the promotion of the concept of a happy city.

5.5 Conclusion

The world has undergone obvious urban transformations since the Industrial Revolution, and in the era of globalization. Huge developments have become the signature of modern cities and economic powers. Undoubtedly, these transformations have affected the cities of the Arabian Gulf with their newfound oil wealth. These new patterns are seen as a threat to local identity and cultural continuity in the Gulf. Manama has been pulled along in the wake of globalization to reflect the image of the globalized city, and its architects have eschewed planning practices that respect social cohesion and the historical value of the place, instead opting for Western styles with their luxurious high-rise buildings. Because of this, people find themselves outside these environments as they fail to take into account the social value and reflect the luxury destined for a class of the wealthy. This has had significant psychological and behavioral effects on people, such as fragmentation (isolation from public participation), a crisis in identity and a sense of social alienation. Therefore, there is an urgent need to change the basics of designing high-rise environments and make them more expressive of society and its identity.

This research has identified the problem and its effects, and has supported the idea of considering identity as one of the main factors that must be taken into account in building for the future. The research achieved its objectives and answered the research questions posed at the beginning of the study using qualitative research methods. Regarding the first question, what are the dimensions that determine the current transitional urban identity in Bahrain? After reviewing the literature and study outputs in the second and fourth chapters, respectively, in this chapter above, a definition of urban identity was reached and the aspects that should be taken into account when talking about urban identity. As for the second question, how can architects and practitioners help strengthen local urban identity? A table has been prepared through the results of the research that includes the basic

elements in the formation of identity. The use of the table facilitates the discovery of neglected aspects of the urban environment and encourages architects and practitioners to diligently find solutions and avoid frequent errors when designing future environments.

The study went through several stages to answer the research questions. In its various stages, it achieved the objectives of the research, which is to understand the interactions of users with each other and their urban environment. Understand identity factors for users. Preparing a conceptual framework for urban identity and finally recommendations.

The research concluded that Bahrain does not have many options outside of being aware of its methods in developing high-rise building environments and of learning from past mistakes, such as those made in Juffair. The research also touched on the issue of the state's ability to respond to and develop methods for improvement in environments, such as considering pedestrian paths, transportation and greenery. The Bahrain Bay area, which is a new area (some parts of which are still under construction), is an example of a development that offers hope, one that is responsive to people's needs (figure 5.14).



Figure 5.14 A picture of Bahrain Bay showing a safe walking path, a road for cars with parking and some green elements (source: author)

The image that the Bahrain Bay environment has achieved may be a result of the rules and regulations that the state constantly evolves to develop urban environments. However, based on the interviews, the authorities lack direct reference in their laws and regulations to principles that support social life and local identity in high-rise environments. Therefore, the Bahrain Bay area still needs further study and development in order to identify and consider the intangible factors in particular in order to enhance the local identity.

The research discussed the extent to which people are affected by the surrounding urban environment, arriving at a definition of urban identity using the research findings and literature by identifying its tangible and intangible factors. This was one of the chief goals announced at the beginning of the research, in addition to a set of recommendations and models for the future development of the current urban environment.

5.6 Future studies and limitations

This research is the cornerstone in understanding the impact of urban transformations on local identity. It has studied Old Manama, Bahrain Bay and Juffair. Owing to the limited time for conducting the study and it being a partial fulfilment of the requirements for a master's degree, it satisfied its aims and objectives. The biggest difficulty faced by the researcher were the conditions of the pandemic that the country is experiencing, which made it hard to conduct face-to-face interviews and deprived the researcher of the opportunity to read and analyze non-verbal responses, such as facial expressions and body language.

Despite the difficulties, the research achieved sufficient results to answer the research question and achieve its objectives. Perhaps the most prominent finding of the research is the "identity presence scale" in the urban environment, which can be used in other contexts independent of this research. The researcher looks forward to studying more areas of Bahrain using the urban identity scale prepared in this research, in addition to reusing it in the Bahrain Bay area in the future after the completion of its construction.

Finally, the study found that there are many gaps related to urban identity that need more research in the Arab Gulf region and Bahrain in particular, such as the issue of building social trust in new urban developments which are yet to be built. These gaps can be filled by using more research methods, such as interviews in other environments, observations and cognitive maps.

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Appendices

APPENDIX – 1

SEMINAR TRANSCRIPT

Seminar transcript

Good morning and thank you for attending this seminar about, **transformation of urban identity: an exploration through the emerging high-rise buildings in Bahrain.**

My name is Manal. When was traveling, I've always loved discovering ancient, traditional cities and walking in them. Even in Bahrain when I can spend some time on my own, I like to walk around the old neighborhoods of Muharraq. My Interest led me to my master project is to investigate how these environments transferred to the current ones and how much it is related to the original ones.

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: أستاذة منال, قبل ما تكملين, اذا تسمحين لي عندي اقتراح طالما حاليا الموجودين كلهم عرب ف نتكلم بالعربي وما ابغي اناقش الفكرة بس في الأخير at the end of the day احنا we think in Arabic we don't think in English, even though you might or we might be fluent in English

بس في نهاية الامر مسألة التفكير ف عشان تكون الحوار مثري, اعتقد اذا ممكن نطرح الامر بالعربي عشان نقدر نتحاور لان في الأخير الهدف مو تقديم presentation او checklist انتين تبغين يكون في حوار من الجانبين وفي اخذ وعطى فلو نخلي الطرح يكون بالعربي يكون افضل خاصا ان ما في non-Arabic speaker في الجلسة. والامر راجع لك وطبعا للدكتورة حوراء الشيخ الامر راجع لكم.

منال: yes, ok no problem

الدكتورة حوراء الشيخ: no problem, I just was inviting colleagues from university, but it seems that محد جاء. ف مدام احنا كلنا عرب it is absolutely fine if this is your request منال I think its ok with you

منال: yes

هذه جملة قالها احد المهتمين في مجال التطوير الحضري اللي هو اسمة روتن "الشيء اللي كان جدا خاص في المدن صار متغير وعالمي, يعني صار يطلع لبرا" في جملته هذه هو كان يوصف شكل العمارة والأماكن الحضرية اليوم شلون صارت متشابهة تتصف بالتشابه, وغير معرفة يعني مالياها صفة البلد الموجودة مالياها تعريف معين هي كلها متشابهة ومتقاربة من بعضها.

قبل ما نذهب بشكل عميق بالموضوع انتو كمختصين شلون تفهمون الهوية الحضرية بشكل عام؟ يعني بعض الناس عرفوا الهوية الحضرية بأنها قدرة الفرد على التواجد في مكان وتذكره كونه مكان مختلف عن الأماكن الأخرى فميزته المختلفة هي اللي تعطيه الهوية, عدم التشابه مع الأماكن الأخرى. أيضا في ناس عطوها بعد ثقافي واجتماعي, واخرين قالو انها عبارة عن الحفاظ على التراث بخصوص المباني والشوارع والأماكن. انتو كمختصين ماذا تعتقدون (حتى لو بكلمة) الشيء الذي يعرف الهوية الحضرية؟

مهندس مهدي الجلاوي: عشان يصير interact عشان discussion جيبهم بالاسماء الأستاذة نور, الأستاذ إبراهيم, الى اخره يمكن يتفاعلون معك اما تتركين الامر جذي ممكن ما نجواب ننتظر دعوة.

منال: اوك, تفضل جاوب أستاذ مهدي ..

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: انا اقترحت ماقلت ان انا اتدبس هههه..

المهندسة نور المطوع: صباح الخير أولا, بالتوفيق مقدما, انا توقعت ان بتسهيبن في طرح الأفكار وبعدين ممكن نتدخل انا توقعت جذي, بس اذا محتاجين مداخله حاليا, انا ممكن اسهم في مداخله بسيطة, بس انا كنت في البداية قاعدة

مستمعة ابي اسمع لا من زمان ما سمعت معلومات جديدة بس يبدو انك تريد interaction بسرعة. بالنسبة لي الهوية الحضرية ليست فقط مرتبطة بالعمارة، هي عمارة و weather, culture انا بالنسبة لي نفس مثلا نفس فينيسيا بنجيبها ونحطها في دبي ما بتعطيني الإحساس مالت الحضارة مالت روم مالت هذيك البلد، لانها مرتبطة أيضا بثقافة الموجودين بأشكالهم بالجو، فتعريف الهوية الحضرية بعيدا عن اللي درسته بالجامعة لما اعرف الهوية الحضرية هي بالنسبة لي مزيج من ثقافة عمرانية، ثقافة الشعب، وتضاريس المنطقة وجوها. لا انظر للموضوع كتاريخ فقط علما انه من زمان كانت تقاس الحضارات بثقافة عمرانها او اشكال عمرانها بس انا اضيف اليها عمرانها، وجوها وعادات الشعب.

هل تؤيدها أستاذ إبراهيم ام لديك إضافات أخرى؟

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: الهوية الحضرية هي معناها الارتباط للشخص، نفس ما قالت الأستاذة نور المطوع، ان دائما الهوية مرتبطة بعادات وتقاليد وهالأمر هذي والشخصيات نفسها الموجودة على نفس الأرض. مايصير نفس ما أعطت مثال مايصير ناخذ تصميم معين من روما ونطبقه في البحرين مثلاً، لان التصميم هو بحد ذاته مبنى وشكل، ولكن العادات والتقاليد والأشخاص أنفسهم المكونين لهذا المجتمع هم اللي يؤسسون هذه الواجهة الحضرية للمجتمع.

هل تعتقد ان هالشي صار في البيئة البحرينية، ادخل شئ ليس من الحضارة؟

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: في بعض الأمور الأشياء صارت موجودة، بعض الأمور صارت موجودة في الحضارة. لكن بنفس الوقت هي غير متقبلة من المجتمع نفسه، المجتمع ماقاعد يتقبل هذه الأمور. نوع اللي تكون دخيلة ومو طبيعية (غير مرغوب فيها وشاذة).

المهندسة نور المطوع: في كل بلد ممكن تشوفين China town او China road بس هي ليست الصين هي ممكن تكون محاولة لاحضار ثقافة وتحطها في مكان ثاني، بس بخصوص التعريف فهو امر مختلف. ترتبط فيها ثقافة البلد، جوه، لبسهم اكلهم عاداتهم هذا اللي يعطي الهوية.

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: انا اعتقد اني اتفق مع ما طرحوه الجماعة ولكن كفكرة رئيسية الهوية الحضرية او العمرانية هي عبارة عن layers اذا بنطالعها، ف ال layers هذي مختلفة يعني الشباب اللي طرحو بعض layers واتفق معهم اذا نتكلم عن الشكل، ال food، ال arts الثقافة الهوية البصرية للباس كل هذا كل شغلة منها عبارة عن layer وكل layer تنحط بالآخر اذا بيتجمعون مع بعض يشكلون هوية معينة ف at the end of the day انا اعتقد ان الهوية الحضرية عبارة عن إحساس يوصلنا بتواجدنا في مكان معين. يعني لم اتواجد في المحرق مثلا احساسي يختلف من تواجدي في المنامة ولم اتواجد في كرانة احساسي جدا مختلف عن تواجدي في الرفاع. وان كانت اذا بنطالع واحد من layers تتشابه يعني احنا في هذه الجزيرة جدا صغيرا قد لا تعد بحجم قرية في دولة أخرى ولكن عندنا تنوع واختلاف يعني مثلا المحرق لها هوية خاصة فيها بالطابع العمراني، وان اشتركت مع المنامة ولكن لها خاصية بروحها. اذكر قبل سنوات كنا نعمل دراسة معينة لجامعة البحرين. عملنا survey لاطروحة دكتوراه زيارات لقرى مختلفة في المحرق، يوم رحنا الدير، طبيعة أهالي الدير كانت مختلفة جدا عن سماهيج. لما طلعلنا من سماهيج رحنا لقلالي كانت الامور جدا مختلفة ليهم نقدر نقول هوية حضرية خاصة بهم. وان كانت في البداية من النظرة الأولى اذا بننظر للخرايط او الحديث ذا بنجلس معهم بنقول هذول أهالي قرى المحرق بس الامر كان جدا مختلف عند دخول المكان. يعني انا اخذ الفكرة بهذي الطريقة اغمض عيوني بأحاسيسي الأخرى (بعد التعرف على المكان) اقدر اميز ان انا حاليا لست في هذه المنطقة في المنطقة الفلانية يعني في احد القرى عندهم انفتاح يتكلمون اذا مرت حرمة تسلم، و في مكان احنا واقفين خمس دقائق جاءت لنا مجموعة تسال انتو غرباء ماذا تريدون وكذا. اللي ابغي أقوله ان هو عبارة عن layers وهو بالآخر يودي لاحساس معين وهي نفس ماتفضلو الاخوان هي أمور مختلفة عبارة عن لباس، شكل، رموز، فنون، الأفكار اللي تتبناها المنطقة اللي نتحدث عنها.

الى أي مدى تتفق مع العبارة التالية:

“As the central force behind cities across the globe become more harmonized, cities across the world looking similar” (Greenfield, 2016).

يقول ان القوى المركزية وراء المدن أصبحت أكثر تناسق وموحدة أكثر بخصوص أهدافها مثل جذب الاستثمار والاقتصاد القوي واعطاء انطباعها بالحدثة والقوة والسرعة، فما ان هذه الأهداف أصبحت مشتركة في مدن العالم أيضا هذا الشيء اثر على العمارة والمناطق الحضرية الى أي مدى تؤيد هذا الرأي.

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: من ناحية البناء نعم نستطيع ان نقلد مبنى في أي منطقة معينة، يعني نستطيع ان نعيد أي شيء موجود بالعالم مثلا المجمع الفلاني في أكثر من منطقة او المدرسة الفلانية في أكثر من مكان. لكن الفكرة انها أمور لا تغير من الطابع، ولاتعطيني ايحاء ان انا في منطقة ثانية، كبناء هو موجود ولكن كأحاساس هو موجود بحدود التي تحد المناطق وتحد ثقافتها، هذي أمور ليست موجود لحد الان في كل المدن العالمية.

مارأيك ب الذي يعتقد ان هذه المباني تعطي إحساس وانطباع بالقوة؟

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: هو كأحاساس بالقوة هو موجود لكن القوة الفعلية لاتقاس بارتفاع وحجم المبنى، قد تكون صورة واجهة إعلامية لكن ليست قوى حقيقية.

المهندسة نور المطوع: بالنسبة للعمارة هذا مايسمى العولمة، أصبحت العولمة في اللبس، الثقافة، في العادات وبما في ذلك في المباني هذا امر طبيعي. اليوم قد نتكلم ان المدن الكبيرة انبنت كلها من اشخاص ليسو مهندسين من المنطقة نفسها، نتكلم عن global architect حول العالم Norman Foster اغلب مشاريعه في هونغ كونغ وسنغافور ليست في بريطانيا وكثير منهم مثل زها حديد وغيرها. بس احنا نتكلم اليوم عن الاقتصاد، المشاريع الاقتصادية تمثل القوى المحركة والتي تتمثل في المباني الشاهقة بما فيها الأبراج السكنية دائما يكون فيها standardization. يعني اذا بتدخلين ال four seasons على سبيل المثال في أي مدينة في العالم بتشوفين نفس الستائر مو بس في الخدمات ولكن حتى في العمارة. مثلا اذا بتدخلين ستار بوكس نفس الشعور اللي بتدخلينه في البحرين هو نفس التصميم في نفس الوقت منسوخ من مكان اخر عشان يصير branding هذا الشيء له ميزاته وسلبياته. ميزاته اذا بتكلمين عن ال equity يعني ان انتي تحسين نفس الخدمة ونفس الجمال تحصيلينه في أي مكان تذهب له. ولكن في نفس الوقت لها ناحية سلبية هي اذا بتسافر وتبحر نفسك فقط في المجمعات ماتشعر أصلا انك سافرت. بعني اذا بتطلع من البحرين لذي ثم الى اسطنبول ثم الى لندن وبتقعد بس في المولات indoor you will not feel the difference, لان you will face same service same quality same interior.

حتى نفس الشيء القوى العاملة اللي تتحرك في البنوك. اللي يشتغل في الرياض ونفس الفرع للبنك يروح في دبي او هونغ كونغ هو المطلوب على أساس يحرك القوى الاقتصادية احنا نحتاج هالشي. من الناحية السياحية لا، من جذي تشوف ناس لم يسافرون لا يريدون يكونون دائما indoor لانه لم يشعرو بالفرق يريدون يشوفون المطاعم الصغيرة او المباني الكلاسيكية الموجودة عشان يشعرون بالفرق انهم انتقلو من منطقة لمنطقة من هوية لهوية. ردا عالسؤال هل المباني الشاهقة تعطي انعكاس للقوة؟ نعم تعطي انعكاس للقوة الاقتصادية لكن هي اكيد لم تشوفين مباني عالية يعني ان هذه البلد قوي اقتصاديا، اقتصادها مو ماشي فقط على المدخرات ماشي من ال tangible values ف اكيد هي تمثل اقتصاد. غير لم تزورين مدينة اعلى شي فيها .. اكيد الإحساس بالثقل التجاري مرتبط كثيرا بالارتفاع في المباني.

تعتقدين ان هذه السمعة اللي حصلت عليها المباني العالية نتيجة سمعة إعلامية او هي حقيقة فعلا قوية اقتصاديا؟

يعني انا أتكلم بالأرقام من اجل بناء المبنى الصحيح يجب ان تستثمر الكثير من المال في ذلك. غير لم تسوينه على مستوى افقي يعني هو اكيد يمثل قوى اقتصادية. وكون ارتباط الانسان ان العلو يعني القوة فنشوف في تصميم المباني ان افضل الطوابق تكون فوق بالاعلى وهذا كان من سابق الحضارات في الارتفاع مطلوب من أيام بناء الاهرامات، سور الصين العظيم، المعابد. دائما مركز القوى في الرأس في الأعلى وتحدد الطبقة العليا. هذا الانطباع مراح مازال تشوفين في المباني ان الخدمات تحت وكل ما نروح الاعلى يصبح أغلي في السعر وتكلفة البناء. من الطبيعي ذلك لم نزور بلد نفس مسقط اعلى مبنى يتكون من 10 أدوار وتطالعين الناس ثقافة المجتمع كلهم نفس البساطة نفس المستوى الاقتصادي لايوجد تفاوت في أنواع السيارات وأنواع المطاعم مافي طبقة فوق طبقة تحت جميع المستوى الاقتصادي والثقافي للجميع يبدو متساو. في حين تزورين مدينة فيها ابنية شاهقة تلاحظين الفرق بين الاحياء البسيطة وبين

سياراتهم وبين ومطاعمهم ماركاتهم وبين المدينة اللي فيها المساحات العالية بتشوفين الـ downtown وبتشوفين المركز الاقتصادي مرتبط فعلا بالارتفاع وهو لم يأت من عبث هو جاء لاحتياج بسبب الكثافة السكانية احتاجو هذا الارتفاع ثم ارتبط بالانجاز الانشائي. وهو انجاز انشائي اكثر مما هو معماري. في احد المعمارين يشبه المدن هذي دبي وسنغافور وهونغ كونغ كأنها زجاجات عطر بجميع الاشكال وكلها زجاجية ومثلها على هذا الأساس وقال كأنها صراع معماري و انشائي لتعطي رمز للقوة اكيد هي كذلك بعض المدن تستثمر الكثير من المال من اجل الشكل لانه يعطي انطباع بالقوة (احنا اصبحنا اعلى واستطعنا الوصول الي هذا الانجاز معماريا وانشائيا) نعم هي دليل على القوة.

المهندس محمد الحداد: لا اود ان اضيف بعد الذي قالوه، اتفق مع العبارة ان بسبب الأهداف المتشابهة انا كمطور اريد ابين لمدينتي او النسيج الحضري يدل على قوتي ف بالنهاية ننتهي بمدن مرتفعة فيها مبان شاهقة. الـ humanization في المباني مفقود من جذي لم نشوف الرؤية بدون مانعرف هذا في أي مدينة ممكن نعتقد انها في أي مكان.

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: بشكل عام هي العبارة اليد او لا أؤيد فيها خدعة مذكور Harmonized الهارموني هي اللي تخلي الواحد يفكر اذا بنتكلم عن ان كلهم يبدون متشابهين اتفق وما في عاقل يقول غير ذلك حتى لو ما سافر (من خلال التلفون نستطيع نساfer الى كل مكان في العالم). نعم كلهم متشابهين ولكن هل يوجد تناغم بينهم او لا هذا امر اخر. انا اعتقد ان هناك استعمار قوى رأسمالية للأسف هي التي تستعمر الأمم والشعوب والدول وقاعد توجه دفة العالم بشكل مؤسف جدا. القوى الرأسمالية توجد الطبقية بخلق بيئة حضرية متشابهة تنتقل في كل مكان يعني لم يجي Norman Foster او زها حديد تصمم لي او احدهم يصمم لي الكعبة او التصميم الحضري لمكة التي هي قلب الامبرطورية الإسلامية يأتي يهودي او مسيحي بغض النظر عن اختلافي او اتفاقي بالديانة او التوجه الفكري بس اذا سلمت كل الأمور للقوى الرأسمالية بأن تتخذ القرارات الحضرية اليها هنا تكمن المشكلة هذا ليس تناغما هذا نسخ او تشابه ولكن ليس تناغم. هم يريدون ان يسموه تناغم يريدوني ان أعيش نفس الحياة التي هم يريدونها التي تسمى بظاهرة الـ McDonald's اول شي تطالب فيه القوى الرأسمالية المتمثلة في الولايات المتحدة هي ان تنشئ فرع McDonald's اين ما تذهب. يعني في روسيا في اليوم الذي سمو لماك ان يفتح هذا عبارة عن انهم رفعو لهم العلم الأبيض وسمحت بدخول القوى الرأسمالية المتمثلة بأمريكا الى روسيا ومنذ وقتها بدأ التأثير على الثقافة او الحضر بشكل عام على المنظور البعيد لروسيا على الرغم انهم مازالو يحتفظون. لكن اذا نشوف الصين مثلا ما سمحت لهذا ان يحصل لهم توحهم بروحهم Google, snapchat, Instagram مايعملون في الصين عندها توجهها الخاص وان كان توجه رأسمالي او اشتراكي رأسمالي مثل ما يصفونه. ولكن بشكل عام يبدون متشابهين ولكن غير متناغمين يحاولون صنع التناغم ولكنه يفهم على انه اجبار من القوى الرأسمالية يريدون يجعلونا متناغمين بالاكل والبس والفكر.

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: انا عندي هذه المداخلة عن السؤال هل علو المباني يدل على القوة؟ اذا هذا المنطق نتكلم عنه يعني عندنا مباني في مصر اللي هي الاهرامات هي شاهقة كبيرة ومعقدة ولا احد استطاع ان يفعل مشابهة لها الى اليوم، هل انا اعتبر انها في هذيك الفترة مصدر قوة على الرغم من ان مصر اليوم تعتبر من دول الشرق الأوسط يعني ليست من الدول المتقدمة في العمارة، حجم المبنى بالعكس ماله اي اثر في القوة. القوة تعتمد على مكوناتها الشعبي مكونها الاجتماعي ثقافتها علمها، كل هذا الأمور تعكس القوة.

تعتقد انها قوة إعلامية مصطنعة لكنها حقيقيا ليست مصدر قوة

نحن نقول في العمارة، كبناء هي قوة بس كتقل على الأرض لا تعتبر قوة

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: تعقبا على المثال الذي ظربه مثال جميل طرحه أستاذ إبراهيم، فيما سبق كانت العمارة استعراض قوى مثل الاهرامات في ذلك الوقت كان استعراض قوى. في بين الروم والفرس كان استعراض قوى، بين الدولة الصفوية والدولة العثمانية لم جاء المعمار سنان سوا تركيا إسطنبول اليوم هذا استعراض كان بمقابل شيخ بهاء الدين العاملي في أصفهان. في هذاك الوقت كان صحيح استعراض قوى اما اليوم هو استعراض أموال فقط لا غير. وين الشطارة ان انا اجي افوشر ان انا عندي مبنى مولد للطاقة وهو دخل موسوعة جينيس (اتكن) سوتة شركة اجنبية بنته والبنغالي ساهم في بناءه انا فقط دفعت فلوس هذا مو استعراض قوى هذا استعراض خواء فكري خلو ثقافي مجرد

استعراض أموال استعراض غراش عطور عندي. في حين المبنى القديم اللي انا اعتز فيه مثلا في البحرين اروح بيت خلف او بيت شيخ عيسى بن علي هذي العمارة التقليدية الموجودة في يوم من الأيام كانت هوية للاستعراض كانوا يستعرضون بها يوم من الأيام في التاريخ اذا رجعنا هذي نعز فيها لانها أنشئت بفكر محلي بصناعة محلية وتطوير محلي اما ان نورمان فوستر جاء صمم لي او اتكن او زها حديد سوت لي. دبي على سبيل المثال بعيدا عن ان دبي مدينة عالمية يستطيعون التباهي في شئ أكثر من مبنى صممه زها حديد هو متحف التنمية الحديث عبارة عن مخطوطة لمطر بن لاحق، خطاط اماراتي نحات فنان اماراتي سوا الشكل الخارجي للمبنى عبارة عن مخطوطة بيبضاوية نعم هنا يمكن التباهي بغض النظر عن اذا كان يعجني او انتقده او ما يعجيني او لا انتقده بغض النظر عن هذا هنا اقدر اقول انه استعراض لاحد المواطنين الاماراتيين اما تكنولوجيا او انشائها فهو ابداعا مو استعراض هذا استعراض فلوس. حال المباني هذي هو حال مزاد البعاريين اللي يصير بالرياض بنص الصحراء سيارات اخر موديل (حدد انواع السيارات) يستعرضون الفلوس يشترون بغير 5 مليون و 10 مليون و 30 مليون. يعني اذا احدهم شبهها بغراش العطور نعم هي في الشكل كذلك وبالنسبة لي هم كالبعاريين التي يتم شراءهم بمبالغ كبيرة من اجل استعراض المال لا اكثر ليسو باستعراض فكري او حضري ثقافي.

ما هو الفرق بين النمارة القديمة والمناطق الجديدة ذات مبان المرتفعة. كما ترون في الصور مثل الجفير تعتبر منطقة ذات ارتفاع عالي. أي مكان ترتاح بالمشي فيه اكثر، تجربتك في المكانين اين تكون هناك اريحة؟

المهندس محمد الحداد: يمكن يكون رأي من ناحية شخصية أفضل الجانب الحديث بالنسبة لي اعرف لماذا النمارة القديمة أصبحت بهذا الشكل لاسباب طبيعية النسيج العمراني بدا ينتشر ويكبر مع مرور الزمن وصل لهذه المرحلة بينما الجانب الجديد شيء مضطرب يعني ماعنده الوقت هذا التطور العمراني على جانب اليمين مآكان في دراسة او أسباب خلطنا نوصل لهذه المرحلة الا انا فقط نريد ان نظهر اننا نستطيع (نريد نري العالم ان النمارة عندها القدرة انها تكون في هالصورة). بينما النمارة القديمة لا الأهالي الناس الثقافة شوي شوي وصلت لها المكان، انا كنتفضل شخصي افضل الشئ المتطور ولكن الفكرة افضل فكرة التطور التدريجي سبب وصولنا لهالمرحلة.

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: الفرق بين الجانب القديم طبعا الصورة على اليمين منطقة المرفأ المالي انا اشوفها حياة منسوخة من سنغافور دبي المارينا او الرياض داون تاون لاتفرق عنهم اذا مشيت فيها حالها حال تلك الأماكن ممكن ماليزيا أيضا تكون الأجواء متشابهة نوعا ما. الصورة الأخرى الجفير، هي مدينة او حي او ما كان تريد تسميته. الجفير هي عبارة عن نتيجة للتغير في القانون (قانون المباني الشاهقة) أدى الى لانشاء مكان اسمه الجفير وانما هو ليس مخطط وليس على الخطة الحضرية ولايوجد مكان مشابه له ليس له ثيم معين للأسف ممكن الحين يحاولون يسون له ثيم معين ولكن ليس له هوية الا في نقطة او نقطتين لا أحب ان اذكرهم. بالنسبة للنمارة القديمة، صار عندها هويتها باختلاف الوقت في اليوم واختلاف الوقت في الأسبوع واختلاف الشهر، يعني زيارتي الصباح مختلف عن زيارتي في الليل، اروح في الويكند يختلف عن نص الأسبوع، اروح في موسم مثلا الحين محرم يختلف عن ربيع الثاني يعني الانطباعات هي مدينة روح بلا جسد والروح هذي متغيرة استنادا الى الاوقات المختلفة في اليوم والشهر والسنة. بخصوص السؤال اين افضل اذهب هذا يعتمد حسب مزاجي ولكن اكثر اميل للذهاب الى النمارة القديمة كون المنطقة الحديثة اعرف انها تحت الانشاء فلا استمتع هناك اما عن الأماكن المحيطة مثل الافنيوز وجزيرة الريف استمتع بالتجوال هناك حسب مزاجي، اما مكان نفس الجفير ابدأ هذا المكان لا افضل ابدأ بل اشعر بالتشنج عند الذهاب.

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: انا عن نفسي افضل المنطقة القديمة دائما، الأسباب عدة بس عندي مثال مدينة المحرق وزارة الثقافة سوو جهد كبير بإعادة احياء المباني والبيوت والممرات القديمة في المنطقة بس حين اذهب امشي في المحرق ما اشوف نفسي مرتاح نفسيا لأن مو المبنى والمسار هي تحدد الراحة، الناس طبيعتها هي اللي تحدد مثلا مبنى قديم متعوب عليه وممرم بشكل حلو بس اللي ساكنها تعكس هويته ف انا نفسي مو متقبل هالشي. النمارة رغم انها منطقة قديمة و احياءها القديمة نفس مآذكر المهندس مهدي في بعض المناسبات تصبح نشطة و احيان أخرى تكون ميتة مافيهما احد. المناطق الجديدة صارت على أساس ان في تطور في القوانين والتشريعات وصار في مسمى تنظيم المباني هذي الأمور خلقت طابع كأنه موجود. يعني لا يستغرب ان المرفأ المالي مرتبط او يشبه شارع الشيخ زايد نفس الفكرة المساحات محدد وارتفاعات محددة واشكال محددة ما تعكس الطابع لكن في المناطق القديمة تشوفين مبنى مرتفع مبنى بسيط في فراغ متكون بين المباني يختلف عن لفراغات العادية الموجودة في هذه المناطق هذي الأمور افضل. الحين

لو نفرض السؤال يقول لو طلبنا من احد الأشخاص يسوي لنا مدينة مثل المنامة القديمة كتخطيط هل يستطيع ان يصمم هذي الفراغات والمساحات اللي تكونت؟ لا شي طبيعي لا لان هذي تراكمات عبر الزمن صارت ولها تاريخ فما يقدر يرجع يطورها ويسوي أشياء جديدة بنفس الكلفة.

المهندسة نور المطوع: شوفي انا رأيي في البحرين جدا مختلف عن خارج البحرين. البحرين انا اميل لأي شئ حديث يمكن انا من الناس اللي غير مؤمنين في العمارة القديمة في البحرين تحديدا. وعلى مدى تاريخي المعماري المتواضع كنت اتعرض للانتقاد بسبب هذا الشي بس أقول كل انسان يعيش تجربته من واقع طفولته. انا بنت المدينة بنت مدينة عيسى آنذاك من 50 سنة كانت تعتبر مباني بيوت صناديق حديثة كلها تتشابه الشوارع نفس بعض ما في فرق وكان تصميم اجنبي لا تمثلنا وانا ماعندي ذكريات عن احياء قديمة وممرات وزرائق لست مرتبطة فيها ف المنامة بالذات ما عندي لها أي ارتباط عاطفي. انا اميل الى الحديث، بس اذا بتسألين عن رأيي المعماري ، رأيي بالنسبة لأي مكان برا البحرين نروح احب اشوف أماكن القديمة احب اشوف ثقافة الناس كما كانت احب مبانيهم، اذا بتسألين تحبين تروحين مطعم خمس نجوم او مطعم في كوخ صغير بختار الكوخ. فهي تجربتي في البحرين مختلفة، الشباب كلهم كانوا مترددين أيهم يختار لا هذا كان مثالي ولا هذا مثالي الاثنين فيهم كثير من التشويه والعشوائية سواء الجزء الحديث فيه عشوائية والجزء القديم انبنى على العشوائية. ما اعتقد انها كانت تجربة معمارية جديدة انها تذكر يعني مثلا لو تشوفين مدريد او برشلونة القديمة تشوفين الاحياء عمرها ب300 سنة مازالت الشوارع تنبض بالحياة مازالت الشوارع .. تقول كيف في ذاك الزمن فكرو ان هي الشوارع كان مافيه سيارات كيف سووها عريضة كأنهم يعلمون ان في يوم من الأيام سيكون في سيارات، كيف صارت كلها منظمة وشوارعها مرتبة وبنيتها التحتية مرتبة كأنهم يقرؤون المستقبل. احنا ماعندا هذا الشي عمارتنا البحرينية تعتبر متواضعة. يمكن رأيي غير منصف للعمارة في البحرين في الصورتين اشوف محاولات متواضعة. واحب ان اقضي وقتي في الأماكن الحديثة.

كمعمارين الى أي مدى ر تعتقدان ان مهم يكون في اتصال بين حجم الانسان والبيئة المحيطة اللي حواليه، كونهما كما ذكرتم انها غير مهينة وعشوائية.

اذا بتسأليني عن حجم الانسان بالنسب الموجودة حواليه انا أتوقع انها لا تقاس بالارتفاع الانسان يحس بالهبة اذا وقف جنب أي مبنى عالي. شفتي حجم الاهرامات عشان كان فيها شخص واحد او عائلة، الارتفاع يعطي إحساس بالرهبة والفخامة انا ما اعتقد ان المباني، الميزة الوحيدة اللي في المنامة وفي العشوائيات الصغيرة ان اللي يمشي يمشون في الظل لان الشوارع والممرات ضيقة تمشي في بداية الشارع ما تشوف اللي في النهاية حتى مارح تشوف الشارع سيده لان كله في انحناءات وزوايا غير متوقعة، كان في هذاك الوقت يساعدكم لان كان عدد الأشخاص اقل ما في سيارات الناس تبي تمشي في الظل الانحناءات تعطي الغموض والخصوصية اللي كانت مطلوبة وقتها. اليوم تبين تمشين في الممشي تبين تشوفين على بعد كيلو متر تشوفين اللي بعد كيلو متر ماشي، وماتبين تشوفين مفاجئات وماتبين نتكونين لابسة ثياب عشان تلبسينها وتمشين في مكان بعدين تشوفين المنطقة الثانية ماتقدين تمشين بالجوتي اللي انتي لابسته، ماتبين تشوفين مفاجئة عنصر المفاجئة لا اعتقد انه مرغوب انا ابغي اطلع ارواح ممشي امشي ابي اعرف ان المنطقة كلها مرصوفة بنفس الشكل ماعندي مفاجئات هذا اللي نفتقده في عمارتنا، اللي نفتقده في عمارتنا مو هي العمارة بحد ذاتها احنا نفتقد البنية التحتية والتخطيط الحضري. على سبيل مثال احد الاخوان قال الجفير، لم تشوفين بناية ارتفاعها 25 دور جنبها فيلا اشعر بالاسف لصاحب الفيلا اللي جانب البناية. او ان المبني فجأة يصير مستشفى او محل مساج. هذا امر مؤسف، ولهذا هو كنظرته المعمارية لا يشعر بالراحة لانه كمعماري يعي الشي الذي لايحبه الناس العادية لا يعونه هناك خطأ ما. تخيلي انك تمشين طبيب في مكان فيه كثير عاهات بسبب أخطاء طبية كان ممكن تفاديها. هو هذا احساسه كمعماري عنده الوعي يعرف انه يمشي في مكان كان ممكن يكون اجمل كان ممكن تفاديها الخطأ ليس بسبب المرتفعة لأننا نريد ان ننافس الدول المباني المرتفعة جاءت باحتياج يوجد كثافة سكانية وعدد من القاطنين يحتاجونها بس ما صارت بشكل مناسب. ماعتقد ان انا مرة كان عندي تجربة سيئة ان انا مريت جنب مبان مرتفعة وحسيت انها غير مريحة لانها مرتفعة لم اشعر بذلك ابداء ولم اقرأ أي مقال بذلك. وهذا رأيي.

أستاذ ابراهيم هل تؤيد الأستاذة نور بخصوص رأيها عن العاصمة انها غير مهينة للسيارات لانها مبنية بطريقة قديمة. طبعا معظم مدن العالم القديمة قبل وجود السيارات كانت غير مهينة للسيارات. عاصمة الدنمارك كوبنهاغن لاتسمح باستخدام عدد كبير للسيارات داخلها، معظم اعتماد أهالي المدينة على المواصلات ونسبة مستخدمي

السيارات لا تتجاوز 30% من السكان. بسبب ان المدينة من الأساس لم تصمم للسيارات (ليست المنامة فقط كذلك ولكن هناك دول أوروبية لم تصمم مدنها للسيارات وتعتبر مثال للتطور والانعكاس الحضاري والثقافي، بالإضافة الى ان معظم دول العالم تحاول الاستفادة من تجربة كوبنهاغن).

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: اكيد لا أؤيدها في هذا الموضوع احنا نلاحظ بعد سنوات الحداثة تصبح .. أي حادثة حدثت بعد 20 او 30 سنة سوف تعود الى الطابع القديم الناس سوف ترد تحب تعيش الحياة القديمة . قد تتصور ان احنا زرنا هذي المباني على أراضي وفراغات ورفعناها الى 20 او 100 طابق بس التفتنا الى المساحات الخضراء غير موجودة وبهذا التطور قامت الناس تزرع على الجدران والطوابق والاسطح صارت مباني مغطى بالأشجار، شلي جعل الناس ترجع الى هذا لسبب واحد لانهم اكتشفوا ان التطور هذا صار مرة وحدة اثر على الحياة الطبيعية للناس اللي هو محتاج يشوف الخضرة ومحتاج الحياة الطبيعية. هذي الأمور كأنها رجوع الى الحياة القديمة. اتهام هذي الفترة ان النفط مادة تسبب التلوث وبدئو يتكلمون عن وسائل نقل يطورونها مثل الدراجات وغيرها افضل من السيارات لانها ستكون منظمة للتلوث. هل هذا يعني تطور لا هذا رجوع للخلف لو تطورنا سنصل لمرحلة نعود بها للحياة الطبيعية اللي يتأملها الانسان.

الأستاذ محمد الحداد: نقاط كثير انطرحت وهي أيضا تخالف بعضها اتفق مع كثير منها واعارض الكثير أيضا مثال على ذلك ما قاله الأستاذ إبراهيم انا اختلف على قوله اننا سنعود للحياة الطبيعية مثل ماسماها ما احس ان هذا سيحصل . الحياة تتطور والان هناك توجه لدراسة الشيء قبل الانطلاق به في حين قبل 40 او 50 سنة لم يكن هناك دراسة قبل البناء مثل عند الحديث عن الطفرة العمرانية اللي جاءت مع اكتشاف النفط فجأة اشكال المدن تغيرت لان في أسباب تغيرت في حياة ولكن بعد فترة عرفنا ان هذي التغير اللي حصل لا يناسب مجتمعنا 100 بالمئة. المجتمع اصبح يفكر اكثر ماهي الخطوة التالية قبل ان يخطوها. الكلام عن البنية التحتية بخصوص كوبنهاغن كتجربة اعتقد هناك اطلاع على تجارب اكثر ممكن نستفيد منها اكثر.

طرحنا الأستاذة نور أيضا ان هذي المباني ممكن تكون حل للكثافة السكانية العالية وأزمة الإسكان. هناك كثير ناس يقولون ان الوحدات السكنية في هذي المباني باهضة الثمن لا نستطيع شراؤها او تأجيرها. هل تعتقدون انها بالفعل حل او انها خلقت مشكلة أخرى؟

المهندسة نور المطوع: انا قلت فكرة خلق المباني المرتفعة ليس في البحرين اقصد بشكل عام اول مرة فكرو بها لم يكن الغرض منها للتحدي المعماري والانشائي هي خلقت للتفكير في حل مسألة صغر الرقعة الافقية لم البحرين جاءت تسوية اراضيها مشاريع شخصية مشاريع دولة ولا مرة جاء مستثمر أراد يسوي ناطحة او بناية من 25 دور او 50 دور لمجرد الوجهة يريد يفعله من اجل خطة استثمارية سواء كانت ناجحة او فاشلة تؤدي الغرض او لا تؤديه هذا حديث اخر ولكن الأساس في تاريخ المباني المرتفعة كان لسد القصور في الرقعة الأرضية. طبعاً في البحرين عندنا تناقض تعتبر البحرين ثاني او ثالث اعلى دولة كثافة سكانية لكن البحرينيين الموجودين ليس المقيمين لا يرغبون في السكن في هذه الأماكن ممكن يشتريها للاستثمار او للسكن لفترة زمنية قصيرة ممكن توظف خدماته لأول فترة في حياته لم يكون اعزب او متزوج بعائلة صغيرة بمجرد يكون عنده طفل او طفلين يصبح الامر صعب. اذا كان الحديث من ناحية اقتصادية اذا كان اجار شقة بغرفتين نوم الى استديو لو كان وحيد لكن اذا معه شريكته يحتاج الشقة بغرفتين نوم اول ما يجيه اول طفل الشقة تؤدي احتياجاته لمدة 5 بالكثير 7 سنوات ثم يبدأ بالتدثر ويسعى بالذهاب لمكان اكبر. احنا المباني اللي هنا في البحرين ليست لحل المشاكل السكانية هي تستهدف المستثمر الأجنبي والعربي ليست للسكن ولا اعتقد واحدة منهم حلت أزمة سكن او كانت تستهدف الشباب أساساً.

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: اعتقد الحال اذا بنترك عن المنامة بشكل خاص والخليج بشكل عام، هناك تأثير لاكتشاف النفط والنهضة العمرانية حصل شيء فجأة أدى وسبب بتأثيرات كثيرة فيها الإيجابية والسلبية. هناك خلل احده اكتشاف النفط على حتى تربية الاسرة نفسها من اسرة تتكون من عائلة ممتدة الى مرة وحدة انفصال وكل واحد في بيت برونه، وله تأثير ثقافي وتأثير على تكوين الاسرة نفسها هو تأثير حضري. هذا بحث اخر ولكن نستطيع ذكره. ولكن في الحديث عن المنامة نفسها انطرحنا نقطة مهمة كمثال كوبنهاغن او ميلان او فنس شلون هم عايشين وشلون احنا في المنامة والمحرق شلون عايشين. اعتقد ان الإشكالية من وجهة نظر او تجربة هو بسبب التخطيط للأسف. الجهة

المعنية في التخطيط عندها إشكالية معينة وفي أخطاء حصلت وهي التي سببت ان المنامة لا تكون مؤهلة او تبقى بطابعها التي كانت عليه من 40 او 50 سنة والدليل على ذلك ممكن كنا نتكهن او أشياء عشوائية ولكن الواقع اذا ذكر تو في بداية الحديث تطرق المهندس إبراهيم ان هيئة الثقافة عندها مشاريع الحين في جزيرة المحرق هذي المشاريع مثلا في مشكلة باركات هي نفسها موجودة في المنامة في المنامة لم تحل هذي المشكلة اما في المحرق جاءت هيئة الثقافة لاسباب تخصها وفرت المواقف وصارت المدينة مشابهة للاماكن التي نزورها في أوروبا ودول أخرى مهيئة وعامرة بسكانها. الاعمار بالسكان هو انعكاس للقرارات التي تتخذها في التخطيط العمراني هذي القرارات تؤثر على شكل المدينة كيف تبدو وانعكاسها.

بالنسبة لمسألة الإسكان المباني الشاهقة ممكن تكون حل. في دراسة اقدر أتكم عن مخرجاتها حصلت بالتعاون مع جامعة البحرين ووزارة الإسكان وهي مسألة المباني الشاهقة في الإسكان نفسه لاسباب كثير هو ان المباني الشاهقة ممكن ان تكون حل. ليس المباني الشاهقة التي تمثل الصورة على اليمين فوق التي تشبه زجاجات العطور هذا تكلفة الوحدة السكنية فيه تقريبا 120 الف او يبدأ من 90 الى 100 الف بينما الوحدة السكنية نفس التكلفة. ف انا اختار وحدة سكنية في البيئة التي انا اعيشها والعادات والتقاليد والثقافة الموجودة في البلد للإسكان. افضل البيت ادفع فيه 90 الى 100 الف عن شقة 90 الى 100 في حين انا في نيويورك سأفضل الشقة لابقى في الداون تاون. لكن هنا اذا رغبت اشترى شقة في احد هذه الأماكن في الموصفات التي اريدها افضل طبعا ستكون اكثر من 100 الف لذلك ولكن افضل بدال ما ادفع اذهب الى سكن افقي منخفض عن سكن عمودي. نقطة أخيرة شهدت في شبابي في أبو ظبي حصل انخفاض بأسعار النفط بأفلاس بسيطة جدا مبلغ بسيط هذي البنائيات أصبحت مثل الأفلام مهجورة وشبابيكها مفتوحة يلعب فيهم الهواء. تبين لنا ان هذه المباني هي غير حقيقية ليست لتعكس مسألة السكن عندنا.

4. في جملة واحدة وباختصار وصفو لنا البيئة الحالية الحضرية في البحرين هل تعتقد ان هذه الصورة تمثل شح او ضعف في الهوية الحضرية لانها منسوخة من الغرب ام هي هوية حضرية جديدة ناشئة ويجب ان نتبعها. هل هي تحدد البلد حضاري او متخلف.

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: هذا سؤال صعب. هل هي تعكس اذا كنا في تطور حضري او لا لا بالعكس في نظرتي انا التطور الحضري هو الرقي بالإنسان والمكان اما ان انا ارتقي بالمكان قبل الانسان فلا فائدة من هذا التطور نفس ماذكر المهندس مهدي ستصبح المباني خاوية. بالعادة اذا سننظر لموضوع المباني الشاهقة هو أنشئ بالبحرين لخلق مشكلة ليس لحل مشكلة التي هي إيجاد كثافة سكانية في منطقة محددة لاستغلالها في حل بعض النقاط منها .. بشكل واسع ولا اعتقد انها كانت حل للمشكلة الاسكانية. من وجهة نظري ان احنا في البحرين احنا ساكنين في ثلث مساحتها وثلثين منها فاضي اذا بنتكلم عن الكثافة السكانية فالكثافة السكانية منزوية في المناطق الشمالية في الدولة فقط.

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: هذي الصورة تمثل جزء كبير من الحقيقة العمرانية التي عندنا هل هي تمثل قوة او ضعف لا اعلم لكنها تمثل الحقيقة. هي بشكل عام فيها فخر فيها تميز مختلف لدينا أشياء أخرى نفخر فيها لا تبين في هذه الصورة ولكن هذي الصورة بشكل عام تبين اننا نفس ماذكرت المهندسة نور ان هذه المباني تعكس الأهالي نفسها تبين في أي طبقة وصلنا. جاءني ضيف من دول الخليج لأول مرة يزور البحرين اخذنا جولة على هذا ال skyline شافه وقال لم اعلم ان البحرين فيها جذي وعندما سألته ماذا في بالك ما الذي عكس لك هذا. قال: يبين الثراء وتطور عمراني وفرص رأى لها قراءات مختلفة. هناك انعكاس اخر تبين النقطة التي طرحته انا في البداية عن القوى الرأسمالية وتأثيرها علينا الاستعمار الفكري والثقافي. عندما اصف هذه الصورة المباني الشاهقة فيها مركز البحرين التجاري والمبنى الملتوي الرموز التي اراها لا أرى شيء يعكسني انا يبين العمارة البحرينية او اذا سأعطيها بعد اخر إسلامية او اسيوية هذه شيء احضره لنا الغرب وليس كل شيء يجلبونه جيد ولا أي شيء يجلبونه جيد بس انظر اليه استعمار قوى الرأسمالية ويعكس تمكّنهم من ذلك.

5. الى أي مدى مرتبطة هذي المباني في البيئة المحلية

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: بيئيا للأسف هذي المباني لايعكسون شيء ولا يخدمون البيئة عندنا. ومن تجربة شخصية ودراسات شاركنا فيها هذي المباني غير مستدامة ابدا هذي المباني تشكل كارثة بيئية من جميع النواحي. اذا بتكلم مثلا عن المواد المستخدمة في هذه المباني هذي مواد غير مدورة لا يمكن إعادة تدويرها وتؤثر على البيئة. مثال بسيط

البيت القديم او العمارة القديمة في البحرين او غير البحرين عندما تهدم البيت جميع القطع الموجودة في البيت يتم إعادة استخدامها . من الجندل الأبواب, الشبابيك الحصى وغيره في هذه المباني لا يمكن تعميلين إعادة تدوير اذا قمنا بهدمها كل هذه المواد تشكل تلوث بيئي. هذا من ناحية المدى الطويل وإعادة التدوير.

ثانيا: من ناحية استهلاك الطاقة . هذي المباني لانها غير صديقة للبيئة تستخدم طاقة كهربائية جدا عالية, طاقة تكييف جدا عالية طاقة انارة عالية وهذا استهلاك الطاقة الكبير شئ ضد البيئة و ينتج ثاني أكسيد الكربون والى اخره. النقطة الأخرى هذي المباني بدون الطاقة الكهربائية لاتعيش وحصل ذلك سنة 2006 اليوم الذي سموه اليوم الأسود او 8 أغسطس الأسود. انقطاع للتيار الكهربائي في البحرين شمل كل البحرين هذي المباني أصبحت في مأساة لانها أصبحت معطلة ومغلقة بالتمام والكمال, في حين الناس لجأت للمدن القديمة رجعت للبيت العود لأننا تمينا ليلة كاملة بدون كهرباء فالناس ذهبو للمدينة القديمة كان في الصيف الجو فيها حار لكن كان البيوت فيها تهوية هذي هي اللي تعكس الاستدامة ليست هذه المباني.

كما ان البيئة ليست فقط من ناحية الاستدامة ولكن له علاقة بالإحساس يعني هذي المباني لا تتناسب لبيئتنا لا تنتمي لنا او تعكسنا. يمكن بعض المباني اضافت بعض المساحات هناك محاولات في مركز التجارة العالمي يعكسون شكل الشارع البحريني او برج الزامل حاول يعطي شكل معين من العمارة العربية. لكنها بشكل عام ليست من بيئتنا ولامرتبطة بنا ولكنها جميلة نريدها اود الحصول على شقة او مكتب في هذا الأماكن افتخر فيهم امية شخصية.

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: هذه البيئة اللي نطمح له لا نطمح ان يكون في مبنى شاهق ويتوفر فيه كل شئ ولكن نفكر ان يتوفر فيه رصيف للمشاة. الصورة السابقة لاتمثل تطور حضاري التطور الحضاري يعكس الشارع الطريق كل هذه الأمور توجه الى تطور حضاري بالمنطقة بشكل عام. من ناحية بيئتنا ما الفرق بين الوضع الحالي والتصحح نستخدم مواد جاءت من الرمل في البناء بالإضافة للحاجة للمساحات الخضراء. مثال, العمل على تطوير شارع معين كنا نفكر للمساحات الناس ترى الشارع تطوير لمسارات السيارات والطرق ولكن نفكر لماكن الواحد يريد يخرج للشارع يتمشى يغير جو شارع بدون رصيف شلون تشجع الناس تتمشى هذي الأمور انخلقت بسبب اننا توجهنا للبناء الشاهق ومساحات المشي طلعت لفوق ليس لها مكان بشكل افقي هذه المباني غير متصلة بالمحيط الافقي. نلاحظ في الواجهة الشرقية للمنامة فيها ناطحات سحب حوالها ولكن خلف ناطحات السحاب موجود بيوت قديمة عتيقة متهاكة هل انا اعكس القوة والتطور بالشكل الخارجي والواجهة فقط. يجب ان يكون كل شئ على مستوى واحد المنطقة القديمة يجب ان تكون بارزة اكثر من انشاء منطقة جديدة تعكس واجهة فقط غير متناسقة ومتناسبة مع البيئة. يخص السؤال الرابع.

السؤال الأخير: ينقسم الى قسمين هي صور للجفير ومنطقة المرفا المالي حاليا هذي المباني حاليا موجودة ومن الصعوبة ازالها رغم عيوبها التي ذكرتها كيف يمكننا جعل هذه الأماكن مرتبطة اكثر في البيئة المحيطة ويعكس البحرين؟

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: احد الأشياء اللي ممكن يجعلها متصلة هي التواصل البصري مثل نوعية المساحات الخضراء النخلة والانواع الأخرى, النمط (pattern) والعناصر المستخدمة في هذه الأماكن سيكون لهم دور أيضا هذا الترابط البصري مهم. هناك ترابط اخر لا اعرف كيف نبينه, كيف نستطيع انشاء ترابط ثقافي كيف يمكن ان نبين ثقافتنا البحرين معروفين بالكرم كيف ابين الكرم معروفين بالتسامح والتنوع الثقافي كيف ابينه بطريقة ما في هذه الأماكن. مثال هناك جزيرة في القرن الافريقي اذا تمشين فيها تحسين انك ماشي في المنامة لها علاقة تاريخية في البحرين اسمها لاماو اذا تمشين في شوارع لاماو خاصة الناس اللي أعمارهم 60 او 70 سنة اذا مشو في الجزيرة يحسون انهم يمشون في المحرق او المنامة في زمن الثمانينات والسبعينات. لان فيها دلالات مختلفة من ضمنها دلالات بصرية الأبواب, نفس أبواب الفرجان هني, طريقة رصف الطريق الإضاءة الناس عاداتها وتقاليدها هذي ممكن اضافتها في هذه الأماكن الحديثة بحيث تبين لي ان انا هنا في البحرين لست في. مثال اخر المدن الإسلامية اذا تمشين فيها موجود حاليا في أوروبا فكرة ماء السبيل موجودة اللي يمشي في البندقية والمدن اللي وصل لها ماء السبيل استمرت وموجودة , وقد تكون في بلاد الشام اندثرت او تحتاج لصيانة لكن مكانها موجود مهجور ومكسر. ممكن نضع فكرة ماء السبيل هي احد الأفكار ممكن توضع في هذي الأماكن والاحياء الحديثة يبين ان هذه بيئة أخرى لو وضعناه مقابل مال سوف

يبين ان همهم المال ولكن لو كان مجاني سيعطي نظرة أخرى يختلف الامر تعطي رسائل بتصرفات مختلفة كما ذكرت pattern والمساكنات الخضراء ماء السبيل ممكن أيضا الباعة المتجولين يعطي احياء معين هو لا يناسب كل مكان ولكن يعتمد. لا اعرف قد تكون نوعية الأرضية والاضاءة نفسها تختلف مسألة التجدد لو حطينا طاقة متجددة تعمل عالطاقة الشمسية ونربطها انها جاءت من ايماننا بالعمارة التقليدية. لان في العمارة التقليدية الجدران تفعل لنفسها تهوية وتدخل الهواء البارد. كانت موجودة عندي لماذا اليوم ليست موجودة في حين في أوروبا لم يكن لديهم تجدد الطاقة في المبنى في الفترة اللي انا كان عندي اليوم صار عندهم ترند وانا ماعندي هني ممكن نبينه بصورة حديثة.

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: شلون نقدر نعكس الهوية؟ في يوم من الأيام زعلت من كلام شخص معين, كنا ذاهبين لأحد المشاريع الاستثمارية في منطقة المنامة, كانوا يشرحون لنا نوعية التطور اللي ببصير وهالأمور, فمدير الشركة قال شيء هو كان من الجالية الهندية قال كلام بين لي ماهو المطلوب. قال سنفتح هذا المشروع بعد شهر أتمنى اننا مانشوف نوع من الناس (يقصد الفئة الفقيرة) تكون متواجدة في هذه المنطقة. سألته ليش وقال ان هذه المنطقة حديثة ومتطورة ولانريد ان نبين الجانب السلبي والفقير. لو كان شخص ذكي ويفكر شلون بطور استثماراته يفكر كان بالعكس يقول شلون نستقطب هذه الفئات خل نغير مفهومهم خل نغير توجهاتهم ولكن المشكلة انه كان ينظر من ناحية ضيقة ينظر الى انه هناك فارق مالي بين فئة معينة وفئة أخرى. اذا المنطقة الحديثة ماكان لها تردد للناس والحركة فيها مابيكون لها حياة. وجود الناس هم اللي يحيون هذه المناطق. نحن كمعماريين ومخططين يجب ان نفكر كيف نخلي الناس تستخدم هذه المناطق مثل ما أشار المهندس مهدي عن فكرة ماء السبيل هذا يعكس نوع لاستقطاب الناس والترحيب. اما اذا كنت بحط كل المواقف في المنطقة بفلوس او استخدام منطقة معينة بفلوس مثل هذه الأمور تخلي الناس تنفر من المكان.

الجزء الأخير من السؤال: كيف يمكن في المشاريع المستقبلية نأخذ بعين الاعتبار البيئة المحلية. مثال عندما سنل بعض الناس عن رأيهم في المباني الشاهقة البعض قال انها سيئة ولا تتناسب مع المدن والبعض ايدها على انها مركز قوى اما البعض الاخر اقترح ان تكون مخصصة للعمل والمكاتب والتجارة بينما تنحصر الأدوار في المباني السكنية بين 9-12 طابق وهذا بناء على بيئتهم.

اما في المانيا قد تم فصل ناطحات السحاب في مدينة فرانكفورت وجعلها مركز لهم مقابل الحفاظ على الشكل المدن المتميزة بالعمارة التقليدية بما فيها العاصمة اذ يندر وجود ناطحات السحاب هناك. مارأيكم في هذا هل من الممكن ان يكون ذلك في البحرين من اجل الحفاظ على البيئة المحلية او هل لديهم اقتراحات أخرى؟

المهندس مهدي الجلاوي: بشكل سريع مسألة الفصل هو كلام استرسالي فيه صعوبة ولكن التقسيم كان مطبق في المدينة القديمة وهو امر مستلهم من الماضي عندما تذهبين الى المدينة القديمة في سوق المنامة قد ترين ان البزاز بروحهم, الصفار بروحهم, الغراشبة بروحهم هو تقسيم موجود بالسوق مطبق في التخطيط الحضري الموجود بخصوص هل نستطيع فصل المباني العالية عن المنخفضة اعتقد ان الامر به صعوبة بسبب الرقعة الجغرافية قد نحتاج الى تدرج اما الى فصل كلي اعتقد ان الامر بحاجة لدراسة. ماحصل في الجفير شيء جيد ولكنه اصبح مأساة بالنسبة للسكانين هناك, الفصل بين المناطق ممكنة وهو حاصل حقيقة اذا بنشوف منطقة مرفأ البحرين هي منطقة مباني شاهمة مفصولة عن المنامة القديمة او المنطقة الدبلوماسية مفصولة عن راس رمان والى اخره هذا الفصل حاصل لكن فصل حقيقي نستطيع ان نفصله لا اعتقد ان ننفذه في البحرين. بخصوص الارتفاع لا اعتقد له دور بهذا الامر بقدر اتحاد الملاك او قوانين الملاك هناك تجارب اطلعت عليها مثال في مصر او طهران هي مدن قديمة وعريقة ودخلت لها الحداثة فيها المباني الشاهقة وسكنية ونشطة مثل ما يسمى بالحي العمودي وهو مثل الحي الافقي وعدد الأدوار ماهو الا رقم مثلا في الصين المبنى مو نفس ما هو موجود في بريطانيا يعني ماقدرت يسونه نشط فظطرو في مانشستر هدمو المباني كلها اعتبروها مأساة. اما في الصين لا هي ليست مأساة لانهم ادركو ان ناطحات السحاب الموجودة يجب ان تكون نشطة مثل كل 10 أدوار هناك منطقة مشتركة يلتقون فيها وفيها مجموعة من الخدمات كما جعلو في الدور الواحد أيضا هناك منطقة مشتركة يلتقي بها سكان الطابق هذي الحلول التي تؤثر اما عدد الأدوار ماهو مجرد الا رقم.

المهندس إبراهيم يوسف: انا من منظوري انا اشوف ان كفكرة ان احنا مايجب ان نحدد ارتفاعات معينة ونخليها مفتوحة. مثلاً اثنين عنددهم مساحة 1000 متر مربع شخص يملك 100 ألف دينا وشخص يملك مليون صاحب الـ 100 سيني ارتفاع محدد حسب امكانياته ويقف لان ماعنده سيولة اما الشخص صاحب المليون قد يوصلها لـ 20 طابق فتحديد الطوابق يسبب نوع من اللاعدالة في الموضوع كل واحد على احتياجاته. مثلاً في اليمن سابقاً كانوا يبنون كل عائلة تبني ميناها حسب امكانياتها وعدد عائلتها البعض يبني 12 طابق واخرين 3 طوابق مختلف وهذه الاختلافات تعكس أشياء أخرى من وجهة نظري لا يجب ان نحدد الارتفاعات في كل المناطق ولا نفصل المباني الشاهقة عن المنخفضة.

دكتورة حوراء الشيخ: احب اشكر المهندسين الاستاذ إبراهيم والاستاذ مهدي على الطرح العميق انا كنت مستمتعة من البداية للنهاية من غير توقف. ممكن السؤال الأخير يمكن هو مو سؤال لإيجاد إجابة بقدر ما هو سؤال للتوعية أكثر هو اننا لا نستطيع إيقاف العولمة ولا نستطيع ان نسبح ضد التيار ومثل ما ذكر الأستاذ مهدي مازالت قوى الاستعمار موجودة متمثلة بالاستعمار الفكري لذلك احنا بشكل او بآخر احنا نتبع الغرب. بينما العولمة كمصطلح هي عبارة عن تبادل شئى يجي منهم وشي منا ولكن في الحقيقة والواقع هو عبارة عن قص ونسخ واللي ينتج منافسة وسباق من بيني الأطول كله عن المال والاستعراض، لا نستطيع انكار ان اكتشاف النفط كانت نقطة البداية لكل هذا التغير والتحول في الهوية الحضرية، لما صار عدنا فلوس صرنا فوراً نفكر كيف نحول البحرين الى مركز استثماري يستقطب المستثمرين ويجذبهم للاستثمار عندنا من اجل المال. اللي صار ان احنا نسينا المستخدم واللي حسيت ان الأستاذ إبراهيم في كل مداخلاته كان يؤكد على نقطة ان مافي تنمية حضرية اذا ما اهتمينا بالفرد. لم نتكلم عن المقياس البشري ما اقدر أقول ان في شي اسمه تجربة مكانية او تجربة خاصة للمدينة اذا لم استطع المشي فيها اذا لم اشعر بالأمان اذا لم تكن صديقة للمشى اذا مافي ارصعة والى اخره. وبنفس الوقت لان ما اقدر لان عندي فلوس اجيب احسن معمارين في العالم بدون حتى بعضهم ما يزور البلد يلا صممو لي وسيكون رمز يعكس الهوية والبلاد. من اهم الأشياء اللي اسويها عندما ادرس الطلبة اطلب منهم البحث عن السكاي لايين لبلد او لمدينة مختلفة، المحزن بالنسبة لي ان كل الخطوط تتشابه وين الهوية الهوية تعريفها مرتبط بشكل كبير بالتميز والتفرد والاختلاف. واؤيد الأستاذ مهدي على ان البحرين بصغر مساحتها لكن كل منطقة فيها متميزة بشكل مختلف. اشكر انضمامكم لهذا السمنار.

APPENDIX – 2
INTERVIEWS WITH LOCALS

Interviews with seniors

مقابلة مع أهالي المنامة:

المقابلة الأولى: السيدة ن, فوق الـ 55 سنة عاشت طفولتها و 9 سنوات من بعد الزواج في المنامة ثم اضطرت للانتقال لمنطقة أخرى ولكنها لم تستطع العيش خارج المنامة فعادت لها من جديد.

س1: ماذا تعني لك المنامة؟

حياتي المنامة انا حاولت او اضطرت اخرج منها بعد زواجي ب 9 سنوات عشت فترة كم سنة برة ثم عدت مرة ثانية لأني اريد ان ارجع. طفولتي في المنامة. حين تم بيع منزل والدي احسست عند زيارتي ل المنامة ان الأرض تكلمني، حتى السنوات اللي عشتها برا المنامة لم يكن لدي أصدقاء فقط اذهب للعمل واعدو للمنزل لم أكون أي صداقات خارج المنامة. ارتباطي في المنامة كمولودة فيها حتى لو يقولون لي ان الفريق الكل انتقل حتى الهنود اللي فيها اشعر بالأمان لا أخاف منهم ربما لو كنت في منطقة أخرى لو رأيت هنود او ناس ليسوا من بيتي أخاف منهم لكن حتى هنود المنامة تألفت معهم يعرفوني واعرفهم هم لا يعتدون على احد من اهل الفريق لانهم يعرفونهم من المنطقة.

س2: كيف تتذكرين المنامة مبانيها شوارعها طريقة حياتكم في المنامة سابقا؟

هي تغيرت لان الناس هجروها، يمكن يلومون المنامة انها تغيرت وما فيها أحد لان أهلها انا الوم أهلها هجروها، انا حين تركت منزلي لم أؤجره على الأجنبي وإذا سوف يؤجره لأجنبي يجب ان يؤجره لعائلة على الأقل كي لا يكون عزاب في وسط الفرجان. المنامة سابقا فيها كل أصدقائي ولكن الان كل أصدقائي انتقلوا الفريق كان فعلا كأنه بيت واحد متآلف من غرف، لدرجة ان جاري صديقتي لا اذهب لها من بابها صدحي في صدحها من الصدوح (فتحات الجدار) نتكلم مع بعض. جيراننا لا نحتاج سيارة للذهاب لجارتي ولا احتاج موعد منها للزيارة التقارب كان اكثر الان لا قليل من يسكن فيها هجروها. الان الوضع مختلف سابقا نعرف البيوت بيت فلان وفلان (عددت بعض الأسماء للإشارة بمعرفة بيوت أهالي فريقها بيت بيت) حاليا لا احد منهم موجود.

س3: نفس ما اخبرتني انتقلتني من المنامة ثم عدتني ولاحظتني الفرق في الحياة بين قبل وبعد.

انا لم انتقل، انا تزوجت لكني ما زلت في المنامة اذهب واعدو لأمي لم اغيب عن المنامة رغم اني منتقلة من المنامة الا اني ما زلت ازورها لان بيت والدي هناك ووالدتي موجودة. المباني اكيد تغيرت احنا في أساس أصل المنامة نحن من المنامة الاصلية نحن لسنا من راس رمان او القضيبيية او الحورة او الجفير او النعيم كلهم يسمونهم منامة ولكن لا نحن في المنامة الاصلية التي لم تدخلها مباني فارمة وعالية مازالت مبانيها قديمة وبالية بالعكس يمكن يقال انهم يريدونها حضارية ويعتبرونها من التراث وتحفة، ولكن أي تراث وهي بالية ومهجورة وفيها الفئران الحشرات وكل دابة موجودة والفريق مهجور، الشبي الذي يريدونه تراث يجب ان يتعبون عليه يحتاج لاهتمام أكثر. يمكن لو أحد أخبرني ان احد المباني هدمت افرح وافضل ذلك لتبني بشكل افضل ولكن أتمنى ان يكون ساكنينها اهل البحرين رغم اني تألفت مع الغرب والهنود ولكن افضل اذا بيعت الأرض ان يأخذها شخص مني وفيني ليحافظ على شكلها.

س4: لو سوف يجددون المنامة هل تفضلين اهتمام من ناحية النظافة والترميم، والا تودين ان ترينها بشكل جديد، أسلوب ونمط مختلف؟

لا اذا كانوا يريدونها تراث فلنكن كذلك ولكن ليعيروها قليل من الاهتمام. لايجب ان تبقى مهجورة بحجة التراث، الجدار سوف يسقط عليي ويخبروني انهم يريدونها تراث، اذا انا كنت مستاءة من القوارض في الفريق يقولون لي انهم لا يريدون هدم أي منزل لأنه تراث هذا امر يحتاج لاهتمام. ليس كل شخص لديه المقدرة على ان يجعل بيته تراث لان يحتاج ميزانية. انا خرجت من بيت والدي امي لم تقبل الخروج من المنامة الله يرحمها لقد توفت من 4 شهور لم تقبل بالانتقال معي الى سار، اشتريت لها منزل من فريق لفريق ثاني قريب من بيت زوجي انتقلت من فريق الحطب الى فريق المخارفة او يسمونه الحمام. هذا البيت آيل للسقوط لكني رمته من المستحيل أني أستطيع ترميمه على الشكل القديم لأنني احتاج لمبالغ أكثر، لا أستطيع ان اجعله على صورته بالمبلغ الذي دفعته. لو كان احد سيرمم او

لديك الامكانية هل ستحافظين على صورة البيت البحريني القديم؟ اكيد اكيد, انا اذكر منزلنا وانا صغيرة, هل ترين المنازل التي تشاهدينها في التلفزيون بيوت السوريين. كان منزلنا بهذه الصورة وحين تزوجت منزل زوجي أيضا كان كذلك في الوسط مفتوح ودار مداره الغرف. مثل مستشفى النعيم مشابه له لكن غير مفتوح مخليه يدخل منه الضوء فقط, لكن هذي البيوت كان يدخل لج ضوء ومطر وهواء وغبار ولكن بالفعل كانت مباني جميلة وصحية. ولكن الضيق والتوسع جعل الناس تهجر المنامة وتخرج منها وتبنيها مغلقة لتكفي أولادها. البيت سابقا غير لان الواحد يكتفي بغرفة لكل اسرة ولكن الان الامر مختلف كل شخص يريد غرفة, فلا يكفي بطريقة البناء هذه هي غير مناسبة لان كل شخص يريد ان ينفرد بغرفة.

س5: ما هو أكثر مكان تفضليه في المنامة وتقضين فيه معظم أوقاتك؟

في الوقت الحالي المقبرة، حاليا اقضي اغلب وقتي فيها لان حين اروح المقبرة اشوف هنا ابي هنا امي هنا جدي جدي عمتي هنا جارتني وهذا جاري الفريق كلهم ماتوا والباقي تحولوا. انا اروح بشكل يومي يحاول بعض الأقارب منعي، لكن لا شيء يمنعني من الذهاب الا اذا كان لدي مواعيد في المستشفى اذهب الى المقبرة عصرا. حاليا ممكن تقولين عني متشائمة لكن في هذا الظرف هذا اكثر مكان اقضي فيه وقتي. سابقا كنت أحب يوم الاثنين لان قراءة امي تتجمع الاسرة والأصدقاء احساسني اني افعل شيء وهناك شيء ديني يجمعنا. وكنت أيضا احب ليلة الجمعة لان اذهب الى المسجد والتقي بأصدقائي. حاليا اذا تريدين بعض الرفاهية اذا سوف اغير جو احب ان اذهب على البحر او سوق المنامة التسوقين، سوق المنامة حتى لو انتي لست محتاجة شيء تذهبين لتغير الجو خاصة منطقة السوق المسقفة هي جميلة. حتى لو أحببت تتناولين وجبة الفطور هناك لتغيير الجو سابقا قبل كورونا كنا نفعل ذلك, حاليا لا نخرج ولا نذهب لأي مكان. شارع الملك فيصل جميل للمشي.

نظرا لقيمة المنامة عندك، لو طلبت منك ان تصفي لي كيف ممكن ان تقضي يوم كامل مميز في المنامة؟

تقريبا جاوبت, سوف استيقظ من الصباح الدكتور وصف لي ان امشي. انا اذهب للمقبرة المشي في المنامة أفضل من السيارة لان المنامة مزدحمة، المشي في المنامة أسهل ولا يأخذ وقت بالسيارة يأخذ وقت. كما اننا في السوق نروح أي موقع نركن به السيارة ونتجول مشي نحتاج للمشي في السوق لنستطيع ان نشاهد كل شيء ونكون قريبين منها. جاءنا ضيوف من عمان اخذناهم الى أماكن أخرى للترفيه الا ان الضيفة قالت انها اعجبت بسوق المنامة و تود ان تعود اليه مرة ثانية وقد عاودت الزيارة مرتين بعد ذلك لسوق المنامة, وعجبها آلو بشير وعجبها تمشي بالسوق المسقفة. آلو بشير وسمبوسة حميد قريب من ماتم بن رجب هذا الشارع جميل سأمر به بالعموم التسوق أيضا في سوق المنامة أيضا أرخص من غيره.

س6: ما رأيك في المنامة الجديدة ومناطق المباني العالية مثلا، مودا مول او منطقة لمرفأ وما بعدها في خليج البحرين كلها مباني شاهقة وجديدة.

انا لا أوافق ان يقولون انها منامة أصلا، انا اشوف أني ابتعدت عن المنامة هناك بعد البحر خلاص، حتى النعيم عندما يقولون لي انها المنامة أقول لا انها ليست المنامة ولا حتى راس رمان لا اقبل ان يقولون عنها المنامة حدودي المنامة التي هي فعلا المنامة حاليا هذي المباني العالية خارج منامتي رغم ان المنامة الاصلية ليست فيها مباني لكن هذه هي المنامة وهذه حدودي. كل منطقة حتى لو لها اسم اخر جمعوها معي سموها المنامة حتى السيف سموه المنامة، لا تمثلني هذي المباني ولا تعنيني. لو كانت هذي المباني مبنية على الطراز المحبب لك او الشعبي الذي يشبه المنامة هل تعتقدين انها لا تعنيك أيضا؟ سأقول انها تشبه المنامة وجميل مثل مجمع العالي عند الدخول صوب التراث سترينه جميل. ولكن أيضا هو نظيف ليس به حشرات أو قوارض نريد المنامة هكذا جميلة ونظيفة. بالعموم تخاف الناس تشتري ارض في المنامة، هناك منازل للبيع ولكن تخاف الناس الشراء لأنه ممنوع الهدم او المساس به بحجة الحفاظ على التراث, جاري في منزله هناك درجة واحدة تعتبر تراث ولا يستطيع ان يزيلها من سيشتري هذه الأرض التي لا يستطيع ان يزيل منها درجة التراث هذه كيف سيبنيها. لا احد يريد ان يشتري بيت ممنوع ان يهدمه البعض يشتري ليقوم بالترميم لكن ليس الهدم. نحتاج لمساعدة في هذا الامر في الترميم, كل من خرج من المنامة يتوق للرجوع عالاقل في مواسم معينة مثل العيد, رمضان, طول شهر رمضان حين كنت خارج المنامة زوجي كان يتفطر ولا يسعه الوقت للصلاة يذهب مسرعا للمنامة قبل ازدحام الشوارع, مثلا في محرم الناس تقول ياريت لو عندي خرابة في المنامة

اجلس فيها من اجل احياء المواسم الدينية والمناسبات نصف شعبان أيضا يحبون يأتون. بالإضافة بالنسبة للناس اللي أهلهم هنا يأتون كل أسبوع. كما اني أرى كثير من الناس من القرى يتسوقون في المنامة رغم الحر ورغم ان سوقها غير متطور يحبون يأتونها ربما لانه فيها نكهة البحرين قديما يرونه في المنامة.

س7: هل تؤيدون وجود المباني الشاهقة؟

انا منزلي طابقين, جاري منزل قديم والآخر مأتّم بارتفاع 4 طابق, الانترنت عندي ضعيف لو كان حولي هذي المباني الشاهقة ستمنعني من الحصول على خدمة الانترنت لأنها مرتفعة جدا وانا منخفضة سيكون هذا امر سلبي وسوف احصل على خدمة انترنت ضعيفة او متقطعة. غير ان هذي المباني تعني تجارة وهذا يعني ازدحام اكثر لاتسع المنامة لهذا كله. سابقا كان يخبرني زوجي ان كل سكان الفريق يملك بيت او بيتين سيارة حتى الهنود سابقا كانوا يشتركون كذا بيت في سيارة اما الان الامر مختلف كل فرد يملك سيارة, المشكلة احنا في المنامة ليس لدينا مواقف لو تصرف ميزانية لتطوير المواقف في المنامة سيكون افضل.

س8: هل تعتقدون ان البيئة تلعب دور في نسيج العلاقات بين الأهالي؟

طبعاً, كنا دائما ندخل الباب مفتوح ويدخل علينا من يرغب بذلك. رفضت الدتي الانتقال من المنامة بعد وفاة والدي للعيش معي, ارادت الموت في المنامة, كانت تقول لي كيف تريدين مني العيش في بيوت تقفل أبوابها. كان استقبال الضيوف في المنامة بسيط وحافي وبدون موعد أي أحد يود الدخول يرى الباب مفتوح بدون موعد او اتصال بدون تعقيدات الزيارة هذه الأيام. حالياً يبقى منزل امي مركز لمعارفنا ولمن يزور المنامة, البعض يأتي للتسوق ويترك حاجياته (مشترياته) ويذهب لمكان اخر للسوق او المخبز او زيارة أحد, ويأتون للصلاة أيضا.

المقابلة الثانية: سيدة تقريبا اكثر من 66 سنة انتقلت الى أكثر من منزل في حياتها ولكنها ترى ان منزلهم في المنامة مختلف وتتوق للعودة.

س1: ماذا تعني لك المنامة؟

المنامة هي ولادتي، العاصمة تعني المنامة هي العاصمة ولدت هناك وكذلك امي واهلي واجدادي كلهم كانوا في المنامة حتى أصدقائي وصديقاتي اللي عشت وكبرت معهم كلهم في المنامة فأنا احبها كثيرا. كما ان في أيام محرم كل العالم يذهبون للمنامة هي الموقع الرئيسي سنويا حتى من كان لا يذهب بشكل مستمر لا بد له من الذهاب كل فترة بين شهر واخر لا تمر السنة بدون زيارة المنامة، اهلي واجدادي مكانهم شوارعهم كل ما اذهب أتذكر اشيائهم بالرغم اني لم اعش معهم ولكن الشوارع والمباني تذكرني بهم هذا بيت صديقتي هذا بيت اهلي ، امي تخبرني اني مولودة في هذا المكان او فلانة مولودة هنا. لا يوجد مكان في البحرين مثل المنامة صحيح انها بدائية وقديمة ولكن لها معنى وتستحق ان تكون عاصمة البحرين.

س2: اين هو المكان المفضل في المنامة؟

انا لا اذهب دائما اذهب فقط أيام محرم اذهب الى مشير(فريج) من اجل المأتم دائما اذهب هناك وأيضا عندي اهل هناك. هل تذهبن لأماكن جديدة في المنامة؟ لا لا اذهب فقط امر امامهم عندما اذهب السوق او أي مكان -عندي ذكريات عندما اذهب وانا صغير للسوق بمفردي- في مشير أيضا، المنامة فيها الكثير من الأسامي مثلا مشير امام القلعة بعد تمشين قليلا تشوفين (ماليلكي) بالعجمي (الفارسي) ليس بالعربي، تذهبن الى الداخل تشوفين براحة جمعة (الجامع يسمونه) كل مكان في المنامة له اسم وله معنى هذي البراحة اتذكرها جيدا، ابي كان يذهب ويضرب حيدر والعالم يتجمعون هناك ويطلع العزاء هذا له تأثير عندي(في نفسي) لان هناك أيضا بعض أهلنا ساكنين هناك واللمة والعالم اللذين تريدين ان تشوفينهم كلهم تشوفينهم هناك لليوم مازال هذا الشئ عند مأتم العجم الكبير ومأتم النسوان الكثير من العالم يتجمعون يطبخون ويوزعون أيام محرم لها تأثير. الان تعرفين المنامة لا نذهب اليها الا أيام محرم في هذين الشهرين بين فترة واخرى نذهب باقي الأيام ما عندنا احد الكل طلع باعوا البيوت الكل طلع اللي ساكنين هم اللي ما عندهم فلوس بينون بيت غير او يشترون بيوت اما المقتردين لا كلهم طلعو وسوو لهم بيوت وهذي البيوت اجروها او باعوها. لان البيوت القديمة في المنامة كلها صغار، الحين انا ادخل المنامة استغرب هكذا بيوتهم صغيرة لهذه الدرجة، تدخلين ترين غرفتين او بالكثير ثلاث ما كان عندهم هالقد حجر بيت تكرميين حمام وهني مال مواعين يغسلون على الأرض ومعظمهم مطابخهم تحت الدرج يعني ضيق ولكن مستانسين في حياتهم بالرغم من ذلك مرتاحين يطبخون يطلعون يسون كل شئ لان الديرة اغلبهم اللي قاعدين مع بعض نفس المعيشة يعيشون ما عندهم اختلاف يعني ما يقول الواحد اطالع فلان بيته احلى. الناس ماكانو يطالعون بعض محد يطالع احد كل وحدة راضية بقسمتها ونصيبها الحين الناس يطالعون شنو لابسة شنو مسوية وبين رايحة راكبة سيارة (لغرس او بورش). اول ماكان جدي بالكثير كان سبابير معدودة حتى لو ماكان في سيارة مشي كل مكان نروح له مشي ونجي مشي الحين ما يمشنون من جدي كل وحدة امتن من الثانية. اول يوم سكنا في القضيبيية كنا نمشي لسوق المنامة مشي.

س3: هذا بالنسبة للأمور سابقا اما حاليا هل تفضلين المشي أيضا او السيارة؟

لا داخل ممنوع من عند القلعة خلاص لازم نبركن من عقب القلعة اذا حصلنا مكان فاضي اذا حصلنا مكان فاضي واذا ما حصلنا نروح باركات السقية لان ما في ضيق ليش بسبب الهنود البيوت اللي الناس تركوها استأجروها الهنود او شركات تشوفين هذول الساكنين كل واحد عنده سيارة وبوقفون سياراتهم عند الباب انتي هنا ضيفة عندهم في المنامة بس خلاص ما عندج مكان. او يفتحون المجال المدرسة الجعفرية حاليا يسمونها أبو بكر، المدرسة الجعفرية مدرسة كانت مدرسة كبيرة وحلوة بعض أحيان - نطل من الطوفة كان في زحلاقيية كنا نركب عازحليقة محد يشوفنا المدرسة كانت فاضية- هذي الحين سووها أيام العشرة الحكومة تعطي امر تسمح للناس تيركن اذا وصلنا بسرعة بعد ما يأذن صلينا نجي نوقف في هالمكان نحصل على الموقف أي احد يستطيع الدخول بحارنة عرب عجم كلمن يدخل بيركن. اما مواقف مافي أيام العادية مافي مو بس الحين (أيام محرم) مافي خلاص فوضى من الهنود فوضى، لو تروحين براحة الجامع تشوفين كلا هنود بالله هذول من وبين جاءو، لا تشوفين عرب لا عجم كلا هنود متروس متروس الى متى بيتمون هؤلاء لنا هنا؟ شرو الديرة هههه.

س4: هل تعتقد انهم غيرو كثير من الأشياء في المنامة غيروا من ثقافة المكان؟

كلش شئ الثقافة صابرة ثقافة هندية وبن الثقافة، مافي ثقافات في المنامة الحين . لو ما الماتم ماكان احد دخل المنامة العالم ندخل لمن. المساجد الحين كلها للهنود، البيوت الشوارع لا احد لا يوجد ثقافات. الثقافة الاولين امهاتنا اجدادنا وجداتنا مانشوف كل مكان كل دكان حتى الدكاكين مستأجرينا هنود. وبن الثقافة الاولين اللي تقعد معاج تقول لج قصة او تحكي لك عن البحرين الحين وبن؟ مع من تقعين؟ لو مو هالمواتم كان محد دخل المنامة، محد في الأكثرية هاجرو راحو طلعو برا البيوت صابرة قديمة. مافي ثقافات ولا في شي اول كل شارع كل طوفة كل زرنوق له حكاية وقصة الحين تقولين القصة حق من؟

س5: مارأيك في المنامة المطورة هل ترتبطين فيها؟ هل تحبين ان ترين المنامة القديمة بهذا الشكل؟

أي الحين صارت راقية الأول كان البحر انا ماشفت لكن على قولة امهاتنا كان البحر لباب البحرين. الحين هذي الأيام نشوف في مباني الحين هذي المباني جديدة من كذا سنة بس ليست قديمة، الحين هي حلوة مرتبة جميلة شوارع منسقة مع البيوت والعمارات التي انشاوها أصبحت جميلة وصولا للمحرق هي جميلة. ولكن افضل المحافظة على كل منطقة في البحرين قديمة يحافظون عليها ارتب واحلى، حتى البيوت اللي كانوا ساكنين في بيوت خربوها (استحدثو شكلها) كانت رمز حق البحرين تحفة انا احب القديم اذا اذهب الى مكان ابحت عن البيوت القديمة لكن هذي البيوت لو حافظو عليهم حتى لو لم يستعملونهم لو خلوهم كمتحف. في المنامة كان في مسجد الزهراء كان في بيت ناس عجم كبارية كان بيتهم تحفة نادر .. لو حاطينه لمتحف او لشى الحكومة شرته في بعض الأماكن في بيوت قديم حلوة عندها شناسيل (بالعجمي لا اعرف ماذا يسمى بالعربي) (المشربيات). هذلين جدا حلوين لماذا يخربونهم، حرام والله، لو انا علي نخليهم عالدز ابن القديم مانغير شي، العمارات حلوة لا أقول انها ليس جميلة ولكن القديم احلى تشعر ان لك صلة بهذا الشئ وهم بالفعل حلوين ليسو سيئين بيوتهم حلوين مومحلولين في فريج الفاضل روجي شوفي كذا بيت وايد حلو في المنامة وايد بيوت لعجم كبارية حلوين كلهم ليش يخربونهم انا احب القديم الصراحة لو كان عندي بيت قديم ما فرط فيه. حتى لو لم اكن اعش فيه لكن لا افرط فيه. رمز هذا الحكومة لاتعرف ان تنسق في الدولة وتحافظ على تراث البحرين لاتحافظ لو كل بيت لايريدونه أصحابه يريدون الخروج الدولة تعطيه قيمته وتشتره وتجعله رمز للدولة. الانجليز يحافظون عبالج تروحين أوروبا انتي تروحين للمتاحف؟ لا تروحين كلا للفرجان تدورين كلا بيوت تطالعين بس البيوت انا رحت فرنسا وإيطاليا والمانيا وذلين كلا اطالع البيوت. هني من شافو بيت قديم حتى بيوت القديمة ترا قوية مو خرابة يهدمونه خسارة عليه انا اقول لو يخلونه حتى الشوارع لا يخربونها لا يوسعونهم ترا ندش فيهم سياير مو مايدخل يخلونهم نفس الشوارع عشان تحسين انج عايشة مع الجديد والقديم، ميخالف عند البحر جديد اما من داخل المنامة لا يخربونه. فريج فاضل حلوة ليش يخربونه يخلونه على شكله حرام يعني امي زوجي كانت عايشة في فريج فاضل بيوت حلوة الحين قامو يهدمونهم يسون بيوت كبار، بيت الجيدة وبيت مادري من يمنا كلها هذي بيوت قديمة شحلوهم ليش يخربون.

س6: هل من رأيك ان المباني الطويلة لاتمثل البحرين؟

تمثل البحرين وحلوة، اكثر الأجانب مايطالعون العمارة لان هذي تارسة عينهم يطالعون في القديم يجون يدشون في ازقة القديم سوق القيصرية يروحون مني مني يشوفون مكان القديم العمارات في ديرتهم متروسة شيطالعون. انا ما أقول مو زين حلو بس القديم لا يخربونه . تريدان ان تقولين انه حلو بس يشبه الموجود عندهم لا يوجد فيه تميز خصوصية للبحرين التميز في الأماكن القديمة. بالضبط القديم لان القديم هو تراثهم، يعني اذا اردت ان افوشر (اتباهي) أقول مباني هذي المباني الجدد صنع الأجانب، لكن القديم صنعنا احنا مسوينه اجدادنا مسوينه هذا تراثنا المباني الكبيرة مو تراثنا الشوارع الضيقة والفرجان الضيقة والمباني القديمة هذي تراثنا مو المباني الكبار حبييتي هذا رأيي انا.

س7: هل تعتقد ان البيئة الجديدة تلعب دور على علاقة الناس والمكان، وهل هالشي يآثر على علاقة الناس ببعض؟

نوعين الناس ناس يهتمهم المباني الكبيرة ويفوشرون ولهم (مو شايفين خير).. اما بالنسبة لي الكثير من الناس اعرفهم أتكلهم معهم لم نظري المنامة يقولون اخييه ياريت لو الزمن يرجع لو نرجع هذا البيت لا نريده نرجع بيت امي القديم الكل مو بس انا في عشرات والألوف مثلي انا لم اقعد مع صديقاتي للحين يقولون ياريت يرجع الزمن نفس اول مانبي

هاليبوت تصديقين. يعني كانوا مستانسين في البيوت اللي قاعدين فيها رغم ماكان في هالقد ترفه (رفاهية) ولا فخفة ولكن كانوا الناس كانوا مرتاحين يقولون ياريت يرجع الزمن ونعيش في نفس البيت جازين مابعدنا. اما هذلين حق فخفة وناس مو شافين خير انا اقولها بصراحة العمارات هذي مو لنا احنا مال فخفة والناس اللي يفوشرون الأصل مايهده اصله. انا لو يعطوني بيت قديم اسكن فيه الحمد لله انا بيتي قديم من سنة 75 او ازيد بنتي الصغيرة الحين عمرها 37 سنة احنا قاعدين في الرفاع يعني بيتي مو موديل الحين وطوباق ارضي وعادي لكن لو يرجع بعد الزمن اتركه واروح بيتنا القديم، له معنى له كلمة كل طوفة نتكلم عن الناس اللي كانوا عايشين فيه. العمارات شنو؟ تقعدن في عمارة شنو؟ تحسبن في شي؟ ماتحسبن مالها ذكريات مالها معنى مالها شي. انا والكل يعرف لو تقابلين كل وحدة مثلاتي وغير مثلاتي حتى رجال يقولون مو بس احنا اول احلى القديم كان احلى على الرغم ناس بسطاء لكنهم مستانسين. كل تطور يجيب امراض بعد بتجينا امراض لنا الله لا يقول ان شالله بس نيتنا مو صافيه مع بعض مانحب بعض نكره بعض نفوشر على بعض الدنيا صايرة جذي محد يحن على احد. لول اذا انتين مريضة سلمة عليج الوحدة تركض لج تطبخ لج تغسل لج كلشي تسوي لج الحين التلفون في يده في يدها التلفون ما تتصل تقول شفنج حبيبتي مريضة الله يشافيج مافي. هذي صاحب العمائر سوت جذي بالناس الاول الناس ركضة لبعض ماعندهم سيارات يمشون مشي من وين لوين السوق مشي المحل مشي كل مكان مشي نرو الحين شوفي الناس المباني غيرتهم سيار و الفلوس غيرتهم اول عايشين على البيزتين لكن مستانين بصحة وعافية لو يرجع الزمن انا خاطري يرجع الزمن واعيش في قديم.

المقابلة الثالثة: سيدة تقريبا 55 سنة، استقرت بعض الوقت خارج المنامة لم تتأقلم بالرغم من علاقاتها المحدودة في المنامة. وذلك بسبب انها سافرت لتكمل دراستها العليا وبالرغم من ذلك عادت لتستقر في المنامة.

س1: ماذا تعني لك المنامة؟

بالنسبة لي كل شيء حلو حين أقول كلمة المنامة يخفق قلبي عندها بالفعل إحساس مو شيء طبيعي، خاصة لم طلعت من المنامة وسكنت برا فترة يتولع قلبي بس أوصل منطقة المنامة والحدود القريبة لبيتنا احساسني شعور اخر ا اخر. وهي تعني لي البحرين بأكملها هي المنامة رمز البحرين كفاية ان هي العاصمة.

س2: كيف تتذكرين المنامة؟ حاليا هل تسكنين المنامة؟

لا حاليا انا في المنامة رجعت مرة ثانية. انا من ولدوني لحد التوجيهي كنت ساكنة في المنامة بس ماكنت اعرف شيء عنها لان تعرفين قبل ما كنا نروح مكان من البيت للمدرسة امي كانت توصلني للمدرسة في الابتدائي رحت الاعدادي صار عادي عندي وياي ناس من الفريق ماكنت اروح ولا مكان حتى اللي وياي من الفريق ماعرفهم امي كانت تروح الماتم يوم انا صغيرة توديني بس كبرت قمت ما روج. هذا اللي كبرت وعشت طفولتي فيه شيء بسيط فقط مثل ما يقولون ال زرنوق للفريق اعرف البيوت واعرف بناتهم واولادهم وكانت حياة طبيعية احنا البنات والأولاد مع بعض عادي مافي يقولون حرام مافي يقولون عيب ولا شيء على بعض نلعب مع بعض في طفولتنا بس للتوجيهي، بعدين رحت برا درست 4 سنوات رديت رجعت سنة وحدة قعدت ورديت رحت مرة ثانية ادرس للماستر ضليت سنتين ما رجعت بعد للماستر، جئت وبعد قعدت سنة وحدة يمكن وسافرت لأبدأ في الدكتورا قعدت سنة ورجعت وتالي تزوجت وماكملتها. عشت من زواجي من شهر العسل اخذت بيت في شارع البديع كنت اجي المنامة يوميا تقريبا المغرب بيت امي اقعد شوي واراد ارجع. هذي فترة العشرين سنة بعد اختلطت بقليل اخر ايامي صرت اروح الموامم وتعرفت على أهالي الفريق واتذكر بيت فلان وعلان. الحين عدت للسكن مرة ثانية الحين صار لي تقريبا 6 هذي سنة 7 رديت رجعت لمنطقة الفريق وعشت. هل تشعرين براحة اكبر في المنامة؟ في راحة أي مرتاحة نفسية نفس ما قلت لج كان قلبي يخفق من أوصل المنامة وكنت اصر اني اريد بيت اريد العودة للمنامة، انا زوجي نحن الاثنين اسرانا واحدة نحن الاثنين من المنامة من نفس الفريق الى ان حصلنا ورجعت ومرتاحة. ولكن اللي صار ان البنات والأولاد الحين كبرو الأول صغار عادي مايفكرون بطموحاتنا واحنا نفكر في المنامة هم عادي يمشون وانا كبروا الحين تخرجو صار

عندهم شي مضايق مثل الباركات صاير شي يزعجهم ويفكرون بمكان افضل لكن المنامة هي روحنا وحياتنا انا أقول لهم لاتحاولون في هالشى ماقدر اتنازل او اتراجع عن المنامة.

س3: في سنوات اللي عشتي فيها برا كنتي تتذكرين شوارع المنامة تحنين لها؟

أي طبعا اتذكرها هي كانت قديمة وحليوة وحوش وبيوت كبار يعني راحة غير بيتونا الحديثة بس طبعا الحين تغيرت في بعض البيوت القديمة هدموها بنو جديد او صار مكانها عمارة او صارت براحة متروكة يعني ولكن مازال الغالبية بيتوهم مثل ماهي القليل سوو صيانة البيت نفسه بس عدلو من برا صمموه ترميم فتغير وجه البيت القديم.

س4: ماهو المكان المفضل عندك في المنامة، وتقضين فيه أطول اوقاتك؟

هذا هو فريقنا نفسه، عند المعمة مثل مايقولون، عند مسجد الخواجة عند ماتم العجم احنا هني بيتنا بيت امي هني كان وبيتنا الحين اللي اخذته وبنيته. البيت اللي ساكنة فيه كان بيت قديم مال اول قديم فيه شجرة نخيل وشجرة كنار اشترينا الارض أتذكر الشجرة بيت قديم كان هدمناه وبنينا بيت جديد مكانه يعني هو نفسه بينه وبين بيتي اللي تربيت وعشت فيه كلها زرنوق واحد طويل.

س5: ما رأيك في المنامة الجديدة المطورة اللي فيها مباني شاهقة؟

نقول المنامة الحدود الأطراف مثل المرفأ والمباني والابراج اللي صارت طبعا احنا نؤيد هذا الشي نؤيد التطور مثل ما يقولون ما الشيئ لا يبقى على ماهو لا بد ان وجه المنامة كعاصمة أي سائح جاء أي احد يجي علاقل يشوف فيها طابع حلو يبقى فيها المناطق القديمة لكن مناطق ثانية حديثة تجدد عهدها مثل ما يقولون مافي مانع بالعكس نؤيد هذا الشي وحلوة. لكن البيوت الأفضل القديمة لم تدخلين فيها حوش يشرح قلبج مو متعبة مثل الحين بيتوتنا زجاج وأشياء واثاث يعني متعبة متعبة الاولين ما يتعبون. يعني مثل الحين مي الخليفة قاعدة تحافظ على التراث على أساس البيوت القديمة ماتتهم والاشياء النوافذ الموجودة تبقى بس بعد مو الكل قاعد يقدر يحافظ بحاجة للتطوير. **ماذا تعني لج هذه المباني في المنامة**، عهد جديد لعاصمة المنامة اشراقتها مثل مايقولون وجه اخر، لم يطلعون الصور على سبيل المثال صور البحرين كان اول يطلع سوق المنامة القديم الحين لا لم يكتبون المنامة العاصمة يطلعون لج البحر يطلعون لج الأبراج المباني اللي دار مداير البحر يعني الحديث صار وجه اخر هي تعني نوع من التطور لكن مازلت افضل احتفظ بالشى القديم.

س6: هل هناك رابطة عاطفة للمنامة الجديدة؟

لا لان ما عشنا هناك ولا تربينا في هذا الزمن هذا الشي الموجود لا يعني لا يوجد أي رابط مجرد الرابط الوحيد ك أسم مسمى فقط للعاصمة المنامة

س7: هل تعتقدين هذه البيئة تلعب دور في نسيج العلاقات لاهل المنامة؟

اكيد ما يكون ان الحين تشوفين تقولين عن الأبراج مافي ترابط، اعطيح مثال بسيط انا لم طلعت لشارع البديع البيوت المنطقة كلها حديثة وكلها جديدة ومافيه أبراج او ناطحات سحاب ولا نمط نفس الموجود بحدود المنامة انما بيوت وفلل صغيرة كل واحد وفلته لكن لانعرف احد ولا يعرفونه مجرد يقولون هذا بيت فلان وهذا بيت فلان الاقيهم متى وقت اللي خارجة من طبيلتي بالسبارة وهم طالعين لدوامهم او عند عودتي هذا اللقاء اللي بيناتنا بس مافي ترابط اجتماعي زيارات علاقات جيران كل واحد في بيته مصكوك عليه بابة هو ويا أولاده. لو عشنا نفس الامر مع الأبراج محد بيعرف احد نفسه البرج اللي فيه كم شقة ماتعرفين اللي حواليج او الطابق اللي تحتج او اللي فوقج. اعتقد هذا بسبب الطابع القديم الاول كانت حتى العوائل تختلف كان أي احد يطق الباب على الثاني يدش على الثاني في أي وقت وبدون استاذان يعني الحين ماتقدرين لا انا ولا انتي يعني الحين انتي مجرد مكاملة كم مرة حاولتي تستأذنين فما بالج تشين عليهم وتسوين علاقات. ثاني شي العمل، حكم العمل او الوظيفة كل واحد فيها يحكمه ويقيده ان علاقج تصير قليلة كلش في الترابط الاجتماعي يعني انتي دوامك يختلف عن دوامهم ترجعين تعبانة تدورين لبيتك واو لادك لول لا الأول الخالة تجود الأولاد الجيران يجون يربون أولادهم كل بيت يدش الثاني كل وحدة تشيل الثانية وما عندهم

وضيفة ولا يشتغلون يعني ما احمل المسؤولية لنوع المبنى اوك. انما كوظيفة كوقت ك تربية تختلف ان انتي تحمليين مسؤولية بيتك بروحك هذي الأمور كلها تتجمع مع بعضها تنتج علاقة ضعيفة جدا مافي حتى رحم الوالدين او العوائل صلة الرحم الحين بنات خالج وبنات عمك ماتشوفينهم الا بالموجب بعيد الشر او في افراح مناسبة معينة كلا بالتلفونات ووتساب في الوضع الحالي مافي علاقات اجتماعية حميمة مثل مايقولون ان ادش واروح واجي واطلع.

س8: لو كان لديك فرصة قضاء يوم كامل في المنامة للتسليه ماهي اماكنك المفضلة؟

بروح هني سوقنا المنامة القديم اذا كنت محتاجة لشئ بروح اقضيه بتسوق بمر برادة, جيرانة اللي صارت عندي معهم علاقة قوية بروح عند هذي شوي وخذي شوية وخلص برجع بيتي اما يوم كامل افتر فيها صعبة. **لا تفضلين الذهاب لأماكن أخرى ابعد قليلا.** لا الا اذا كنت محتاجة شي مو موجود طبعا معظم الأشياء موجودة في المجمعات وفي أشياء واجد موجودة بسوق المنامة ساعا يحكمني ان ما اروح سوقنا خاصة أولادنا الحين مستحيل يدشون السوق يعني بيتنا في وسط المعمة تعرفين مأتم العجم والمسجد احنا هني بالضبط أولادي ما يفكرون بيوم من الأيام يتمشون بسوق المنامة يقولون محنا رايعين حر وفطسة فيفضلون يركبون السيارة ونروح المجمعات نروح السيف والسي سي يعني هذي المكانات عشان الجو يعني الجو يلعب دور لو الجو حلو يمكن تقولين بروح اتمشي في المنامة بقضي حاجاتي مع العلم معظم الأشياء موجودة في المنامة ما في احد يستغني حتى لو بتروحين مجمعات في أشياء ما تحصيلينها الا تأخذينها من سوق المنامة , حتى أقول لأولادي شوفوا مال الرفاع يجون مال المحرق يجون مال مناطق الثانية شارع البديع كلهم يجون وانتون تقولون مانبي من هني نروح نجيب من برا. بس يعني في مناسبات قرقاعون شهر رمضان شهر محرم هذي لازم نشترها من سوق المنامة. هي مثل ما تقولين اقدر اقضي وقتي بمجمع ساعات نروح يوم كامل نطلع الضحى نتريق هناك نتسوق نتغدا هناك وجذي ليما يصير مغرب ونرجع لكن اذا كنا نبي نشتر حاجات معينة لكن ما عندي وقت ان بس مجرد ابغي اقضي وقت اروح مجمع اقعد بكافي او شي ماسويتها. هي أماكن تحتاج ترتيب مسبق اما المنامة لا عشوائية قريبة ولا ارتب لها ابدأ يعني الحين ارجع يقولون لي استانستي الحين رجعتي مشي اقول لهم انا الحين أي شي احتاجة مجرد أتذكر حاجة اريدها مباشرة ليست البالطو وحطيت شيلتي وانا طالعة لكن غير لما كنت في شارع البديع اخطط وابدل والبس واضرب سلف وانزل المنامة واحصل بارك او ماحصل غربال يعني الحين لا كلشي تحتي الخياط تحت البرادة البقال السوق المواثم المساجد مانحتاج شي الحمد لله.

س9: لو كان عندك موقف دائم حقك في المنامة مضمون انتي بتفضلين المشي او السيارة

حتى لو المشي طبعا أفضل امشي ساعات بإمكانني اروح بسيارة مسافة يعني يحتاج ولكن لا أفضل امشي بين المحلات بين الدكاكين اروح من بيتنا لباب البحرين للشيراتون مودا مول ماعندي مانع. ساعات نسوي رياضة الصبح انا وصديقتي من المنطقة هني نطلع الصبح نتمشي نواصل للافيزوز ونرد نرجع المشي فيه حليو وممتع مو ممل.

س10: هل تشعرين اثناء المشي انه ينقصك عناصر خضرة طبيعية تودين لو انك تشوفينها اثناء مشيك

مافي خلاف ان الواحد يحب يشوف مناظر خلاصة ابسط مثال لم تشوفين في التلفزيون مناظر أوروبا تقولين الله جان زين احنا لكن احنا عارفين وضع بلدنا نمشي فيها اكو الأرصفة فيها أشجار فيها ورود فترة الجو الحلو يزرعونه ورود كل الألوان فلما نمشي نطالع عالجانبيين في زراعة فما ينقصنا شي خاصة ان نظرتي اني رايحة عشان رياضة تمضية وقت صحيا فما افكر في هالشي يعني بس لو انوجدت مابنقول لا بالعكس شي حلو ونتمنى بصير.

المقابلة الرابعة: دكتور محمد رضا دكتور في علم الاثار من سكان المنامة

س1: ماذا تعني لك المنامة؟

تعني الكثير مكان نولدت فيه وعشت فيه يعني تربيت في هذي المنطقة

س2: كيف تتذكر المنامة وطريقة الحياة

طريقة الحياة كانت كلش بسيطة الناس علاقاتهم مع بعض من احسن ما يمكن وصايرين الجيران اهل يعني الكل يأخذ باله من بعض واذا يصير في أي احد من الفريق شي كل الفريق يعني يحاولون يتطمنون عليه ويساعدونه. اذا انتذكر أماكن وشوارع المنامة عندك شارع شيخ عبدالله كان اتجاهين مو اتجاه واحد لان السوق الرئيسية موجود هني عند فندق عذاري فندق عذاري كان سوق الخضرة والمنتجات الزراعية البحرينية تجي هذا السوق بالجمل والمفرد وسوق اللحم مكانه فندق وسوق الحدادة الحين صارت كلا محلات شوو روم يبيعون أجهزة التكترونية ومسجلات وتلفزيونات هذا كان بسوق الحدادة الاصلية هذا كان شارع شيخ عبدالله في اتجاهين رايح وجاي بعدين يوم نقلو الأسواق وزاد عدد السكان صار اتجاه واحد صار بس تطلع من السوق بس مافي تدش السوق السايير

س3: اوصف بيئة المنامة وشوارعها وبيوتها البيئة الي عشت فيها

البيوت قديمة بعضهم كانت في صغرنا مازالت مبنية من سعف النخيل في بيوت مبنية من الجص في من الاسمنت والحصا وتالي صار طابوق بس في بيوت تراثية كانت موجودة وانتهت وازيلت شكل بيت سيد سعيد بيت سيد سعيد هذا كان بيت تراثي وكان المفروض ماينهدم ويحافظ عليه كتراث بس جاءو البلدوزرات بأمر مادري من البلدية مادري شنو وشالوه كامل عن بكرة ابيه كان فيه بلكونات من الخشب يعني مبنى تراثي من احسن مايمكن بس راح وانتهى، عندج بيت بن خلف مو هذا اللي مسوينه ذاكرة المنامة هذاك يسمونه البيت الصغير هذا البيت العود هو افضل لو محافظين عليه وما هدموه بيكون افضل من البيت الصغير وكان المفروض يحتفظون بالبيتين الصغير والعود لان البيت العود فيه البلكونات الخشب شكل هذاك لان الورثة قسمو البيت وهدموه كل واحد سكن يعني راح البيت في فترة ما كان حتى التراث والثقافة ما كانوا في هذيك الفترة يحاولون يمتلكون هذي المباني لهذا السبب راح هذا البيت ماكن في اهتمام بعدين في الأخير هذا البيت الصغير حاولو انهم يحافظون عليه وسموه ذاكرة المنامة بيت خلف هذا من البيوت التراثية المهمة في المنامة بعد في كم بيت لكن مايحضرني الأسماء. في بالسوق بعد بعض الدكاكين القديمة تراثية بحاجة للاهتمام.

س4: اين سكان المنامة

والله اغلبهم طلعو من المنامة نسبة قليلة اللي مازالت باقية اللي مرتبطة بالمنامة اللي تحاول تبقى مثبتة روحها بالمنامة لان العوائل قامت تكبر والابناء والاحفاد قامو يطلعون برا من المنامة اللي سكنو مدينة عيسى واللي سكنو مدينة حمد واللي عندهم أملاك وارااضي وبنو لهم وهاجرو من المنامة حاليا المنامة بيوت قليلة معظمها الحين يسكنونها الاسويين مأجرة للاسيوين. هو الحين اللي مرتبطين في المنامة اغلبهم كبروا بالسن وتوفو فالناس المرتبطة في المنامة واللي عايشة وعندها ذكريات في المنامة معظمهم توكلو على الله وماتو ماتم الا القليل هذلين الأبناء الصغار صارت بيوت المنامة ضيقة وصغيرة ولا تنسع غير الحين اللي يبني له او يحصل بيت من وزارة الإسكان فيه مجلس وفيه صاله يعني الناس تفكر تعيش في راحة في البيت بدل الضيق. هل تعتقد الجيل الحديث اقل ارتباطا بالمنامة. طبعا اكيد الحين لان الناس بدأت تتفتح وبدأت تتأقلم مع الحياة الجديدة من قبل مافي تأقلم في ناس طلعو من المنامة مكرهين بسبب الضيق لم العائلة تكبر يطلعون برا المنامة على أساس أوسع وفي حجر اكثر وفي مجلس وصالة ومادري شنو فالناس صارت تفضل تطلع لكن البقاء في المنامة صار صعب لان البيوت ضيقة وماتستحمل , معظم البيوت اللي كانوا عائلة كبيرة وكلهم ساكنين في نفس البيت لم ابوتهم توفو الورثة تقاسمو الأملاك وعلى هالاساس كل واحد بنى فتغيرت المباني التراثية لمباني حديثة ولكن مازال فيها ضيق يعني اذا بيت كبير يتقسم الى 3 او 4 اقسام وكل عائلة تأخذ قسم ف البيت يصير غرف ماله صغيرة ومافيه غرف كثيرة يعني اللي يبسكن فيه عياله مالههم مجال يعيشون في هذا البيت فاما يبيعونه وناس واحد باعت وطلعت برا المنامة الحين حياة الناس وتفكيرهم تغير وارتباطهم في المنامة ماعاد نفس السابق.

س5: اذا بنتكلم عن المحرق هي نفس مشاكل المنامة تقريبا الضيق والمواقف في اجزاءها القديمة الا ان مأهولة بسكانها نعم يوجد عدد من الاسويين ولكن السكان أيضا مازالو فيها. تعتقد لو حصل مزيد من الاهتمام هل سيعود الناس للمنامة

سكان المنامة حاليا ماعادو يعني قليل يعني الناس اللي كانوا جيرانه ابتعدو عن المنامة وطلعو وما عاد احد ليعيش في المنامة وما عدنا نشوفهم بالمنامة واعتقد حتى مع الاهتمام وتعديل الأوضاع ماراح يكون في سكان لا الحين حتى في

س6: مارأيك في المنامة الجديدة المطورة ذات المباني الشاهقة؟

س7: شنو تفضل لو انهم راح يطورون المنامة هل تفضل تطويرها بشكل حديث مثل المنامة الجديدة او يحافظون على شكلها مع مزيد من الاهتمام والترميم

208

غير اللي بفريق العوضية اللي مئاك بعد في هذا اللي يسمونه الباجيري اللي هو الأبراج الهوائية هذي البيوت كلها انشالت بفريق العوضية كلها انشالت وراحت مابقى الا بيت واحد فيه برج هوائي بس واحد والباقي راحت ورا مدرسة الرجاء.

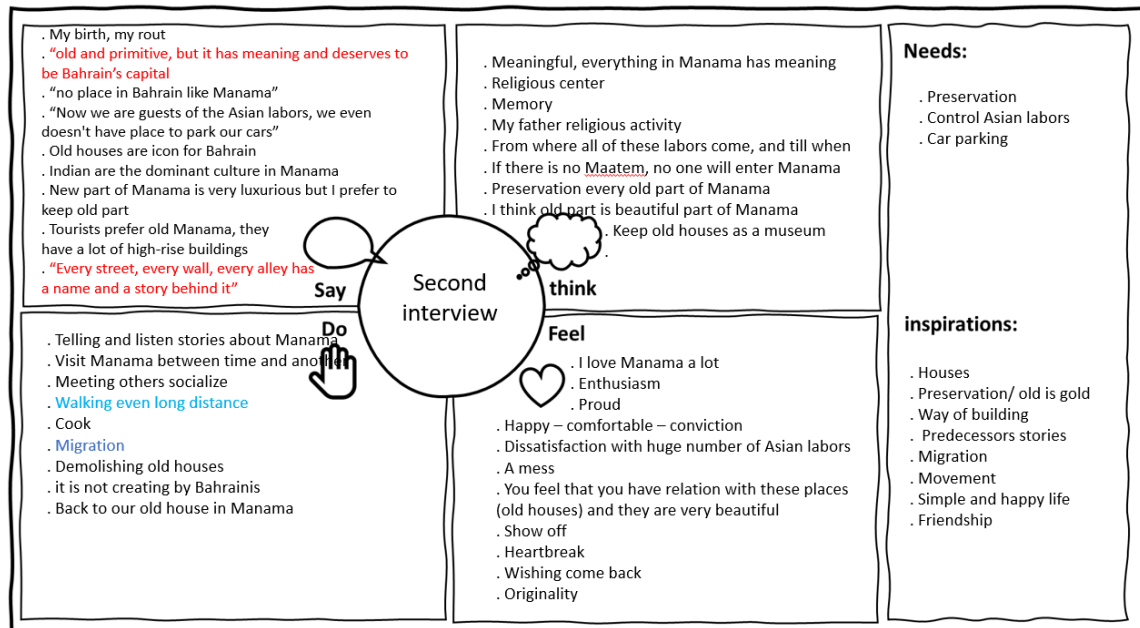
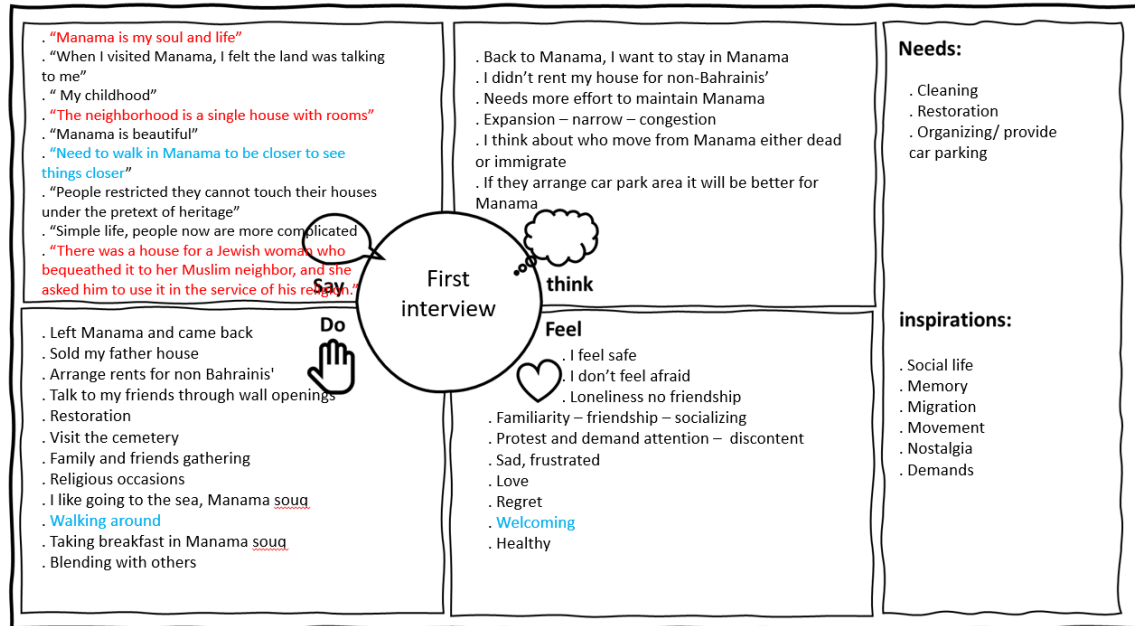
س8: تعتقد بيئة المكان تلعب دور في نسيج العلاقات بين أهالي المنامة

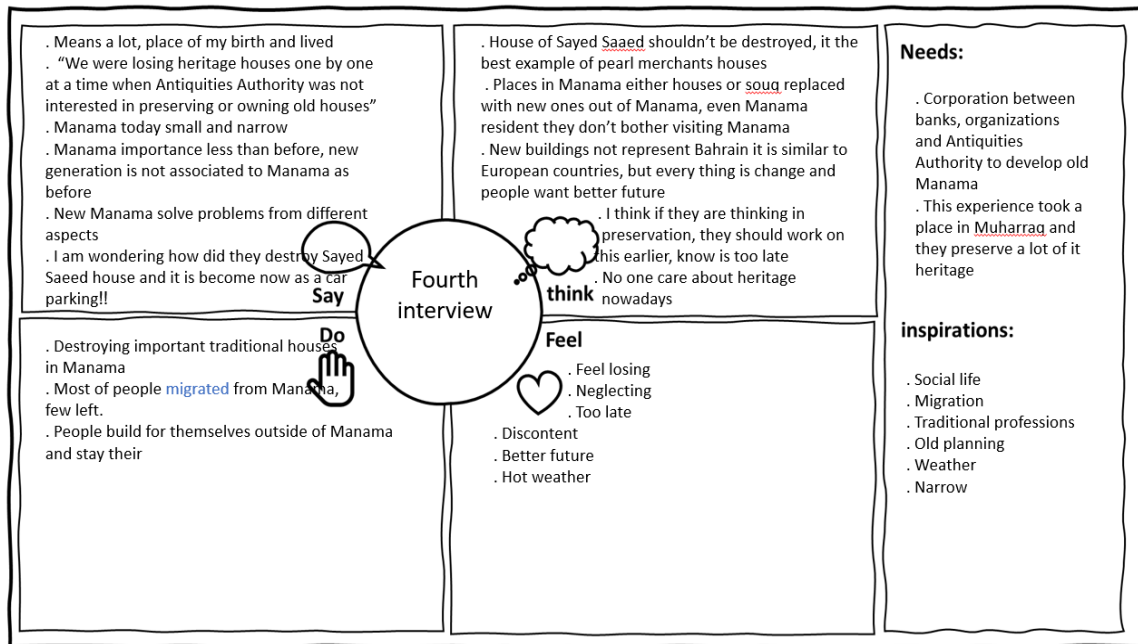
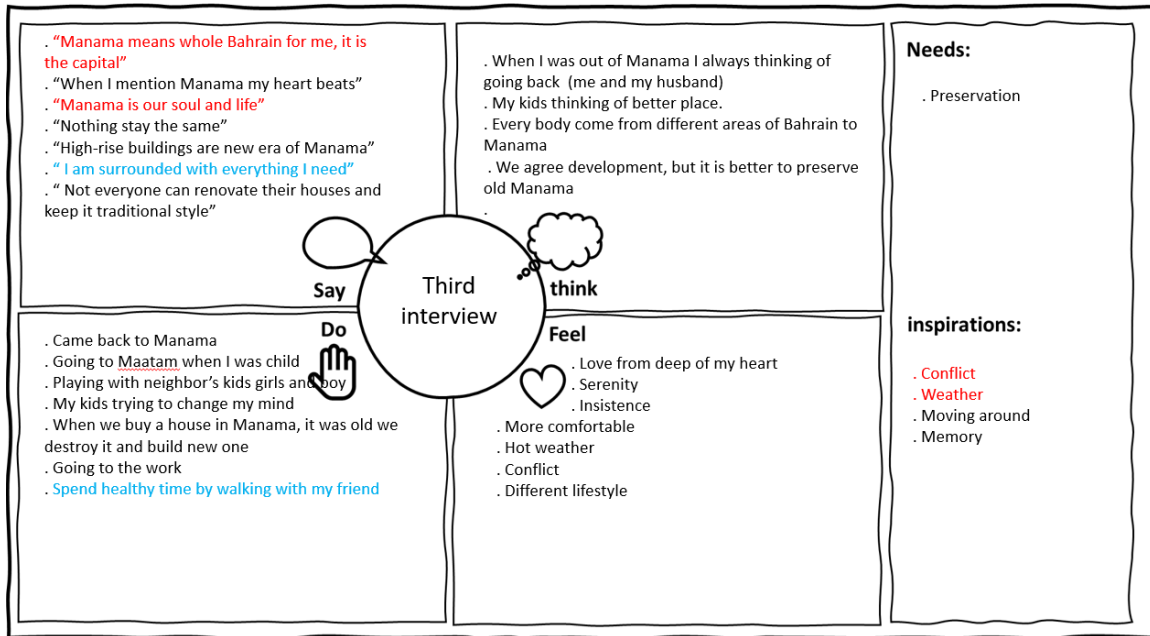
البيئة كانت تلعب دور الحين لا الحين خلاص الحين انتهت لان الناس كلها طلعت والحين كلها اسويين اللي ساكنين كلشي تغير مافي شي ولا البيئة ترجع نفس الأول مافي مجال. لان طبيعة الحياة تغيرت اول حتى الاعمال مهنية وعضلية وجذي الحين لا الناس متعلمين وعندهم دراسات يدرسون واشغال يشتغلون في مؤسسات وفي الحكومة والبنوك وكمبيوتر وشغلات من هالنوع تغيرت الحياة تماما ماعاد الناس تفكر ان تعيش في المنامة في الطراز القديم لان الطراز القديم للناس مهني يعني اللي يشتغلون في النجارة اول تحصلين نجابر واحد دكاكين في سوق المنامة الحين ماميش نجار ولا في ورشات نجارة اول ورشات النجارة كنت اشوفها في شارع الشيخ عدا الله في افرجان والسوق ويسون غرف جلوس وغرف نوم بحرينين يعني نجابر يسونها ويبيعون والناس عايشين على هذي النعم حاليا هذي المهن طلعو برا راحوا هذي الورش اللي راحو سلماباد او مكان غير ماعدنا نشوف ورشة نجارة في المنامة ابدأ ماميش.

س9: هل تشعر ان هناك صعوبة اننا نعكس هويتنا في الأماكن الحديثة

احنا كمواطنين محد عنده اهتمام لهذا الشيء هذي الدولة يعني ميزانية دولة هذي الدولة اذا تبي تحافظ على تراث البلد توجه هذا الحين مال التراث في بعض المباني قالو هذا ماينهدم بعض البيوت قالو ان هذ بيت تراثي لازم يرمونه بعدين مال التراث في عندهم شركات ومؤسسات وبنوك يتبرعون على أساس صيانة وشراء هذي المباني اما انا لو حتى املك ماعندي استعداد اشتري مبنى وارمه واصلح الدرايش ماله واصلح الببان ماله واخليهم على الطراز القديم وما يستفيد شي وش يستفيد انا ولا ابغي انا حتى لو عندي فلوس استثمرها مابستثمرها في هذا التراث لكن البنوك والمؤسسات يتعاونون مع الحكومة وهم مسوين يعني في المحرق مسوين واحد وفي بعض الأماكن بتلكو تتبرع بابكر تتبرع وبعض البنوك تتبرع يعني يصير بين التراث وهذي المؤسسات مكاتبات على أساس يحافظون على بعض المباني اللي يشوفونها مهم المحافظة عليها . تعتقد انه عمل مؤسسات اكثر مايكون عمل افراد. طبعا افراد ماعتقد حتى التجار التاجر يفكر شلون ينمي امواله مو تراث وشيسوي بالتراث مايهمه واذا هو يبغي يسوي التراث يسويه في بيته يسوي كراسي شكل المقهي يسوي في المجلس ماله في الحوش ماله هالنمونة يسوي مجلس شكل الطريقة القديمة ويحط درايش مال اول في بيته هالنمونة لكن في أي منطقة بالسوق ماعاد يههم بالسوق بيستخدم فلوسه بأشياء تدر عليه أرباح مو عشان الناس تشوف او السواح اذا جو البحرين يشوفون ماعاد يههم التاجر مو المواطن البسيط.

Empathy map



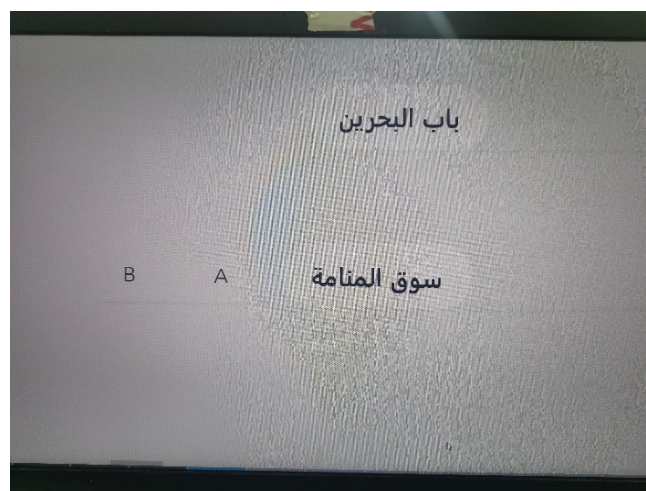
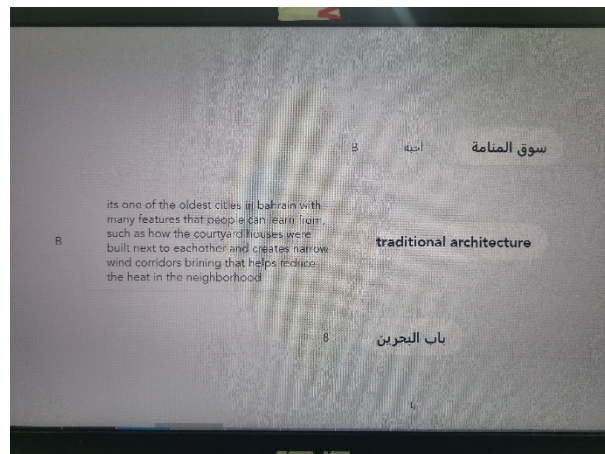
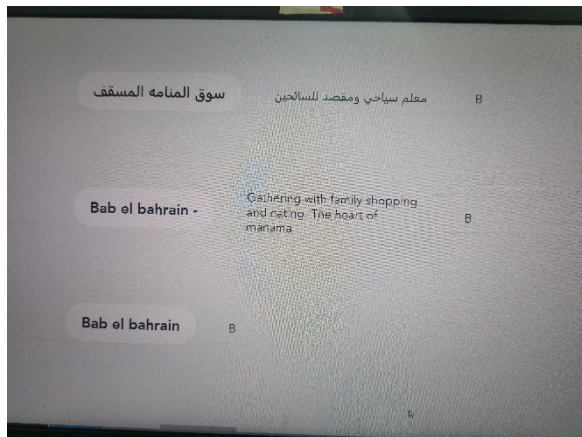
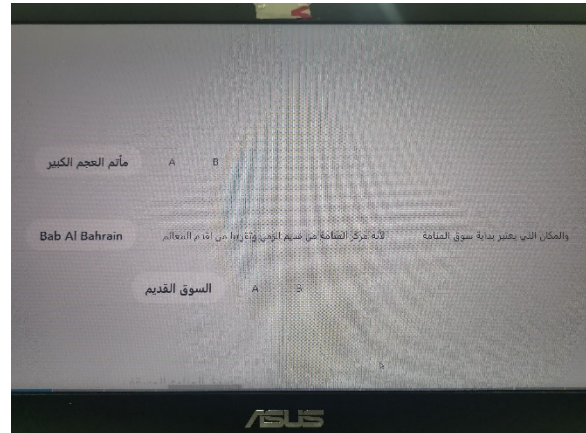
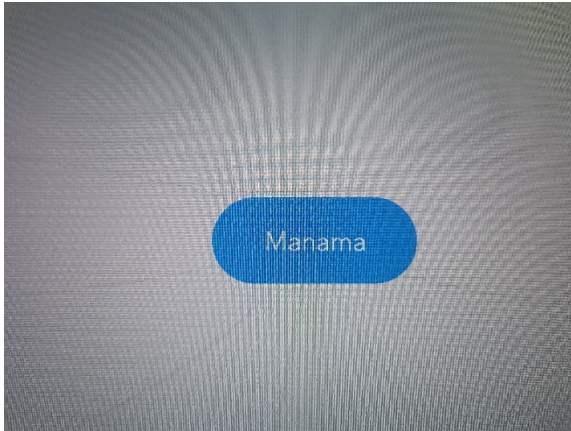


APPENDIX – 3

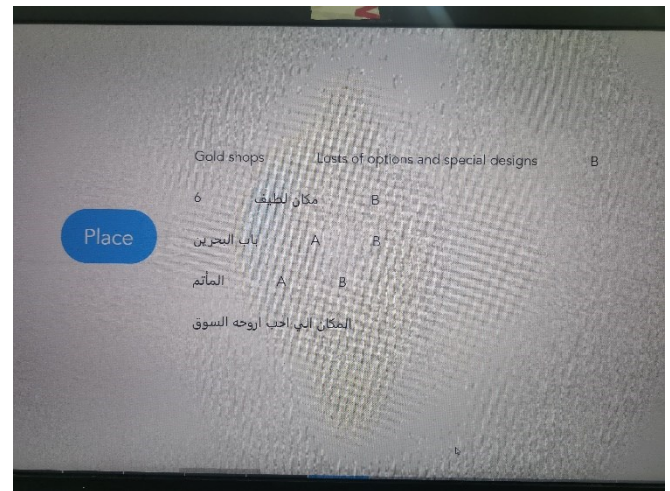
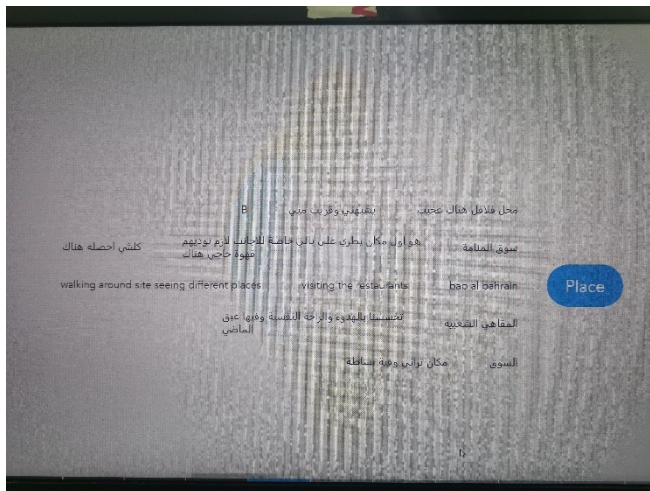
MIND MAP

Mind Map

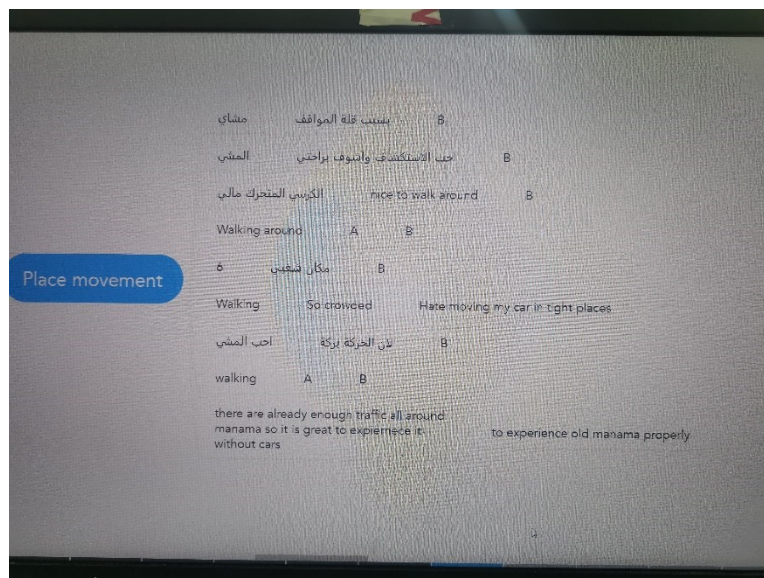
1. What is the first landmark that comes to your mind when you mention Manama? Why?



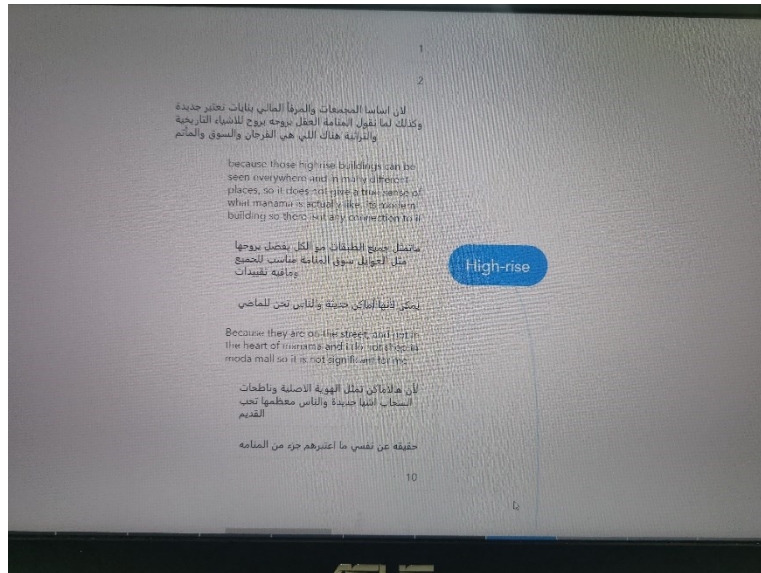
2. What is your favorite place in Manama? What is your feeling toward this place?



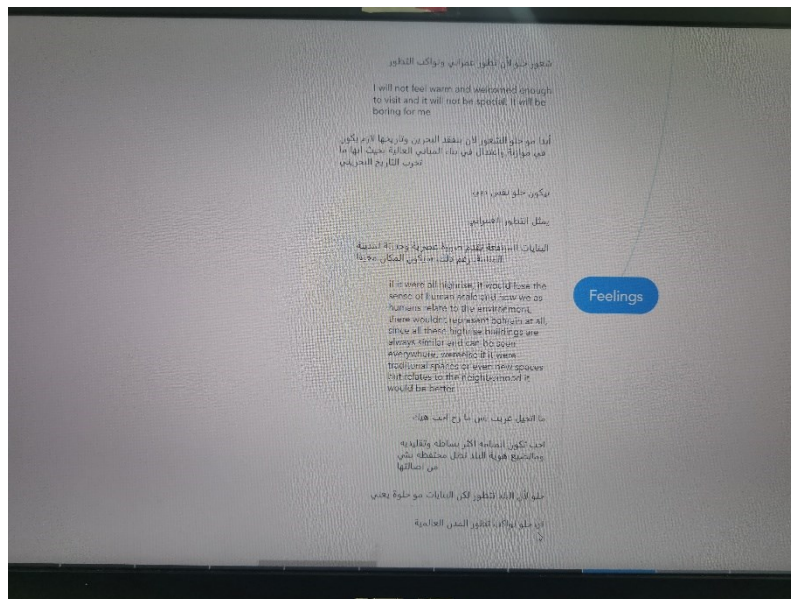
3. What is the way you prefer to roam in Manama? Why?



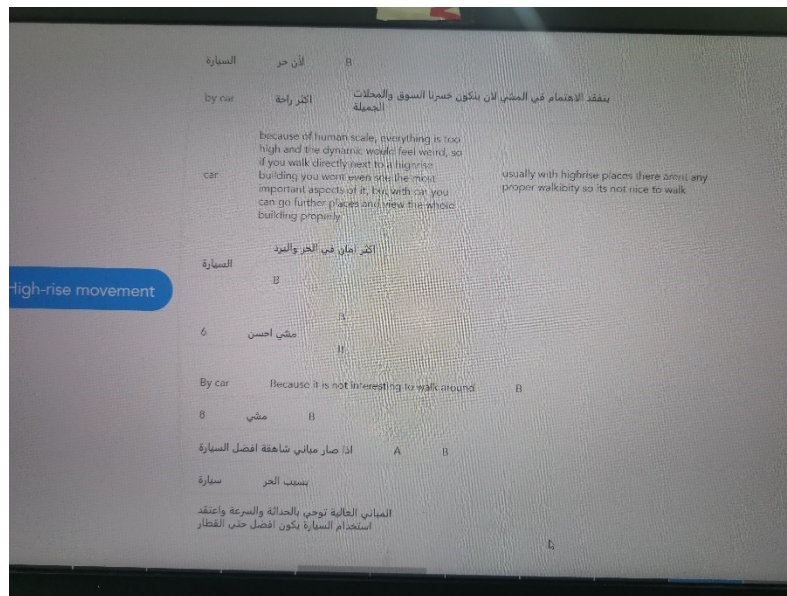
4. Why didn't any of you mention places with tall buildings?



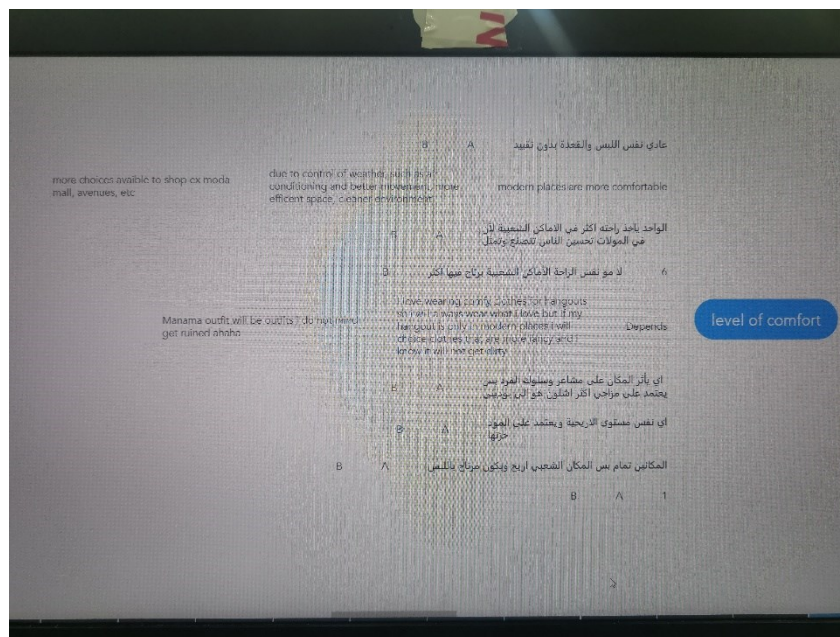
5. If all of Manama were tall buildings, how would you feel?



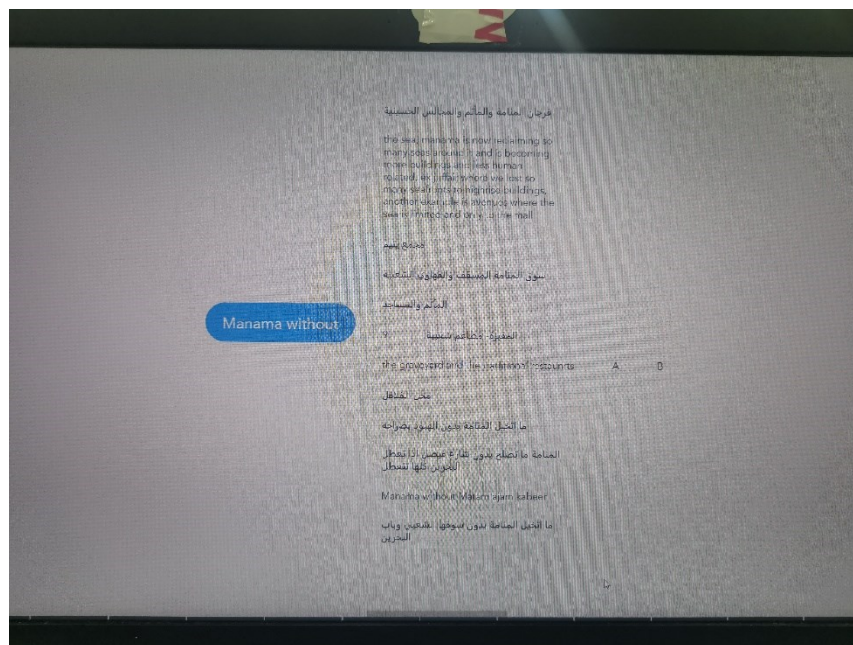
6. What is the way you prefer to roam in these places? Why?



7. Do you think that you are in same level of comfort in both places, terms of, dressing, movement, communicate with others, distance?



8. Can't imagine Manama without?

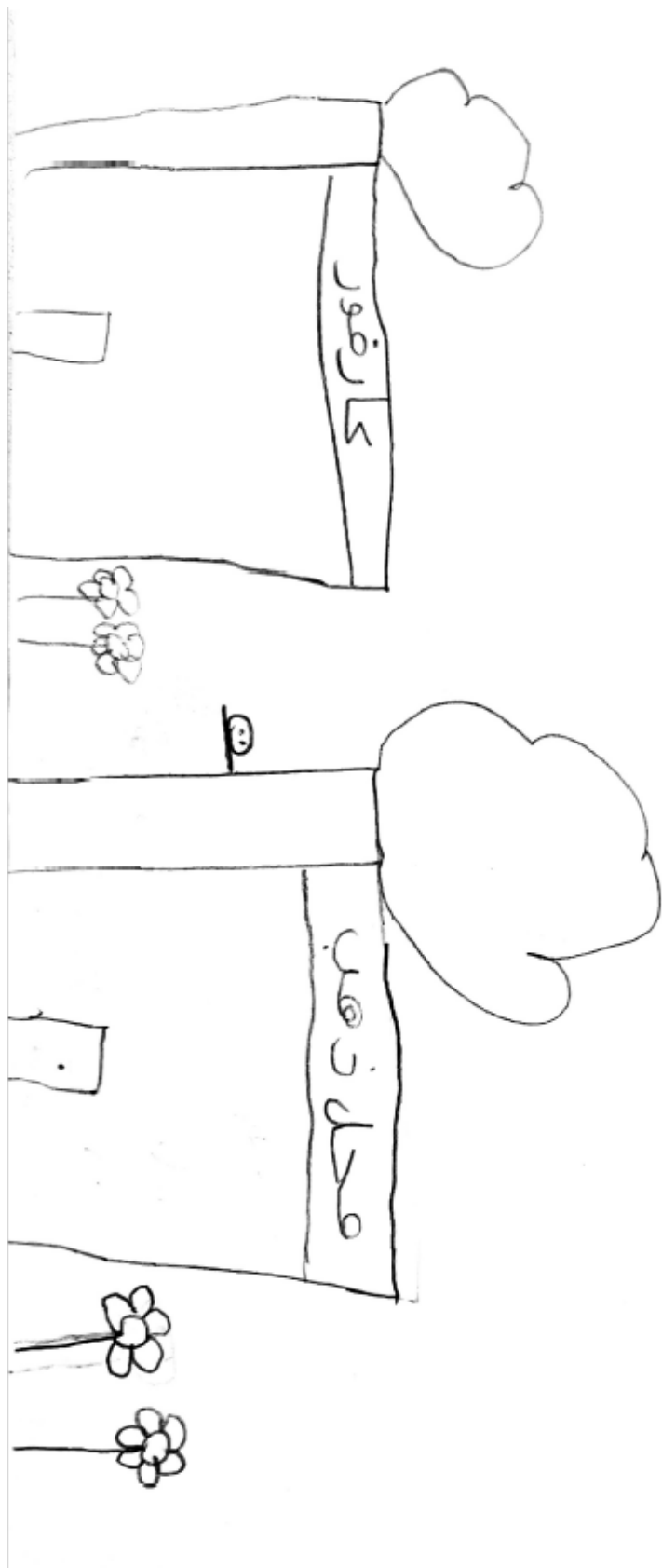


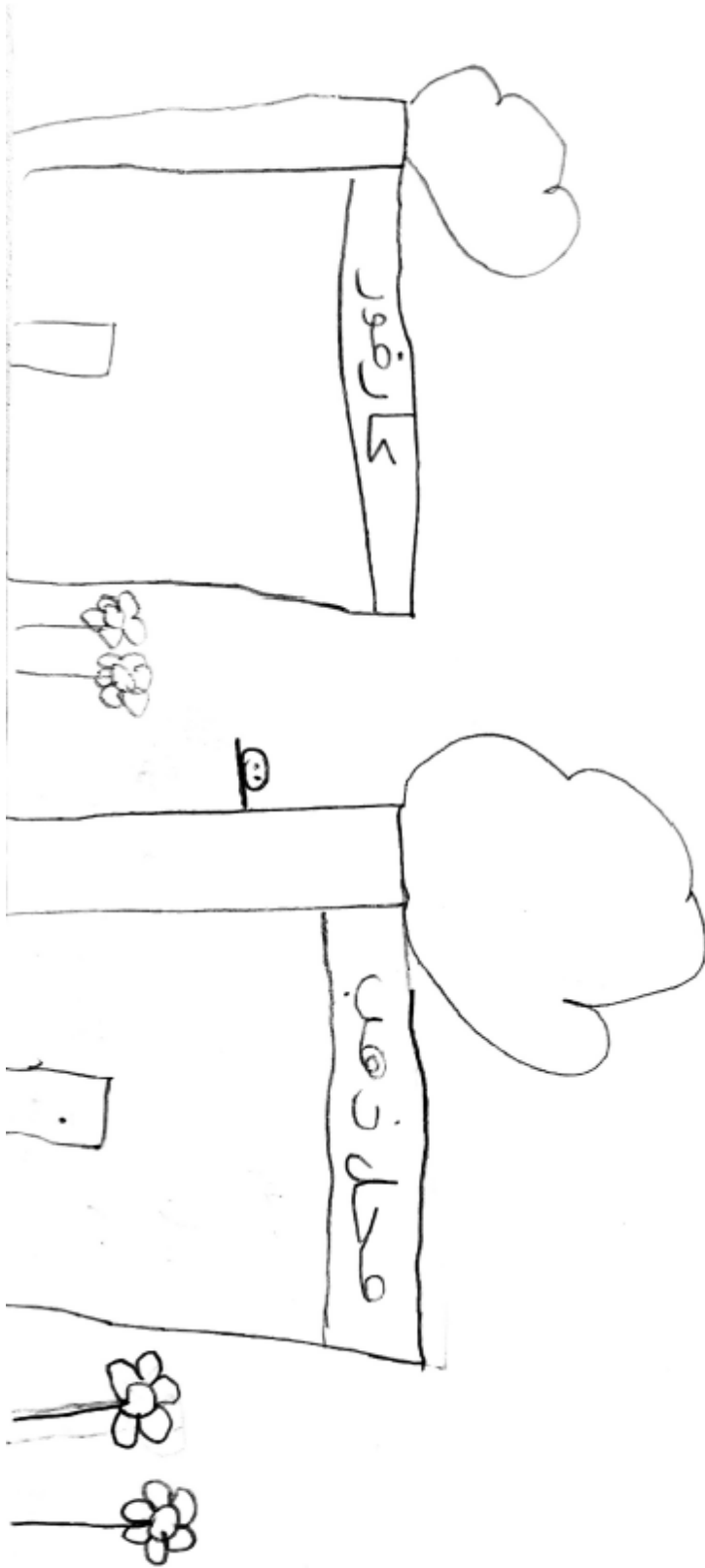
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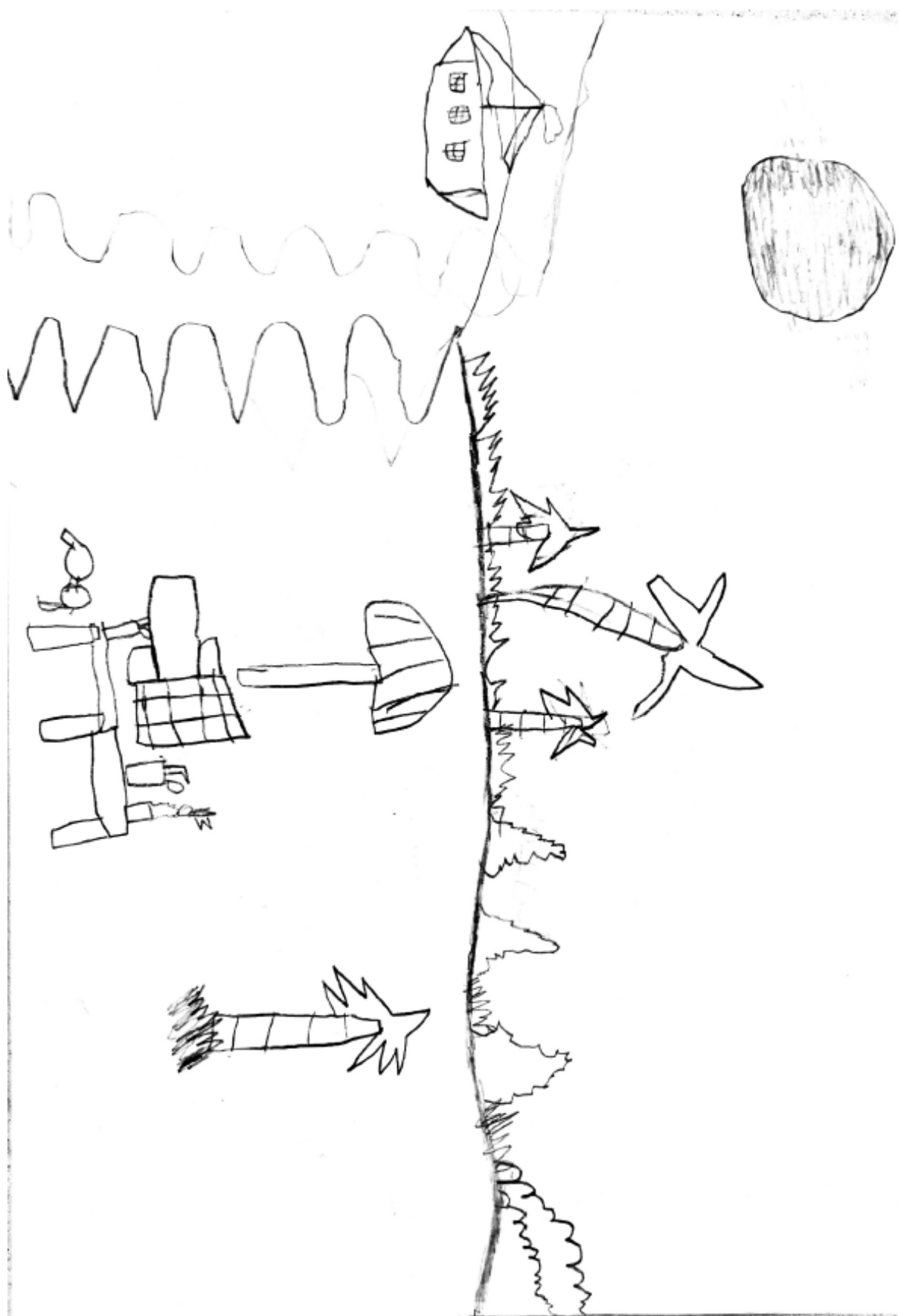
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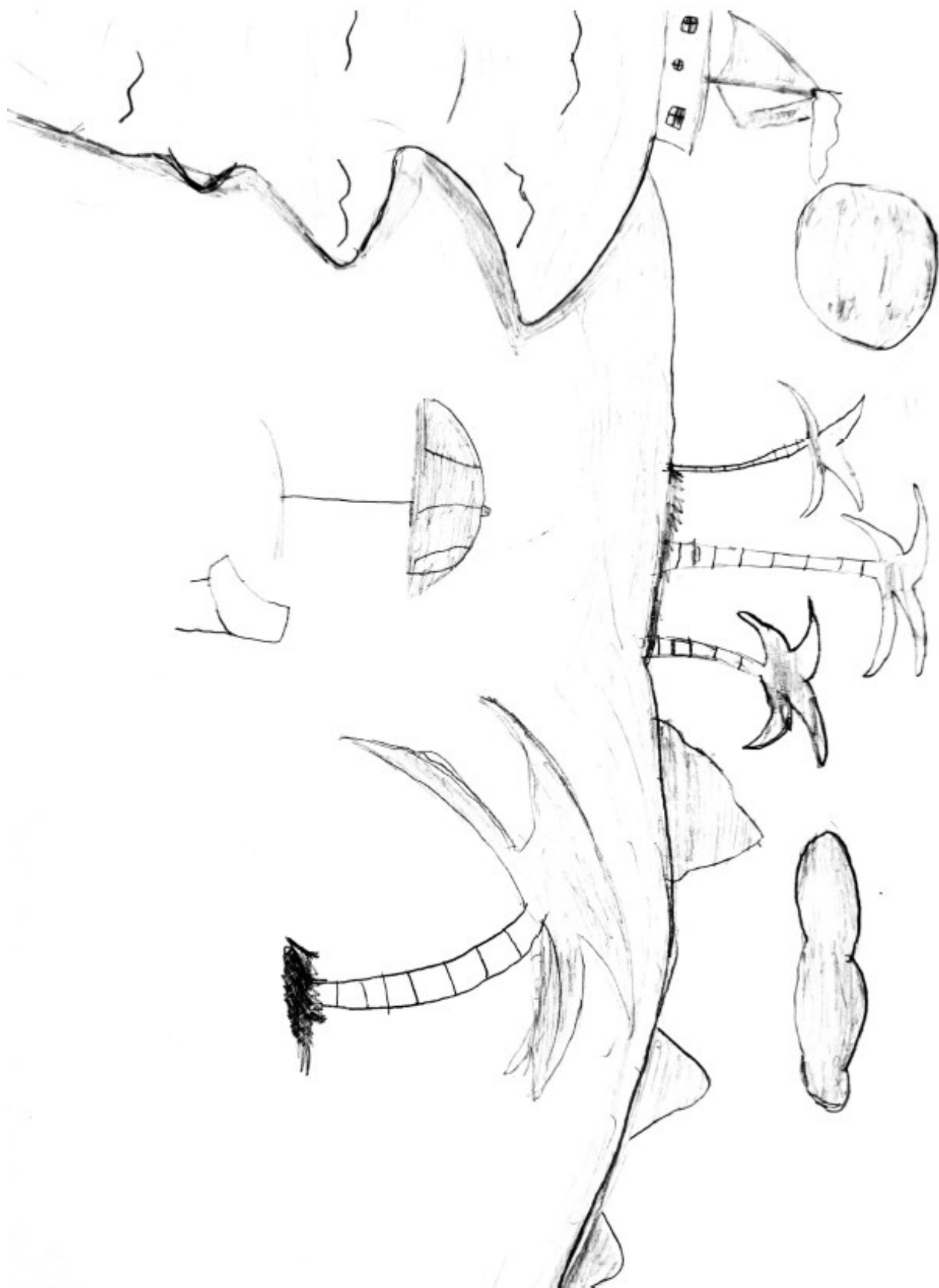
APPENDIX – 4

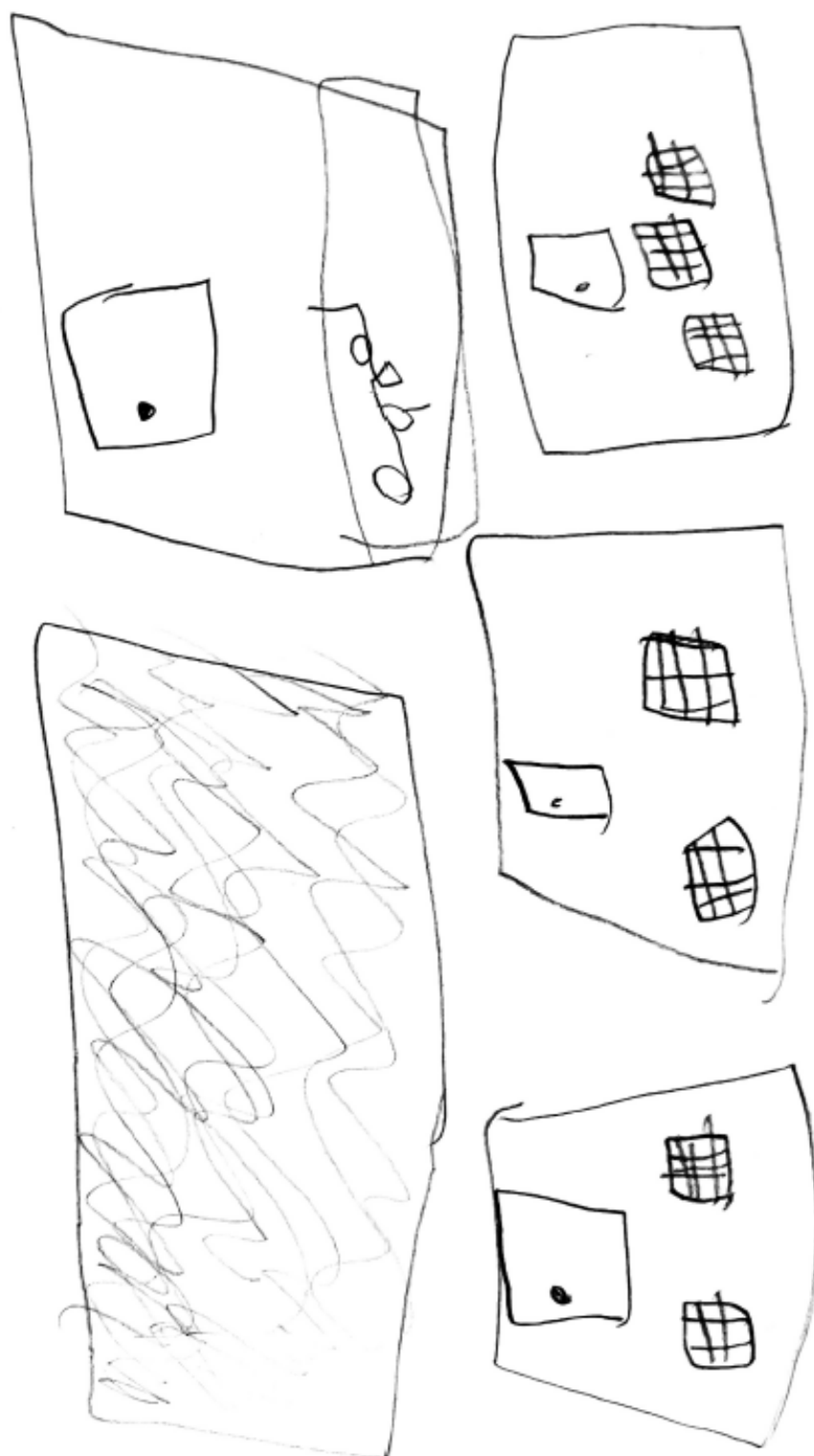
KIDS SKETCHES



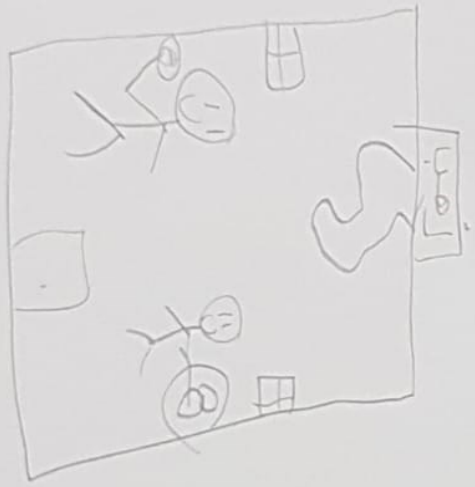
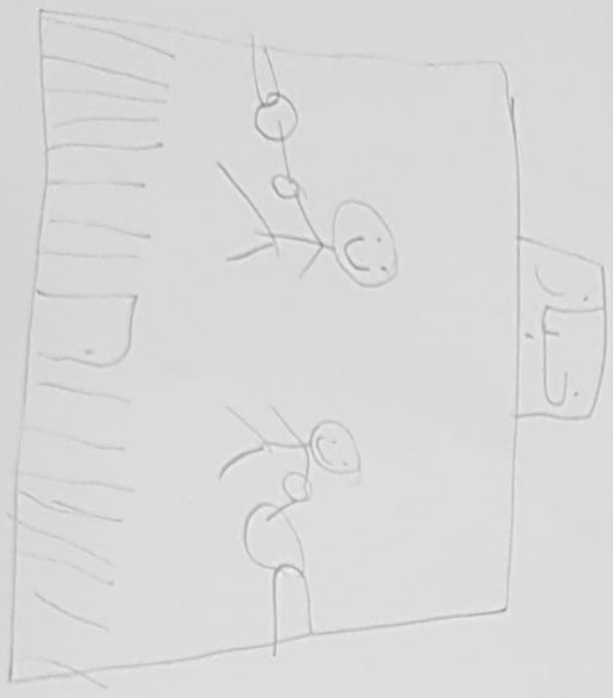


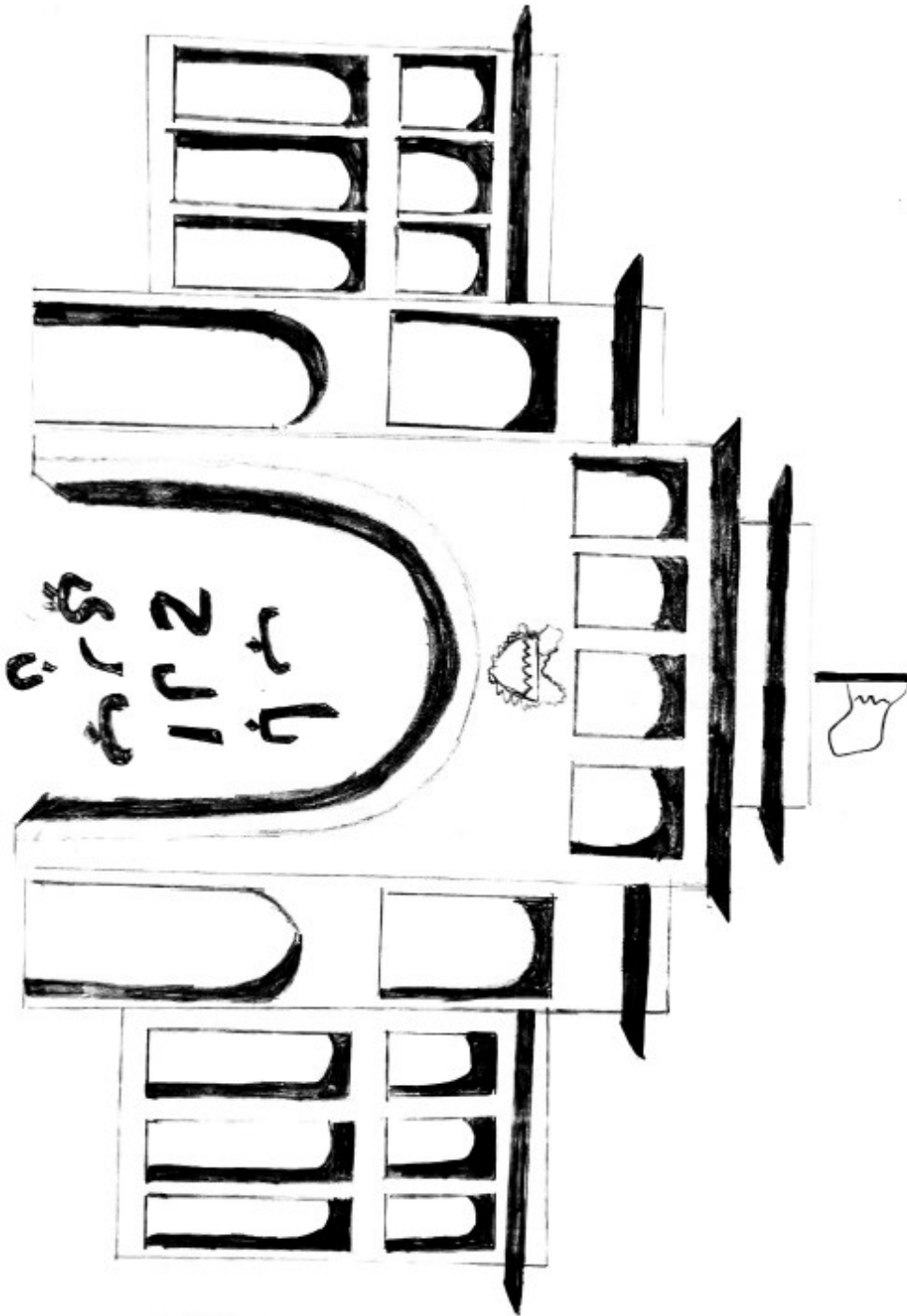






سولیدو





APPENDIX – 5
INTERVIEWS WITH CONCERNED
AUTHORITIES

Decision maker's interviews

Dr. Souhail El Masri (gulf house architecture)

Thought with quotes it says ““The once specific and local becomes interchangeable and global”

This is a quote by writer call routine, describing today's architecture And urban environments he said it is characterized by neutrality, uniformity and the indefinable. All countries are similar in their architecture nowadays do you agree with this quote?

Yes part of the progress and part of globalisation. Actually become all of us as a global village Nowadays whatever it was specific in terms of material interim of design interim of culture it become subject of transformation and changes and become a connected interconnected So we are start copying and from different culture and imposing on the same place in Bahrain you will find existing in UK you find it exciting in France. why is this? Before you need to look to the production of the architecture and the production of the city mostly the city was shaped by cultural and environmental aspects while nowadays is it is shaped differently by Finance by being interconnected and being a little bet gear to global village. This is why you know before people used to built and people used to respond to cultural meat in away or another while now there is an architect you study architecture similar the one who study in UK similar to the one who study in France and so on this is why we come a little bit unified in our architectural style. Does it make sense to you

Maybe it will be better to look why identity and non identity you need to look to the production of the built environment how it was produced before and how is it is produce now. Before it was only based on local expertise it was limited limited to the place which we are in, inspired from the local environment influenced by the local environment influenced by availability of material and this is what create the culture. You know identity of that place while nowadays you can import material from anywhere and bring it the problem is not the in the material the problem in the way that we are dealing with the material so we come looking to the more easy solutions, the typical solutions and so on. Ok next.

Basically how you define or what is the elements that identify the local identity and environment.

You know, there is two part of the local identity there is the tangible one and the intangible and both of them are integrated together. We do not deny that nowadays we are changing like bahraini before different than bahraini today Because we are already progress and we have already subject to change but there is thing which we call the core element of the culture Which is whatever you go left or right but those one you cannot get rid of them you are Bahraini by your DNA by your way of thinking That doesn't mean that those one does not change before the family tie it was very strong with time now family tie it is(5:26) but it is still important so this is the core elements of the culture the problem that is the physical environment is defined and it is a reflection of the cultural aspect it is an image like you

know you want to see this pattern if you go to Muharraq to the old Muharraq and you'll understand why this it was like that why it was organic why it was built in this way? it was organic because it was a reflection of the family ties every faryj family it was defined like that. With the progress and modernization and open and introducing the modern material those one start to dismantle and become a little bit more like (6:24) the house in Muharraq similar to a house in Rifaa similar to the house maybe in Dubai maybe the one in France. So The Identity it is not it is the place and the people together. **What is the core of the high-rise buildings environments to reflect the identity?** for me I defined at least in Bahrain the urban of progress into several types one of them form follow family and it was the beginning of the 20 century, What does it mean that that means the built environment it was greatly influenced by family structures this is the traditional part, there is after that from the beginning of the 20th century started the modern movement of architecture and this is Form follow function we started looking to those. nowadays Form follow Finance real estate developments you see how it is mashroming all over and so on. We do not deny that you know in additional form it is very difficult to say that everything is traditional is good and everything is modern is bad, no, we are in fact subject to change and subject to evolution subject to grows, so you cannot say I need to go back If you read about I think one Arab philosopher you know that if you keep copying the traditional this is not mean that you are reviving the traditional in a way you are meaning that in present time we are dead, we did not been able to invent something more cultural to us. We in traditional form houses typology it was the form houses mosque farij small common buildings facilities nowadays you have a schools you have Hospital you have government institutions you have buildings you have coffee shops and so on and the problem is not with those facilities the problem is with the architect himself that he could not look to the traditional part and try to in away get some lesson from it in order to apply it nowadays. We are into the grid system on urban level because now a day the car is the one who determining the urban system rather than the following so there is a quite a big shift between two.

Do you think it is it correct or it is healthy or a friendly environment to people if the car is the ruler how we built

We cannot reject the technology because it is the problem the way that we are using Technology I'm not against technology I'm not against use the car. you when you came here you came by car you did not using public transportation and so on. the problem in the way we humanize our city, yes car is one and you know there is a big drive in Bahrain to certain extend to encourage the pedestrianization to open to plant trees and to encourage people to walk. So the problem is not on the car the problem is the way we design our city, planning the city yes there is a transportation because you cannot rely on the old tradition you need to be, you cannot walk all the time but there is a different mode transportation. You know Bahrain now is the planning to NRT like train you know like Metro and so on. this is a good way but this is necessary to people to change their attitude not every house need to have five cars six cars maybe I will use public transportation because it take a from one place to another. The second things that when we design the city, we don't design only for the car we design for the people themselves. That is mean at the same time I need to encourage people walking, if I put the common facilities (cold store, برادة) and school and the mosque in a ways that it is far away I will put them in a

location where I am encourage people to walk without crossing the traffic without crossing and being subject to traffic and cars and so on. So this is the invention that need to be done to humanize the city again and to make it for the people rather than for the car.

Exactly this is what I want to ask why these things are disappeared and those environments like high rise environments are totally new environments and modern environments, why why they didn't consider human by walking path and facilities for human and safety aslo, because many people when we meet them they don't want to walk there they feel it is danger because of the size of the street they feel its not safe to cross it and so on. So even with these new environments it is not considering these walking path and cycling, not even the greenery that attracts people.

You make the condition right for people so they can use it if you go to Bahrain bay there are major parts for pedestrian and so on, right and people go and walk you go sometimes from your house (I don't know where is your house) you go to reach there and use the facilities when you make the right condition people will use it. The problem is not in the high rise or the low rise or whatever we cannot denied that you know tradition of Bahrain before it was not like today we cannot deny that this is part of the progress we are still need high rise building the problem is not with the high-rise buildings you know it is a lot of theory about how you can make it more environmentally more identifiable to the people

Is the current high rise building environments are they freindly are they welcoming people, a lot of people we mete with them they don't go for These areas because they say it is not their place, it's not attract them for different reasons some of them for prices some of the first services not enough for many reasons

Ok can I ask you a question in order for you to be more focus in your thesis what is your research question what do you want to reach at the end of your dissertation you want to answer? it is about elements of urban identity that can represent local identity (15:05-16:00-18:00).Advice.

Back to your question, it depend where you are talking about you know the most successful things and luxurious part of high rise building because of the facilities provided and so on when you talk about the building, you don't talk only about the building and the contact and the site itself and the facilities which could be provided for the user's so common facilities pedestrian and parking, do I can go out and have a place for my children to walk and to play and so on and those are design issue which is need to be resolve there are successful example and there are not successful example like if you look to Juffair it is mainly high rise building but it is successfully commercial you need to defined does it relate to the place it is typical modern approach to high rise buildings it doesn't have an identity it is moore .. and by the way Identity it is not only this things that I want to use Mashrabiya or i want to use.. no identity it's more than this first of all how do I relate to the place which I am in, how do i use the materials and how i encourage the relationships. However, **I will ask you question you live in a house you know who is your neighbours?**

yes. the problem is the way we design now a day that before social relationships it was a stronger nowadays people with life and development of life people come with their car, enter to their houses close their cars and go inside so you don't have an opportunity to meet your neighbours but when you create those opportunities through The Walking Street through the comment area the garden where you can conditions that those are attractive people for people to use and you know there are good example now you've seen that tracks walking tracks you've seen now a days encouraging and pedestrianization of some of the roads around along of the seaside those are good if you go around Alfateh Mosque now and to affair a littel bit Ndi Al Najma, Al ahli. You find quit a lot of users just because you create the right condition it need to create when we talk about encouraging social relationship you need to create the right environment and the right environment it is not only in the coffee shop and so on it is in the open spaces and the walkways and the green areas and so on.

Ok now what about the you know what about the heritage and the new generation if we use the high rise buildings as a style of architecture of bahrain what about the new generation how they will know their past, how they will know how Bahrain developed to reach to the high-rise building, is it not important thig?

No it is important and this is your role as an architect as you graduate as an architect it's not enough to keep talking about it bus that's mean you have to from your position from your research from Whatever and to look to the experiences and I keep repeating it is not just only the official, the facial thats mean the skin that I need to repeat it is good if you can use the elements, traditional architecture is provide you with vocabulary, alphabetic, abc, you write english and you write a boem, I write english maybe it doesn't make sense. So the way that you put those elements together this is the invention and this is the creativity which is depending on the architecture himself we cannot blame people, we blam nowaday the reason why a big role of architects to educate why people come sometime and it doesn't need to be traditional and this sens I am using (دنجل) or I am using (حجر البحر sea stones) and so on it is the way that we look into this heritage and we try to learn from it lessons I give you an example it gives to us at one stage that we know there is a privacy issue in the houses because building regulations which has been failures in someone else it comes and penetrate all our region and I need to do set back and the back only for rubbish sometimes accumulation of dairt and so on, And when we forget that in our traditional maybe introverted it was courtyard the most appropriate one we took of this concept in one project and we tried to create this in order you know and we put the houses and we base them it doesn't mean that is the Courtyard in the middle the courtyard it could be in the corner and we put a typology of the houses that's mean if I put this house and those houses they are not over looking to each other and I put this house and that house they don't look into each other It was based on a simple idea it is the Courtyard house we took this concept and we developed but we did not copy it and there is a danger if we see everything oh, who told you people before they were Happy or not we don't know now because we start losing this everything we lose with time you start regretting your youth, you start regretting your childhood, you start regretting your grandmother grandfather and so on and this is normal. However the think that you need to think about go and sit in Muharraaq walk through

Muharraq and see your feeling it is a feeling of comfort, it is a feeling of relaxation, is a feeling of peace, right you go and this is why it is very important that those, and I believe in Bahrain there is big drive in protecting those area and in a way as well reinventing those traditional item when is appropriate, and I keep repeating when it is appropriate not copying reinventing these traditional you know and use Technology use whatever you want there is no harm of use air condition there is no harm to use whatever running water.

While you are talking about copying it this is a new style of building architecture it is not coming from the west

I will tell you, look into your project which you have developed it within 5 years and tell me you are not getting influenced by whatever it was in the books, **Influencing is different than copying**, no no no I know surely I am not saying you copy I am saying to you look to your projects and tell me if it was not in the same Trend the problem that the architect himself now a days they are more dear to wear a creation of a nice building, yes we can you create a nice building but also at the same time we need to look at the social aspect and this is why I'm just referring again to your research (28:00-29:00) Advice.

You said previously, today architecture follows financial, do you think these buildings are really strong financially or is it just a repetition

It is approval otherwise why people continue to built in this way. However at the same time I am going to tell you those buildings there was no president before there was no there, there was no high rise buildings before, right, why because before first of all, you know when you look to the thing the creation of the build environment I would like to use build environment rather you know which is a little bit more bigger umbrella there are two factors affecting this people and environment and once those integrate with each other they try to create a certain environment in a certain form which is reflecting of those. Nowadays people come and I want villa and I want this I want that and we design in a very conventional way without giving too much importance to the social relationship and so on, but at the same time it is commercially feasible because this is why we, I told you When I start that in a way you need look into the production of the built environment how it is produced to the process the processes is what you put in and what you get out along this way there is a process and there are people and interfering if you look the traditional one and you try to identify what was the process and you look to the modern one and you identify what is the process you will understand better why this buildings is coming this way the process is important advise you to read "house form and culture" there are a quite a good book regarding of this, (advice, 31:20-32:00).

Last question, what we can do for future projects to consider the uniqueness of the local identity, from the literature, some solutions from other country they took it in this regard

Eichner and Ivanova (2018), investigated people's evaluation of tall buildings from a social aspect, [...] "some parties, they prefer to keep the high-rise buildings for office work only and to maintain the height of the residential buildings between 9-12 floors" In Germany they make Frankfurt city as center of skyscrapers in whole country and other cities including the capital Berlin they keep on its way of architecture, it is rare to find skyscrapers there.

What do you think about these solutions? Is it a correct way of thinking? Do we need similar suggestions in Bahrain?

In a way we cannot be generalized. You know, what they have done in Germany or Russia, this is right or that's right. You know in UK after Second World War they have developed the high rise buildings and recently if you read about this one you might find that there was a quite a lot of problems in terms of design which is making those high rise buildings not acceptable to the people. Second thing there is a quite a shift and a change in the social aspect. The social aspect in those countries in a certain extent there is a family cannot live in those buildings because nowadays the family it is a single person, it is an old woman, I have seen those examples I am experienced them. And they were pulling them down what they have been built during the 50s and 60s they pulling them down because socially it become unacceptable it become a place for crime for vandalism and so on, it is a way of its design. Design it's not only just putting a green and all of this, no, it should go and address and understand for whom you are designing you are designing for Bahraini family are you designing or you designing for expatriate or you are designing for whom and you could see that recently there is a shift in attitude while Bahraini family before the ideal and still to a certain extent the idea is to have a house on block/ villa right, now there is a change and I think this it will go and it will change with time because people say I don't need to build a house straight away maybe I can start my life in flat and gradually go into house and so on at the same time you have to look what is the indications for financial indication how much we can build houses how much you can afford houses and so on. So there is no when we are talking about Germany that they put it in one place, yes in order to maintain the image of the city image of the city that do not want to those up and down and so on, if it could be done fair enough in certain area or in certain zone it could be allocated only for the high rise building and the rest and so on and those studies need to be done. Not the problem in the high rise buildings the problem in the people who are designing them their are examples like the whole Singapore, Hong Kong they are depending on high rise buildings and in a very small flat and so on China as well otherwise they would not be able to live with the population boom that they are having, so it need to be a little bit more you learn from experiences you are from what is good what is not and when you want to take lesson take the right lesson don't take the whole package.

The building environment is a production of this system rules and regulations and so on maybe it will be better when we talk about high rise building how we are classifying them what is the zones for those high rise building and so on you know the issue in the building regulations that they deal with the plot they deal with one plot and that set and after that everyone come and took another plot so they do not relate to each other which is

completely different for some of the developers because development you know you don't look into one building you look into to the whole development as whole and you start planning this development in a way those high rise building but those high-rise buildings they are related to each others in term of theme interim of hight interim how they looking and related, materials, colors so it is not every, but just because of individuality, the build environment which has been sprawling mashroming. You come you take a plot you are interested in developing your plot as a way which you like it interim of colour and so on, building regulations is just only define for you what is your setback how much cover and how much you go up while in real estate developing now a days this is an advantage by the way that they try to unified but within variation as well, for example if you want to build something in bahrain bay -by the way it is high rise building- you need to follow at certain regulations and you not need to get the approval not from the municipality but you need to get the approval from their technical office, Deyar Almuharraq is the same thing you need to get approval from them and they will give you design guideline something like that, that is mean they will tell you more than only set back percentage and so on, unfortunately nowadays the urban planning certain extent it is based on individual that is the issue **-each buildings individually they are not connected to each other-**

Dr. Fouaad Al Ansari (dissection and opinion)

The issue in general that the world now is undergoing a rapid progress of globalisation, the architecture of high rise buildings seems to be one of the most prominent effects and nowadays the architecture appears to be moving towards neutrality, uniformity and indefinability. This new phase of architecture, some notions like location, context, identity seems to be losing their meaning. So the issue in Bahrain is also it was not an exception from this and it was influenced by the global architectural style which focuses on the high rise architecture and mega shopping mall some Bahraini neighborhoods are completely sacrificed and replaced by this tall buildings to represent and enhance Bahrain global image which is a type of building that is not related to our cultural and it has nothing to do with Bahrain, based on some opinions they say it caused a crisis of loss of local identity and social alienation of citizens So for this reason I select this topic to investigate And Discover how much it affects our environment even the users and the social life.

High rise buildings are basically new type new building typology here in Bahrain so when we introduce a new building type we need to see how did Bahrain in the old days introduce the types and there are some examples like a Hospital how did they introduce a new hospital how did they introduce a new school how did they introduce a gas station or a Bank and there are examples of every building and how it was first introduced to the country, and then can we follow the same method in introducing this bulging type here in Bahrain I know it has been there for some time and when it was first brought in it was brought in with its Global image It was not domesticized similar to what happened to the other building types, most probably because of its size The Other buildings types were a lot more smaller a lot more lower it was easier to adapt them domesticate them use the same architectural language that was prevailing at that time to make import of our local architecture. Yet even that process was not so purely local many of those types when they introduced to the country it was not introduced by Bahrainis the architecture behind them was not also pure Bahraini architecture it was mostly What we call a colonial architecture from point of view of someone coming from outside and thinking that this is the architecture of the island which is different than what we had like open terraces to the outside of the building with the colony it's not a Bahraini architectural at all our buildings are introverted and that basically an extroverted building and big examples of that is the post office. the post office a lot of people think this is a Bahraini architecture and we need to preserve it and it has been preserved but the building is extroverted same thing with the old salmaniya Hospital the women Hospital again it is an extroverted building, the first long span building which was the gas station which was demolished a long time ago in a place of.. I think at the moment it is Kantaki Fried Chicken near Bab Al- Bahrain the first gas station was there it was long span structure and it was the first example of what would be a gas station in Bahrain I think if you review of those buildings and analysing the language of that will give you an example of how Bahraini is approach a new building type and how they introduce in Bahrain. But again what do we want to maintain do you want to maintain certain motifs certain facade architecture or are we talking about special arrangements and relationship between indoor outdoor hierarchy of spaces within the building, what exactly we want to bring from Bahraini architecture into high-rise buildings because each approach

is different than the other and it could be their all collected together But to go for pure motives or pure certain architectural language it could be stuck on the facade of the building I would not even go for that, because again is this what we want to say this is Bahraini high-rise, what would classified to be a Bahraini high rise building. **The main thing that i'm talking about the identity of urban areas in these environments** identity is not (8:48) identities are always regenerated we will be making a big mistake thinking that identities are stagnate thing because before tall buildings we had palm form buildings (برستي) why we don't say barasties are our identity, why we shift it to stone and mud, and limestone buildings and then why did we even allow the wind catcher to be borrowed we didn't invent the budgear the budgear was invented in Iran we borrowed it and it became part of our identity even with the special arrangement special.. OK with special arrangement we have a lot of Genuine solutions that are here because there pure reflection of our weather and our social relationship that are within the family and between family and others, so this is yes Bahraini 100% but when it comes to architectural features the building materials we are an island and we were all the time affected by the surrounded countries all the time we never stop being affected the only different now in this Global period is before we affected with the nearby region we use to grasp off because we depending on sea fairing but now we have airplane we cross thousands of miles without needing to stop in the nearby ports and that's why we are borrowing ideas from further places,

Doctor if you allow me sorry to interrupt I just want to say it is the main Idea behind the research is not to find the right answer it's not only about saying we are going to use motives or we are going to use certain kinds of appearance or so on resources, I think it is very important to raise a question first because a lots of people feel this is modernity actually borrowing I don't think it's only borrowing it's about copying and pasting a blindly we are just sitting here and as you said the colonial architecture is governing the space and being dominated even what like happened before when we had people coming in and out because of the trading relationship and so on we were kind of impacting on them like how they impact on us it's kind of exchange in a way or another but now a days there is no its change nothing in and out it is only coming at from out all coming from the west.

I think what all need to do is, Whenever I teach architecture I teach all the circumstances that created that architecture; the financial, the social, religious, cultural and technological plus Logistics because the logistics in here especially for an island it is very important. plus the time frame and the speed of change in the best we used to have, the time used to pass a bit slower I know a lot of people will argue with that, but because what demarkes time it make you feel time is events that happened. so whenever there is a big span between events and the time will make you feel the time passing in very slow way. When time pase in very slow way you have a lot of, you have a luxury of adapting solutions to the local needs but when things are moving too fast this ability to adapt get less and less and less, and not just that when you have bigger choices then also the collective solution and the speed of collective solution might not be what you think of, because you end up taking the solution as it is now. I'll give you an example Bahrainis are not so good with good wood work and

they are not good with ironmongery, like the steel work of the windows, so what they did is they imported the windows as it is full windows from India and they built the wall around them instead of building the wall and bringing carpenter saying this is the size of the window now we need to make the window and then keep the steel work and the glass work, they used to buy the windows fully from india and bring them here fix them in the place and build the wall around them so is this a Bahraini architecture!

Yes you are right in this kind of example I will say 100% but at least we built the wall at least we interfered exactly but that time we had local material to use with whatever we didn't have we bring it from outside, now can we build a high rise building with the locally available material! that's why we end up saying will use everything from outside including the solutions and including the techniques and including the architectural language it is the same with even in some rich houses I am not talking about architecture what we talking about now is basically the architecture of the elite not the date today architecture not everyone afforded to bring a carpenter from Basra to sit here in Bahrain for 8 months to do the wood work of the house but the rich ones they did. Because the local skills were not up to the level of the elite to come up with the solutions that they want. So the important labour even at that time so material is important from abroad, technology is imported from abroad, labours imported from abroad, even in the old days so why we reject it now. I think it about raising the awareness it is not only about rejecting,

I don't think that we can stop like against what is going on in the world now adays and we say we don't want this kind of buildings or this kind of language but it is time to think about it does this this kind of language suit us in terms of our social life in terms of our environmental life in terms of our climate. Does it suit our social kind of activities or does it illinate us how can we develop it or how we can educate the generation.

This is a much better approach if we move away from the istatics and focus on the social relationships the Dynamics that happens in the workplace which do not exist in the past but now we get together bigger number of bahraini in the same space what do you want as Bahrainies what do you want females also in workplace does it satisfy in terms of our social requirement does it reflect our culture, again the environment is another very good approach is it still working to our favour is it still adopting with our environment is it still satisfying us. because we lives in very harsh climate compared to anywhere in the world when any do study to check the number of the days of that you live in a comfort zone they are very limited here in Bahrain and they are decreasing with this global warming they are not increasing they are decreasing the number of days where do you think the weather is good and that is outdoor so consider when you indoor without being forced to that weather. So I think the social and the environmental issues are the keys to approach this, those are again an International topics they are not just only local Bahraini topics each country each nation each culture they want buildings that suits them culturally and they want something to suit their environment and weather.

And one more thing it just came to my mind regarding the ecstatic back to the ecstatic when we look to the skyline of global cities when you kind of trace the timeline of Istanbul or even London you can say that you can tell that was the city from hundred years ago and it's this is how it is evolved because there are all kinds of threads that would link how it used to be and how it does it look like now for Manama, Dubai, Abu Dhabi it is a completely different

I think it's very difficult to compare London with Istanbul, London also have a lot of restrictions of where to build high buildings and where not to build high buildings and their biggest problem was the height of San paul and can they compete with that and little by little even San paul has been lost. it is started with lloyds bank and they are in very close proximity to San paul and now the south back is being developed and they have the shop and they have all new building and little by little you will lose that ability to know where is old London and where is New London unless if you go above in new skyscraper and then you start looking at it from the top.

Istanbul it is another thing which is not available for London or Bahrain or even Dubai, Istanbul enjoys the Haley topography were they placed a lot of their monuments on top of those hills so the matter is what, you cannot compete with that they will always dominate the skyline they also benefit from having the Grand Mosque with very high minaret it's very difficult to compete with that and those mosques they have large ground giving them enough space around to push away all the new skyscraper, so they would always dominated this luxury it's not there in Bahrain or even Dubai because we are flat whatever the base of development we are developing in a similar manner like a city in the Midwest in the State where we always expand away from the core and we leave the core to die and the City will be come up like a ball instead of a dome Bahrain is developing in this way, where you can see all the high rise buildings are around the coastline, they are not in the heart of the city also our problem is the heart of the city is was exactly like in the waterfront, but it shouldn't developed this way because then sharing the waterfront will be very difficult you need to push the rise buildings inside the city the closer you get to the waterline you need to go lower or lower a bigger number of buildings will have to exposure, now is the other way around it is like a ball again people in the middle will have no sea view at all never. But again land value if we stop reclaiming one day for another land value will go really high were some redevelopment will take place in heart of Manama to go for high rise buildings, similar to Tokyo where a lot of developer will come in by many different properties collecting together and start building high rise building there, we are not doing something totally new Tokyo evolved in this way like Bahrain, Mumbai evolved in this way most cities were developed on histories and reclamation, big part of Tokyo has been reclaimed and again you see in the same way it was developing in the new reclaimed areas but know because of density because of land value they are going back to the heart of the city and big developers are buying more to create bigger buildings and then to Increase the height of those level but in Tokyo somehow you forget that you are in coastal city unless you go to Rainbow City, you go to the new areas then you see the sea but you can stay in the Tokyo for whole life and you don't see the sea.

What do you think about some people's opinions who said they feel identity in the heart of Manama and they don't like to go for high rise places?

I think we need to go back to around 30 years not 50 or 60 years we need to go 30 when first high rise building were introduced you need to look at that. What were the high rise building, one of them is basically Kano building In bab-Al-Bahrain area it was the first air conditioning building it is the first steel structure building in Bahrain we need to look at it. But I am not talking about this you talk about العمارة الكويتية in Manama you will meeting to people will reflect to it as if it is parts of their - (26:00) - they talk about it with intimacy they will not talk about it as it is an alien although architecture it has nothing to do with architecture of Bahrain the sizes it's really huge but yet people were attached there are reasons. So when we approach or ask people for the Attachment, emotions feelings presentation we should not guid them first but at the same time you should also don't leave everything as opening ended question and ask about different topics not just open ended and what is Manama for you, no, what is this building for you, what is that building for you, remember this area you remember that area. So you come up with a view, I think with high rise buildings here in Bahrain the major issue of them is the architecture for the elite they are absolutely repellent for members of the public there is nothing for them in those buildings and that is why they are completely detached from them completely. It not the architecture of the building it is unacceptability of the buildings It not being even able to walk around that building, it is not being even able to go up to see how does it look. Opposite of that go to any high rise building in United State and you will feel you will immediately find people attached to those building because they have memories in them if you say I want to visit this building thousands of people will jump and say go in this way try to take pictures in east direction during sunset because they have memories they built memories in those buildings because those buildings were accessible for them. our problem is those buildings are not accessible is there a restaurant in twin tawers or a coffeeshop or even a visiting for floors? can I take a selfie with the one of the tourbains? zero it is not their zero zero. I went to Chicago for 2 days and I am surly visite every hight- rise buildings there and remember the food and coffee that had them their and where i sat what did i see and how did i visualize it. This is not their in bahrain because it is repellent You know even if you want to go go to Bahrain bay and walk in between the new buildings first the security will tell that this is not public, you can not take pictures their and go away. How would the people think, how they will change their mind about those illian buildings coming from abroad sitting there and am not even allowing them to use them to access them or to have any function with them how they will feel about it. Mostly it always remaining aliens because I didn't keep anything in those buildings for them. **Not only even around those building it's not a friendly at all.** The urban footprint ofthose buildings is very negative because they are repellent they keek you away, this is not the way to make a high rise building part of a culture.

It is about engaging people and it is by the memory it self. Exactly Functionally you need to create something for them accessibility should be secured and welcomed and then those buildings will become accepted and part of the culture. you know in this state people go to propose on top of those high rise buildings and they take pictures there. Tokyo skytree is now one of the biggest attraction in Tokyo for simple reason they made it for the public they made it for people. Seres tower all those towers all of them they have the top floor for the public, yes, sometimes it's not free (على عيني وراسي), but something to bring the public

for those places minimum minimum charge and allow people to go take pictures have coffee have anything and go down and by doing that it will become part of the collective memory of the society and then that building will become accepted.

I remember that the ground floor only or ground floor and first floor financial Harbour used to be planned for shopping mall. it is still there but the problem is that building is completely disconnected from the rest of the city. So when they open the shops there they depended only on the people who are working in the building and it was not enough to sustain any business **it's dead** yes exactly, if it is completely disconnected from the rest of Manama who will be there. what we do to connect the harbor, I was there on Saturday trying to test the connectivity of the Bahrain bay the rest of Bahrain bay with the area around the avenues it is zero at leads to a dead end, you can not cross, so is this the way we want to connect the public to the new development no. once you create architecture for the elite and urban areas for the elite it can never be part of the memory of the collective impossible and people were rejected.

Mr. Virgilio Ingco Perada Urban authority interview

All right, it's fine if you wish to.

Yeah ok, first question just, you as professional how do you define the urban identity but just in a simply words

Define urban identity? Well, my personal view for urban identity is actually the character of the urban setting, its it's the character based on the social like traditions and the physical form and physical factors. Amm so I will define it as disting character for any particular area or specific subject.

Do you think today, Bahrain architecture today is affected by globalization?

Aaaa somehow yes, aaa I know Bahrain has its own distinctive architectural character as reflective by the all architectural features and this is to me this preserve and should contain its characters because we are influenced, greatly influenced by the western culture, by the western new evolution or New technology, New design inspired by by you know modern technology so somehow if we continue the way we are influenced there is a danger that the traditional identity will be lost. So I kind of agree with your papers because that's a very important factor that should be considered so that we can still maintain and preserve the heritage, the identity, the architecture in the new urban setting.

Is this development like, specially the high rise environment, is it determine that Bahrain is developed country or backwarded country, do you think like globally they can give it like recognise it if its developed or backwarded country, is these environment effect the evaluation of Bahrain?

Aaa so let me clear your question are we influence or this the trend is that your question?
Is it determining if Bahrain is a developed or backwarded country these environments high rise buildings?

OK, Bahrain is not a backward, we're moving and adapting to the new development trends. So when you refer to the high residential or high building developments there are so many factors that should evolve in considering high rise development, it's not just we are copying from other countries from the new development across the globe but for the planners should consider several factors before doing such high rise development if a certain development or certain country doesn't have this, sometimes they use some high rise building to create some iconic landmarks at a certain scale just to have a landmark for as a location (you know) I will give you an example like in Dubai if you see the Burj Kalifa is a high rise tower that wherever you go even at a distance you will see where is Dubai Burj Dubai is and you can locate the tower that direction that's the urban center or some sort of an identity. So, what I'm saying is it depends on the factors, several factors that considering in developing high density or high rise buildings.

How related are high rise buildings to the local environment? Like,,
OK, how high rise buildings, are related **to the environment? To the local environment?**

All right, the I would say that we should be adaptable to the local environment and of course we have consider the adaptability of the local environment because one of the factor is the weather is different from the other countries so we have to respect the climate in terms as one of the local environment that needs to be considered the culture in addition, the social behaviour will has to be respected but the adaptability we should be able to adapt to the changes. why I'm telling that we should adapting the changes is that their other factors that we have to consider I would say; number one Bahrain is just a small kingdom the land area is not that big, right now we can keep with the population but in the next fifty years or more the population will grow definitely so your land area will not be sufficient and when the population increases we will have lack (7.20) and then we try to accommodate this population, one of the solutions is probably most or maybe certain areas will be developed as high density area, it might be the urban coast that we have to expand the urban centers which will grow and expand to high density development that's why the high rise so,, Ahmm we should be ready to adapt because if the land is not enough then we have to adapt to these but, I'm not saying that will you adapt there is the certain we should respect also to maintain the the identity, the tradition, the culture the social, you know even the architectural character of the building adaptable to the environment the climate then the social changes. And that's what I saying that's what I'm that's my point. We have to be adaptable.

Yes, as you mention now the human behaviors and the human experience in this places like comparing with old Manama and area th like we have high rise environments area like in Bahrain Bay or if we go to Juffair you know this. So we have these environments, so how you evaluate the the experience of the people in these city, is it pedestrian friendly, is it safety, is it easy to people to wander there or are

their people wander, you can compare with two pla.. with old Manama if you the Bahrain area and inside little bit neighbourhood and these in Juffair or even Bahrain bay.

OK, I see your point. Now, let's talk about old Manama, the old core, my personal view this is the traditional development that occurs since the early days aaa the character is still preserved you have by the greens or urban fabric is different if you compare to the fabric of the high development like Juffair, Seef area Bahrain bay it is too distinctive character that you have to preserve the old area I would say I will not mix with in the form a high a very high density which is a character of Juffair, so we have to maintain the character we can increase the density but maintaining the urban fabric maintaining the character of the old area plus very close building setbacks narrow spaces where you get better shading it's narrow path walkway compare to the new development probably wider, tall buildings. It is a different character, so I would say we don't mix we blend but we don't mix we have to preserve the identity we have to preserve the character. So keeping the character of the old area maintaining, preserving the identity, we can re development area surround on the (11:18) but I would suggest this is a very valuable heritage that we should nor destroy, it's one of our ten strategies of national planning in development strategy to maintain the character if you review the ten character its one of them is to maintaining the distinctive community so we don't want to when the original character Of the old settlement. Now when we go to the higher development like Juffair this area was originally not intended for high development If I record during the early times of planning when we are developing bahrain in terms of the zoning this are in low density developing that is why the roads are narrow This was not be originally high-rise today so what happens in times in every decades Of development there is a change this was not invented to be a higher and suddenly they convert the area because the trend of development the market demand the development direction goes toward this area, so what happened it was nothing to be (12:58) probably they want to anticipate the trend of development will come in this place that is why every plan should be reviewed every 5 years, so you can assess the development and less or (3:15) as we developed and plan we should always keep in mind, planners designer should have proof sections of anticipation of the future grow, so what happened this areas they convert it suppose to be low or medium density they convert it to high density, now the market demand is high so this develop rapidly and we will not able to adapt or to have facilities and services. So if we are developing a new community which we know it will be a high density what we are trying to do, now identify those areas we got plan data that could provide data facilities, infrastructure and services which will be more sustainable, more live, work and play environment.

You know the successful urban environment is attracts people, we ask Bahraini people if these environment attract them to live there or wander there, many of them they say the did not feel it is welcoming area, it is not that much comfortable environment, and some of them they did not go there at all, so it is not attracting them even to visit it. Why do you think these feelings of people toward these places?

Well I will say this is my personal view I cannot answer for so many But I can say my personal view it is probably because Bahraini, we are kind of already adopted to the old

way, we are adapted already to whatever we were brought to we raise we saw this development and we live comfortably with these environment, What happened is to add to your point Same Bahraini feel they are not welcoming I will give you particular instance maybe on a certain aspect of residential living. Bahraini still and wants to live in single family home so this is what they were brought to have more private, villa private, home environment which is congested it is low density in the residential So that is already builded in our minds, This is the way that they are more comfortable. Now if you ask them to live in an apartment in a high rise building there will be like a contrast shock or they are not able to adopt Because what they are thought and thinking It's ideal for them to live in Single-family home rather than living in high rise buildings. Now I will say also adaptability in terms you were in highly urban area the land of low density become smaller and smaller, Because they are converting to high rise the family factors the market the land is changed the employment will be all in the center. So what happened in a highly urban area, you have two way between adapting to living in urban city, living in high residential in exchange of the close approximately to the services close approximately to the services facilities to employment you know you will find every thing in close proximity in the center, other wise you can live outside of the city you have come through farer distance and you can have your own single family home, so it is preference and it is an adaptability. So I will say in the near future the urban cores develop, we will say the whole development with high rise development. There will be certain areas there will be developed high density development where is the cores proximity to all services and facilities. Likewise in low density area those are also provided but since it is low density it is distance it will be not close to the urban core. Right, so although Bahrainies are not prefer not welcoming but as i said when the population increase, what if population increase to 5 million like in Singapore and we have studied this what land we need if the population increase to 5 million, so one of the solution is densitication it means we have to intensify certain urban core of the urban areas. So there should be a transformation of our thinking and how we adopt to the environments, thats all what i want to say.

Now how you can you explain the current urban identity in bahrain, know we have the two type, the high-rise and old traditional areas, are they in conflict?

will my personal view It is not conflicting, in fact the way it should be developed the careful planning, it should be integration in such away that we don't destroy the character of one over the other there should be more cohesiveness in the development it is different character but we can blend it Sometimes become the complementary is a good resource it is not just homogeneous you know there was like an urban form, urban fabric which is a different character and there is a way in order to interconnect all this things without damaging its own characters, so sometimes it is like in architecture enhance the urban form sometimes the one who interferes has different interpretation but sometimes there like a solution in terms of urban design architectural character which is a contrast but if you maintain the connectivity of their it bring sometimes a good results i will give you one example like in Paris when the develop the loof museum, you know the loof museum in Paris? yes. it was a controversial issue because the character of the surrounding they are trying to preserve the same architectural character and suddenly at the middle of something there is one proposal was a traingnal glass museum it is a contrast with architectural

character very controversial but at the end when they implement it seems not bad and it gives the attention of the ... (24:06), so sometimes if you want to help an identity of certain area you have to blend some contrast, focal points, some landmarks that will create an attractiveness. So i could relate to this also we are not contrasting to the old settlement and to the new one we can blend it and if there is anything additional urban design criteria could be added enhance, we add it already, but we talk enhance and focus more on architectural character so that the transition it is not a .. (25:00) it is the role of architecture, yes it is a role of the designer in order not to destroy totally change the identity.

As you mention previously about sustainability, today we have Bahrain 2030 sustainable plan and we know Bahrain is going toward this types of buildings, and as you said we need this also for next future, do you think they are sustainable or this buildings using some systems support sustainability?

Well the new development should confirm with all factors with all design criteria and developing it when we think of this high development there is so many factors to consider it is not just we want to imitate other countries but the consideration depends on several factors such as, location in coloration with the adjacent development pattern. What is the good potential of the site, of that particular area, what is the social and economic vision, where are the governments areas, so and also we have to consider the existing land of the area as support or as induction what will be the future development of the area what is the future proposal based on our national plan, based on national planning and development strategies. Why we are exciting facilities the infrastructure why are the connectivity the access point are we buying it to the future public transport so this is a kind of development parameters that should be considered. Also the land value we have to study the land value what are the potential market demand what is the market trends of the real estate. what are the changes in value. there are many factors in considering developing a high-rise development. So it has to be well study and suitable and one of the trend that we are trying to introduce if we do a high rise development, corridor or whatever they will like to help the development they will be in close proximity and to carry all of this one of the approaches is like transit oriented development when you have transit oriented development you can collect the urban core with the public transport somewhere in the middle and some points where is walkability so you can collect and you can minimise the vehicles movements in the urban core and encourage them to use public transport, so that will be one of the approach a development approach of highly urban cities, those are the factors

It is already existing areas Juffair or maybe any other area in your mind that has high rise buildings with mistakes, How we can reflect Bahrain's identity in those environments? Like if you will pass by Juffair there is nothing refer that this is in Bahrain

Maybe some of things consider local identity number one would say, this is my just view ok, we might have many regulations, design guidelines, specific guidelines, sense beside every development, so if might be piece and piece to amend this but sense it is already in its form architecturally maybe the new development around the area or some

redevelopment we can introduce some character on design guideline. So this is my answer to introduce some character to design guidelines. Know the other things if we are developing a new one if we are going to be more Stringent on implementing this and preserving the identity would suggest probably more additional criteria could be added because you know, this is only my personal view on the architecture, if that the local identity climat is too hot in bahrain compare to Europe yes all new buildings you see glasses so the glass it means alot of the heat so we have very hight a cost of maintaining the thermal insolation of the building. Well right now it can be afforded, it can be subsidized but we are going on things are changing now it all becoming so expensive that is why we have to look for more energy, materials, and so on. I will say yes there is some factors some mistakes some things that were be not considered, so most likely my view is to be more Stringent and probably add more addition criteria in order to maintain the local identity in accordance to the environments.

what can we do in future projects in order to consider the uniqueness of the local environment?

Eichner and Ivanova (2018), investigated people's evaluation of tall buildings from a social aspect, [...] "some parties, they prefer to keep the high-rise buildings for office work only and to maintain the height of the residential buildings between 9-12 floors"

In Germany they make Frankfurt city as center of skyscrapers in whole country and other cities including the capital berlin they keep on its way of architecture, it is rare to find skyscrapers there.

While in china it is solve the problem of hight density and they keep high rise buildings and they make the building itself very active like they keep some features each 10 floors there is services for the resident of the building.

Do you think we can apply some of these idea or as professional how we can improve more for future project what we can do or avoid from our previous mistakes and make it better to the future.

Alright this is very good question, my personal view again here, is that every country every inhabitant they have distinctive different culture different tradition. I would say that there should be more careful study, there should be some study some experiment to be done in order to come up what is the best approach as you have mentioned, because the social impact is a very important factor in determining how we live. So of course the sustainability the pillars of sustainability should be considered yes, but basically the social impact affects the development and if there very contrastative in certain aspect we have to evaluate the pillars of sustainability and focus on the social. What happened is as you mention every city like in Russia as you mention in Germany they identify their problems what are their social problems what are their economic difficulties all those factors so likewise in Bahrain we can easily evaluate because we are not really that big as the urban city evaluated, and see what would be ideal for bahraini of living, acceptable, with all those changes that is gonna the core. As we have mention of course maybe bahraini will continue to adapt, like if they could not adapt to high rise living . We were not abunde from the traditional because

we can still develop and improve on the out skill with the low density but urban the core will probably continue develop to the major density. Why not the social issues in other countries iss that when the social housing a high density residential there are a lot of other country a lot of issues regarding the social impact and i don't think it is not a big issue in Bahrain for living, yes it is probably the adaptability, why i am saying this like in the united states they use to develop an lot of high rise building which is for social housing the problem are it is difficult to control on the building they have their owen association but you mix all of those people living in low social states the problem there was a lot of social problem like drugs crimes and the change what happens they found out that it difficult for them to control so one of it in several cities what they did they try to reduce the development of high rise building they try to tear them down probably to medium to low also there is land of sky city but the problem, the lesson learn here is that you can not control the social behaviour and what they did is trying to change the policy, probably change the privacy will treat a little bit and provide a solution so those are one the solution. Now i don't think bahrain will experience the same thing here although they don't like to live in apartment because it is like a tradition they were raise and grow living in a single family home maybe later on or gradually in the near future maybe they will be cohesiveness of the family with in the building or maybe several class close to each other but this will required time. I might it happen overnight, but in due time in the next generations maybe when the new generation come and they notice we don't have any more land or urbanize this will gradually change and that your roles to development will depend now on more studies about social then the economic transportation because also the chance of developing be dictated by the world economy ok, social , economy and this part of, there are alot of approaches and what will be the most suitable for bahrain and it is probably right now piece and pieces but somehow it has to be unified.



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through the Emerging High-rise Buildings in Bahrain*

Dr Martin Parker



ملخص الدراسة

الهوية الحضرية مفهوم واسع يشمل الخصائص الثقافية والتاريخية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية، ولها أبعاد مادية وغير مادية. يتأثر الأفراد بخصائص البيئة بحواسهم أو بغير وعي، وبالتالي يبنون شبكة علاقات مع محيطهم والآخرين. بناءً على ذلك، يتم تعريف الهوية على أنها شيء خاص بكل بيئة حضرية. في الآونة الأخيرة، واجهت العديد من المدن، وخاصة مدن دول الخليج، مشاكل مع الاتجاه العمراني الجديد نحو المباني الشاهقة، مدفوعة بقوة العولمة والحدثة. أدى هذا التحضر السريع في مدن دول الخليج، بتشجيع من الثروة النفطية المفاجئة، إلى إحداث تغيير جوهري في التخطيط والتنظيم حيث أعطى الاقتصاد أولوية على الروابط الاجتماعية. أدى التطور السريع للمدن في دول الخليج إلى فقدان مواطنيها القدرة على التعرف على المكان والشعور بالغربة.

في ظل فقدان الهوية في البيئات الجديدة، تناقش هذه الدراسة مفهوم الهوية الحضرية، وتجارب الناس في البيئات الحضرية المتناقضة داخل مدينة المنامة، عاصمة مملكة البحرين. الهدف من ذلك هو تحديد العوامل المكونة للهوية في البيئات الحضرية.

المنامة، على وجه الخصوص، هي مدينة متعددة الثقافات تحتوي على البيئة التقليدية القديمة التي تستمد شكلها من القيم الاجتماعية والثقافة المحلية. على النقيض من ذلك، هناك البيئة الحديثة ذات المباني الشاهقة، التي استوردت تصميماتها من الأساليب الغربية، وبالتالي تبطل الروابط والأعراف الاجتماعية.

يساهم التحقيق في هذه البيئات المتناقضة في فهم كيفية تعبير البيئة عن نفسها والأفراد من خلال تقييم التجربة المكانية للأشخاص. تهتم الأطروحة بفهم العوامل الملموسة وغير الملموسة للهوية في البيئة الحضرية التي لا يولها بعض صانعي القرار أهمية في التصميم. تستخدم هذه الأطروحة مناهج نوعية لأنها تحتاج إلى فهم تجارب الناس وعلاقتهم ببيئتهم الحضرية. أجريت الدراسة من خلال البحث الأولي باستخدام طرق مختلفة، مثل المقابلات ومجموعات التركيز ورسومات الأطفال. من المتوقع أن تؤدي المناقشة إلى فهم أوسع وأعمق لمفهوم الهوية الحضرية، ووضع إطار مفاهيمي لعوامل الهوية الحضرية الملموسة وغير الملموسة التي ستساعد في تقييم البيئات الحضرية الحالية، وتأخذ في الاعتبار في تصاميم البيئة المستقبلية. ستؤدي النتائج أيضاً إلى عدد من التوصيات والنماذج لتحسين البيئة الحالية وكيفية جعل الهوية المحلية جزءاً منها.

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تحول الهوية الحضرية: استكشاف من خلال المباني الشاهقة الناشئة في البحرين

أطروحة مقدمة كجزء لمتطلبات الحصول على درجة الماجستير في التصميم الحضري

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