

The University Of Sheffield.

Public Open Spaces in Bahrain: The Potential for Transcultural Conviviality

By:

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield
Faculty of Social Science
Department of Landscape

June 2018

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my immense and deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Clare Rishbeth, for her continued invaluable guidance and inspiration. Dr. Rishbeth has encouraged me throughout the years of the PhD and supported me to grow as an academic researcher. I have also been fortunate to have Dr. Nicola Dempsey as a co-supervisor. I would like to deeply thank Dr. Dempsey for being there whenever I needed. Thank you my supervisors, you have always taken your time to, so generously, share your knowledge and ideas with me. I extend my thanks also to the staff in the department of landscape for all the support they provided.

I also offer a special word of thanks to the University of Bahrain for giving me this opportunity to continue my study in the University of Sheffield. I am very grateful for the funding I have received from them for my study.

I am indebted and very thankful to all my family. Deep thanks to my parents for their unstinting support throughout the years of my education. Thank you my sisters and brothers, I appreciate all your help, encouragement, and support. My warm gratitude and appreciation to my husband Ebrahim and my sons Khalil, Talal and Faisal. Thank you Ebrahim for your support and your belief in me and thank you my children for your patience and motivation you offered me to accomplish this work.

Finally, this PhD is dedicated to my lovely country, Bahrain.

Abstract

This research investigated how theories of conviviality, transcultural cities and everyday encounters in public open spaces (POS) are interrelated, and explored these dynamics through fieldwork in Bahrain. Throughout its history, Bahrain developed a fluid population of multi-ethnic origin, and the later oil boom has led to a population increase mostly among non-Bahraini migrant residents, who now account for more than 50% of the population. This research used a qualitative methodology, integrating observation, on-site short interviews, in-depth go-along interviews and expert interviews. The participants included both Bahraini and migrant groups from different origins and generations. The intention was to understand diverse personal interpretations and socio-spatial associations and analyse these alongside different patterns of use in POS. This research focused on eight case study areas including both formal and informal POS in different cities. The findings explored the importance of POS in Bahrain for transcultural practices and developing a sense of belonging across differences. It highlighted how these places support positive migrants experiences in Bahrain. The variation of case studies addressed spatial and temporal affordances for different leisure activities and patterns of outdoor sociability and demonstrated how these reflect different cultural values. The research also found that different transcultural practices in POS support conviviality and meaningful encounters. However, the findings also explored that conflicts arise from the complexity of cultural differences in transcultural cities. Parenting and littering appeared as cultural differences regarding social responsibility in public spaces. Although these are mundane conflicts, ignoring them may have widespread implications both for the value of POS and intercultural exchanges within the city. The research engaged theory with practice, utilising the social justice agenda proposed by Low and Iveson (2016) to shape the responsibility of professional practice in maintaining the responsiveness of public spaces in urban contexts of cultural complexity. This research suggests that to support conviviality and to respond positively to cultural differences in POS, embedding an understanding of transcultural urbanism in landscape architecture planning, design and management can be an effective and ethical approach in both Bahrain and the wider Gulf region.

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Annotated location map. (MWAMUP, 2014a) Annotation is added by the author.

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Location of the case study area. (Central Informatics Organization, 2013) Annotation is added by the author.

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Location of the case study area. (Central Informatics Organization, 2013) Annotation is added by the author.

Annotated location map. (MWAMUP, 2014a) Annotation is added by the author.

Annotated location map. (MWAMUP, 2014a) Annotation is added by the author.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Questioning the 'public' in open space

Three public spaces in Bahrain are effective to introduce as vignettes of how public sphere and public space are important to be understood in relation to each other. But first, a date stamp. 17 December 2010 is considered the beginning of the Arab uprising (or Arab Spring). A spark in Tunisia ignited a revolution that spread to other Arab countries, where political assemblies took place in urban open spaces such as Tahrir Square in Egypt. Since then, in any discourses in the public domain about public spaces in the Arab world, concerns are directed towards the Arab Spring. Low and Iveson (2016) claim that from the Arab Spring there emerged a new spatial relationship between the public sphere and public spaces. The role of urban design and management in this relationship should be emphasised (ibid).

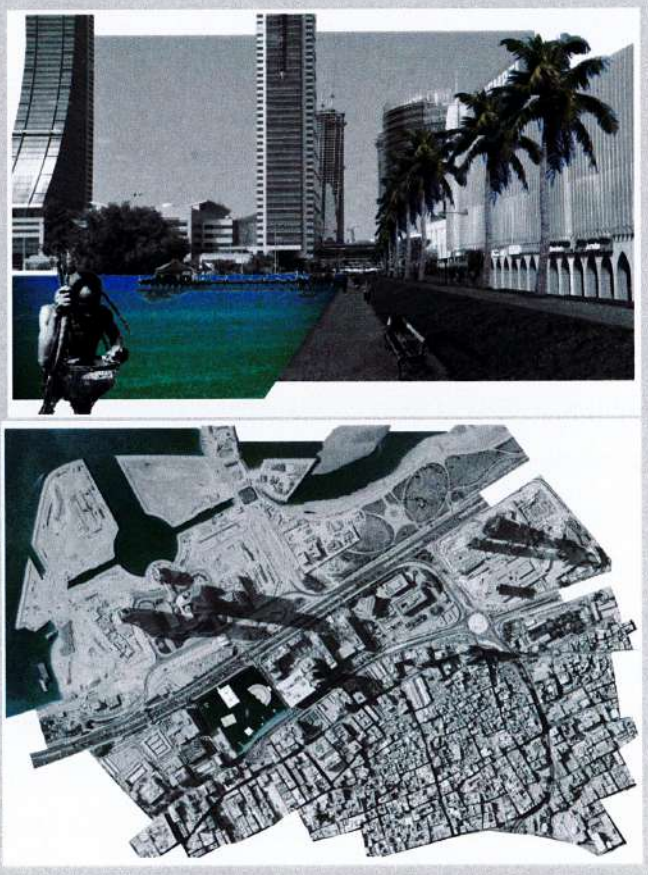
In the last 15 years, Bahrain has witnessed an era of reforms towards socio-economic development and democracy that allows the freedom of expression of public opinion. In February 2011, protests in Bahrain took place at the Pearl Roundabout (Figure 1.1 on page 2), though with different aims from the Arab Spring, to emulate the political uprisings that had emerged first in Tunisia and then Egypt (Bassiouni et al., 2011). Parallel with these political factions at the Roundabout, there were national assemblies that were held in the open plaza of the Al-Fateh Grand Mosque, also the Manama National Dialogue was initiated with the intention of mediating between different groups. From a reading on landscapes as 'constituting conflicting symbolisms' (Dayaratne, 2012, p.2) it can be inferred that the removal of the Pearl Roundabout was to remove a symbol of conflict from the landscape of Bahrain. The plan to remove the roundabout could also be seen as a proposal to alleviate traffic congestion in the area - the Pearl Roundabout lacked functional accessibility as it was in the middle of a busy highway junction[1]. There were alternative narratives which argued that such actions were *"to prevent the site from further use"* (Gehl and Svarre, 2013, p.73). This vignette suggests that there is relationship between the activities in public open spaces and the public sphere, but the concept of publicness in this relationship might not be only relevant to the

[1] Most green urban spaces in the Gulf countries (such as roundabouts and streetscape) lack functional objectives (Bolleter, 2009).

political dimension but also to the social and cultural dynamics. However, there is lack of research on contemporary public spaces in the Arab world and their different patterns of use.



Figure 1.1 The demonstration at the Pearl Roundabout in spring 2011 (Gehl and Svarre, 2013).



Figures 1.2 The scheme of the first winner in BAB competition (Ministry of Culture, 2012).

Bab Al-Bahrain Square is a historical and heritage site. It was the first public open space in the Gulf. Its name is derived from the Bab Al-Bahrain monument, which means Bahrain Gateway. The souq that is directly accessed from the gate is also an Arabic cultural urban element. Parallel with 2011 political unrest in Bahrain, a competition was held by the Ministry of Culture to rethink the meaning of contemporary urban spaces in the Arab world through a re-design of this Square (Ministry of Culture, 2012). The winning proposal (Figures 1.2) recommended converting the space into a vast water body. This concept is intended to represent the transnational history of this particular space, which in the past was the port that linked Manama and the world, and more broadly of Bahrain's maritime heritage. However, in several blogs, the charge was made that the presence of water was a covert means of removing the potential to protest in this area, claiming that 'urban design serves as tool of repression in Bahrain' (McEwen, 2012). From a landscape architectural perspective, this ambiguity and conflict in the role of urban public open spaces in reflecting cultural meanings or serving political demonstrations could stem from a lack of understanding of the nature, use and value of these spaces in the region.


BAHRAIN

Parks fee plan to curb vandalism

People will soon have to pay to enter parks like Khalifa Grand Garden

PEOPLE could soon have to pay to enter Bahrain's main public parks due to ongoing

By MOHAMMED AL A'ALI

quality director-general Assem Abdullatif, who

In addition to vandalism and sabotage of facilities, there has also been regular fighting and even reports of people setting grass and trees on fire

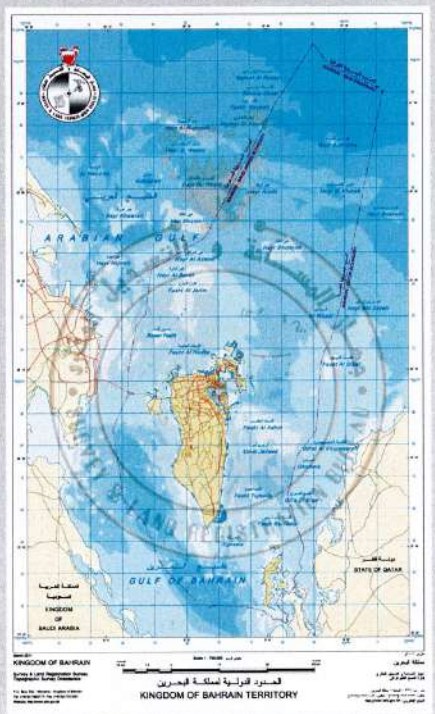
Figure 1.3 Assigning entry fees parks in Bahrain (Al-A'ali, 2017a).

Parks and gardens' policies are not omitted from this dynamics. The third vignette is Khalifa Garden in the Riffa area. Assigning entry fees to public parks and gardens is a way of exclusion. For the first time in Bahrain, an entry fee was assigned officially (Figure 1.3) to a public garden in February 2017 (Al-A'ali, 2017a). The municipalities are planning to apply fees to all public parks and gardens in Bahrain to control different social practices such as overcrowding, lingering and vandalism (DT News, 2015; DT News, 2017).

These three vignettes illustrate a gap between the political, cultural and social influences and public spaces and generate questions about the management of urban spaces that position this research regarding decisions made about public open spaces (POS) in Bahrain with different social and cultural values. These concerns arise from the fact that Bahrain has a diverse populace and this diversity is visible in urban open spaces with large migrant populations. The research contextualises with the time period post the political unrest of the Arab Spring. The question is whether there is a spatial relationship between conflicts in the public sphere and public spaces or between social dynamics on macro- and micro-scales. It also reflects how the absence of cultural groups from parks and gardens could affect inclusion in the public sphere. The issue is how different cultural practices and expressions in POS could be subject to suppression and repression, which could adversely affect the different cultures in Bahrain. This research could be a way to connect theory and practice regarding urban public space and introduce a conceptual framework to investigate the research context and shape the research questions.

1.2 Understanding Bahrain





Figures 1.4 Location of Bahrain within the GCC countries (a). Map of Bahrain (Survey and Land Registration Bureau, 2011) (b).

Bahrain is a country located in the Gulf region (Figures 1.4 above). It is the smallest state and the only island in the Arab world. In 1981, six Gulf countries (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman) coalesced to organise the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to encompass cultural, social and economic cooperation and protect the Gulf identity[2] in the region.

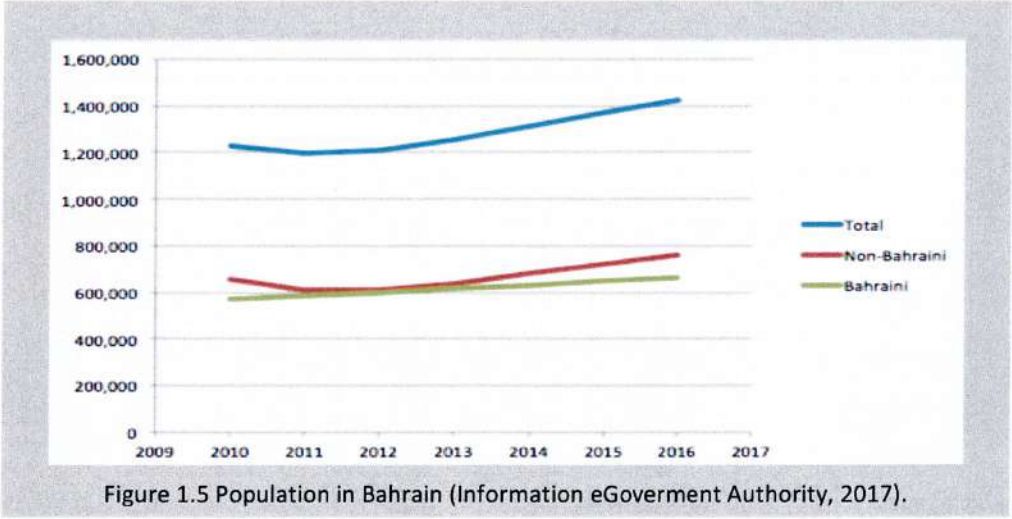


Figure 1.5 Population in Bahrain (Information eGoverment Authority, 2017).

Bahrain has benefitted from the rise in global oil prices and this has been predominantly responsible for a national economic boom. It has also led to a massive population increase mostly among non-Bahraini transnational migrant residents, who now represent over 50% of the entire population as illustrated in Figure 1.5. *"Bahrainis are [themselves also] a fluid population of multi-ethnic origin with naturally diverse identities"* (Al-Khalifa, 2012, p.58). Accordingly, the Bahraini population has become the minority amongst migrant groups. Migrant population is also fluid as it is affected by the re-migration. Table 1.1 (page 6) elucidates the current migrant numbers and their origins, but the pattern of migrants' movement is changing which continuously shapes these figures. The table shows that the majority of the migrants are coming from the subcontinent and constitute the majority of the workforce. There are also inter-regional migrants from different Arab countries with different cultures and socio-economic levels, most of whom come to Bahrain seeking a better quality of life. The figures also show that a minority of migrants come from the UK and other countries. As seen in the Table 1.1, the migrants in Bahrain could either have family or non-family status. This shapes the gender ratio; as demonstrated in the table most of the migrants are male

[2] Bahrain and its neighbours share similar religion, language, history, geographical context, customs and traditions, and economic resources of oil.

workers. Even though Bahrain is essentially an egalitarian society with a strong constitution that protects human rights for all people, akin to many other societies in our globalised world, there are clusters of wealth and clusters of poverty across both citizens and migrants. This majority and minority of different transnational identities, socio-economic levels and religions have increased diversity in the society.

Country of citizenship	Total expatriates		Migration status		Sex ratio (men/100 women)
	Number	%	Worker	Family member	
India	**257,663**	*49.4*	76.7	23.3	411
Bangladesh	**98,221**	*18.8*	96.5	3.5	3,551
Pakistan	**48,991**	*9.4*	81.0	19.0	619
Philippines	**29,722**	*5.7*	88.9	11.1	77
Sri Lanka	**7,627**	*1.5*	78.1	21.9	136
Egypt	**19,580**	*3.8*	43.6	56.4	136
Jordan	**7,235**	*1.4*	41.5	58.5	138
Yemen	**4,723**	*0.9*	54.3	45.7	249
Syria	**2,944**	*0.6*	48.3	51.7	176
U.K.	**3,927**	*0.8*	57.9	42.1	143
Other countries	**40,917**	*7.8*	77.7	22.3	231
Total	**521,550**	***100***	**79.4**	**20.6**	**385**

Table 1.1 Non-Bahraini populations in Bahrain in 2014 (Bel-Air, 2015).

In provision and regulation of POS, the authority in Bahrain has spared no effort in providing well-designed and maintained green open spaces for public use. The challenge is whether the current provision is 'fit for purpose' in terms of meeting the needs of a contemporary diverse society with their different values and preferences. Due to the increase in the migrant population in Bahrain, there is a need to better understand both the patterns of social life in everyday public open space, and the implications for urban planning practices (Dayaratne, 2008; Alansari, 2009; Alraouf, 2010; Dayaratne, 2012). Alraouf (2010) argues that when designing POS in Bahrain, cultural diversity should be the main consideration. In another study, Dayaratne (2008 and 2012) investigates both architectural hybridity and the role of landscape

architecture in developing fluid identities in Bahrain, and also claims that the social fabric is being transformed. He emphasises the role of migration in these changes. From a different perspective, Alansari (2009), investigating the impact of sea reclamation practice on urban morphology and waterfront public spaces in Bahrain, recommends that further studies on the transformation of social spaces need to be carried out.

Bahrain is passing through an era of political, social and economic transformation. Accordingly, substantive initiatives within the public realm are being carried out, but the question is whether these initiatives are socially responsive and what this might entail in the Bahrain context. The practitioners in the field of built environment in the region find themselves lacking adequate tools to endorse socially inclusive spaces in diverse cultural contexts and the relevant literature in the Middle East is not well-established (Bolleter, 2009 and 2015). Hence, this research is an opportunity to examine the existing social diversity and complexity in Bahrain using qualitative methods and to reflect on the prevalent practices in landscape architecture in Bahrain.

Thus, the impact of this study is expected to be significant. The research establishes a strong base connecting theory and practice to address challenges of increasing diversity. The conceptual framework in this research is linking practice and theory within the emerging discourses on transcultural cities and conviviality in relation to social uses and values of POS. Bahrain can contribute to studies on transcultural cities and to debates on conviviality, social encounters and living together in diversity. Research on POS in Gulf regions is limited; the professional practices in these countries face similar challenges of dynamic migration in cities. Hence, this research may also expand the existing knowledge base and lead to further research in this subject in the Middle East or globally. It is important to distinguish the role and knowledge of landscape architecture in dealing with social and cultural dynamics and intricate values and patterns of use. The significance of this research is that it is also designed to inform practitioners in the field of planning, design and management of POS in Bahrain. Linking this research to the profession of landscape architecture may also add extra novelty value to the proposed work.

1.3 Transcultural cities

This research is more widely situated within the emerging field of transcultural cities and landscape architecture. The concept of transcultural cities has emerged in the 21st century due

to the rapid and massive pattern of migration, fluid population and superdiversity in modern cities (Hou, 2013). This superdiversity is a global phenomenon and has shaped the recently emerged body of knowledge in western countries. The term 'superdiversity' is introduced by Vertovec (2007b) and it emphasises the complexities of diversity rather than merely focusing on ethnicity. Migrant identities cannot be excluded from intersectionality of multiple identities. Gender, religion, educational background, socio-economic and family contexts, ideologies, race, length of residence, migrant and non-migrant backgrounds and legal status are also variables of diversity and cultural difference. The flows of migration also increase diversity in modern cities with migrants' different heritage, cultural expression and life practice. The discourse on transcultural cities also provides insight into migration, belonging and landscape experiences and the process of adaptation in relation to the built environment, memories and formation of hybridity (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). People's values are also shaped by the intersectionality of these different factors. This intersectionality and superdiversity increase the complexities in contemporary society and make generalisation of people's values very critical. In this context, Agyeman and Erickson (2012) prefer the use of the term cultural difference than cultural diversity as the latter is mostly used with issues of race, the term cultural difference shapes the complexity of diversity in contemporary society and raises issues relevant to justice.

Here, I find another relevant time stamp that is a decade previous to the events of Arab Spring. After the devastating events of 11 September 2001, the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity came as an opportunity to promote intercultural dialogue instead of concentrating on the conflicts between cultures (UNESCO, 2002). The Declaration aims to 'preserve cultural diversity' and to 'prevent segregation in the name of cultural differences' (ibid, p.3). The Universal Declaration explicitly states that each individual must acknowledge the plurality of his or her own identity within societies that are themselves plural (ibid).

Bahrain, with its distinguished Arab-Islamic culture, arid climate and dynamic pattern of migration could be a significant contributor to the transcultural cities discourse and in preventing segregation in the name of cultural differences. Bahrain could celebrate the cultural diversity while protecting the local heritage and identity. The concern is how diversity should be comprehended and communicated. Elsheshtawy (2008, p.10) asserts that the Gulf cities are sites where divisions are made visible and are greatly intensified; however, another way of interpreting the cities would suggest exploring some similarities, ties and repositories of 'memories' where spaces are inscribed with meaning by their users, which makes the

spaces liveable and pleasurable. However, Gardner (2010a) states that there is critical marginalisation of the Gulf cities in the body of research, particularly on transnational urban spaces.

The key issues for theory and practice in landscape architecture are whether the decisions made about POS are socially responsive and culturally appropriate for the individuals with multiple identities, and people could coexist with complexity and visibility of cultural differences in POS. POS are also within the agenda of health, wellbeing and quality of life (Cattell et al., 2008), which raises the significance of social inclusivity and the accessibility of POS. Leisure and recreational activities in POS are also dimensions of such cultural differences and different patterns of use. The research is appropriate in terms of understanding the spatial and temporal uses of everyday outdoor spaces within the context of different transnational identities and social uses and values.

1.4 Living with difference: Conviviality and encounter

This research is also situated within theories of conviviality and 'geographies of encounters' (Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Neal et al., 2013; Wilson, 2016). Studies of conviviality look at everyday public spaces from a micro-scale to understand how people manage their social relations in reality and live together in a diverse society. Theory of conviviality has emerged as counter-narrative to anxieties about massive diversity in cities. This theory has developed around the concept of everyday diversity and that people in their ordinary lives coexist with each other, while diversity appears to be a common feature in people's everyday encounters. Ethnography has appeared to be significant when investigating everyday diversity. However, living with diversity could also have complexities that affect encounters (Amin, 2002; Valentine, 2008).

Bahrain has a superdiverse population that has coexisted throughout its history. *"Bahrain shall remain the state of institutions and the rule of law. It shall always be a home for co-existence and conviviality, and an oasis for moderation and openness on the world"*, HM King Hamad, King of Bahrain said (Bahrain News Agency, 2016). The attitude towards of the Arab-Islamic world is also significant to the context and shapes the relationship between the diverse populations in Bahrain. The questions are how the context of Bahrain can contribute to the emerging theory of conviviality and debates about cultural differences and positive social encounters in contemporary societies and how design and management of the urban spaces

support conviviality. The literature review found no studies considering the reality of hidden everyday experiences in the Gulf urban areas and of the ordinary interactions of different communities (Elsheshtawy, 2006 and 2008).

Urban open spaces are sites for social encounters where cultural differences are visible. Ethnography and storytelling methods can be used to encapsulate the realities and the hidden stories that shape the social relations in the public realm. These methods are also significant contributors to the study of the socio-spatial association within the theory and practice of landscape architecture.

1.5 Socio-spatial dimension

The socio-spatial perspective can integrate approaches from different social science disciplines. Soja (1980) finds that the social process shapes spatiality and spatiality shapes social process. This socio-spatial process, according to Henri Lefebvre, can produce: perceived spaces, as *"activities through which society develops and reproduces its spatiality"*; conceived spaces, as defined *"by planners, architects, and other specialists"* and endured spaces, in which *"users of space experience lived space every day"* (Ronneberger, 2008). Social dimension has also been a significant subject of study in urban planning, design and management (as considered, for example, by Jacobs (1961), Whyte (1980) and Lynch (1981)). Socio-spatial urbanism addresses how the built environment and society interact and how both of them affect and change each other in an ongoing process (Madanipour, 2014).

The socio-spatial process can shape and be influenced by different patterns of life in urban spaces. This can also lead to socio-spatial inequalities and injustice if these differences are not considered (Soja, 1980; Low and Iveson, 2016). Social and cultural dynamics and differences (i.e. class, age, ethnic and gender) are also important considerations in this association. As part of that, transcultural cities is integrated with socio-spatial urbanism (Hou, 2013). Similarly, sociological approaches for investigating conviviality and social encounter are an integral part of socio-spatial dimensions (Neal et al., 2013).

Conducting the research within the field of landscape architecture could be of significant relevance to this discussion. Landscape architecture case study method is an opportunity to investigate spatial design qualities of different typologies of POS from a landscape architecture perspective. Accordingly, theory and practice of landscape architecture can contribute to the

understanding of new physical dimensions within the definition of conviviality and social encounters across cultural differences.

1.6 Aims and objectives

In this research, I will focus on three areas of theory: Transcultural cities, conviviality and social uses and values of public open spaces. A scholar looking at any of these three areas also needs to examine the overlaps and interrelations between the three themes, which shape the research questions of this study. The interrelation raises concerns about how the visibility of differences in POS and their increasing complexity support or pose challenges to conviviality and managing social relations and what the role of professional practice is.

The primary focus of this research is to investigate the role and potential of urban public open spaces to support everyday positive social encounters across differences within a Bahraini context. Therefore, the aims of the research are:

1. To understand the everyday activities, preferences and motivations for using POS in Bahrain, with a particular emphasis on the experiences of users from migrant backgrounds. The main objectives of the first aim are to:

    a. Understand how the use of outdoor spaces is reflected across different typologies of spaces.
    b. Investigate how these uses are reflected at different times of the day and year, and how they are reflected with intersectionalities in gender, socio-economic status, generation and migrants' identities.
    c. Address how the history of migration shapes the values and preferences of using POS.

2. To explore how conviviality is supported or aggravated in urban public spaces within the context of an ethnically diverse population. The main objectives of the second aim are to:

    a. Explore how everyday activities support different types of social interaction in formal and informal spaces.

b. Investigate how conviviality is shaped with regard to cultural and ethnic differences.
c. Examine both supportive and problematic spatio-temporal negotiation in transcultural use of POS.

3. To identify the potential of planning and design of POS for supporting conviviality in transcultural public spaces. To accomplish the last aim, the objectives are to:

   a. Address the current policies for implementing POS in Bahrain.
   b. Identify culturally appropriate opportunities for supporting conviviality in public open spaces.
   c. Analyse the current policies
   d. Inform design approaches and policies for planning and managing open spaces specifically within Middle Eastern and Islamic contexts.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured into nine chapters. Chapter Two reviews and develops the theoretical framework of this research by drawing on studies from various disciplines in relation to transcultural practices, public outdoor spaces and conviviality to shape the aims and methodology of this study. This chapter also identifies complexities and challenges, and overlapping areas between the investigated theories, which require further research. In Chapter Three, I describe my research strategy and methods and in Chapter Four, I introduce POS in Bahrain and selected case study areas. Chapter Five and Six present the findings of the first and second aims. In Chapter Five, I describe the pattern of diversity in POS in the selected case study areas and, in Chapter Six, I explore how such diversity influences social interaction. Chapter Seven discusses these findings and contributes to the developing theory through integrating the findings and the literature. Chapter Eight contribute to developing practice, which illustrate aim three. In Chapter Eight, I argue that within the transcultural modern cities, the practice of planning, design and management in landscape architecture should be intrinsically connected to social justice. Finally, Chapter Nine reflects on the research findings and proposes scopes for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical framework and shapes the aims and methodology of this study. The main focus of the research is to explore the potential of urban open spaces in Bahrain to support positive social encounters in an increasingly diverse population. To do this requires reference to a range of disciplinary fields, including geography, sociology, landscape architecture and urban studies. This chapter explores a framework for research enquiry shaped by three interdisciplinary areas: transcultural cities discourses, theories of conviviality and the professional field of public open spaces.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section reviews relevant literature on transcultural cities and explores the relevance for contemporary Bahrain. The discourse of transcultural cities investigates social dynamics and cultural transformation and how this leads to increased complexity in cities. The following section reviews the theories of conviviality, which focus on studying everyday social encounters at micro-level. Thirdly, this chapter articulates the social uses and values of everyday outdoor spaces. The chapter also investigates the overlaps between these interdisciplinary areas. These overlaps raise concerns about how the visibility of differences in public open spaces and increasing complexity pose challenges to managing social relations in the public realm and the role of professional practice. The fourth section introduces transcultural urbanism as a relevant and timely approach for addressing these challenges. Finally, the chapter concludes by framing the research aims and methodology that are derived from the literature review.

2.2 Transcultural cities

2.2.1 An emerging discourse

This section is a brief overview of the development of different notions expressed around cultural diversity in cities. The section clarifies the differences between the terms transcultural, multicultural and intercultural approaches, and alongside, it describes why transcultural is the term chosen in this research.

In the last two decades, geographers, urban theorist and practitioners have strived to portray a transcultural city in its entirety (Manzo, 2013). Hou (2013, p.4) links the term 'transcultural' to the 21st century phenomenon of cultural hybridity and fluid identity in an urban context, which is becoming an increasingly relevant phenomenon. He states that the discourse on transcultural cities has emerged as a result of the need for a deeper understanding of today's urban setting with complexity of 'cultural dynamics' and 'cross-cultural interactions' (p.7). Manzo (2013) discusses transcultural cities as places that are 'more than multicultural' in identity, stating:

> *"It is a place that provides opportunities not only for the spatial expression of multiple cultural identities, but more importantly, to traverse different worldviews and enable new cultural encounters and spatial practices to emerge"* (p.135).

Multiculturalism developed as an official policy in the 1970s in Canada and Australia where their multi-ethnic population has grown with increasing migration and settlement (Ang and Stratton, 2006). Concerns for inclusion of ethnic groups within a national culture spurred these governments to implement the multiculturalism policy (ibid). The main principle of the multiculturalism policy is to achieve equality among ethnic groups (Hou, 2013). Nevertheless, such a policy failed to include certain minority or migrant groups and centred solely on ethnic diversity devoid of the cultural dynamics in contemporary societies (Vertovec, 2007a).

According to Sandercock's (2000 and 2003a) research close to the beginning of the 21st century, the concept of multiculturalism should be developed further with an intercultural approach, in which intercultural dialogue can help ease the complexities that arise in spaces where cultural diversity is a norm. The Council of Europe has embraced the model of the intercultural city to further *"explore the potential of an intercultural approach to integration in communities with a culturally diverse population"* (BAKBasel, 2011, p.5). An intercultural city approach views 'diversity as an asset' rather than a threat, encourages 'active involvement of public', creates opportunities for formal and informal social encounters in urban spaces, and provides amenities and services such as housing, sanitation, health care, education and job opportunities to all without disparity, which helps build social solidarity based on trust (Khovanova-Rubicondo and Pinelli, 2012, p.14). Council of Europe (2013) also explains that in the intercultural city approach, cultural integration and responsiveness to ethnic diversity is the collective responsibility of all city civic bodies and not one special department or officer's, extending Ang and Stratton's (2006) criticism that multicultural policy is more a top-down political strategy.

In this context, the term 'transculturalism' can replace 'multiculturalism' as it better befits the modern cities, which are constantly challenged by the dynamic characteristics of the societies (Hou, 2013). The term transcultural defines the *"change that has taken or is taking place through intercultural contact"*; and whilst the intercultural perspective examines how different cultures influence people, the transcultural outlook studies how different people affect cultures and places (Schulz, 2008, p.91). Welsch (1999, p.11) points out that in interculturalism, every culture is allowed to retain its uniqueness; however, transculturalism *"sketches a different picture of the relation between cultures, not one of isolation and conflict, but one of entanglement, intermixing, and commonness"*. Hence, transculturalism may not mean 'melting pot', but respect, trust, understanding that there are differences and creating a space to progress. Furthermore, transculturalism implies a mutual changing, that different cultures impact and change each other in various ways (including majority or dominant culture) – whereas multiculturalism is more about equality alongside each other.

In this respect, reflecting the notion of transculturalisim onto the subject of this research about public open spaces, different people's practices and identities could mostly be visible and these identities could be shaped by social and cultural dynamics and cross-cultural interactions. Hence, it becomes crucial to understand the role of place and regulation in fitting the cultural dynamics and interactions in transcultural urban spaces. This is also reflected in how different manifestations of cultural practices could take place in a shared space and how benefits of public open spaces could be distributed.

The discourse on transcultural cities has emerged in line with increasing the dynamics of transnational movement and migration. Robinson (2009) finds that the previous decades witnessed rapid migrations on a global scale, with a mass flow of workers into Western Europe, the United Sates and the oil-rich Arab nations. Sassen (2005) declares that despite transnational migrations having significant impact on the development of countries, migration as a major process of growth has either been neglected or not given due credit, more so in developing countries. From Vertovec's (2007a, p.17) perspective, *"most integration policies and programmes, in turn, do not apply to people with temporary status"* and more needs to be done to understand the inadequacies and problems for both migrants and service providers in the host nations. Hence, in discourses on transcultural cities, it is critical to consider temporary migrant workers. As transnational temporary migrant workers are highly relevant in the Gulf region, later in the chapter I will investigate the current literature in this area and the significance of Bahrain in transcultural studies. Prior to that, the next two Sections, 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, review the relevant literature on the dynamics of transculturalism, which are reflected

and felt most keenly as an outcome of the rapid transnational migrations and hybridity in today's cities and the lived experience of migrants in public realm.

2.2.2 Transnational migration and hybridity in cities

This section addresses how transnational migration, multiple identities, cultural transformation and superdiversity in contemporary societies are intertwined. The flow of contemporary migration[1] has increased the diversity in modern cities (Vertovec, 2007b; Wessendorf, 2014a). Superdiversity is a term describing the underlying intricate variables resulting from increasing diversity and multiple ethnicities, skills of the migrant workforce, socio-economic, education, creed, and the generation of migrants' status and their length of stay: newcomers and established communities, which are constantly evolving in urban cities (Vertovec, 2007b). Different generations of migrations and settlements in cities throughout history created diversity and then the ongoing contemporary remigration has added to the social cultural dynamics, which makes transculturalism an inevitable phenomenon. Agyeman and Erickson (2012) suggest using the term cultural difference instead of cultural diversity as the latter is merely focusing on ethnicity and not representing such complexities in modern cities.

Intersectionality of these variables increases the complexity of diversity, which influences people's values and forms hybrid identities. Human networks and materialities that transfer across nations can also support multiple attachments and transcultural practices as these often remain socially entrenched in migrants' native cultures and ethnic ideologies (Vertovec, 1997; Amin, 2004). These practices are relevant to the migrant's intangible heritage, but could also increase the difference in cities. Hence, migrant identities cannot be excluded from the intersectionality of multiple identities in superdiverse societies; however, country of origin is not the only factor that shapes migrant identities (Vertovec, 2007b, Agyeman and Erickson, 2012). As part of intersectionality, identities are also transformed post migration and are shaped by migrants' generation and their lengths of stay, which increase the cultural differences in cities even among the same cultural groups.

[1] The 21st century is the era of rapid and mass global migrations, with migrant numbers to urban cities cited as 224 million in 2015 - a 41 per cent growth compared to 2000 (United Nations, 2016).

The concept of a transcultural city is focusing on understanding the dynamics of transformation and hybrid identities; however, it is important to underline the point that transculturalism does not equate with assimilation into a majority culture (Cahill, 2013). For example, Sen (2013) explains that Muslims have diverse identities and cultures. He further explains that Muslim identities are changeable, and not necessarily over a lifetime, but even on an everyday basis with differences in class, race, gender, country of origin and profession. Hence, these identities transform spatially and temporally. Sen (2011) elucidates:

> *"In a transcultural city, protean identities are neither inconsistent nor contradictory, but are indeed increasingly the norm. Therefore, it should be no surprise to find someone identifying with the Ummah (Islamic Peoplehood) while praying or celebrating Ramadan, being a modern cosmopolitan consumer while shopping, while also being civic- minded during elections"* (p.43).

Life actions post migration and migrants' experiences in a new place are integral to evolving cultures, and hence should not be excluded from the process of hybridity and adaptation; as addressed in the next section. Many studies on transnational urbanism[2] show that there are complex connections between individuals, social networks (through mobility and migration), urban spaces and everyday social practices (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Smith, 2005; Sassen, 2005; Mau and Zimmermann, 2008; Robinson, 2009; Sassen, 2011).

2.2.3 Migrant experiences in a new place

Culture shock is commonly experienced by migrants on their arrival in a new place, together with the feelings of alienation, ambiguity and worries regarding continuing cultural practices (Armstrong, 2004; Rishbeth, 2013). Legibility and understanding of the city and adapting to the weather are also other common challenges that migrants face (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). In addition to being away from their family and home, different expectations regarding the type of life, leisure, habitat or work and issues of poverty could increase the migrants' stress.

There are many studies that have emphasised that the lived experiences in places can construct meaningful relations and attachments with places, shape multiple identities and increase familiarity (Gustafson, 2001; Ghosh and Wang, 2003; Manzo, 2003, Manzo, 2005; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). In transcultural cities, migrants' experiences in places have also

[2] In this research, the concern is not around the formal national identities and hence the term transcultural better represents cultural dynamics and hybridity in cities than the political and economic term transnational. However, the term transnational is sometimes used with particular emphasis on national boundaries and cultural differences.

direct relations in constructing transcultural practices and hybrid identities (Ghosh and Wang, 2003). These studies have also highlighted the role of place in shaping the lived experiences.

From this perspective, the environment has become significant to support adaptation and to build a sense of belonging amongst migrants and newcomers. Armstrong (2004) and Rishbeth and Powell (2013) explore the role of the space in triggering memories and forming spatial associations. Such attachments developed more from creative engagement between the local and transnational rather than from sentimental recollections or nostalgia (ibid). The choices and values offered to the new migrants in their surroundings enable them to form transnational links, engage with the strangeness and familiarity in everyday spaces, and develop and strengthen a sense of emotional affinity to the space (Ghosh and Wang, 2003; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). Powell and Rishbeth (2012) investigate the extent to which the outdoor built environments influences the adaptation process, whereby transnational identities evolve into hybrid versions. The 'elective practice' (Neal et al., 2015) of being outdoors appears vital to support such meaningful relations through the available experiences and choices. Rishbeth (2013) also states that while new migrants are likely to feel unsettled at the outset, spending time outdoors will enable them to identify with their new environment and develop transnational identities.

However, transcultural practices, migrants' experiences and responses to their new environments differ, temporally and spatially, among individuals with cultural differences (Ghosh and Wang, 2003). Individuals also face complexities in their decisions regarding retaining contact with home culture or to localise during their daily life practices post migration (Rishbeth, 2013, p.127). Migrants' legal status and motivation for their transnational movement also affect their decisions in their life actions and experiences (Ghosh and Wang, 2003). These decisions are also shaped by the economic level of migrants and the affordability of being outdoors (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). Thus, the new concepts of contemporary forms of complex associations in the public realm have supported the development of studies on transcultural cities; however, complexities of transculturalism need to be addressed both in the theories on and practices of transcultural cities with a greater focus on socio-spatial dimension.

This next section investigates the significance of Bahrain in transcultural studies. The scale of the migrant labourers' population and contemporary transnational movements in the Gulf region stands in stark contrast to the lack of data about the fundamental aspects of migrations (Gardner, 2011; Gardner et al., 2013). Gardner (2010a) argues the need for more research to understand 'the lived experiences' of transnational labourers and different communities in the Gulf cities, including intra-regional Arab migrants. *"To date there is little ethnographically grounded work to help us understand the experiences of these other communities"* (ibid, p.23). Elsheshtawy (2008) declares:

> *"A central construct underlying these new developments is the notion of transnational urbanism in which urbanizing processes are examined from 'below', looking at the lives of migrants [...]. Cities in the Arab world are curiously left behind in this discussion, especially the Gulf"* (p.5).

2.2.4 Transcultural Bahrain

Drawing on the literature reviewed, this section explores how and why Bahrain, a GCC state, fits into the theories of transcultural cities, which mainly emerged from western contexts (Elsheshtawy, 2006; Gardner, 2011; Gardner et al., 2013). Lessons from western case studies can be valuable in the Bahraini context despite the apparent differences. For example, the metaphors of 'Melting Pot' and 'Salad Bowl' have been used in New York and Britain to describe their diversity, and Bahrain should not be removed from such debates. However, the western approaches to superdiversity in public spaces cannot be simply applied to a Middle Eastern milieu due to the distinct Islamic context and different set of tensions to that of the West. For example, while 'Islamophobia' has increased tensions in Britain because Muslim migrants can be viewed as members of terrorist regimes, in Bahrain, there is no basis to view migrants as terrorists even though they are primarily Muslims. No two contexts are comparable, but processes can be shared. Accordingly, the Council of Europe (2013, p.19) has stated that in applying urban models of intercultural integration, *"no city embarking on the process is a tabula rasa and that each starts from a different place and is on its own unique trajectory of development"*.

Throughout its history, Bahrain developed a fluid population of multi-ethnic origins, and later the oil boom also led to rapid and intense migrations. The majority of the population is Muslim, but other religions are present. Indeed, having a population with diverse origins and cultures is creating what could be known as a 'superdiverse society'; a phenomenon also observed in other GCC countries. Compared with classically 'superdiverse locations' such as

London and New York City, the shaping of different religions is less important, but still multiple differences in class, status and ranges of home countries are clearly apparent. Although Bahrain shares many characteristics with its neighbouring states, it has certain unique features related to migration patterns and its geographical location, characteristics and size that make it an interesting case for transcultural cities. Karolak (2009) argues *"We have to consider then a very small area where population has been in constant blending over centuries" (p.2).*

2.2.4.1 Historicising hybridity in Bahrain

In order to investigate the process of hybridity, Smith (2005) argues that 'historicizing' transnational practices is an approach that leads to learning about differences and similarities between cultures not only as new phenomena arising from globalisation but also from developing experiences throughout the history. Tracing back the transnational practices will also reveal the superdiversity of the population.

Bahrain, during the course of its history, developed a fluid population and a multi-ethnic society from trading and pearling. Bahrain had depended on maritime trade before oil was discovered. The earliest documented historical accounts and evidence gathered from archaeological locations (forts, ancient burial mounds and other sites) reveal the earliest cultural and trading links with the Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley and Greece. History also documented the journeys of Gilgamesh to Dilmun, the island's first name, in search of eternity (Hamblin, 1987). Bahrain's positioning on the trading sea route between ancient Mesopotamia and the Indian subcontinent made it an ideal stopover for the traders on their voyages (Al-Nabi, 2012). Its idyllic island scenery, famous for palm trees and deep-water springs and a supply of precious pearls, made the country irresistibly appealing to the traders. In addition to its long history of agriculture, Bahrain's flourishing pearl trade prospered until the 19th century. Besides pearls, dates and horses were also exported to different parts of the world including India, Persia, Iraq, New York and London and other parts of Europe (Al-Rasheed, 2005). Trading vessels entered through Manama[3] and merchants remained for months in order to strike the best bargains. These traders also brought goods into the country, and many of these traders subsequently made Bahrain their centre for business and moved here with their families (Fuccaro, 2005; Onley, 2014).

[3] Manama is the capital of Bahrain, and in the past a trading port was located here.

Fuccaro (2005), Onley (2005) and Onley (2014) investigated the Persian and Indian transnational communities in the region who are deeply entrenched in Bahrain's society. These studies found that migrant communities in the Gulf held a physical manifestation in these cities that shaped transnational connection in everyday practices. In this sense, Fuccaro (2005) adds that trading with Iran and India and importing fine quality commodities such as shawls, woollen clothes, velvets, silks, shoes, spices, rice, tea, rosewater, liquors and books influenced transnational associations that impacted on the localities. Fuccaro (2005) adds that building Persian mattams and Indian temples indicate the impact of transnational affiliations on the urban environments. Al-Rasheed (2005) finds that transnational movement resulted in new forms of hybridity that are reflected in the urban framework. The sustained heritage neighbourhoods with the juxtaposition of mattams, mosques, temples and churches have displayed this hybridity and have stayed as a witness for Bahrain's distinguished heritage, which incorporates hybridity.

Several studies have depicted Manama as a cosmopolitan city over the last 150 years (Fuccaro, 2005; Dayaratne, 2008; Alraouf, 2010; Jarach and Speece, 2013). Fuccaro (2005) identifies cosmopolitanism in Manama as a vital element for transnationalism and for the flow of people and ideas across boundaries. Palgrave (1883, p.381) described how the coffeehouses in Bahrain, in the mid-19th century, sported an international veneer and differed from those found in the neighbouring Arabic countries. According to Fuccaro (2005), Manama city served as a hub for cultural and socio-economic exchanges, for promoting close ties between local, regional and foreign people and as active trading centres for commodities.

In addition to the enterprising maritime systems that supported the flow of sea traffic between the Middle East, India and Africa, Fuccaro (2005) argues that the mobility within tribal societies in the region also largely influenced the demography of the island. She asserts that the permeable nature of Bahrain's borders encouraged diverse ethnic and religious factions to interact harmoniously. Bahrain's island topography proffered stable political boundaries, which allowed the tribal dynasties to rule the country without external interference (ibid). As both the ruling family and the majority of the population were immigrants, Bahrain was home to diverse cultures, political loyalties and legal customs, which functioned independently; yet the social life was interconnected (ibid).

2.2.4.2 Contemporary migrations in Bahrain

Europe and North America are frequently discussed as destinations for transnational migrants, while the understanding of transnational migration to the Gulf countries remains undeveloped (Gardner and Watts, 2012). In this sense, Gardner et al. (2016) assert that these GCC countries encompass the third largest destination for migrant workers in the contemporary world, after Europe and North America. In western countries, even the most significant migration flows are categorised as minorities, while in the Gulf States, the ratio of migrants to the local citizens is considerably higher and their demographic structure differs widely from other parts of the world (Gardner, 2011). Gardner (2010a) asserts:

> *"The GCC states of the Arabian Peninsula are an important juncture in the transnational migration of labor [...] foreign labor makes up the majority of the workforce and in several states [...] an absolute majority of the population"* (p.25).

There are several reasons for the GCC countries to be significant migrant destinations and transnational hubs. Predominantly, the dramatic rise of these countries' economies attracted migrant workers. The discovery of oil in 1932 brought prosperity to Bahrain; and in this context, Ben-Hamouche (2004) claims that since onset of the oil boom, Bahrain commenced on a modernisation drive and adopted an all-inclusive welfare policy, which became a significant force in shaping the country. One significant result of this unprecedented development was the radical change in the migration pattern. The economy experienced mass growth, which necessitated the recruitment of skilled and unskilled migrant labour due to the shortage of a local workforce. To this, Sassen (2011) adds that the GCC countries have immigrant-friendly policies and temporary worker programs due to which thousands of workers from North Africa and Asia have migrated to these countries and work in a range of jobs from the high-level to the lowest-paid jobs. Additionally, the Gulf region has the advantage of being located between the Indian subcontinent, North Africa and Asia, and consequently inclined to migrant flows (Al-Rasheed, 2005). Mobility and the latest technologies also support GCC nations to forge and maintain global links and also GCC citizens themselves travel widely around the world (Dresch, 2005a). Gardner (2011) also finds that with the migrants' adaption to Gulf countries, some migrant families cannot adapt when they return to their native country, hence several newer generations of Asian migrant families opt to live either in the Gulf or migrate to Western countries. While, Hills and Atkins (2013) find that the western communities do not face this issue when coming to the Gulf as they can adjust easily and integrate into the new environment as the Gulf cities appear similar to

western cities. Thus, Gardner (2011) concludes that the Gulf States have emerged as a springboard to a Western destination for many migrants. In this sense, he claims that the *"world beyond Arabia has come to the Gulf" (p.19).*

Though the legal status of migrants is not at the forefront of this research, it is useful to give a brief quick overview of government policies regarding migration. In Bahrain, the population now officially consists of Bahraini and non-Bahraini, both of whom are from diverse origins. The expression 'migrants' does not hold policy connotations, but instead, it refers to 'guest workers', 'contract labourers' or 'non- Bahrainis' (Dito, 2007; Fowler, 2012). Non-Bahraini residents in Bahrain are mostly those with a two- year contract work visa or with a visitors' visa for a certain time, where both types of visas are renewable. Some migrant workers are allowed to bring their family according to their type of visa, but mostly these workers have a non-family status.

To explain policies relating to migrant workers' recruitment in the GCC countries, Gardner (2011) states that the skilled workers are recruited according to globally common systems such as personal networks and advertising, while the lower income workers are hired through 'kafala', which is a 'sponsorship system'. He explains *"The contemporary sponsorship system redistributes much of the responsibility of managing and governing foreign labour from the state to individual citizen-sponsors" (p.8).* It is also mentioned that recruitment policies for migrant workers in the Gulf create several conflicts between workers and employers and have been globally critiqued as a Human Trafficking system (ibid). There are also a number of 'free visa' transnational workers in Bahrain. Pessoa et al. (2014, p.212) describe 'free visa' as neither free nor legal, and that it *"exists as an alternative to the injustices of the sponsorship system".* In this sense, Gardner (2010b, p.4) portrays the 'Kafala' system to be a 'structural violence' focusing on the political and economic aspects arising from expansion of the global market. Yet, he states that this system is not representative of the tolerant principles in the Gulf and the hospitable characteristics of Bahraini culture.

In 2009, Bahrain became the first GCC country to revoke the sponsorship system and centralise it under the control of the Labour Market Regulatory Authority. The Government of Bahrain ratified a set of conventions related to workers' right in collaboration with international human rights and counter-human trafficking agencies. A few non-governmental organisations in Bahrain such as the Migrant Workers Protection Society continue to monitor problems or abuse faced by migrant workers. In 2015, the Labour Market Regulatory Authority established a shelter for human trafficking victims to support and protect migrant workers.

However, Gardner et al. (2016) also question the accessibility and mobility for migrant workers to access the justice system and protection organisations, which are urban issues. There are also issues relevant to working in harsh or adverse environments such as working outdoors in the extreme heat of summer as well as to migrants' living conditions and locations.

2.2.4.3 Complexities with cultural diversity in Bahrain

Dresch (2005a) mentions that regardless of the developed transnational connections in the GCC states, some complexities still emerge in forming transnational communities and cultural exchange. Firstly, Bahrain was a pioneer in the field of education in the Gulf, and literacy rates amongst male and female citizens are the highest in the region. Jarach and Speece (2013) find that in the pre-oil era, the migrants were mostly from an elite background and they largely influenced the society. Presently, however, most of the low-income migrants are uneducated and illiterate. This creates a gap and hierarchy in a society (ibid).

Secondly, while the economic system in the Gulf States has attracted more investors and migrants, it has also created social and cultural crises (Bolleter, 2015). With the advent of 'global capitalism' and development of the banking sector, the GCC countries have surpassed the 2005 World Bank governance indicators, which also led to a growth in foreign investments and migrations (Elsheshtawy, 2008). The elite migrants operating in different organisations in Bahrain hold powerful positions and are highly affluent; however, the majority of migrants are at the bottom of the hierarchy. Migrant workers have mainly been employed in sectors such as manufacturing, construction, services and domestic work with low wages (Fowler, 2012; Bel-Air, 2015). This has a direct impact on the social hierarchy in the country.

Additionally, there is increasing tension among Bahrainis due to an employment crisis, in response to which the government has introduced a 'Bahrainisation' policy to encourage the private sector to employ citizens; however, the policy in itself is impractical (Fowler, 2012). It is also proposed to reduce the number of foreign workers to safeguard the local culture and values (Karolak, 2009). Dito (2007) argues that any reduction in migrant numbers will remain an illusion owing to the persistent gaps in the workforce as the Bahrain employment market heavily relies on unskilled 'cheap wage' migrant workers.

Thirdly, apprehensions regarding cultural erosion or loss of cultural purity are prevalent. In the Gulf, behind the facade of the latest technology, the modern shopping malls, the western style cafés, and multinational fast-food chains, dependence on foreign labour is unavoidable; yet one encounters strong assertions of local heritage rather than celebrations of hybridity (Al-Rasheed, 2005). For example, when Gardner (2006, p.74) was conducting his ethnographic research in November 2002 on the Indian communities in Bahrain, he was frequently challenged by Bahraini citizens as to why the focus was not on their 'wonderful culture'. The concern in the Gulf region is to protect the indigenous from the spread of globalisation and 'loss of authenticity' (Al-Rasheed, 2005). Bahrainis also find their culture a marketable product, which can help attract tourists to the island (Gardner, 2006). Bahrain's distinguished heritage is also revealed in the built environment. While half the population are foreigners and the other half are intricately diverse, the practice of landscape architecture in Bahrain is used to construct national identities (Dayaratne, 2012). Dayaratne (2008) states:

> *"[This] has contributed to the making of the greater cosmopolitanism in the social-fabric particularly in the public sphere, and thus an architecture of fusions of old and the new, local and foreign and therefore undeniably hybrid. These hybridities vary from those of the forms, use of space and elements themselves"* (p.5).

In short, such complexities put Bahrain within the debate of transcultural cities. Transcultural studies in GCC countries are fragmented and lacking a well-defined theoretical framework and analytical rigor (Al-Rasheed, 2005). The question is how to balance between protecting heritage in the socio-spatial dimensions and the reality which is much more complex and cosmopolitan. A key to interpreting complexities of transculturalism in the GCC countries may lie in how these societies form their own understanding of propriety and diversity (Dresch, 2005b) and everyday encounters (Gardner, 2010a). Al-Rasheed (2005) recommends deeper ethnographical studies to capture the complexity.

2.2.5 Complexities in transcultural cities

The social and cultural dynamics in modern transcultural cities are reflected in the everyday social encounters; however, there should be an awareness that transcultural encounters do not only grasp a positive dimension. Manzo (2013) argues, *"It is no small task to embrace diversity in a way that would move our cities to be truly transcultural" (p.136).* We need to understand issues in contemporary societies that create conflicts. Cahill (2013) states, *"Cities immediately come to mind as spaces of intimate and intense contact across difference, urban contexts exemplify both the transformative possibilities and tensions of transculturalism"*

(p.195). Cahill (2013, p.194) also asserts that understanding that the city is a 'site of contestation' and dissent moves beyond the 'romanticization' of the urban encounter and melting pot. Similarly, Pratt (1992), in her travel writing on 'transculturation', uses the term 'contact zone' to refer to the spaces of encounter in which:

> *"People geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relationships, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict"* (p.6).

In many cities today, the 'social and spatial barriers' between different ethnic groups have lingered (Hou, 2013). The challenges in western countries, while being culturally diverse, catalysed around aspects of fear, islamophobia and the historical background of racism and colour (Sandercock, 2000; Amin, 2002; Vertovec, 2007a; Leitner, 2011). With superdiversity, cultural differences have become much more complex and the perceptions of diversity as threats have increased worldwide (Vertovec, 2007b). The migrants' feelings of estrangement and cultural alienation are also obstacles for engagement and participation in different activities in transnational cities (Amin, 2007; Oliveira, 2011; Rinelli, 2013; Rishbeth, 2013). Variables of superdiversity may also classify people within a society to 'in-group' and 'out-group'[4]. Lung-Amam (2011) asserts that as:

> *"the borders between nations, places, cities and suburbs, become increasingly fluid and unstable – in a time when diversity, complexity, and hybridity define as much who we are as how and where we live, these are the real challenges that we face if we are going to learn to live together"* (p.146).

Border crossing emerges as a critical part of everyday experience and it is no longer about travelling from one nation to another, but as part of everyday encounters in the city (Hou, 2013). Clashes between cultural groups, between established population and newcomers, between migrants and receiving communities, can affect everyday social encounters. According to Noussia and Lyons (2009), *"The phenomenological characteristics of each locale are supplemented by behaviour patterns in the public realm in order to maintain spatial boundaries which groups do not cross" (p.20).* They add that these boundaries are the 'appropriation of space by marginal groups' and based on 'cultural rules of difference' (p.620). These boundaries have also some distinctiveness in transcultural cities, where *"boundaries can be seen as locales where people, activities and ideas come into contact with each other, but it is the contrast that maintains the distinction"* (ibid, p.620).

[4] Terms used by Allport (1954)

As part of investigating everyday transnational spaces, it is necessary to understand how people manage their everyday social relations within cultural differences and how this may support integration, adaption, and how complexities are reflected in everyday spaces. According to Noussia and Lyons's (2009) research in Omonia, Athens, diverse migrant groups were found to intermingle in overlapping areas without explicit conflict as each group maintains different spatial boundaries. Lung-Amam (2013) argues that to foster transcultural cities, practitioners and specialists concerned about urban spaces need to pay greater attention to the real places where people encounter and engage with differences in their everyday lives. Thus, the next step is to study the context of conviviality and diversity in public spaces and how society orders itself.

2.3 Conviviality and everyday diversity in public spaces

2.3.1 Conviviality and encounters

Developed in an interdisciplinary context of geography and sociology, the theoretical approaches to the notion of conviviality examine the reality of everyday life to comprehend how people mix and manage 'at ease' their social and spatial relations across cultural differences (Neal et al., 2013, p.315; Wise and Velayutham, 2014, p.407). *"The concept of convivial encounter can be extended to incorporate the concept of elective practices"* (Neal et al., 2015, p.463). Therefore, the everyday quality of encounter is important within the theory of conviviality. The theory places an emphasis on investigating social encounters at a micro-level in everyday urban spaces (Neal et al., 2013) as people seem to be more able to coexist in mundane encounters and cope with social situations. Sandercock (2003a, p.92) observes that the modern metropolitan cities, with evolving cultural diversity, have become more than merely 'ethnically mixed cities and neighbourhoods'; nevertheless, she claims that, in such dynamics, there is a collective tendency to support 'cohabitation'. Gilroy (2004) has described that conviviality is the *"cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life"* (p.ix). A number of studies have emphasised that in diverse cities, people are getting together and intermingling as today's cities are characterised by 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise and Velayutham, 2009), 'everyday cosmopolitanism' (Noble, 2013), and 'commonplace diversity' (Wessendorf, 2014a).

Neal et al. (2013) declare that the theory of conviviality has emerged as a counter-narrative to anxieties about diversity in cities. They assert:

> *"The concepts of (minority)-ethnic segregation, cultural withdrawal, and multicultural crisis are theoretically and empirically inadequate and too politically selective to describe and capture the current spatial and social formations of multiculture"* (p.315).

However, they argue that the concept of conviviality:

> *"does not ignore tension and discord, but rather attempts to reposition the dominance of conflict and pay attention to the coexistence of other, often slight and spontaneous and sometimes amicable forms of multicultural social interaction"* (p.315).

On this perspective, Wise and Velayutham (2009) present an approach of 'everyday multiculturalism' to look at the reality of everyday with a shift from the traditional top-down perspective in multicultural policies. Wessendorf (2014b) describes that conviviality *"is characterized by a fine balance between building positive relations across difference and keeping a distance"* (p.393).

In living together diverse people can find niches of similarities within diversities; thus, super-diversity does not necessarily create estrangement and discrimination, but may develop senses of belonging and choices of affiliation (Wessendorf, 2014a; Wessendorf, 2014b). Sandercock (2003a, p.94) similarly describes that by banal encounters within the 'successful sites of intercultural interaction', people can overcome *"feelings of strangeness in the simple process of sharing tasks and comparing ways of doing things"*. Conviviality provides opportunities for bridging differences.

Conviviality is not intended to inform a monoculture of practice. Conviviality means sharing and living together, while retaining cultural features. Gilroy (2006) defines:

> *"Conviviality is a social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity, but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not [...] add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication. In these conditions, a degree of differentiation can be combined with a large measure of overlapping"* (p.40).

Consequently, Neal et al. (2013) argue that the amicability and spontaneity features of conviviality are what make this concept particularly relevant to the fast-changing contemporary urban living. Sharing a public space could initiate different levels of encounter, from sustained to fleeting (Wise and Velayutham, 2009) and conviviality can be felt and experienced in the most momentary or unpredictable everyday encounters that arise spontaneously (Gilroy, 2006, p.39; Neal et al., 2013, p.315) as well as in more sustained social relations (Neal et al., 2013, p.316). According to Lofland (1989), social encounters in a public realm are categorised into three types: 'fleeting', 'segmental' and 'unpersonal/bounded'. Fleeting associations refer to brief encounters; segmental relationships are those encounters where exchanges may extend beyond the greeting and include work-related sphere, e.g. taxi drivers' interactions with their customers; 'Unpersonal/bounded' encounters occurring among individuals and facilitated by the archetypal environment of the encounters (ibid).

Conviviality is not focused on the formation of community ties, in which people get together with a long-lasting commitment; but more usually about a friendly, casual and superficial interaction, which could happen between strangers. In cities with diversity, conviviality is characterised by friendliness and not necessarily by friendship (Fincher, 2003). Spontaneous encounters and exchange are togetherness, neighbourliness, a casual chat, giving way, holding a door open, gift giving (vegetables, food or care practices) and exchange of gesture or smile (Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Neal et al., 2016). These can be seen as a form of 'light engagement' (Neal et al., 2013, p.318). These small, mundane encounters are seen to be important for their potential to offer evidence of quotidian intercultural practices and competencies in which people routinely navigate cultural differences (Neal and Vincent, 2013).

However, with concerns of 'romanticized' accounts of conviviality, Valentine (2008) calls for a greater emphasis on meaningful encounters. Wise and Velayutham (2009) assert that living together presents different stories and experiences of intermingling and encounters with some positive experiences and some everyday racism. As a result, everyday spaces and practices need to be investigated to explore how cultural diversity is experienced and negotiated on the ground and shapes social encounters (ibid) on which the aims of this research are designed.

2.3.2 Meaningful encounters

Amin (2008) claims that conviviality is an essential commonplace virtue within multi-cultural experiences, and presently, there appears to be a conscious shift in urban societies to encourage social solidarity and cultural awareness in order to stimulate cultural integration and appreciation. Reflecting moral philosophy in the public realm, Lofland (1989) deems that people maintain certain norms and codes of civility when interacting in urban public spaces. She describes 'civility towards diversity' as imperative in the public realm and ascribes terms such as rules or 'minutiae regulatory' to the features of social life in the public realm, trends in use of the public spaces and sociability. She claims that civility or courteousness is reacting without bias or even maintaining indifference to diversity and yet treating each other with equanimity.

There is however a debate regarding what can be considered meaningful encounters or civility (Valentine, 2008; Noble, 2013); people in public may encounter each other in a courteous manner, but this should not be interpreted too quickly as a sign of respect for difference. For example, Amin (2002, p.960 and 970) argues that the *"negotiation of difference within local micropublics of everyday interaction"* such as the workplace, schools, colleges, youth centres and sports clubs are examples of successful inter-ethnic encounters. The concept of micropublics has been criticised as people are on occasions *"forced to engage and interact, to create relationships and interdependence"* (Mai and Schmit, 2013, p.209), and therefore they do not necessarily change their negative generalisation and prejudice (Valentine, 2008). Valentine (2008) further argues that encounter cannot always support social transformation and that in some or many cases *"proximity did not equate with meaningful contact"* (p.334).

A definition of meaningful encounters offered by Valentine (2008) includes intercultural exchange, social transformation and cultural destabilisation. She argues that researchers need to investigate how these encounters can be 'scaled up', translated beyond the moment of meeting to develop into a positive attitude and respect towards others. Wilson (2016) argues that rather than thinking about meaningful encounters as a change in individual value, we should consider the concept of 'mobilisation' and relocation of the effect. Hence,

> *"It is not assumed that encounters with difference will necessarily lead to a shift in behaviour or thinking. Rather, [it is to] demonstrate how encounters have been placed into wider social or environmental contexts"* (Wilson, 2016, p.11).

In this perspective, Neal et al. (2016, p.465) find that 'extended encounters' take place between 'complexly diverse others' in different but connected spaces, and that they can be more than merely encounters that are repeated over time. Their study explains that extended encounters could take place through sharing the social resource in public spaces that generate interactions beyond their immediate boundaries. Sharing spaces may generate affective interactions and social intimacy and sharing resources may also bind diverse populations together (ibid). They describe:

> *"The extension of the encounter takes place through the practices necessary to share the resource but also because the social resource may itself generate interactions beyond its immediate boundaries and location. Exchanges or recognitions can travel further into other social sites, locations and personal geographies"* (p.465).

There is much we need to learn about how moments of encounters can be meaningful and scaled up beyond their immediate boundary. The nature of 'mobilised' and 'extended encounters' can be relevant to the agenda of social capital, and a helpful framing for addressing the potential of an encounter to be 'authentic' meaningful. Social capital means the social networks and relationships that support people and promote their collective efficiency (Putnam, 2000). The theory of social capital categorises three forms of social network: bonding refers to the strong ties within homogeneous groups; bridging is a cross cultural exchange; and linking social capital connects individuals and groups outside their immediate community (ibid). Bridging and linking provides the setting for daily interaction and enables connections within the public realm (Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007).

Another relevant theory is the contact hypothesis by Allport (1954):

> *"Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups"* (p.267).

Wood and Landry (2012, p.107) elaborate that in this hypothesis, four features affect encounters: quality and quantity (i.e. spatial and temporal), voluntary, equal status, and the collaborative and interactive environment, which could be considered in investigating aspects of encounters.

Valentine (2008), Neal et al. (2013) and Wilson (2016) all emphasise the need to understand the contexts and material conditions of everyday encounters. Wilson (2016) also argues that it is vital to look at meanings, temporality and tensions in researching encounters in contemporary cities. Valentine and Sadgrove (2012) add that that we need to understand the conflicts in today's encounters and argue that understanding meanings of encounters should be from a participant perspective in relation to spatial-temporal experiences.

I will now identify two factors that I believe need to be articulated when addressing encounters in public spaces: materiality and temporality.

2.3.2.1 Materiality

Materiality in this research is concerned with the material form, fabric and practice that support sharing spaces and values and provide opportunities for meaningful encounters in the urban environment. Koch and Latham (2011) suggest the need to attend more carefully to materiality of public spaces in the analysis of everyday encounters and to consider that public spaces are made of *"constructed surfaces, arranged objects, architectures, demarcations, infrastructures, hard and soft technologies, amenities and provisions, aesthetic devices and shared material practices"* (p.522). In the discipline of geography and sociology, a number of urban settings have been examined and it was found that public spaces (neighbourhood, streets, work space, school, market, parks, bus) are often productive sites for every day encounters (Watson and Studdert, 2006; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Wilson, 2011; Noble, 2013; Neal et al., 2015; Hall, 2015; Neal et al., 2016). However, the affordances of the physical entities and spatial qualities are barely considered with the notion of materiality in investigating the encounters in these sites. In this section, I argue that rather than merely focussing on material culture, the material values and use should be considered as embedded within the spatial and physical dimensions of an urban space; hence understanding the complexity of individual values and use should also be considered with the concept of materiality. Understanding the sensory qualities (visual and non-visual) that intertwine with materiality is also important when considering users' values and practices (Pink, 2008; Ingold, 2012).

Valentine and Sadgrove (2012) focus on personal values that appear to vary in different spaces and with cultural differences and intersectionality of identities. They argue that these values are produced and shaped through 'embodied experiences of daily life' (p.7). Individuals are exposed to a wide range of values and attitudes in different spaces and *"research on geographies of encounter have paid relatively limited attention to understanding the values that constitute and are constituted by different spaces"* and how these shape encounter with differences (ibid, p.6).

For example, publicness value appears as a 'key dynamic in affective encounter' (Neal et al., 2015) because it is about sharing the value of an egalitarian space where all users have the right to use and share the provided resources and benefits. Publicness is about free entry, accessibility and distribution of resources. They claim that the materiality of public spaces is usually considered within the background of *"political and social relations"* rather than the ways in which *"the public spaces themselves affect those social relations"* (p.465).

Leisure practice also supports meaningful encounters. Parks attract people because of their 'leisure-pleasure associations' and multi-sensory experiences; people are choosing to be in a shared space (Neal et al., 2015, p.473). As a result of material leisure and spatial choices and sharing the motivations and values, people are not forced to come together, as in 'micropublic encounters', which support the concept of 'elective practice' and meaningful encounter. For instance, through understanding the affordances a place may offer, Koch and Latham (2011) focused on street junctions in their research context and found that, because of the social and leisure opportunities, junctions transformed into convivial sites and produced social encounters.

With complexity and social and cultural dynamics that shape the landscape in transcultural cities, materials could also be understood within the concept of change and dynamics rather than as fixed or static. Latham and McCormack (2004) also assert that materiality needs to be considered with the concepts of multiplication, intersectionality of different materiality and complex spatiality. Considering this *"allows us to think through why different cities, different urban spaces, have quite different affective capacities"* (ibid, p.719). Hence, they emphasise that *"the work of urban geographers might become much more about thinking through ways of foregrounding the productive potentialities often hidden within the materialities of the urban"* (p.719). Conducting the research using landscape architecture research methods, materiality would be considered in the analysis.

In using landscape architecture as a lens throughout this research to examine localities with an emphasis on the relationship between conviviality and materiality, the fieldwork and discussion requires a reflection on spatial design qualities. In landscape architecture, the designer aims to create places that meet social and cultural objectives as well as environmental and aesthetic intentions. Social responsiveness in landscape architecture means that designers should be aware of the divergent ways people use and experience landscapes and then respond to these in design (Thwaites, 2001; Dee, 2001). Different forms of spaces can enable different social functions. Thwaites (2001) highlights that different qualities and elements of spatial configuration (centre, direction, transition and area) in landscape architecture can shape people's experiences and social interactions in urban opens spaces. For example, edges (linear) and threshold (in-between) have integrative social functions (Dee, 2001, p.3) and also Thwaites et al. (2014) argue that more emphasis needs to be given to the transitional spaces in urban design and landscape architecture to facilitate wide social benefits of outdoor spaces. Similarly, landscape elements (water, pavement, plant, structure and furniture, topography) support also affordances for social interactions and triangulation (Whyte, 1980). The theory of affordance, from this perspective, highlights the potential of outdoor spaces for supporting people's involvement, social interaction and their intended uses in which meanings are constructed by individuals (Kaplan, 1979; Nassauer, 1995; Travlou, 2006; Moore and Cosco, 2007; Tonnelat, 2010; Legeby, 2010; Coles et al., 2013). In landscape architecture, affordances could be considered under socio-spatial-temporal dimensions, but landscape architects need to be sensitive in responding to and supporting the existing social, cultural and environmental patterns.

In interrelating ethnographic research and place-making, Pink (2008) also explores how outdoor activities and materialities can evoke memories through exposure to diverse sensory experiences at micro-scale. Close-up experiences of landscape and immediate exposure to the materiality of physical fabric of spaces provide diversity of sensory qualities (colour, light, texture, or pattern) in surfaces, topography, vegetation, structures and water (Dee, 2001, p.188ff). Such details are in the sense of the landscape design and an integral part in the process of development and implementation of different spaces and forms (i.e. paths, edges, foci and thresholds) (ibid). Visual and non-visual senses evoke memories and stimulate different activities in public places (ibid). Qualities of inclusiveness, flexibility and robustness help support a wide range of people's perceptions and activities. Yet, this may not be entirely straightforward in complex and culturally dynamic urban environments.

Accordingly, careful attention should be paid to how materials may be involved in the activities and embedded in cultural and social understanding of identity as materials normalise use (Askins and Pain, 2011). Askins and Pain (2011) also assert that the deployment/employment of objects may be critical within planning and implementation of an activity so as to enable meaningful encounter. For example, art provides points of connection and triangulation between people in a moment, which open up potentials for 'new social relations to be enacted' (ibid, p.817). Thus, policy should also recognise the temporal dimension of encounter and the need for repeated activities to understand transformation in the routine use and relations between people whereby new norms in the use of the space may emerge (ibid).

2.3.2.2 Temporality

Temporality in this section deals with the meanings developed from encounters with a temporal dimension and within a limited time. Though encounters are often characterised as momentary or fleeting; momentary encounters should not be regarded as insignificant or as events that dissipate as quickly as they seemingly emerge. Rather, Wilson and Darling (2016) and Wilson (2016) emphasise the importance of encounters as events with associations formed across multiple temporalities. They argue that even fleeting encounters are formed and shaped by a wealth of past experiences, events and memories, which could resonate beyond their own immediate occurrence to shape opinions and future competencies. Since encounters are situated within personal and collective histories as well as imagined futures, Wilson (2016) suggests, *"It is possible that encounters accumulate to gradually shift relations and behaviours over time"* (p.13), and highlights the importance of considering how movement and mobility shape encounters that are fleeting yet meaningful. Repeated momentary encounters could also become sustained over time and could become significant for informing the everyday negotiation of cultural differences (Neal and Vincent, 2013; Neal et al., 2015; Wilson, 2016; Neal et al., 2016). Such sustained routine encounters can happen in public transport, community centres, schools or neighbourhoods (Wilson, 2016). Hence, social transformation happens over time through a cumulative pattern of encounters.

Neal et al. (2015) add that encounters are not the only moments of direct interaction and dialogue, but also sharing spaces and participation in similar practices could be affective encounters. Their study revealed that sharing a space could generate feelings of connectivity to the known and the unknown. They explain that *"while the social affinities afforded by sharing the park space may be temporary, the repeated, ongoing nature of using/visiting the space may generate a deeper form of encounter"* (p.472), and add that repeated use may also

generate *"extra discursive senses of affinity for those spaces and a connection to others though without interaction"* (p.473). With a similar perspective, Wilson (2011) describes the ethnically diverse societies in everyday encounters on a public bus route to be 'temporary communities'.

Conducting research on public open spaces can demonstrate that temporality of encounters in outdoor spaces could be integral to the notion of social capital, thus encounters could be framed as meaningful. First, it needs to be understood that public open spaces are connected urban environments and hence repeating the practice of being outdoor in different locations can contribute to the concept of extended encounter, in which *"exchanges or recognitions can travel further into other social sites" (Neal et al., 2016)*. This argument secondly draws on the concept of 'temporality of the landscape' and 'taskscape' (Ingold, 2000) in which *"just as the landscape is an array of related features, so - by analogy - the taskscape is an array of related activities"* (ibid, p.195). Through understanding that dynamic landscape and the array of connected taskscape, the concept of social encounters in public open spaces could be 'scaled up' and translated beyond the moment of meeting. The effects can be translated by linking different occasions, activities and people with dynamic patterns of use. In this case, scaling up encounters in an open space could happen not only through the concept of 'mobilisation' and relocation of the effect within the city, but also within the same space in a different time. Nonetheless, the effect of the encounter could also be mobilised with people's movement within the city. Besides, these concepts of extending encounters in connected spaces, linking occasions (taskscape) and mobilising are relevant to enhancing social capital; hence; outdoor built environments can produce meaningful encounters and their effects can be scaled up beyond the moment of encounter.

Another implication here for the concept of meaningful encounters is that through facilitating the practice of being outdoors, encounters can be repeated and extended encounters can be produced. Wilson (2016) and Wilson and Darling (2016) find that encounters in modern cities are the unanticipated exposures to differences and their outcomes are also unpredictable, and accordingly, Wilson and Darling (2016) claim that encounters should not be designed, facilitated or replicated to produce specific outcomes. However, with temporality and dynamics of landscape, there is always an element of surprise, but unpredictability may create ambiguity in a context with different cultural expectations and interpretations. In this perspective, Powell and Rishbeth (2012) demonstrate that to foster inclusion in outdoor spaces, safety, legibility and transparency are necessary to support routine activities in which diverse cultures can negotiate in their use with confidence and familiarity. Consequently, to support meaningful encounters and promote social capital, 'elective practice' of being

outdoors should be facilitated. This can also create a cumulative pattern of encounters and social transformation in terms of choices to repeat sharing outdoor spaces with diverse others.

2.3.3 Hospitality: A moral value

In dialogues on moral philosophy, sociability has been described as a 'mutual obligation' between individuals (Darwall, 2012). Similarly, Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007, p.34) claim that in several cultures, hospitality is considered as a 'moral obligation and virtue'. In the words of Immanuel Kant, the German philosopher, hospitality is *"the right of a stranger not to be treated with hostility when he arrives on someone else's territory"* (Covell, 1998, p.142).

This research is conducted within an Arabic-Islamic context; therefore, it is appropriate to understand the relevant moral codes from Islamic literature, which influence social sensibilities in locations such as Bahrain. Al-Kayasi (2003) declares that Islam advocates its followers to exchange salutations with people they may encounter, for example in street, a rider should greet a pedestrian, a pedestrian should greet one who is sitting, and a small party should greet a large party, a younger should greet an elder one (ibid, p.150). Such a commonplace social practice strengthens and sustains convivial relations between diverse ethnicities. In addition, street or public space etiquette in an Islamic society extends to greeting a stranger, keeping the neighbourhood areas and public spaces litter free and removing any obstacle such as stone, thorn or a sharp object that may cause injury to a passer-by. In fact, Islam refers to such acts as charitable or *'Sadaqah'* (ibid, p.172). Islam urges its devotees to strictly adhere to respectful behaviour in the presence of women (ibid, 173).

Bahrain is renowned for its tolerant approach toward foreigners of different faiths, who are allowed to practise their respective religions in public (Karolak, 2009). The number of mosques, churches and temples, which offer religious sermons and services in several languages (ibid), suggests an acceptance of both migrants and foreign cultures (Gardener, 2011). It is also common to find displays and instructions in different languages on windows of shops, which also hire customer care staff from the migrants' countries to facilitate communication in the different languages (Karolak, 2009). While Arabic is the official language in Bahrain, Hindi and English are widely used by the local people to communicate with migrants (ibid)

Gardener (2010a) states that hospitality in Bahrain is deeply rooted in Arab and Islamic cultures, and this ethos helps the local citizens to coexist with migrants and play host. He also

adds that the local citizens realise their lack in required skills to keep pace with the global economies and that foreign workers are needed to sustain the economy. However, Gardner (2008) in his research about Indian diaspora in Bahrain declares that there are occasional 'violent undercurrents' in migrants' everyday encounters with the community, in which migrants try to avoid getting into conflicts with the local people. Hence, with intersectionalities of identities and cultural differences, different Muslim groups could express their manners differently. Cultural practices are not only shaped by religion or origin, but also by other cultural variables such as education, length of residence and socio-economic level.

2.3.4 Conflicts within conviviality

> *"Grappling with the complex and often contradictory terrain of lived encounter in both its 'happy' and 'hard' forms and the atmospheres that emerge from situated encounter remains relatively unexplored territory, ripe for further research. This is a challenge ever more pressing with the infinite multiplication of difference and intensification of flows present in contemporary cities of difference"* (Wise and Velayutham, 2014, p.425).

When investigating conviviality in everyday social relations in public spaces, the positive perspectives are usually highlighted; however, it is important to be honest about challenges. How do the complexities of diversities in transcultural cities spill over sometimes negatively into social everyday encounters, and how are conflicts shaped and expressed at micro-level? Understanding tensions at micro-level is vital due to concerns of scaling up, generalising or mobilising such conflicts (Valentine, 2008; Wilson 2016) and need to shape a research approach:

> *"In a super-diverse context, patterns of prejudice, the underlying reasons for them and the social practices resulting from them are complex to a degree that only in-depth ethnographies of specific groups within this context would be able to elicit"* (Wessendorf, 2014a p.14).

Amin (2008) argues that morality in dealing with differences in any given situation of 'throwntogetherness'[5] may not be constant or positive. He explains that users could be inclined to demonstrate culturally embedded attitudes and behaviours of avoidance, discrimination or self-defence. Differences do become an issue of conflict, but ethnicity is not always the dominant category for differentiation (Wessendorf, 2014a). The definitions of in-group and out-group can depend on the duration of residence or complying with *"rules about*

[5] A term used by Massey (2005)

cleanliness and order (e.g. not leaving rubbish outside the door, not being noisy) and participation in local activities" (ibid, p.8). Noble (2013) also finds that everyday practices could constitute judgment of others based on moral obligation.

In a complex society, the ambiguity has increased; it thus might not be possible to define, for example, what sociable or hospitable practices are. Smiling, hand- shaking or chatting with strangers of different ages, gender or ethnic groups might have different connotations; friendliness for some, whilst not for others who perceive this as crossing boundaries, and for some a feeling of being intimidated. In urban spaces, there is always an element of ambiguity as to if a social encounter is within the boundary of the rules or has strayed into an unchartered area, where norms pertaining to courteousness may not prevail (Lofland, 1989). She argues that the choices of relations are self-regulated and administrated and relevant to the notion of people's civility.

Migrations increase cultural differences with regard to everyday practices. The diverse and cultural practices in transcultural contexts are relevant to intangible home heritage or different lifestyles that travel with people. Promotion of diversity focuses on the freedom of cultural expressions and to be able to practice one's own culture, which constitutes a cultural right and also encourages creativity. However, Fainstein (2005) finds, *"The relationship between diversity and tolerance is not clear. Sometimes exposure to 'the other' evokes greater understanding, but if lifestyles are too incompatible, it only heightens prejudice" (p.13).* Herrmann (2010) finds that diversity might not always be uncomplicated pleasure and in these contexts the notion of conviviality as supported by contact and shaped by tolerance may be a naïve assumption. He further states, *"living diversity demands a certain attitude towards otherness to live peacefully together"* (p.131), but is also framed by structures of inequality and power imbalances.

Amin (2008) argues that conflicts in public spaces are symbolic of exclusion practices or highly controlled supervision. In order to foster conviviality as a 'civic virtue' in an urban public space, he suggests that providing a link between urban public space and virtue can extend a broader moral connotation to the concept of conviviality. He calls for improvements in 'social wellbeing and justice' and that *"people have to enter into public space as rightful citizens"* through having high quality accessible and inclusive public spaces (p.23). Valentine (2008, p.333) finds that social tensions are often related to socio-spatial inequalities and injustice in allocating local resources in cities with 'competition for scarce resources' and 'narratives of economic and/or cultural victimhood'.

We need to consider with the 'together but unequal' types of life in modern cities, the question of how conviviality and moral obligation could be communicated in praxis in urban public spaces.

2.4 Urban public open spaces: Social values and uses

A public open space can be defined as an "open space, both greenspaces and hard civic spaces, to which there is public access even though the land may not necessarily be in public ownership" (Dunnett et al., 2002, p.8). Public open spaces (POS) in this research cover the formal and informal spaces in the outdoor built environment and include parks and gardens, streets, parking areas, sidewalk, corners, 'souqs' (marketplaces), squares, pedestrian areas, al fresco cafés. In the distribution of public spaces in contexts of diverse population the urban environment should ensure that *"all enjoy access to a range of services and activities"* (Urban Task Force report, 1999, p.19). The report (1999) highlights:

> *"Public space should be conceived of as an outdoor room within a neighbourhood, somewhere to relax, and enjoy the urban experience, a venue for a range of different activities, from outdoor eating to street entertainment; from sport and play areas to a venue for civic or political functions; and most importantly of all a place for walking or sitting-out"* (p.57).

This section reviews the findings from previous studies regarding the use values of open spaces in contexts with diverse population.

2.4.1 Activities and cultural diversity in POS

A common reflection of diversity in public open space is the range of activities taking place (Gehl, 2011). If the physical environment of a space is well-designed and manages to improve the quality of people's daily life, it will give rise to opportunities for social activities (ibid). Parks, squares and streets become lively through events and activities, and these in turn attract more users (Dunnet et al., 2002; Woolley, 2003; Ozgüner, 2011). Gehl (2011) finds that the social activities can be an evolution from necessary activities (e.g. going to school or going to work or even shopping) and optional activities (e.g. walking for fresh air, exercising or sitting).

Ward Thompson (2002) finds that very little attention is given to the life patterns of urban open spaces and how culturally appropriate these spaces are. In the recent decades, the

research on migration and race has started to investigate the activities of different users in urban public spaces as they have a direct implication on the sense of belonging, wellbeing and social justice (Rishbeth, 2001; Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Peters, 2010; Kloek et al., 2015) particularly as leisure and recreation appear to be common reasons to use POS among the different cultural groups; however, the manifestation of leisure activities are diverse (Low et al., 2005; Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Peters and de Haan, 2011; Ozgüner, 2011). Byrne and Wolch (2009) identify that while seclusion activities such as camping, hiking, hunting, boating, swimming, cycling, and dog-walking are common informal use among whites, Asians prefer strolling/walking, picnicking, fishing, volleyball, and golf, Latinos usually engage in informal social activities such as picnicking, and African-Americans seem to enjoy sport and organised recreation like basketball, but also sociable activities. Ozgüner (2011, p.599) also finds that Turkish people use urban parks mostly in groups for recreational activities such as picnicking, resting and relaxing, which is different from western use. The perceptions and preferences are also different between different groups (Rishbeth, 2004; Byrne and Wolch, 2009). Peters (2010) finds that migrants prefer to use the open spaces near their homes rather than in the countryside where these spaces are used mostly by the locals.

Amongst this diversity, there are exceptions of commonalities between diverse cultures, (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995). Safety, peace and the enjoyment of children appear common perceptions in Ozgüner's study (2011) among both western and Turkish users. Loukaitou-Sideris (1995) also find that greenery, sports fields and picnic areas meet some 'universally shared needs' (p.100); yet, we should not ignore some specific cultural patterns of use as these differences affect individual wellbeing.

The Loukaitou-Sideris (1995) study finds that differences in using the POS are not only racial and ethnic based, but also relevant to socio-demographics differences. Byrne and Wolch (2009) also add that variables such as class, age and gender, race, generation, education, origin, socio-economic status, location and mobility, time resources, history, and leisure preferences and attitudes to nature are cultural differences that reflect on the pattern of use.

The place also has a direct role in shaping differences in patterns of use as many activities linked to cultural values are context dependent. In many studies, the focus is on urban greenspaces, which include formal spaces such as parks, but the leisure and entertainment function of public space is not limited to invented places and themed environments (Peters and de Haan, 2011). They assert that leisure is also increasingly recognised as part of ordinary urbanism. Investigating mundane spaces and experiences in the neighbourhood also enriches

the understanding of the meaning of public spaces for diverse users (ibid). Byrne and Wolch (2009) emphasise the role of physical characteristics of place, neighbourhoods, service provision costs and management and maintenance policies in shaping pattern of use.

Physical factors shape the perception and motivations for use as well as non-use and then wellbeing (Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Byrne and Wolch, 2009). The cultural differences in POS also create barriers and constraints that identify reasons for not using POS (Byrne and Wolch, 2009). Rishbeth (2001), for example, finds that the reasons behind not using distant public parks or countryside are mainly because of long working hours, transportation issues or not having specialised clothes.

The Arabian Peninsula and Middle East countries have a distinguished geographical location from the other parts of the world that affects their culture and climate, but few studies are concerned with the use of POS in this region (Addas, 2015). The term urban greenspaces in the western world considers the formal POS and ordinary landscape, while in many arid climates, the ordinary landscape is commonly desert, also many green formal spaces have not been designated for functional use, but mostly for visual consideration (such as the roundabouts and the streets' and parking areas' islands) (Bolleter, 2009 and 2015). The climate and the demographic characteristics in this region also differ between the Gulf, Africa, the Mediterranean and the west and east coasts of the Arabian Peninsula. The economy and history, for example, between the North African countries and the Gulf differ (Nagy, 2009); yet, Arab countries in the Gulf share more characteristics. Hence, more studies in this region are required to understand perceptions and the uses of outdoors spaces. The social and cultural dynamics in the Gulf also affect the perceptions and activities in outdoors spaces, which increase the complexity of understanding social life in POS. The findings of these studies could be extended to other Middle Eastern countries and used as a base for future research.

Understanding pattern of uses of open spaces and the social and cultural aspects of the built form is essential to support the theories of social transformation and social inclusivity. Exploring the commonalities in use is also a direction towards integration and conviviality. Considering that both formal and informal (such as street) POS are places for leisure emphasises that people have choices in being outdoors, which can provide elective practices and support convivial encounters. Barriers or difficulties in accessing the POS or in conducting diverse leisure activities could also be an obstruction for social encounters and could negatively affect the process of adaptation and the promotion of a sense of belonging in transcultural cities.

2.4.2 Social values of POS

POS have a wide range of benefits for people's wellbeing. Benefits or values of urban greenspace can be categorised as social, environmental and economic; *"however a key feature of successful greenspaces is their capacity to provide multiple benefits to communities"* (Dunnett et al., 2002, p.78). In a contemporary society, it is important to understand these values for the diverse people. Social values are very highly relevant to this research. POS offer a range of social benefits to users, including migrants and newcomers, which promotes health and social wellbeing (Dunnet et al., 2002; Regional Public Health, 2010; Ward Thompson, 2011).

2.4.2.1 Restoration values

POS have restorative values as exposure to open spaces would promote relaxation and reduce stress. Kaplan (1995) suggests that one is likely to feel inept or distraught when tired, pressured, apprehensive or irritated. 'Attention restoration theory' suggests that mental fatigue can be recovered and improved by contact with nature (ibid).

Several studies point out the significant role of natural environments and greenspaces to mitigate stress and reduce attention fatigue – a syndrome experienced among people of different age groups (Kaplan, 1995; Korpela et al., 2001; Ottosson and Grahn, 2005; Hansmann et al., 2007). In these studies, it is suggested that open, light-filled natural greenspaces with trees and water bodies are predominantly beneficial as such environments instil a feeling of security and relaxation. The potential benefits of public spaces include the idea of 'therapeutic landscapes' or healing places, which emphasise the role of the qualities of the surrounding environment in promoting wellbeing (Cattell et al., 2008). Kaplan (1995) demonstrates that natural green environments have the key qualities that support restoration, which are: fascination, being away, extent and compatibility. Fascination is the visual quality of a space that intrinsically captivates and allows involuntary attention, and is a typical characteristic of natural environments because of the dynamic features and soft-hard dimension (ibid). While 'being away' could be a physical or conceptual form of getting away from routine life, the natural spaces also have extent or in other words, a variety of coherent and stimulating activities (ibid). Kaplan (1995) also finds that the natural spaces have 'compatibility' with the intention and proclivity of the users, which makes the greenspaces ideal spaces for restoration. The sensory experiences (visual and non-visual) of nature (particularly vegetation)

have been emphasised in many studies as aspects of stress restoration that stimulate individuals' different senses (Ottosson and Grahn, 2005; Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2010).

While natural environments have potential restorative attributes, in the 'global place experience', restorativeness has also emerged in built environments (Scopellitia and Giuliania, 2004). They state that the four restorative components proposed by 'attention restoration theory' can differ according to people's perceptions of the leisure experiences in terms of relaxation and excitement. Their findings indicate that both natural and built environments can have different restorative potentials depending on the age of the users and the time available for restoration. The social and affective dynamics also emerged as important features of restorative experiences.

Thwaites et al. (2011) underline the experiences of people in cities and the implication for restorative values and argue that more attention needs to be given to the social dimension when studying restorative experiences. Spatial configuration and qualities of outdoor spaces have fundamental psychological and social benefits (Thwaites et al., 2005). Thwaites et al. (2011) suggest that a better understanding of human-environment relations is required when investigating restorative experiences of outdoor spaces. From this perspective, the 'routine and mundane activities in public space' may promote wellbeing and comfort; yet for others, these mundane POS are also be used to 'escape' from 'everyday household chores' (Cattell et al., 2008, p.557). Here, people feel comfortable to 'mingle, observe and linger' because of the aspects of enjoyable 'cosmopolitan life' (ibid). Cattell et al. (2008) further argue that people often retreat to contiguous nonpartisan spaces to have an interlude from their humdrum lives, and these spaces symbolise a sociable and convivial sanctuary for many of them. Social interaction in public spaces can 'provide relief from daily routines' and can have a direct impact on wellbeing (ibid, p.556). For some people, POS embody a sanctuary to be alone, but for some others the collective uses alleviate stress and help maintain health and wellbeing (ibid, 2008). For instance, Koch and Latham (2011) find that the in-between vernacular spaces in the markets could develop forms of conviviality, which could hold restorative values and therapeutic qualities for diverse users. According to Fincher (2003), conviviality is a key feature of contemporary urban lifestyles as circumstances promote convivial interactions among individuals; they can participate collectively in several mundane activities such as eating alongside others in public spaces. According to Cattell et.al. (2008), routine encounters with familiar people in familiar spaces create an impression of dependability of people and things; however, unanticipated encounters can also offer pleasurable experiences. Because of the significant importance of POS for health, Ward Thompson (2011) argues that there is need for

a better understanding of the quality of outdoor environment for promoting people's wellbeing.

In Western research contexts, the correlation between mental wellbeing and open greenspaces has been well-established; however, in the Middle East, the restorative qualities of open spaces need to be investigated in a desert context (Alrawaf, 2015). In Jeddah, Addas (2015) finds that softscape features of POS such as trees and plants enhanced their restorative values, and the desert landscape outside the city limits offers the 'being away' value for the residents. In Bahrain, there are formal public parks and gardens that are mainly well-maintained greenspaces, but the natural spaces do not indicate green and the ordinary landscape is commonly desert. The question is how ordinary landscape and informal open spaces can promote mental wellbeing, and how these desert spaces or green parks can have restorative values for the diverse population with different perceptions, past experiences and history of places. People could also have different sensory experiences in the desert, gardens and urban congested spaces, which need to be explored.

Mobility and time resources and socio-economic levels of the diverse population might affect accessibility to the provided greenspaces because of their locational disadvantages or distribution, which would then affect people's opportunities for experiencing wellbeing. Considering the values of POS on people's health and wellbeing is particularly appropriate for the poor and the working-class residents as they do not have backyards or gardens and also have much less leisure time when they can rest (Low et al., 2005; Ozgüner, 2011). The people who perhaps have the greatest need for *"access to public parks and the opportunity for sociability in a safe outdoor setting"* are those who have restricted mobility for reasons of 'age, economic status or lack of private transport' (Ward Thompson, 2002, p.61). Hence, it is important to consider social justice and to understand how other typologies and experiences in different POS could have restorative values.

2.4.2.2 Social cohesion

Social cohesion is important at the level of nationhood for emphasising the relationship between citizens, and is also important for those *"who do not share the same sense of common historical or geographical 'belonging'"* to promote social capital in the community (Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007, p.16). In contemporary societies, debates regarding social cohesion are often related to social networks, as the populations are dynamic and superdiverse and not homogeneous; however, the importance of social interaction has been

emphasised in transcultural studies (Vertovec, 2007a). Many studies claim that interactions between people across ethnic divides increase social cohesion and hence form the genesis of social capital (Mean and Tims, 2005; Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007; Cattell et al., 2008; Peters, 2010).

Opportunities in public spaces for social interaction, integrating with others and developing attachments with the local community represent social values to the users (Mean and Tims, 2005; Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007; Cattell et al., 2008). Using POS develops connection to the space and to other people who use these places through social encounters, which can promote feelings of comfort and lead to social cohesion. Peters (2010) adds that in spaces that can create opportunities for interactions among diverse ethnic groups, migrants can benefit from those moments of interactions with non-migrants because such interactions can produce feelings of acceptance, though encounters may be cursory or informal

Lownsbrough and Beunderman (2007, p.16) emphasise that the sense of trust and solidarity and social capital could be fostered through social interaction, the recognition of shared interests and compassion between strangers and by overcoming 'the barriers of otherness'. They also emphasise that even when it comes to diversity and change, particularly in communities that are experiencing rapid rates of mobility, trust has become an essential element for building relationships. Bonding ties (Putnam, 2000) is important, but so too is the opportunity to make fleeting contacts and loose bridging ties through interaction in public spaces (The Young Foundation, 2012; Neal et al., 2015), as some benefit simply from the impromptu nods and smiles of other users (Cattell et al., 2008). To support meaningful contact that promote a sense of community and social capital, 'elective practice' of being outdoors and leisure practices should be facilitated.

Peters (2010) asserts that people are more likely to cooperate and have interactions with strangers in public spaces, where leisure activities take place. Events in POS could create these *"'liminal' spaces, where people feel able to lose themselves in communal celebrations"*, which also contribute to the maintenance of physical health and mental wellbeing such as assisting in recovery from melancholy (Cattell et al., 2008, p.558). However, Peters (2010) finds that although people with different ethnic backgrounds are using the parks together with local people, there was no evidence of inter-ethnic interaction in her findings, and hence, she suggests organising *"more activities in urban parks to bring people together and facilitate interethnic interactions"* (p.430).

2.4.2.3 The importance of POS for new migrants

Besides being away from their family and home, worries regarding understanding the new cities increase stress for migrants across borders (refer to Section 2.2.3). POS promote legibility through providing information about social environments in the surrounding world with opportunities for engagements and sociability, which can promote confidence and support their integration into the new place (Mean and Tims, 2005; Beunderman et al., 2007; Gehl, 2011; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012), especially for migrants and newcomers. Powell and Rishbeth (2012) assert that *"The visibility of activities and interactions in outdoor places was useful both for the learning of everyday skills, and for modelling diverse cultures"* (p.69). In the findings of Rishbeth and Finney's (2006) study, immigrants often use POS more to familiarise themselves to everyday activities than to build social networks, even though these spaces provide opportunities for social and cultural interactions. Everyday urban spaces can be the places where the unfamiliar becomes familiar (Armstrong, 2004). Migrants could have feelings of estrangement in unfamiliar spaces, but Peters (2010) finds that *"the more time spent in public, the more public familiarity arises"* (p.430). She also argues, *"When people are familiar with the rules and models of engagement used in certain public spaces, they can feel more at home"* (p.430).

By examining the role of everyday experiences and memory in POS, Powell and Rishbeth (2012) find that spending time in outdoor public spaces can support processes of adaption and enhance a sense of local belonging for first generation migrants, which promotes their perception of wellbeing. Rishbeth and Finney (2006) find those migrants' perceptions and past experiences of POS contributed positively to their integration into a new society. It is stated that the participants in their study, asylum seekers in the UK from Asia and Africa, engaged or disengaged for different lengths of time with the local landscape as in these spaces they revive nostalgic memories of their country of origin. The affordances of the local landscape to facilitate cultural activities are also important to make intangible connections with their past and present homes and support adaptation for migrants in a transcultural context (Rishbeth, 2014). The outdoor environments could provide opportunities for migrants to continue their native outdoor leisure activities in places where they feel welcome (Ghosh and Wang, 2003; Armstrong, 2004; Powell and Rishbeth, 213). Being outdoors in the city would acquaint migrants with options to fit in and to discover places with practices and cultural groups familiar to their home country (ibid). The multi-sensory experiences of landscape could also provoke memories of their home country for migrants, which further promote wellbeing (Rishbeth and

Finney, 2006). Sensory experiences of being among differences in shared physical spaces could also endorse egalitarian value (Bynon and Rishbeth, 2015; Neal et al., 2015).

With complexity of perceptions, experiences and values, various places have become important in promoting wellbeing for migrants. In transcultural cities, different types of spaces including liminal and edges types of spaces such as threshold spaces or between-ness, their qualities, forms and functions have different potentials for migrants to become informed about their new places (Noussia and Lyons, 2009; Hou, 2013) and hence, the potential values of informal spaces should not be ignored. Moving from one place to another can provide a base for spatial and temporal negotiation between engagements in the localities or retreating (ibid). These spaces provide chances to meet with others, which facilitate communication between diverse cultural groups (ibid). Retreat could also be to cosmopolitan places where migrants can retain their anonymity or retreat from social obligations and community's expectations (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). Hou (2013) and Noussia and Lyons (2009) state that the choices for engagement can facilitate process of adaptation and form transcultural practices that support the social and cultural dynamics and diversity in contemporary societies, and hence promote a sense of belonging. However, such complexity in contemporary societies could be a challenge for planning design and management of POS.

2.4.3 Important role of planning, design and management of POS

Providing and regulating POS to improve the quality of life and promote wellbeing and welfare go under the scope of planning, design and management practice. Given the wide range of benefits of POS for human wellbeing, the complexity in pattern of use should be considered in practice to serve the diverse uses and support the distribution of justice. The difficulties should also be weighed to ensure inclusivity and benefit of the wider population. Practitioners mostly view the contemporary common practice of planning and design as a tool for providing convenient spaces for different users with standard needs. This concept of top-down common practice does not necessarily respond to the current uses and how people are managing to live together (Low et al., 2005; Siu, 2013). Dealing with parks, for example, as homogeneous spaces increases difficulties in using these spaces (Byrne and Wolch, 2009). The space should not be designed as if all users are similar and all should be equal; this does not respond to differences, instead it could create conflicts and segregation (Kloek et al., 2015). The practice of planning and managing urban public spaces can indeed be a means of exacerbating or enacting social exclusion if cultural differences are not recognised.

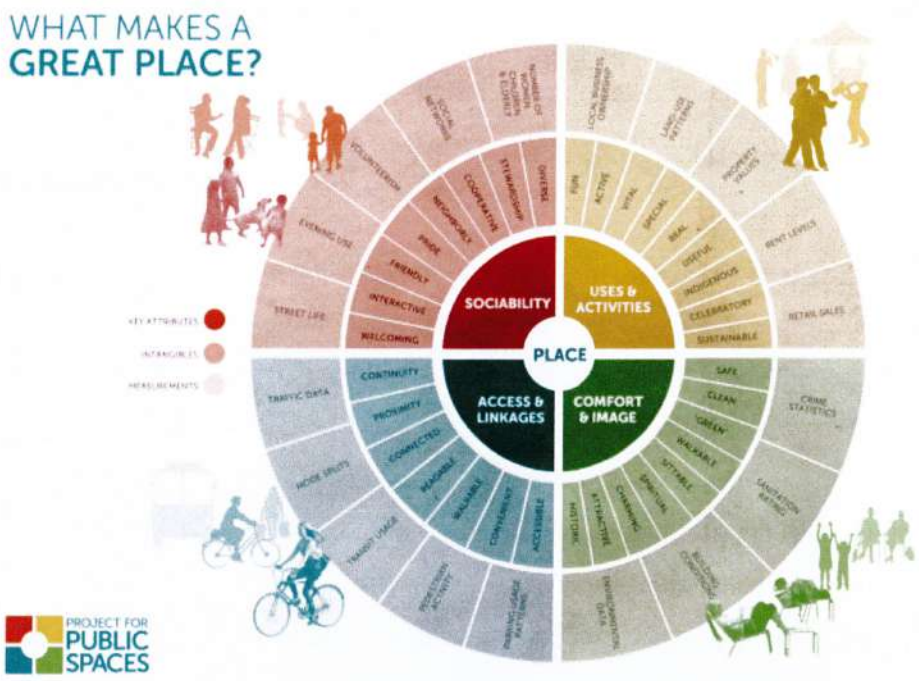


Figure 2.1 Four qualities used by PPS: spaces are accessible; people are engaged in activities; the space is comfortable and has a good image; and finally, it is a sociable place (Project for Public Spaces, 2009).

Conviviality may seem a long way from the formal world of policy making; but professional practice in urban spaces could be a way to support conviviality (Shaftoe, 2008; Wise and Velayutham, 2014). To promote social interaction, the space should support more than a diversity of uses; it should respond to the intricate and finely grained diversity (Jacobs, 1961). Kevin Lynch states, *"a good place is accessible to all the senses, makes visible the currents of air, engages the perceptions of its inhabitants [...] Occasion and place will reinforce each other to create a vivid present"* (Lynch, 1981, p.132). Whyte (1980) asserts that a variety of social interactions makes any space vibrant. He finds that a small open space is considered a successful social interaction site if provided with more convenient seating, food outlets, landscape elements such as water bodies and designed with a proper microclimate. Project for Public Spaces also deals with small-scale informal spaces in their projects to create successful urban areas (Project for Pubic Spaces, 2009). Project for Pubic Spaces (PPS) uses place making as a framework to design POS where the community is involved in creating their spaces (Figure 2.1). The challenge remains in engaging the wider populations and cultural differences in place making. In order to respond to cultural needs, Loukaitou-Sideris (1995, 101) reveal that the

ever-changing spatial and social structures of modern cities require a flexible design that can be easily changed, and this requires a better type of planning, design and management of POS.

2.5 Framing socio-spatial implications of transcultural urbanism with commitment to social justice in POS

Transcultural urbanism should not be divorced from socio-spatial experiences in the public realm. Hou (2013) suggests adopting a 'transcultural place-making' framework as an attempt to embrace socio-spatial dynamics and cultural transformation in cities. Saitta (2014) promotes the model of 'intercultural urbanism' where the correlation between cultures and built form is considered in urban planning and design and that a built environment should reflect the qualities of the diverse cultures. These are approaches to tackle cultural differences and provide access to the wider population in transcultural urban spaces. The complexity of diversity is adding to the pressure on professional practice to deal with differences, while also promoting inclusivity and equality. The concept of equality might not be sufficient and could even be a source of marginalisation when it comes to issues on cultural differences and benefits in using urban spaces. Inclusivity in POS also has implications for health and wellbeing (Cattell et al., 2008; Matsuoka and Kaplan, 2008). Fainstein (2005) argues that it is unacceptable to deal with differences in cities equally, especially when the fundamentals of health and wellbeing are to be negotiated, which emphasise the social justice concept.

Implication for social justice in the professional practice of built environment assumes an ethical disposition when dealing with cultural differences (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012). *"Professions such as health care, social work, law, and public administration are characterized in part by their ethical obligations";* likewise, the planning profession should be no different (ibid, p.358). Considering the benefits of POS for health and mental wellbeing for diverse users, providing and regulating POS should be with ethical responsibility to ensure inclusivity and justice in receiving the benefits.

In this study, I adopt the social justice framework to develop an analytical base to evaluate the practice of providing and regulating POS in Bahrain. Social justice and public space is a framework proposed by Low and Iveson (2016) to support professionals and practitioners in provision and regulation of public spaces in modern cities. Low and Iveson (2016) propose a five- propositions framework for evaluating and analysing social justice in a public space.

2.5.1 Public space and distributive justice

This proposition questions how POS, as resources, should be distributed to achieve a just city. Low and Iveson (2016) argue that there are two factors relevant to this proposition: geographical distribution and distributional dimensions. The first factor is about distributional inequality and spatial injustice of public spaces across the city, with concerns regarding locational disadvantage where some neighbourhoods have less public spaces than others.

At the city level, ghettos, for example, have always been an indication of socio-spatial segregation and exclusion (Madanipour, 2011). In a rapidly globalising world, gated communities are also forms of segregation derived from the increasing sense of fear and insecurity in a diversified urban population. Many urban planners and designers promote the policy of mixed-use neighbourhoods as a response to ghettoisation and fortress communities, but this policy can also lead to gentrification (ibid).

Gentrification is intended to upgrade the mixed-use and low socio-economic urban spaces to meet the perceptions of middle class and higher income social groups. It was found by Madanipour (2011, p.490) that gentrification could be desirable particularly when the outcome aims to *"eradicate the signs of poverty and decline, which would include the presence of the poor and their associated services and spaces."* However, gentrification could lead to a feeling of alienation between different groups and the place could become unaffordable for the poor communities (ibid). He states, *"Social segregation may be exclusionary, but social mixing is also more complex than it seems, with potential detrimental impacts on weaker social groups"* (p.491). He questions if city designers should facilitate segregation or gentrification, and finds that the keys for any urban design solution should be 'individual choice'; particularly amongst the weaker groups (p.492).

In Gulf cities, families choose to leave older neighbourhoods with poor conditions, whilst these areas still provide accommodation for migrant workers. Migrant workers also live in labour camps or 'bachelor cities' (Gardner, 2010a). Presently, most labour camps are constructed in the urban and industrial hinterlands of the city, which prevents the migrants from moving around the city and using public spaces during their leisure time (Gardner, 2011). However, elite migrants, normally, dwell in gated communities and high-rise apartment buildings (ibid). This supports aspects of spatial segregation in planning and zoning the Gulf cities according to socio-economic levels but not ethnicity. Gardner (2011) and Jarach and Speece (2013) explain that the nature of exclusion in the Gulf has become based more on class than ethnicity. In

Bahrain, cities are relatively much smaller than in its neighbouring countries; hence, the categories of land-uses and building zoning are very clear. In this perspective, Rishbeth (2013) investigated details of inequality in a neighbourhood mostly populated by migrants in Sheffield, UK, and found a lack of provision of cash-points, supermarkets and poor maintenance of the streets, while the residents' awareness of better qualities of urban environment elsewhere in the city creates feeling of stigmatisation. It is possible that in Bahrain, the physical proximity could also influence conviviality and social interaction between diverse cultural and social groups in outdoor spaces.

However, Gardner (2011, p.7) mentions that many citizens in the Gulf States conceive themselves as a 'besieged minority'. Jarach and Speece (2013) add that many local citizens do not feel comfortable because there are a large number of foreigners, particularly manual workers, who do not know much about Gulf culture, going as far to suggest that Gulf citizens may avoid many public spaces under these conditions. Clearly, this can result in one form of exclusion in the public realm, though specific; policies work explicitly in a different direction, excluding migrant workers from parks and gardens in Qatar (Pattisson, 2016). Gardner (2011) gives this case study:

> *"In Qatar, many large shopping malls and public parks now enforce 'Family Day' policies on Fridays, the only day that most foreign laborers are free. Asian men and other 'low class' male migrants are prevented from entering these public places, ostensibly to safeguard these spaces for family use"* (p.21).

Project for Public Spaces (PPS, 2014) states that:

> *"Development in the Gulf State has proceeded almost entirely without mind to regional integration or the provision of public space [...] Private spaces, like malls, hotels and entertainment venues have become ersatz Main Streets and plazas for a privileged subset of the population, while the working classes have been relegated to crowded residential compounds at the periphery of these sprawling cities."* (PPS, 2014)

Elsheshtawy (2008, p.7) claims that evidence of exclusion and divide in urban spaces needs further studies to understand *"to what extent are policies of exclusion used to marginalize the lower strata of society?"*

The second factor raises matters of affordability and accessibility and if accessibility depends on wealth and ability to pay. Imposing fees and control could also be part of debate on exclusion. Low and Iveson (2016, p.10) mention that imposing a fee during some POS events in Sydney has meant that exclusion has been debated in the daily newspapers and has 'generated controversy and conflict'. Practitioners use cameras and security personnel to provide safe places for users; however, debates have emerged as to whether securing spaces is considered inclusive or exclusive in the public realm (Shaftoe, 2008). POS are essential for people's physical, mental and social well-being; these social values contribute significantly to social inclusion and hence entry to POS should be free and they should be accessible to all sections in a society (Dunnett et al., 2002; Ward Thompston et al., 2004)

2.5.2 Public space and recognition

According to Low and Iveson (2016, p.18), this concept addresses the stigmatisation of 'some urban identities and ways of life in cities'. Injustice in public spaces could result when migrants' cultural practices in public spaces, which may reflect their identities, are discriminated against through regulations (ibid). For justice to be enacted, individual values and needs should be considered when providing and regulating urban spaces (ibid).

Behaviours and social practices in POS reflect cultural identities and values. Social norms and individual values may define people's behaviours and boundaries in public (Mean and Tims, 2005). Carmona et al. (2010) and Low and Iveson (2016) find that the challenges in urban spaces have gone further to determine what counts as proper or 'legitimate use' of particular public places or what is undesirable in a social and cultural dynamic context, without excluding particular practises as also stated:

> *"The tension between determination to restrict 'inappropriate' behaviours in a park [or a public space] and the desires of many users for more varied recreational opportunities has remained a constant from the nineteenth century to today [...]. Different social and cultural groups have differing perceptions of what is acceptable or safe behaviour".*
> (Ward Thompson, 2002, p.60)

In this context, Bynon and Rishbeth (2015, p.17) state that there are no anti-social behaviours but 'differently social' behaviours; hence, excluding differently-social behaviours means not recognising diversity. The Bench Project (ibid) was conducted in London and initiated as an attempt to articulate the values and experiences of bench users within increasingly inhospitable contexts (ibid). Bynon and Rishbeth (2015) argue that controlling POS should not

lead towards a sanitised exclusive urban realm, and hanging out should be legitimised and not considered as criminal activity.

There are different kinds of exclusion in urban spaces through design and management as they fail to recognise certain social behaviours or cultural practices (Carmona et al., 2010). Forty years ago, Whyte (1980) criticised modern urban spaces for excluding 'undesirables' (for example, the homeless). Several studies claim that public spaces occasionally exclude certain classes, races, colour or ethnicity and also age and gender by imposing limits on noise, squatting, loitering, vending, public acts of drinking or smoking or skateboarding, which are cultural and social practices (Leitner, 2012; Mitchel, 1995). The concept of 'hostile architecture' is also an example of how urban spaces could be designed to be inaccessible or discourage certain cultural practices or groups. For example, seating is reduced in the POS to prevent homeless people from sleeping on them (Carmona al., 2010). Another form of lack of recognition of differences in design, Rishbeth (2001) declares is representation of the cultural symbols in POS without understanding as these could be meaningless or insulting more than appreciative, if not well- represented or are out of place. With complexity of diversity, even in the different generations of the same migrant groups, users have different perceptions and hence it is inappropriate to generalise (ibid). Francis (2011) finds that *"too often design attempts to 'design out' rather than embrace these conflicts. Good design and responsive management can negotiate and mediate these differences"* (p.437).

Rishbeth (2001) uses the term 'democratic public open spaces' to illuminate the idea of landscape design to be for everybody regardless of the culture, as it is meaningless to talk about equality whilst it is not applied in the design of POS. Rishbeth (2004) finds that provision of food suitable for people with different ethnic backgrounds, recreational programmes, transport and if possible communicating with different language speakers are issues to be considered by parks management.

Low et al. (2005) stress the importance of maintaining the cultural diversity of differently used POS. Through five case studies and ethnographic methods, Low et al. (2005) derived several guidelines for culturally sensitive decision-making in the planning, design and management of public parks, namely representing a history of different groups and people, accessibility, safety, providing different facilities that attract people from different cultural and social groups, and finally the symbolic ways to deliver cultural meaning. However, redesign does not mean a better product; for example, removing users' vernacular spaces as they are not attractive to tourists and the middle classes is not acceptable (ibid). They highlight the

significance of understanding the current uses to provide designed spaces with contemporary requirements yet respecting the diversity and equity among the users.

In the Gulf, Elsheshtawy (2006, p.48) illustrates that while *"modernity (globalization) may lend itself to exclusiveness, local aspects persist, and may in fact be strengthened as a form of resistance"* which promote cultural recognition. The results of this resistance are territories:

> *"marked through traces such as the placement of paper lights celebrating the Indian Diwali festival, the presence of advertisements geared toward compatriots, the playing of culturally specific sports such as cricket in informal spaces and the writing of graffiti"* (ibid, p.48).

Consequently, the capacity of a public space to fit different cultural practices is important (Carmona et al., 2010) to enact recognition and justice. This is possible through providing temporal and spatial choices and programming (Ward Thompson, 2002, p.60; Rishbeth, 2004) where people can meet and manipulate their relations and identities in the public realm. In addition, Francis (2011) argues, *"As cities continue to increase in diversity and complexity, designers and planners need to invent new forms of urban places and test their effectiveness in creating exciting and memorable urban life" (p.443).* Cattell et al. (2008) add that 'no one public space' can meet all collective identities and meanings. Recognition of cultural diversity should be considered in practice as it could also have influence on social interaction in POS.

2.5.3 Public space, encounter and interactional justice

Policy and practice of planning and design play a vital role in enacting interaction justice in POS through providing convivial atmospheres (Low and Iveson, 2016, p.19). Low and Iveson (2016) argue that professional practice can enhance the quality and quantity of interactions among urban users.

Qualities of urban spaces that promote social life and facilitate conviviality are permeability, flexibility, walkability, sitability, safety, accessibility, legibility and a favourable microclimate (Carmona et al., 2010). Visual permeability in POS, according to Powell and Rishbeth (2012), *"is the ability of activities and interactions positioned outdoors to be incidentally seen, possibly even engaged with"* (p.75); hence, permeability supports *"the breadth of potential interaction, and broadens the possibilities of who meets"* (p.76). Permeability can promote safety and legibility. Safety is crucial in providing social support for newcomers and protecting the migrant communities (Hou, 2013). Safety with temporal and spatial dimensions reduces fear

for migrants or locals and supports everyday social interaction. Additionally, flexibility is an important design quality for maintaining conviviality, as supported by Shaftoe (2008). It can also be provided by more activities. Increasing activities can bring people together, augment the possibilities for people to be outdoors and also provide natural surveillance. Flexibility is also about the feasibility of changing a space according to need. People select places that are more culturally appropriate (or with a range of affordances) to fit their activities and emerging social practices. Therefore, flexibility meets the nature of fluidity; and as described by Rishbeth (2013), flexible use of a space is an essential tactic in transcultural cities. However, flexibility should be enacted with legibility in which spaces are transparent and not ambiguous (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). Accordingly, increasing activities that meet diverse uses are essential to bring people together, support flexibility, permeability and safety and enrich experiences and affiliation in a space. 'Robustness', 'vibrant', 'lively' and 'energetic' are terms used to describe spaces with diverse types of uses and users. Cho et al. (2015) argue that conviviality is achieved through enriching public spaces and by creating inclusive spaces to support social encounters.

Providing sociable, vibrant and inclusive design and bringing people together does not mean that no tensions will arise. Conflicts could emerge between different preferences in using POS (Low et al., 2005; Francis, 2011; Lawton, 2013). In this respect, Lawton (2013) argues that more attention should be given to the dynamics of social interaction in relation to the professional practice for formal and informal spaces. Francis (2011) states, *"We need a better understanding of the role of programming, participation and management in making mixed-life places"* (p.443). The contemporary common practice of planning and design for providing convenient spaces for different users with standard needs does not necessarily respond to the current uses and how people are managing to live together (Low et al., 2005; Siu, 2013). In this context, Manzo (2013) claims that transcultural cities justify a need for greater fluidity and hybridity, not merely to represent transnational networks and spaces that allow interchanges but also to facilitate significant encounters within the urban spaces.

Elsheshtawy (2006) argues that the topic of migration slips from the city planners' agenda in GCC countries, while the migrants form a substantial part of the population. He finds that the migrants and low socio-economic residents are looking for places to *"interact without having to enter the more exclusive zones reserved for higher-income segments of society"* (p.48). The everyday migrant practices are what made POS real and vibrant and *"serve as places to connect to home countries"* (ibid, p.48). For example, in Bahrain, most of transnational migrant

labourers crowd on the central streets of Manama during their holiday (Gardner, 2010b), which provides opportunities for mixity and social encounters. Gardner (2010b) adds that:

> *"Guest workers predominate in many of the public spaces of the cities; they work behind the counters of the businesses and shops beneath the glass skyscrapers reaching into the hazy blue skies; they crowd the narrow streets of the central souk on Friday afternoon. The sheer scope of these guest worker populations has fundamentally altered the social fabric of the urban agglomerations that dot the shores of the Gulf waters"* (p.200).

On the other hand, Jarach and Speece (2013) also argue that the modern urban form is not encouraging interaction amongst social groups, thereby creating more division. Elsheshtawy (2004) declares *"No real effort is made [in the modern Gulf cities] to resolve social problems, address concerns of the lower class, or try to make the urban environment more liveable" (*p.172). Bolleter (2005) concludes that POS in Dubai are not inclusive and more programmed spaces are required to allow interaction with various cultural groups; *"this interaction needs to be handled with care so that complex cultural sensitivities are respected" (p.634)* in the cross-cultural context.

2.5.4 Public space and care and repair

"Caring for others and participating in the repair of the environment also constitutes an important dimension of social justice in public space" (Low and Iveson, 2016, p.19) and represents moral codes of tolerance for others, a passive form of recognition. Care and repair can only be enacted when people can access public spaces and different cultures are recognised. Recognition can be enacted by practice and conviviality can be facilitated; however, the question is whether care and repair is the responsibility of people or practice. It is argued in this framework that these codes should not be considered as personal or community responsibilities only; rather they should be seen as a collective effort between the authority and community.

Therefore, it is important to provide a medium in which ethics of care and repair of POS is a shared responsibility between people and professionals. Maintenance of public spaces could be the duty of the management, and provision of benches, slopes or shades are other examples of designing and managing with care. People's level of pro-environmental behaviours could have a role, however, people's behaviours and morality such as providing help for others, watching after children, picking litter from the way or giving food are expressed differently in different cultures and cannot be enacted through practice. Yet, some

studies show that exposure to the right kind of environment could change the social behaviour and uplift the social responsibility (Byrne and Wolch, 2009), but in transcultural cities it might be difficult to define the commonly accepted social behaviours to promote inclusivity.

Many urban design practitioners remain optimistic about the advantages of good design to achieve a desirable outcome of behaviours in their well-designed spaces (Carmona et al., 2010). It is possible that the parks could also attract the 'undesirables', the porches in front of the houses could also be used by strangers or benches in public spaces could also be indwelt by the homeless (ibid). These porches and benches are examples of care for different social groups (including elderly, pregnant women or family with children), but could also create stigmatisation, which then translates into policies and regulations of exclusion such as removing benches.

Deciding responsibility and duty of care and what are accepted and what are not in POS should be through a process of wider consultation. For example, BBC (2016) discussed a new Public Space Protection Order to ban swearing in public, which has recently been enacted by Salford City Council. This regulation includes a manner of caring of others in public spaces including elderly or children, who do not want to be exposed to such behaviours. However, the broadcast discussed that if banning regulations continued, then many behaviours will be criminalised and social conformity will be enforced. Certainly, there is need for a baseline where all users feel comfortable and included rather than intimidated; but when regulation is assigned to deal with moral tensions, it should be introduced in a democratic way.

2.5.5 Public space and procedural justice

Evaluating POS should be through the process not through the outcome to ensure just public space. Low and Iveson (2016) maintain that conflicts appear in the public realm when injustice becomes part of the process and practice in providing spaces.

The framework defines the characteristics of this process as requiring negotiation, inclusiveness and democracy, which can also promote emotional cognition and build a sense of trust, belonging and attachment (Low and Iveson, 2016). Transculturalism cannot be achieved unless there is a shared commitment to recognition, wellbeing and care, which promotes a sense of belonging. Fincher (2003) asserts that working with 'cities of difference' requires more than ensuring that many voices speak, it requires proper and inclusive

consultation. Cultural competency is recommended in urban planning by Agyeman and Erickson (2012) to support negotiation, wider consultation and recognition of differences.

To promote cultural competency in the professional practice of POS, it is imperative to understand different cultures and that cultures have been and are evolving constantly. Provided such a stance is adopted, there is scope to limit racial isolation or discrimination (UNESCO, 2009). Adloff (2016) points that:

> *"Conviviality accepts that we cannot change others; we can only change ourselves or offer others gifts to open up the possibilities for cooperation [...] This can only occur in the dialogue between and in the acceptance of blending of boundaries, entanglements, and ambiguities of cultures"* (Adloff, 2016).

Cultural competency tools and methods such as dialogue and storytelling could be significant when learning about and understanding diversity, as in line with the transcultural urbanism approach (Hou, 2013). Intercultural dialogue has been used in planning practice to manage differences in *"negotiating fears and anxieties, mediating memories and hopes, and facilitating change and transformation"* (Sandercock, 2000, p.29). Sandercock (2003b) claims that dialogue can also promote mutual commitment between the society and authority to achieve the common good and collective values. The storytelling method has been introduced in planning to understand the changes in cities and to incorporate different people's experiences formally into the professional practice (ibid). Storytelling method was used by Rishbeth and Finney (2006) in their study on marginalised cultural groups to elicit different meanings and the development of place attachment. The storytelling approach has also been used in design, in which a multidisciplinary project of industrial design, scenography, screen writing and sociology have been included in a study focused on urban spaces and metro environments in Espoo, Finland (Viña and Mattelmäki, 2010). The main objective of the project was to understand public shapes through narrative concept design and how storytelling can be applied in the design process to offer experiential contexts and establish a particular identity in public spaces (ibid). Sharing of stories could also be facilitated through dialogue in which the participants have the power of creating collective meanings and bringing differences together (Sandercock, 2003b). However, Sandercock (2003b) shares her worries on using stories in planning practice without openness and inclusiveness and the need to avoid situations where *"power shapes which stories get told, get heard and carry weight"*.

In the Gulf, Elsheshtawy (2006) mentions that the transformation of urbanism is partly a repercussion of global capitalism that produces merely passive consumer citizens. If users have a passive role, the responsibility in dealing with cultural differences and conflicts, which are complex, would only add load to the practice. Besides by not involving people in the provision and regulation of POS, cultural differences may not be recognised which then may lead to practices of exclusions. However, there are insufficient evidences and studies that link social justice agenda to both professional practice and policies (Elsheshtawy, 2008); this needs to be considered in drawing the aims of this research.

2.6 Conclusion

Drawing on an extensive body of literature from a wide range of different disciplines has given a strong sense of why this thesis is required and has shown that my research is relevant to the broad contexts of debate, whilst not solely pertaining to Bahrain. This chapter has reviewed relevant literature and introduced the theoretical framework of this study. I have focused on three areas of theory: transcultural cities, conviviality and social uses and values of POS. A scholar looking at any of the three areas also needs to examine the overlaps, which shape this research contribution and implication, outlined by the research aims and objectives. The framework identifies the contribution of landscape architecture focus with a clear rationale of the theories requirements and also drives the rationale for the methodology.

The findings of the first research aim, which focus on understanding the everyday activities, preferences and motivations for using POS in transcultural Bahrain, may contribute to the overlaps between transcultural cities and the social uses and values of public open space. The framework highlights the role of landscape architecture and qualities of POS in supporting migrants' lived experience across borders and in shaping the process of adaptation and hybridity (Ghosh and Wang, 2003, Armstrong, 2004; Hou, 2013; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013), which are integral to transcultural studies. Investigating POS in transcultural contexts may also add to the theories emphasising the potential values of outdoor city spaces in promoting wellbeing and a sense of belonging amongst migrants (Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Peters, 2010) through supporting migrants' native leisure cultural practices in a new place. Hence, barriers of cultural differences (Hou, 2013) in using POS should be considered in theory and practice of landscape architecture.

The second aim explores how conviviality is supported or aggravated in urban public spaces within the context of an ethnically diverse population. This aim contributes to the overlaps between conviviality and POS and transcultural cities. At this point, it could be considered that to support conviviality across cultural differences, it is important to understand more about meaningful encounters and how POS can support positive encounters. Landscape architecture can extend the theories on materiality and temporality in relation to meaningful encounters (Neal et al., 2016; Wilson, 2016) by investigating spatial and physical qualities and leisure activities and values in formal and informal spaces (Koch and Latham, 2011; Askins and Pain, 2011; Neal et al., 2015). Social and cultural dynamics of outdoor spaces and activities (Ingold, 2000) can also add to the understanding of temporality of encounters. The significances of POS are in enabling social interaction, supporting sociability and promoting wellbeing. However, aggravations and conflicts could appear with cultural differences in transcultural urban spaces, and should not be ignored in professional practice to maintain the social values of POS.

The last aim identifies the potential of planning and design of POS for supporting conviviality in transcultural public spaces. One of the main objectives of this research is to address the gap in relation to the professional practice of the built environment and cultural differences in the research context. With cultural differences and complexities in transcultural cities, it becomes crucial to understand the role of theory and practice of landscape architecture in responding to the cultural dynamics and conviviality in POS. This also reflects on how benefits of public spaces can be distributed with insight into social justice in planning design and management of POS (Low and Iveson 2016), which may contribute to filling this gap.

In using landscape architecture as a lens throughout this research to examine the relationship between conviviality and transcultural cities, the selected methods require a reflection on spatial design qualities as well as address cultural differences in experiences and meanings. Using case study method and having several case study areas (with both formal and informal POS) would support the objectives of aim one and investigate the role of the POS typologies in fitting different cultural leisure activities (objective a) (Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Peters and de Haan, 2011). Ethnographic methods, e.g. field observation and on-site interviews, in different time of the day and year, appear to be significant in investigating patterns of diversity and spatial and temporal aspects of adaptation (First aim: Objective b) (Hou, 2013). With cultural differences and intersectionality of identity, it is not possible to understand the values and affordances of place from only the researcher's point of view and how they can fit diverse users. By using in-depth interview and storytelling (methods developed under intercultural discourses), migrants can talk about their past memories in new places (Sandercock, 2003b),

which reflect past experiences and history of places and support understanding the process of hybridity (First aim: Objective c) (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). Findings of the first aim will provide empirically grounded material that fills the gap in literature about diverse leisure cultural practices and socio-spatial association in POS in Bahrain with social and cultural dynamics and support the analysis of the research aims. The findings of the first aim would support the analysis of the second aim in achieving its objectives in exploring the role of place and everyday activities in supporting meaningful encounter in relation to materiality and temporality (Second aim: Objective a and c). Intercultural methods (e.g. storytelling) can explore the nuances of the meanings from participants' perspective (Second aim: Objectives b and c) (Valentine and Sadgrove, 2012). The research also requires understanding the policies and professional practitioners' perspective to support the analysis of aim 3 and link the theory to the practice.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodological approaches and the methods of research. The methodological approaches are shaped by the research aims and literature review. As inferred from the literature review, everyday experiences and the mundane social interaction in Gulf cities is a rich subject for the study of both transcultural cities and conviviality and Bahrain is a significant case study. The dynamic character of temporary migration is an important dimension in transcultural cities, and more than half of Bahrain's population constitutes of temporary migrants. Hence, in this research, the nature of conviviality and social and cultural dynamics in public open spaces (POS) will be investigated with more focus on understanding the role of urban spaces in supporting such dynamics and interaction.

Cultural differences and intersectionality of identities can potentially pose challenges for people to initiate or maintain conviviality, and for professionals to maintain social inclusivity in designing POS. Such intersectionality is also a challenge for conducting research in such a transcultural context and in understanding different practices, perceptions and motivations for using POS. To overcome such challenges, the research needs to be designed with an understanding of the complexities within a transcultural context, while also considering the specificities of geography, culture and climate of the case study context.

Accordingly, this research is informed by three methodological approaches. The selection of these were influenced by the theoretical framework and the strength of research carried out in related topics. These approaches are: qualitative (Section 3.2) - dealing with social uses and values of POS and complexities in social life; ethnography (Section 3.3) - conducting a research within the transcultural concept; and case study (Section 3.4) - conducting a research within the field of landscape architecture. The application and integration of these approaches helped select and refine the methods used in this research.

3.2 Qualitative approach

This research is concerned with the potential for public spaces in contemporary Bahrain to support everyday positive social encounters within a diverse population. With the challenges and complexities of transcultural urban spaces, the findings will not be straightforward and the research needs to be designed to overcome these challenges. Thus, the qualitative approach appears more suitable. It can grasp the qualities of everyday encounters in reality and the refined details of meanings. The qualitative approach is more suitable for research questions that deal with social reality and natural settings of everyday life with concerns of different groups of people and communities (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Mason 2002). Similarly, Robson (2002) argues that studies on social interaction phenomena and their associated meanings require a qualitative approach. Through qualitative research, the researcher can explore broad dimensions of the social world and everyday life with different understandings, experiences, social processes and meanings (Mason 2002). Qualitative approach is also more suitable to investigate nuances of leisure practices and values for using POS that are shaped by cultural differences. Armstrong (2004) and Powell and Rishbeth (2012) find that the qualitative approach is productive in their research on POS and cultural hybridity in cosmopolitan cities, which requires humanitarian understanding. Burgess et al. (1988) also report that qualitative methods are most suitable for exploring attitudes and values about open spaces as they are grounded in the contexts of people's daily lives.

Qualitative approaches as stated by Mason (2002) usually entail formulating questions to be explored and developed in the research process, rather than a hypothesis to be tested by or against empirical research. Accordingly, the research has been initiated with a broad hypothesis developed from my professional background and that POS would be relevant to shaping conviviality. This broad hypothesis further informed formulating more open research questions.

This qualitative research took an 'interpretivist' philosophical position. This position is concerned with how the social world is 'understood', 'experienced' or 'produced' (Mason, 2002, p.3). Similarly, this research aims to understand everyday activities in urban open spaces and how sociability is experienced and how social encounters are produced in these places, as well as how relevant policies could be produced to design socially responsive open spaces in contemporary cities with cultural differences. It is common for researchers to conduct interpretive ethnographies; however, interpretivism does not rely on 'total immersion in a

setting', but aims to explore people's individual and collective understandings from a participant's perspective as well (ibid, p.56). What is distinctive about interpretive approaches is that they see people and their interpretations and perceptions as the primary data sources (ibid). Therefore, the interpretivism position seems to be suitable in research contexts with cultural differences. Although the data could not be generalised, it contributed to an in-depth understanding of the resonances of differences.

This research was not attempting to quantify or apply measurement. It seeks to answer questions around social experiences and interactions, the associated meanings, preferences, values and emotions that could not be measured or experimentally examined in terms of quantity (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Bryman, 2004). There are studies which have used quantitative methods to address issues in relation to greenspace, leisure activities, values and environmental psychology (Korpela et al., 2001; Scopelliti and Giuliani, 2004; Hansman et al., 2007; Peters et al., 2010; Ozgüner, 2011). This research aims to engage with a different form of data to address more nuanced and interactive research questions to explore socio-spatial associations in POS; the quantitative methods were not used within the multiple methods framework in this research. The use of a qualitative approach is intrinsic to shaping the ethnographic method, and in shaping the methods used within case study settings.

3.3 Ethnographic approach

The research was carried out using multiple empirical data collection methods that are mainly conducted in the field and an ethnographic approach was adopted. Ethnography was used by ancient explorers and traveller-researchers to describe people, culture and lands those researchers saw during their journeys (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; O'Reilly, 2012). According to Hamersley and Atkinson (2007), ethnography, currently, overlaps with qualitative research and particularly with fieldwork and case study methods:

> *"Ethnography usually involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts - in fact, gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the emerging focus of inquiry " (p. 3).*

Fieldwork is at the core of the ethnographic research design, in the field; data collection methods are fundamental elements of ethnography (Fatterman, 2010). Fatterman (2010) determines that classical ethnography usually implies a period from six months to two years or

more in the field. However, he states that long-term (continuous or non-continuous) fieldwork is not always possible, as researchers usually are bound to a contract budget and time schedule. Hence, he claims that it is possible to apply ethnographic tools, but not for it to be a prolonged ethnography. Similarly, the ethnographic approach can still be followed using non-participatory observation methods; for example, spending time on the site watching the conducted activities, such as a basketball game as part of data collection (ibid).

"Ethnography is the major social science with the best hope for throwing off conceptual blinders" (Kim 2015, p. 10). In recent decades, ethnography has become a popular approach in social science bringing together a number of qualitative methods, particularly observation and interviews, to produce a nuanced text and narrative accounts that describe and recount a story as in traditional ethnography (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; O'Reilly, 2012). The focus on narrative and the positional viewpoint of the ethnographer can give rise to criticism of the subjectivity as the central role of the researcher as recorder and interpreter leads to anecdotal rather than rigorous research findings (Mason, 2002, p.192). Positionality and the possibilities of bias are important to acknowledge here (as, I might argue, is the case for all research approaches) and I return to these themes specific to this research in Section 3.7. Engaging with participants in-situ (on locations in the sites they are discussing) is key to the methods of this research to promote transparency and reduce subjectivity (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007; Fatterman, 2010; O'Reilly, 2012). Fatterman (2010) asserts that ethnography involves telling stories from the perspective of people in which these stories are interpreted in the context of people's daily lives and cultures (2010, p.1). In this research, adopting an ethnographic approach means that the researcher spent time in the spaces being studied, making observations, conducting interviews and exploring hidden experiences to make a narrative description which seeks to explore people's perspectives and interpretations in the context of their daily lives.

In recent research on cultural diversity, an ethnographic approach is commonly used in a range of urban locations (Vertovec, 2007a; Wilson, 2011; Noble; 2013; Wessendorf, 2014b; Wise and Velayutham, 2014; Neal; 2015, Neal et al., 2015). Compared to traditional methods of qualitative research, Noble (2013) states that ethnography *"provides rich, complex data that better capture the temporality and spatiality of habituated cosmopolitanism"* (p.181). Research on migration (Al-Rasheed, 2005; Gardner, 2006) and evolving cities (Elsheshtawy, 2008) in the gulf region also emphasised the need for adapting ethnographic methods to understand the reality of hidden everyday experiences in urban areas.

The decision of this research to use qualitative methods, influenced by ethnographic approaches and explored through a focus on case study areas was therefore a response to the research questions which aim to explore and understand the patterns and nuances of diversity and social encounters within a transcultural urban context. These approaches are suitable to investigate leisure practices and social encounters and values for using POS that are shaped by cultural differences and transformed spatially and temporally. With careful analysis of and response to the broader contexts of landscape design and management in Bahrain (both through literature review and expert interviews), these approaches can usefully inform priorities for professional practice (Rishbeth et al. 2018).

3.4 Case study approach

The research was designed following a case study approach as it appeared significant to overcome the complexities and challenges of the research and also to fulfil the research aims. The case study approach followed in this research is not only that Bahrain itself is a case study, but also selected urban spaces within the cities of Bahrain. The latter is the scale of the case study primarily referred to in this research, which is appropriate for answering the research questions.

The main purpose is to explore socio-spatial association, which needs to have a clear understanding of the context where the data is collected; but with cultural differences and intersectionality, exploring socio-spatial experiences and relations is a challenge. People would have different perceptions and constructed values about different spaces (Byrne and Wolch, 2009) and also places have different affordances for different leisure activities (Rishbeth, 2014), as some cultural practices are context- dependent, which shapes the diverse patterns of use. There are many studies that conducted interviews with the non-case study approach, but the outcome has a limited sense related to a specific physical space, typology and location.

In landscape architecture, the value of the place is important and the place is not considered merely a setting for interaction, but the case study method allows me to investigate spatial, physical and material qualities and support contextualising the settings. Case study is one of the well-established research methods in landscape architecture and a common form for analysis and criticism (Francis, 2001). By using case study approach, the physical, social and cultural facets can be integrated including a sense of history contexts, range of places and different perceptions of a specific place. It is innovative in this research to have various case studies to analyse the interviews in relation to the place, to understand how people's values

and identities mobilised and transformed within the city and to understand how different spaces could be appropriate in fitting different cultural practices. Conducting the interviews on-site in the selected case studies would ensure that the participants' sampling represents the real users and the diversity on which the entire research is based, and hence socio-spatial experiences can be analysed.

A case study approach can use many different methods – from in-depth ethnography (e.g. Koch and Latham's (2012) study of a street junction in West London) to studies that primarily use quantitative methods (e.g. Raman's (2010) study in six UK neighbourhoods measuring and quantifying social interaction through mapping). The use of mapping methods is one of the quantitative ways in relation to case studies such as in the studies using Space Syntax (Carmona et al., 2010). Carmona et al (2010) acknowledge that this method has received a range of criticisms. Firstly, Space Syntax measures only a specific form without taking into account other urban forms. The other criticism is that this method focuses only on physical configuration and seems not to consider the relationship between the space, the people and social interactions. This more quantitative form of mapping was not appropriate for addressing the objectives of this research which considers the social and cultural dynamics that shape patterns of use and conviviality in POS and requiring close attention to intersections and interaction of activities. The affordances of different forms of POS can support different recreational activities which might not be fully highlighted by a plan projection mapping method. Though spatial recording, including sketch diagrams, was incorporated into the researcher's field notes (see Figures 3.4 and 3.6), other means of recording interactions were of equal importance, and helpful primarily in giving appropriate attention to context for the interview data.

A case study method can contribute to developing theory. Rishbeth et al., (2018) argue that an important role for landscape architect academics is to develop case study approaches with theoretical critique in order to inform practice. While there are a number of studies on social relations in the field of sociology, there is a limited sense on how these studies are linked to the practice because there is less emphasis on place qualities and typologies. The outcomes relevant to case study method could shed light on broader theories through a deeper understanding of the specificities and nuances of different selected areas (Robson, 2002). Through careful theoretical framing and understanding of a broader literature base, even though case studies are highly localised, they can also contribute to global issues.

3.4.1 Selection of case studies

The case studies were selected based on certain criteria relevant to the research aims and objectives, which are also expanded in Chapter Four. These criteria are:

1. The selected area should be in an urban setting and in a context of everyday mixed-use.
2. The population of the selected area should reflect the diversity of Bahrain's population.
3. The selected case studies should include diverse spatial typologies of POS.

Figure 3.1 (page 70) summarises the selected case study sites and Table 3.1 (page 71) identifies the characteristics of these sites in relation to the above three criteria. Based on the above criteria, the selected case studies include different types of formal public open spaces (as described in Table 3.1), and also informal spaces such as those in front of shops, houses and mosques. The selected sites have spatial variation of outdoors spaces in a region with urban developments, desert context and historical sites, which can contribute to studies on migrant experiences, adaptation and construction of a sense of belonging. The sites also add to the studies on values of POS with different perceptions and cultural differences. The case studies additionally provide contribution to the social encounters and conviviality in POS through investigating materiality, temporality and socio-spatial associations.

These cases were selected after an initial fieldwork study in December 2013 and January 2014. During this intensive fieldwork, I visited various urban areas in Bahrain (around 20 urban spaces) with different types of POS and took photographs. This was accompanied by a study of maps and census documents and followed by several informal discussions with users and practitioners. This initial fieldwork helped to determine the case studies. The research case studies were narrowed down to eight areas based on the relevant criteria: to be located in everyday mixed-use urban contexts and in districts where the population reflects the diversity of Bahrain's population and to include diverse spatial typologies. This strategy to sample the research context makes the fieldwork process more manageable. For the purposes of this study, it was not feasible to study the entirety of Bahrain's urban open spaces. The contexts of these case studies are also worth highlighting (Robson, 2002). The selection and description of the case study areas will be illustrated further in Chapter Four.

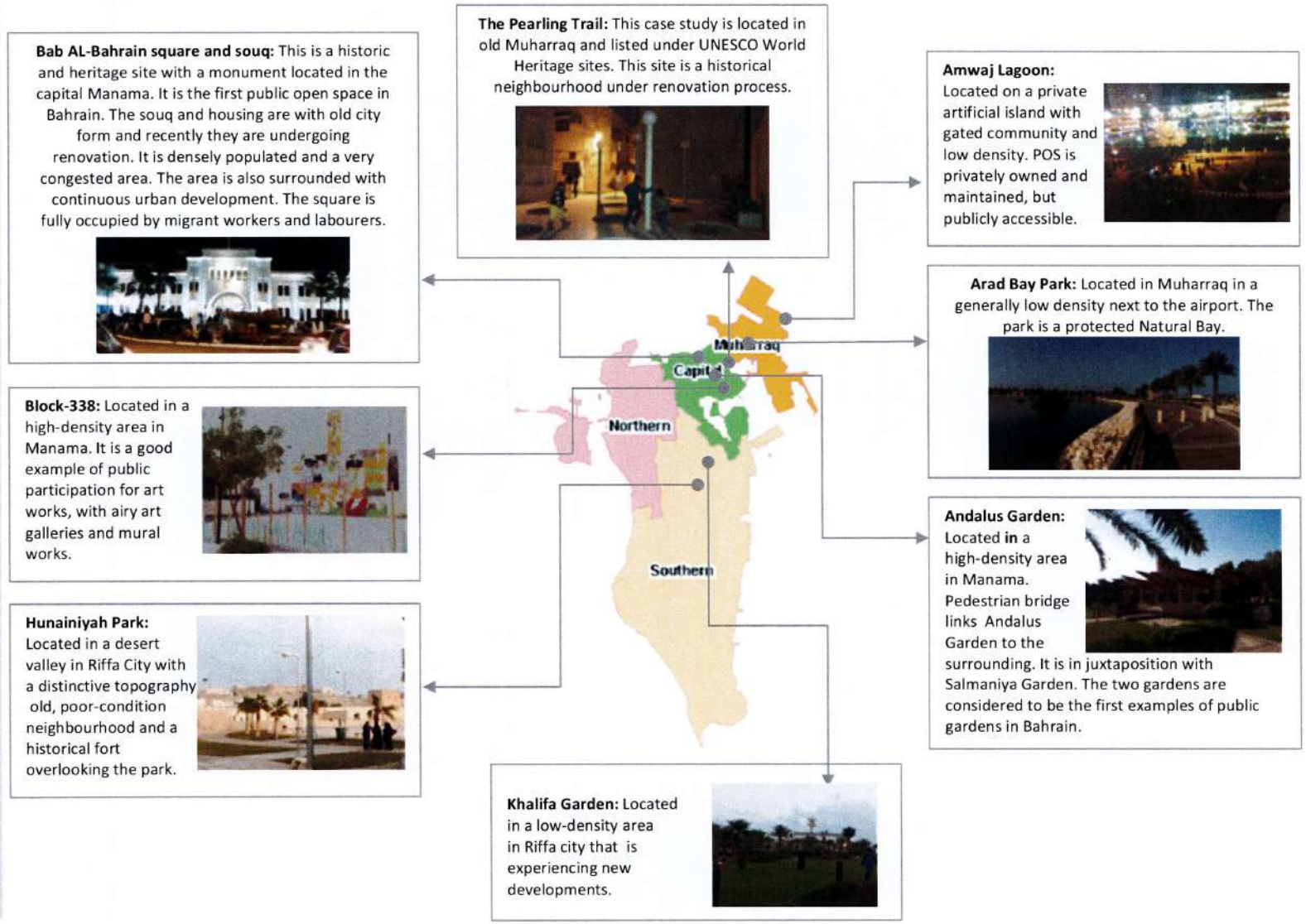


Figure 3.1 Location and significant characteristics of the selected case study areas.

Case Study Areas		Bab Al-Bahrain	Block-338	Andalus Garden	The Pearling Tail	Arad Park	Amwaj-lagoon	Khalifa Garden	Hunai-niyah Park
Bahraini/non-Bahraini residential demographics		78% Non-Bahraini	78% Non-Bahraini	78% Non-Bahraini	44% Non-Bahraini	44% Non-Bahraini	Majority Non-Bahraini	44% Non-Bahraini	44% Non-Bahraini
Typology	Square	✔							
	Public garden			✔				✔	
	Public park					✔			✔
	Pedestrianised street	✔	✔		✔		✔		
	Small plazas		✔		✔				
Immediate context	Residential	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	Commercial	✔	✔	✔					
	Retail						✔		
	Public services buildings	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		✔	✔
Relatively high level of maintenance				✔		✔	✔	✔	✔
Relatively high level of provided facilities				✔		✔	✔	✔	✔
Presence of on-site wardens				✔		✔	✔	✔	✔

Table 3.1 The characteristics of the selected sites relevant to the selection criteria.

3.5 Fieldwork methods

Four types of method were used in this research (Figure 3.2 on page 72): observation, on-site short interviews, go-along and expert interviews. These methods were designed to collect a range of data including capturing broad overviews and in-depth details of the social reality in POS in Bahrain. In my research, the qualitative methods of observation and short interviews were used as ethnographic tools during broad scope site visits to help inform understanding similarities and differences across different types of POS, covering different times of day/week and including a diverse section of users. Broad scope here means to have a wide and inclusive perspective in each site, which helped achieve the first aim and support the analysis of the second and third aims.

It was also important to study the values and preferences in 'depth' through one-to-one extended interviews. In-depth walking interviews or go-along ethnography were used here to explore past memories and nuances of meanings and understand how conviviality is shaped, this achieved the second aim. The go-along interviews also supported aim one with fine details of values, preferences and memories and further support the analysis of aim three with socio-spatial experiences.

The expert interviews were primarily designed as a means of engaging with representatives of professional stakeholders to offer additional perspectives, give additional context to the findings and strengthen the potential links between ethnography and practice. The combination of all the above methods allows for triangulation in addressing the research objectives.

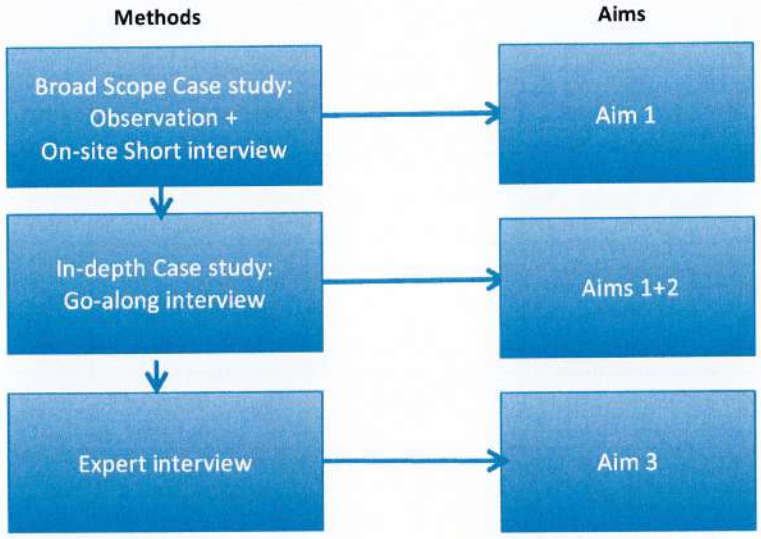


Figure 3.2 Data collection methods.

Using multiple methods support the validity of the data through triangulation (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). Denzin and Lincoln (2003) elucidate that using multiple methods involves an interpretive approach to make sense of or understand occurrences in terms of the meanings people bring to them in everyday life. Multiple methods approach has been used in different studies focused on public spaces in relation to cultural diversity (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995; Rishbeth, 2004; Low et al., 2005; Cattell et al., 2008; Peters, 2010; Chang and Foo, 2013; Siu, 2013). In ethnographic research, Kusenbach (2003) and Anderson, J. (2004) argue that the strengths and advantages of participant observations, interviews and go-along interviews accumulate when they are used concurrently. This is because the researcher benefits from the

different perspectives and angles each instrument provides (Kusenbach, 2003). Rose et al. (2010), in their study about people's relation to buildings in geographical research, used go-along interviews after conducting baseline observations and surveys. They conceived observation as a means of obtaining an overall understanding, while the go-along interview method was used to attain a more refined perspective of people's diverse engagements in urban spaces. Carpiano (2009), in studying health issues in relation to the social and physical contexts, used observation and interviews in addition to walking-along.

Research actions and methods			Number	Time Scale
Case study areas	Broad scope	Observation	Sessions at different times and days **Sampling points are selected in each case study**	July 2014 – January 2015
		On-site short semi-structured interviews	**Total conducted:** 85 with both Bahraini and non-Bahraini **On-going sampling**	
	In-depth	'Go-along' interviews	**Total conducted:** 13 with 18 people. Five of the 13 interviews were conducted with Bahrainis and the rest of the participants belonged to different Arab and Asian migrant backgrounds. **Sampling determined during the broad scope and also respondents from circulating the information sheets**	
Professional practice overview		Expert interviews (Semi-structured in-depth interview)	**Total conducted:** Eight expert interviews with: • Director of Properties and Parks • Chief of Urban Observatory in MWMAUP • Head of Architectural Affairs in the Ministry of Culture • Founder of Al-Riwaq Art Space Non-profit community organisation • Maintenance and Operation Engineer in Manama Municipality • General Coordinator of the Association of Friends Groups and vice president of the Friends Groups of the Capital Gardens • Member of the Supreme Council for Women - President of the Arab Society for the Prevention of Violence Against Children. • Attorney and expert in human right and public international law	September 2014 January 2015 December 2015 January 2016

Table 3.2 Summary of the conducted data collection methods.

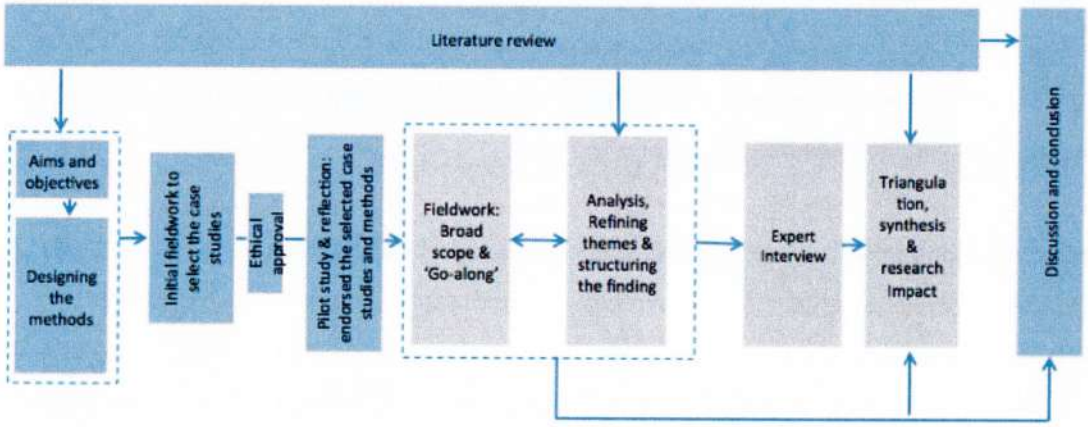


Figure 3.3 Research process.

Most of the collected data in this research was primary; however, there was also supporting ongoing secondary data collection in terms of literature review relating to practice as descriptive information and also to support analysis throughout the research process. These documents include maps, census data, reports and newspaper articles. The secondary data are considered based on official data and formal collection through the relevant institutions. Prior to and during the fieldwork, unpublished documents and maps were obtained directly from the relevant organisations through official letters from my study sponsor specifying the required information. The experts interviewed also provided some unpublished reports. Consequently, the following sections describe the primary techniques that were used in the research process. Table 3.2 summarises the conducted methods and Figure 3.3 illustrates the research process.

3.5.1 Broad scope: Field observation and on-site short interviews

With the complexity of cultural differences in transcultural cities, nuances of practices and motivation, preferences and patterns of use in POS would not be possible to capture solely by an observational method. In addition, an observation only method is more vulnerable to the researcher's interpretation. Hence, during the broad scoping visits to the case study sites, the decision was made to initially make direct observations, but also to supplement and interpret this with on-site semi-structured interviews, allowing for participant description and interpretation. Careful recording and analysis of both these forms of data collection can help minimise confirmation bias.

Direct observation was useful to support the on-site short interviews and achieve the first aim. This approach revealed the breadth of ways people use and value their everyday POS. For the first research aim, the analysis, description and discussion of the data are covered in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Understanding the spatial qualities of different settings of the collected data gave specificity and helped to inform practice.

Using an ethnographic approach meant spending time on-site to conduct both observation and short interviews, which helped overcome the potential limitation of each of these methods. Not all patterns and details in POS can be vocalised, and equally not all ideas and details can be observed. Both observations and interviews can be open to subjectivity and personal bias, and these biases can be exacerbated by narrow ranges of sites or limited periods of engagement. I therefore argue that the parallel use of both interviews and observations and an appropriate means of analysis can be successful in achieving rigour in

ethnographic approaches. Interviews were accompanied with observations to achieve a broad descriptive understanding of the sites, to understand the physical and spatial characteristics of different settings on site, to validate and inform the on-site interviews and to support the data analysis with narrative accounts. Interviews also support observation in understanding the users, their interactions and the details of activities and also in defining age, ethnicity and gender. In this research, observation was used initially for general understanding of the sites and for on-site interviewees' sampling. Hence, in this section, I will commence with an explanation of the observation method.

3.5.1.1 Field observation

Observation was the first action on-site for the purpose of site familiarisation. Field observation or direct observation refers to a researcher entering into a natural setting to understand the social life of this environment (Carpiano, 2009). This method is ideal for a researcher wishing to become familiar with the location or case study and the subject being studied (ibid).

In landscape architecture practice and for the purpose of informing design, site visits include visual surveys of the relationship between people and the physical forms in the location. This type of observational survey and analysis during site visits is one of my professional skills that inform this research. Observation to understand social life in public spaces has been used by many scholars in the field of landscape architecture, such as the pioneers William Whyte and Jan Gehl (Whyte, 1980; Gehl and Svarre, 2013). Many years ago, Jane Jacobs (1961) illustrated in her book: *"Please look closely at real cities. While you are looking, you might as well also listen, linger and think about what you see"(p.xii).* This excerpt demonstrates the significance of observation to urban practitioners to understanding real life in urban spaces. According to Jacobs (1961), the observation is better supported with hearing, walking, spending time on-site and reflection, which may help in capturing the fine grain of urban life.

There are different approaches and paradigms for observation as a social science empirical method (Bryman, 2004). Major types of observation fall into either structured observation or unstructured observation or ethnography (ibid). Bryman (2004) explains that the structured observation method is similar to a questionnaire or structured interview with closed questions, which is widely employed in quantitative studies and the researchers use predetermined rules or checklists for observing and recording. This approach is appropriate when the information required is specified. Unstructured observation, as explained by Bryman (2004), does not

entail the use of a list, but it is a flexible process to record as much detail as possible with the aim of developing a narrative description. This data collection method alongside qualitative interview is mostly used in ethnography. Fetterman (2010) argues that entering the field with 'an open mind' allows the ethnographer to explore rich sources of data, which would not be mapped out in the research design; however, he claims:

> *"This quality does not imply a lack of rigour. The ethnographer enters the field with an open mind, not an empty head. Before asking the first question in the field, the ethnographer begins with a problem, a theory or model, a research design, specific data collection techniques, tools for analysis and a specific writing style" (p.1).*

In the initial stages of this research project, prior to finalising the proposal, I investigated a range of on-site methods both for observing and recording observations. This was a period of informal prototyping, informing the development of an approach appropriate to the cultural context and to the range of sites addressed, and aiming to maximise the rigour of the fieldwork data within the resource constraints of the research project. I discovered that the structured form of observation, with a checklist, was not responsive to the nuances of what was happening and would not answer the research questions to explore the complex spatial and temporal patterns of use with cultural differences. Grounded on qualitative researching (Mason, 2002), the ontology in this research is not about listing activities, of walking, sitting or playing in POS, but more about understanding the nuances of activities, socio-spatial and temporal patterns and interactions of these patterns and activities. Unstructured observation in the research became more specific by entering the site with pre-determined open- ended questions to understand what was being observed (Refer below to Section b: The purpose of observing and data collection). I also employed a systematic approach in selecting locations for observation within the selected case study areas from predetermined list as available (Refer to Table 3.3 on page 80) e.g. in the sport area, on the grassed area, in the seating area, in the picnic pod, in the playground, at the entrance, around focal elements, monuments, the parking area, any water bodies, adjacent to specific buildings such as cafés, shops, mosques, on nearby walkways and streets. Selecting from the list would overcome bias by ensuring that the selection of observation locations in each case study would be systematic according to site typology (Refer below to Section a: Where to conduct field observation within each case study).

Drawing on research studies on culturally diverse outdoor places in related academic fields, the approach of researchers from sociology traditions was also an important influence. In

sociology, spending time in the field is commonly described as 'hanging out' and considered an ethnographic practice (Kusenbach, 2003; Neal, 2015). Hanging out is a generic ethnographic practice because it is conducted in a less systematic approach with many or all informants and covers a variety of settings, social situations and subjects in several locations (Kusenbach, 2003). In their research on superdiversity, Neal et al. (2015) conducted their ethnographic methods in public green spaces and found that their fieldwork experiences and spending time in the parks were appropriate in undertaking research within complexly different places and populations. This provided more contact between researchers and participants and met their research objectives. Similarly, in an interview with sociologist Amanda Wise, she explains how the traditional ethnographic approach and hanging out in the studied fields were highly valuable for her research and were particularly relevant to understanding diversity and everyday life (Neal, 2015). Rich data was produced enabling reflection of the different explored details, characteristics and interactions (ibid). Wise states:

> *"Obviously when you start to look at the minutiae of everyday life you start to think about the ways in which the material world sorts and frames people and how we are connected to it in quite embodied, sensuous ways" (ibid, p.994).*

Drawing on different research approaches and based on my research aims and objectives, the decision was made to follow the ethnographic approach shaped by landscape architecture skills. Information about socialising regarding physical form of POS at each site was captured primarily through photographs, sketch diagrams/sections and descriptive accounts. Figure 3.4 (page 78) illustrates the outcome material from ethnographic observation. This was at the broad-brush phases of the research. The analysis in this research was primarily concerned at the level of the site (as a whole) and typology of place. An ethnographic approach was used to collect and interrogate the relationship between the physical features of the site (such as benches, trees, water edge) and specific uses. Even though observation in this research has some similarities to site survey within a design process (O'Reilly, 2012), it differs from the mapping in that it tends not to privilege statistical data. Quantitative recording or mapping method to record, for example, the number of people doing certain activities or comparing the number of women to men involved in different activities was not undertaken. This methodological design explored the intersection of landscape architecture analysis (with close attention to typology and management process) and ethnographic approaches (with on-site work focusing on participants' voices and then giving time to 'deep narratives' through the participant-directed walks).

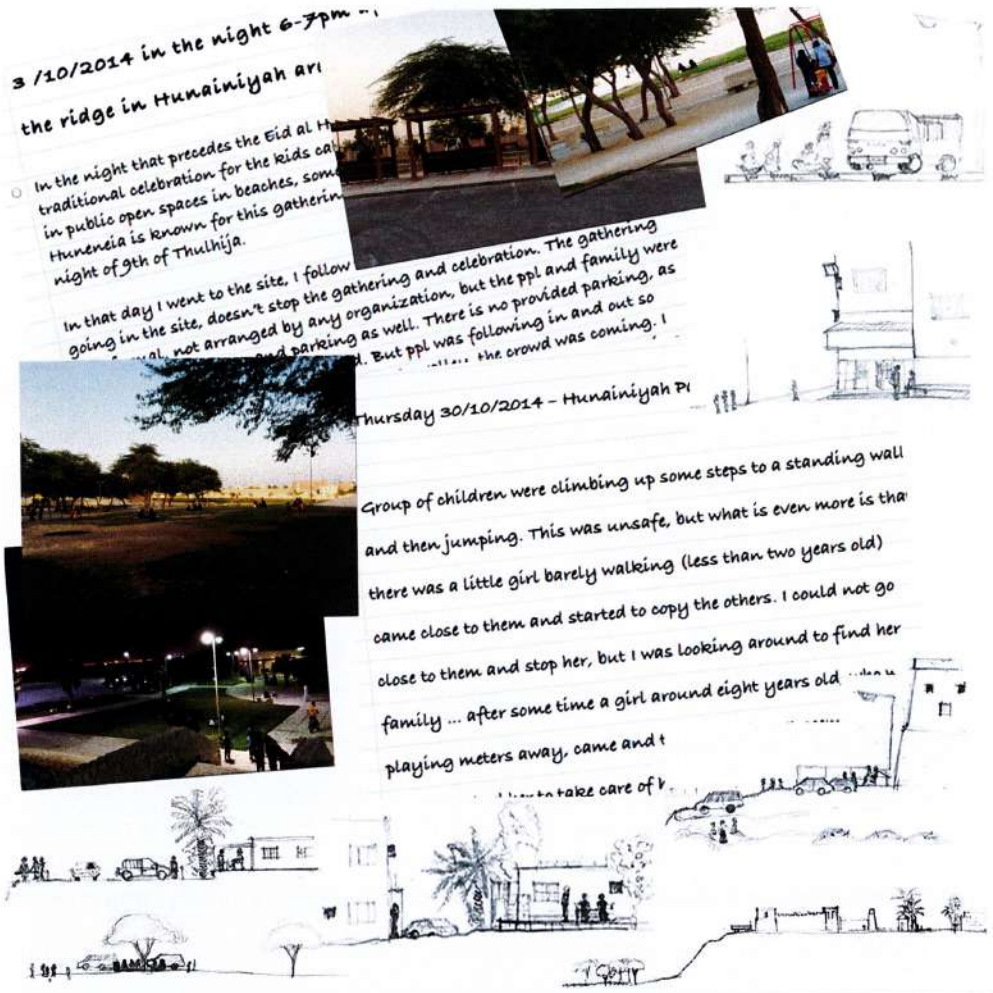


Figure 3.4 Field notes, photos and sketches from ethnographic observation.

This research established a link between landscape architecture and sociology in using observation as ethnographic practice. Considering material location, forms and physical characteristics, a landscape architecture perspective during site visits and site analysis can support the ethnographic approach in understanding embodied experiences and interactions of daily life with different places and populations. This approach was not behavioural mapping or locating activities on maps but was to resonate the spatial varieties of activities within the different case study locations. Integrating a broad ethnographic approach with case study method under landscape architecture explored the socio-spatial association at both the local level and within the cities in different formal and informal typologies of POS. The research emphasises that the practice of landscape architecture can shape the findings of ethnographic research. Similarly, the findings from ethnographic research can be used to inform the professional practice of the built environment with better understanding of the nuances of socio-spatial dimensions in cities (Rishbeth et al., 2018).

a) Where to conduct field observation within each case study?

Despite the relative flexibility of an ethnographic observational approach, the selection of specific locations (points of observation) within each case study area was devised as a means of ensuring some standardisation across the sites. This allowed a purposeful observation with regard to addressing research aims while reducing the potential for confirmation bias. The use of fixed points (rather than a purely curiosity-driven observation) meant that I was not simply looking at situations that were more eye-catching or dramatic, and my viewing schedule used a predetermined list, so included times and places where cultural difference did not seem to inform use as well as times and places where this was pronounced. These points were selected after initial scoping visits and were used during all fieldwork visits as a systematic approach to this broad phase of fieldwork.

The decision for selecting where to conduct the observation within each case study area was based on the following:

1. Overall giving a wide visual envelope, as far as possible covering all the selected case study areas.
2. Understanding that the sampling points and time needed for completing observation varied (in density / frequency) in different case studies depending on the relative size of the park.
3. Responding to the complexity of spatial qualities and leisure affordances that might be relevant to different recreational values. (i.e. the micro-locations for observation such as parking areas and grass-areas were estimated be open to flexible patterns of leisure and social functions).
4. Achieving a broad understanding of the site within the timescale of the fieldwork.

I started my fieldwork by conducting observation in specific locations to cover the whole site. Sampling points were selected in each site from a list (Table 3.3) to investigate the socio-spatial relations. These points were predetermined according to the spatial typology of the POS, as displayed in the table. These sampling points differ in the case studies with medium to large size parks or urban districts. Based on the table, I initially selected four to five sampling points in each site. Figure 3.5 is an example of the observation points initially selected and located in Andalus garden.

Parks and Gardens	By a gateway In a parking area Around a sport Area In a walkway In a Setting area In a picnic pod	In a playground Around a topographical and geographical feature (e.g. sea, mound or plateau) Near by a restaurant or a shop Around a focal or a water element
Pedesterianised Urban spaces	Around a grassed or planted area, Near by benches In a parking area Adjacent to specific buildings such as cafés, shops or mosques, Around focal elements, monuments or water bodies In a pedesterianised plaza and streets	
Informal open spaces	In front of shops In front of mosques In front of houses Nearby informal setting area In a vacant land	In parking area Around a topographical, geographical feature or nodes Around street corners and side walks

Table 3.3 Observation points categorised according to the site spatial typologies of POS in the selected case study areas.

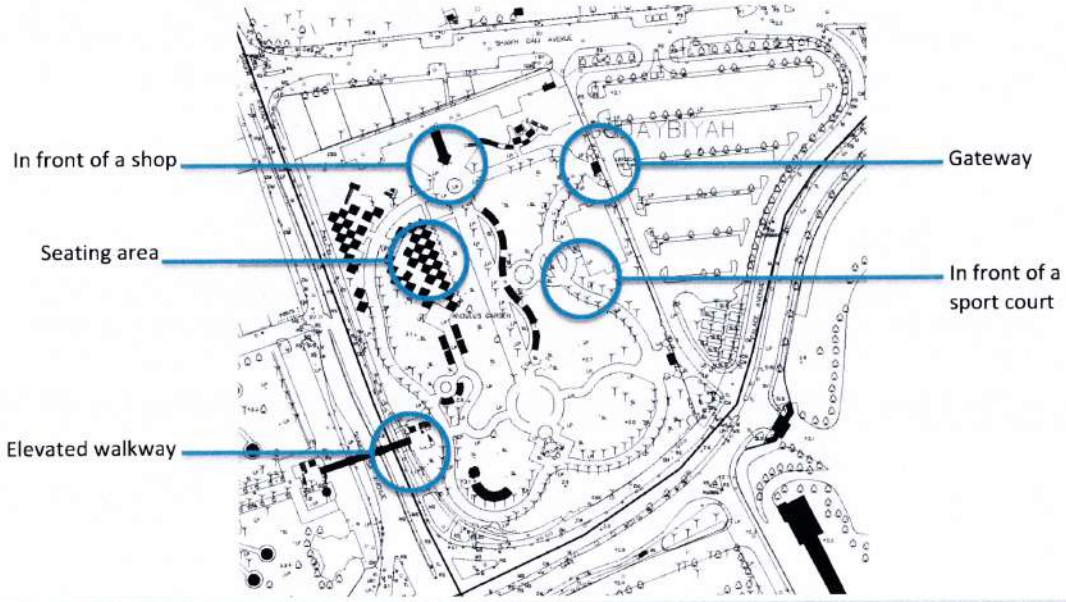


Figure 3.5 Initially predetermined sampling points in Andalus Garden.



1 Near playground and sport court and gate way in Salmaneia Garden 5:30 – 7:00 pm on 3/9/2014

2 In a grassed picnic pod area in front of a shop 7 – 7:30 pm on 3/9/2014

3 In the gateway area near the sport court, lawn and walkway 5:30 – 6 pm on 4/9/2014

4 In the arcade seating area 6:00 – 6:30 pm on 4/9/2014

5 Along a main pathway near by benches 6:30-7 pm on 4/9/2014

6 In a walkway and front of the sport court 7 -7:30 pm on 4/9/2014

7 In the parking area in front of school 10 -11 am on 11/9/2014

8 In the plaza front of the gateway 11 am – 12 noon on 11/9/2014

9 In the walkway and the elevated walkway 7:30 – 8:30am on 18/9/2014

10 In the elevated walkway 9:30 – 10:30 am on 30/10/2014

11 Arcade Area 5:30 – 6:30 pm on 5/12/2014

12 Picnic pod 6:30 - 7 pm on 5/12/2014

*** Note: The ethnographic practice includes my movement from one location to another, hence the time in each location is +-5 minutes used for walking in between the points in each different day.*

Figure 3.6 Ethnographic location points in the context of Andalus Garden.

By conducting the fieldwork and locating the sampling points in the plans I found the need for more points from the list rather than the four to five points proposed initially. By conducting an ethnographic approach, the interaction of activities between these different selected sampling points and the transition and movement from one point to another have to be considered in the collected data as part of ethnographic practice. Figure 3.6 (page 81) shows the locations of the observation points as conducted in the context of Andalus Garden, as an example. Appendix One displays the ethnographic locations in the eight selected case studies and their surrounding contexts to investigate the formal and the informal POS.

Accordingly, the structuring of the locations' selections was modified over time. I conducted the ethnographic practice and spent time in more locations within the selected case studies than was specified initially with only four or five points. The additional observation points were from the list (Table 3.3), which helped overcome bias. The justification behind this modification is that as my understanding developed and as I was walking through in the selected case studies, I found that each site could include more points from the list, rather than only five. Walking in the site appeared beneficial to achieving a broader understanding within the fieldwork timescale rather than only having specific predetermined stationary observation locations. This modification in the fieldwork process over time helped to increase the rigour and to make sure that I covered the site as a whole and included more observation points from the predetermined list. Through this I gained a relatively wide and inclusive perspective in each site to understand particularly how the physical and spatial characteristics and qualities and also how integration and intersection between activities support different leisure and social patterns of use with a complexity of cultural differences.

b) The purpose of field observation and data collection:

The approach that was taken as to what would be observed and recorded was clearly defined before entering any site in terms of open-ended questions that were shaped by the research aims. The main objective of observation is spending time outdoors and looking at how people use the space, when, where, what happens and generally who the users are. It was useful to attend every observation session at different times with some pre-formed questions and record sheets as recommended by Gehl and Svarre (2013). The questions helped in understanding some relevant details in different case studies in relation to the activities, users, time and physical and spatial characteristics. In particular, questions addressed were: how the spaces are used; who the users are; where the activities are conducted; where the social patterns are seen; the sizes of groups; how landscape elements are used socially; how long

activities last and how long people usually stay in a place. All these inform a broad understanding of patterns of use and social encounter. The prepared questions also provided the field observation with some structure in the decision about what to record (i.e. photograph, note down and record as voice memo).

1- One of the important tasks for observation is to understand the activities on-site and different patterns of use. Spending time on-site as an ethnographic practice helped to overcome many of the challenges of observation and to become familiar with the site, the patterns of use and types of activities. Gehl and Svarre (2013) claim that to understand public life, it is important to define and record social activities in order to support the function of public places as a meeting place. Field observation is used to generally understand the spatial and temporal activities and particularly participants' activities. From observation, it was possible, for example, to understand the duration of stays in relation to different activities and spaces, which can support and validate the data from the interviews in terms of the temporal patterns of use. Recording activities in the form of structured observation (such as check-list or mapping methods) poses many challenges as activities are often integrated rather than segregated, so the primary data collection method of note-taking allowed recording of some of these key overlaps or simultaneous activities. However, through observation alone, it was not always possible to differentiate between necessary, optional and social activities (Gehl, 2011), and the on-site interviews were valuable for gaining greater insight. Gehl and Svarre (2013) claim that through observation, it is possible to differentiate between social activities with people who know each other and social encounters between strangers in a public space; however, I would suggest this is a flawed analysis and may well be context-specific. For example, in Bahrain, this might not be precise as it was common during the site visits to see different parents with their children together in a park or garden, and they appear to be familiar with each other; yet they had only just met. Consequently, the role of ethnography was important for increasing the rigour of the data collection and to understand the nuances of practices, values and relationships in relation to specific contexts and at different scales.

2- The integration of systematic observation with on-site interviews was also important for the accuracy of the demographics of users. As a resident of Bahrain, I can make certain estimations regarding ethnicity, gender and age group differences, but the interview was also useful to confirm the estimation. For the purpose of research ethics

and integrity, describing cultural identities is ideally based on how the participants describe their own or other users' origins. In my fieldwork I was also gathering understandings of identity of other users through interviewees' own description, so the means in which these were described needed to allow some flexibility (reducing standardisation but gaining richness). Some participants define users' origins from their appearance, colour, behaviours, dress, language or accent, which are based on participants' observations and how they see others. The observations were used to support the interviews and validate the data as the researcher should not only rely on the interviewees' response but also on what is seen and interpreted on-site.

3- The physical and spatial characteristics and qualities were observed within the perspective of landscape architecture, which support the process of case study analysis (Chapter Four) and support the data analysis and synthesis to set recommendations for the provision of socially responsive POS (Third aim). The physical characteristic of the site, its natural and geographical features, the provided activities and functions in the POS and the surrounding area and the land-use were also compared with the available maps or site plans. I also located the landscape elements and conditions on-site: vegetation locations, pathway locations, water bodies, outdoor furniture, structures and materials. People, however, would have different perceptions in terms of the affordances for social and leisure activities; hence, the ethnographic approach of observation and interview and spending time on-site is also fundamental here to become more familiar with such details. Patton (1990) finds that the technique of observation enables the observer to identify the setting within which people interact and also gain insight into the ideas that people might not vocalise during the interviews. Observation in this research allows inductive process and to understand the studied phenomenon in context.

c) When to conduct field observation?

The purpose of the site visits was to collect as much data as possible within a given time for the fieldwork, so while the schedule of field-based methodology was broadly systematic, over time it was modified from an entirely standardised one to a more flexible one to increase the number of the site visits to cover different times and occasions. Appendix Two shows the site visits in different case studies, which comprise different times and days.

In order to manage the observation across the different case studies and at different times, I started with a systematic observation using a timetable relating to times of the day and week (Gehl and Svarre, 2013). In each case study, the observations were proposed to be conducted in four or five different sessions at various times and days of the week and in different seasons to allow a thorough investigation of different sites. Due to the complexity of the transcultural contexts and following an ethnographic approach, a decision was made to increase the number of site visits from this base-line, and the additional visits gave priority to sites and locations which appeared more complex and in which understanding would be increased through an extended number of observations. Principally, the purpose of this was to allow for visiting the sites at a wide range of times to understand the nuances of spatial and temporal cultural practices and forms of adaptation. Gehl and Svarre (2013) highlight the need to accommodate difference between weekdays, weekends, and holidays, and with different weather conditions, which required a certain amount of flexibility to the schedule. A season such as Ramadan also shapes the pattern of use in an Arabic and Islamic context. Gehl and Svarre (2013) also mention that the site, the purpose, budgets, time and local conditions determine the observation schedules; for example, if a place has an exuberant nightlife, it does not make sense to do the observation only during the day.

The main fieldwork was conducted in six months, between July 2014 and January 2015, with a total of 70 observation sessions covering different times, days and seasons, which allowed me to capture how cultural differences can shape patterns of use. After this main fieldwork, I also arranged follow up trips to cover various seasons and events whenever possible. The ethnographic approach produced descriptions of what was happening rather than a quantitative mapping approach; however, the systematic approach aided in the selection of the day and time to visit the site. Visiting the case studies frequently at different times of the day and weeks intensively over a period of time also increases the rigour of the findings.

d) How to record?

The above mentioned site characteristics and users and participants' activities, in addition to date, time and weather conditions were recorded by using field notes and digital photography. Taking photos and keeping a diary are good practices to be adopted by the researcher. Yin (2003) finds that observational evidence is often useful in providing additional information about the topic being studied; for example, taking photographs at the case study site helps to convey important case characteristics to outside observers. Sketches were also used occasionally to understand the recorded data. In addition, I also used voice memos to record

my observations and notes and then transcribed them. A4 copies of maps of each area were used to understand the site and the surroundings. Field observation in this research was not behavioural mapping or recording of the observation of each person that uses that site. One of the objectives was to look at patterns of use and get a broad overview. Therefore, though the field notes concentrated on who, where and what, much of the emphasis was on capturing a descriptive record of site use. The flexibility of this approach was important in reflecting the complexity of social and cultural differences, spatial variation and nuances of practices of use at different times of day.

e) Overview of analysis:

This section provides an overview of how different means of recording data (visual, field notes and on-site interviews) all contributed to a broad analysis. In the analysis, I consider all the on-site material and data from multiple methods rather than just observations. The collected data from field observation mainly provided narrative descriptions and supported the findings (from different methods) with characteristics of physical and spatial qualities at different times and settings. This also provided a basis for critiquing the relationship between social and physical affordances and patterns of use and explored the role of professional practice in transcultural cities to support conviviality in POS. The observations during the short interviews were transcribed and inserted in the Nvivo[1] to directly support the analysis process. All the field notes and voice memos were transcribed, and the photographs were arranged by date, time and case studies and became a fundamental part supporting the data analysis, but were not inserted in the Nvivo software. Writing and then transcribing field notes and establishing a filing system was a valuable process in the analysis with the whole in mind. Hence, in discussing a particular site, interview, day, occasion or theme I reference the supporting field notes and photographs.

f) Addressing bias:

During the ethnography, the researcher needs to be aware of issues pertaining to any bias, particularly during the field observations (Fetterman, 2010), so the decision was taken at an early stage of this research by considering positionality and reflexivity. Conducting field observations would reflect the researcher's positionality, which while facilitating my research

[1] Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software used in this research to do analysis for short interviews and go-along interviews.

process also posed some challenges. In my research, I conducted non-participant overt observation[2] and accompanied it by taking pictures and notes, in which my position as a researcher was visible. During the field observations, I conducted short on-site interviews introducing myself as a research student. My visible position as a researcher in the public space facilitated conducting interviews and asking people, as people would not be ambiguous towards my identity. Some users also approached me to be interviewed or to ask what I was doing. Moreover, the researcher's positionality can change from one context to another (Teye, 2012), which can affect his observation process and data interpretation. Sometimes, my perceptions of different activities observed on-site (e.g. children playing, landscape qualities) could be shaped by my personal identity of being in academe in landscape architecture, my gender, ethnicity or life stage. Hence, reflexivity has to be considered through understanding my position, the context and time of a conducted method, which support the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. The repeated observations and the recorded field notes and reflections provided an opportunity to be reflexive during the observation and data analysis.

Even though the observation process was flexible to some extent, repeating site visits, considering the time and seasons, predetermining the observation points, focusing on the research aims and conducting the observations based on predetermined questions these are also ways to overcome the challenge of bias. In the analysis, to avoid confirmation bias, I primarily relied on what people were saying and not my observation; however, the observations were fundamental for supporting the analysis for validity. Robustness of the collected data increased through supporting the on-site in-depth interviews with the broad ethnography: researcher observations at different times and days and short on-site interviews with a wide sections of the users. Using multiple methods including on-site interviews, participant-led interviews and expert interviews together with observation validate the research findings through having participants' interpretations and practitioners' perspectives (Fetterman, 2010; Teye, 2012). Contextuality also places a check on the negative influence of bias (Fetterman, 2010), accordingly, skills of landscape architecture in intensively understanding the context appear to be fundamental here.

[2] Usually observation is described as covert/overt or participant or non-participant (Bryman, 2004).

3.5.1.2 On-site short interviews

Participants were approached on-site during site visits and the interviews were conducted at this point. The on-site interviews were a primary source for the site specific data, and the observations were fundamental to support this data. The questions were designed to specifically address aim one: To understand the everyday activities, preferences and motivations for using POS in Bahrain, with a particular emphasis on the experiences of users from migrant backgrounds.

The researchers often support their field observations with interviews to embrace questions that are not possible to answer only through the observation (Bryman, 2004; O'Reilly, 2012; Gehl Svarre, 2013). In this research, the ethnography is based on both on-site interviews and direct observations to understand the socio-spatial settings and hidden experiences, understand the context of the case study, validate the data and support the analysis. However, it would be a challenge to depend on observation to record demographic data and nuances of activities and affordances for encounters as the main data for the analysis. Gehl and Svarre (2013) suggest that the question of who, where, what and how could be answered through observation. Yet, to accurately define users' different groups, age and nationalities through observation alone can be problematic, particularly given the complexity of transcultural cities. In Bahrain, like many other parts of the world, it is difficult to understand people's origin through observation, and there are similar concerns about age.

Together, both observation and the semi-structured interview reveal the breadth of ways people use and value POS. In this research, it was possible to understand the different activities at the site through observation; the interview tool, however, provided additional details about the people's preferences, values and their motivations for using the POS in their everyday life. These details supported the analysis to determine how the different uses of POS are integrating and changing along with people's motivations, values, gender, generational and transnational identities. In the fieldwork, comparison of the sites was not one of the research objectives; however, people compared between the sites in the interviews, which showed their perceptions, socio-spatial associations and affordances of places in addition to the mobility of pattern of use and encounters, which also supports the analysis of second aim.

a) Preparing and conducting the on-site interviews:

Schroeder (1991) asserts that a qualitative survey provides much more rich and useful data than quantitative surveys in studies concerning people's relation to landscape and their perception. The design of the interview-prompt was qualitative, largely comprising of open-ended questions, seeking to understand rather than prove hypothesis or test significance. The questions were designed from the objectives of the first aim to investigate how activities change in different case studies, at different times and on different days throughout the year and how these are reflected and shaped by different users in transcultural cities. The interview was divided into three parts: First, how each participant was using the site at the time of the interview, the second part helped to understand the typical uses at other times or days and the third part provided demographic information. The interviews also included questions about other different POS frequented by the interviewees to appreciate different perceptions and meanings and mobilising of meanings (Section 2.3.2). Appendix Three illustrates the short on-site interview sheet.

During the observation sessions, copies of printed sheets with prepared questions were used to conduct the interviews. The approach was systematic and ensured that the same questions were covered with each respondent. I filled in the sheets during the interviews supporting the responses with notes from the observations. The questions used could also be modified to include more or less detail depending on the extent I identified important issues during the course of the interview. Though they were short interviews that generally took a few minutes (3-5 minutes), some interviewees extended their responses. In general, users welcomed taking part in the interviews, although a few participants politely apologised and refrained from participating. When conducting research on site, participants also narrated stories and memories relevant to the space or other spaces, an additional benefit of conducting the interviews on-site.

I used an on-going sampling process to select the respondents. The initial selection was based on a random process e.g. every 10th or 5th person depending on the intensity of the users during the site visit. This way of sampling broadly reflected the users of the POS. A follow- up schedule was also prepared during the fieldwork to track the interviewees, with purposeful selection in the latter stages informed by addressing known gaps relative to the demographics of site users. This sampling process ensures inclusivity and that the participants represent the users. The sampling was based mainly on people's willingness to be interviewed, their language ability and demographic and cultural factors. This research investigated eight case study areas, and gained a total of 85 interviews. Depending on the popularity and size of each site, the number of respondents varied accordingly, between 6 and 19, with an average of 13.

Appendix Two shows the distribution of the conducted interviews. Appendix four presents data about participants in short interviews.

3.5.2 In-depth ethnography: Go-along interviews

It was also important to conduct more in-depth ethnography (and not only broad scope site visits) to explore individual perspectives, values, memories and nuances of meanings through one-to-one participant-led extended walking interviews at the site. Due to the complexities, the in-depth ethnographic approach would be important in order to explore meaningful encounters in POS. This also helps to understand both how people's experiences in the site are shaped by their identities and history and how places can support adaptation spatially and temporally, particularly with intersectionality and cultural differences.

Interviews have been used in studies when more understanding of social processes and meanings are required (Mason, 1996). Though laughing, smiling and acknowledging others are common body languages observed in the fieldwork, Patton (1990, p.278) argues that the information gained during field observation is limited to people's external behaviour in that particular setting and it is not possible to observe individuals' feelings, thoughts and intentions, or to understand past experiences and memories or how people have organised their lives and their belongings. These limitations become more complicated with cultural differences in superdiverse contexts (Vertovec, 2007a).

'Go-along' ethnography is a combination of observation, in-depth interview and storytelling, and was selected as an appropriate method for achieving the second aim: To explore how conviviality is supported or aggravated in urban public spaces within the context of an ethnically diverse population (analysed and discussed in Chapters six and seven). To achieve the second aim, the go-along interview could explore nuances of meanings and experiences of social encounters and details regarding individual spatial and temporal negotiations and decisions. This method also supports the analysis of the first aim (particularly the third objective) with refined details relevant to the history of places and past experiences that shape the values and preferences of using POS added to the theory of cultural transformation and process of adaptation and hybridity.

Kusenbach (2003) clarifies that the go-along interview is an innovative ethnographic instrument used to explore the role of place in everyday experience and the interaction pattern in the public realm. Comparing to 'hanging out' sort of ethnography, the go-along

interview is systematic and pre-arranged and tends to be more focused; this may prompt the participants to talk about places, not only people (Kusenbach, 2003; Evans and Jones, 2011; Holton and Riley, 2014). This method concerns the affiliation between people and place, a method which bridges understanding between academic research in geography and landscape architecture with precedents within psycho-geography, cultural geography and anthropology (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). Armstrong (2004), Oliveira (2011), Rishbeth (2013 and 2014) all suggest that the walking interview is a dynamic method to explore place attachment and memories, and thus explore experiences post migration in transnational spaces. These same qualities shape relevance in the field of planning and design (Evans and Jones, 2011).

The go-along interview is a hybrid between observation and interview method that overcomes certain shortcomings of observation and interviewing (Kusenbach, 2003; Anderson, J., 2004; Carpiano, 2009). What makes this instrument unique is that the researcher can observe the participants *in situ* while, at the same time, access their experiences, reflection and interpretations (Kusenbach, 2003; Carpiano, 2009). The researcher can also use body movement to understand the relation between participants and the place (Anderson, J., 2004; Rose et al., 2010).

This method combines mobility and methodology (Kusenbach, 2003; Jones et al., 2008; Holton and Riley, 2014). In this manner, Jones et al. (2008) explains, *"Whether considering movement by the participant or the researcher, mobility takes the research process out of fixed (safe, controlled) environments and introduces a range of new issues to consider"* (p.9). However, Jones et al. (2008) assert that combining mobility with research methodology is not a totally new approach. They add that, in ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher often studies the subject in motion, rather than taking a participant out of their everyday context to ask them questions about their life. Furthermore, walking is also used as a method in ethnography and anthropology research (Pink, 2008).

Because of the nature of the go-along interview, it could add rich data in relation to the research question and explore cultural practices, prompts for memory and social interactions with spatial association. Kusenbach (2003) states that go-along interviews can explore the essence of spatial practices and engagement in and with the environment. Spatial practice means that people can be more or less aware of and engaged with the surrounding spaces through the course of their everyday lives and mundane routines at different times with various degrees and quality, shaping multiple contexts of meanings for personal identities (Kusenbach, 2003). In this manner, Anderson, J. (2004) adds that by using the go-along

interview, researchers can become aware of the routines and practices in which people build their knowledge of places. Go-along interviews can also uncover the past experiences that shape people's present engagements with their environments and how the participants integrate memories with meanings (Kusenbach, 2003; Anderson, J., 2004). Anderson, J. (2004), Jones et al. (2008) and Holton and Riley (2014) find that go-along interviews can stimulate the memory and tell a story through participants' own expressions about their connection to certain places. Rishbeth (2014) suggests that the walking interview is more than narrative data; it explores the sensory collection through storytelling. Pink (2008) describes walking in ethnography as multi-sensory experiences that can explore materiality and sociality in a place. Go-along interviews can also explore varying patterns of interaction and help understand social encounters from the perspectives of participants (Kusenbach, 2003). This method can capture the role of place in shaping social interaction in the daily activity (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003).

a) Preparing and conducting go-along interviews:

The purpose of the go-along interviews in this research was to explore more in-depth findings in relation to the research aims and objectives and socio-spatial associations, which shaped the specific method used – a participant selected route and time undertaken on foot. The design of the method needed also to address a number of challenges e.g. climate in summer, walking inconvenience, being visible, cultural sensitivity, keeping interview on topic and number of the interviews. Writing the interview while walking is another challenge, particularly regarding the in-depth quality of the interviews.

Accordingly, the design of this method was very flexible to benefit from the quality of on-foot interview and place association, while also aiming to overcome the challenges. The concern of this selected method in the research was not about the distance and walking practice, but mainly the socio-spatial dimension, which overcame the challenge of walking. Some contexts and interviews provided an opportunity to only move a short distance. An important quality of the walking interview is that besides the researcher; it also enabled the participant to be an observer so that the researcher perceived the site through the eyes of the participant. Kusenbach (2003) and Carpiano (2009) explain that go-along interview can be conducted by walking or traveling on a bus, on a train or in a car, and the decision depends on the context, but walking is more productive. In Bahrain, the main means of transport is cars. This is because Bahrain does not have a train system and public buses are not a popular choice among the people. Socio-economic status determines the affordability of owning a car, and a large section

of the migrant population cannot afford a car. Hence, bearing in mind the need for social inclusivity, (in addition to safety, socio-spatial interaction and physical qualities of POS), I conducted the interviews through walking on-site.

In my research, the participants selected the case study in which they were familiar and interested in. They chose the route they used to walk within the selected case studies, which supported participant-led interviews and overcame the challenge of walking inconveniences and being visible. For example, Rahman met in Khalifa Garden context but selected to conduct the Go-along in Hunainiyah context and on the ridge. Similarly, Faiza was interviewed in Riffa city but also selected to conduct the walking interview in Bab Al-Bahrain in Manama city, and she chose to start from the roundabout to the souq alleys and directed me through the alleys as an insider. The participant-led go-along interviews, which allow the participant to choose the route from their routine practice, provided a more natural setting (Jones et al., 2008; Evans and Jones, 2011). The participants also selected the time and day for the interview, which helped overcome the challenge of climate. The participants use these spaces for leisure and change their using time between winter and summer, which shaped the different interviews' timings accordingly.

I considered cultural sensitivity when interviewing men in go-along interviews; therefore, my husband accompanied me, e.g. with Rahman in Hunainiyah context, Kareem and Irfan in Bab Al-Bahrain Area, or the interviewees were accompanied by a female member, Rashid in Khalifa Garden, Nazir in Hunainiyah Park and Adam in Arad Park.

To respect the time of the interviewee and using the time efficiently, I prepared a number of questions as guidelines for the go-along interview (refer to the Appendix Five) to keep the interview broadly on topic. Asking for more information about the place could be useful if it is done without disturbing the natural flow of activity (Kusenbach, 2003). Kusenbach (2003) finds that through asking questions, listening and observing, fieldworkers can explore participants' experiences and practices as they move and interact through the walking interview. Carpiano (2009) used semi-structured and prepared questions and topics along with ad hoc questions. Kusenbach (2003) explained that it is possible during the interview to point to nearby features to allow participants to reflect and for the interviewer to interpret from their responses what they think and feel about their environment. Rose et al. (2010) occasionally prompted the participant to comment on the environment. They further investigated the spatial use and feeling of the space through observing the participants' actions and how they moved and used

their bodies. Kusenbach (2003) emphasised that it is important the researcher gives little information and participates less in the interview.

Regarding the number of interviews, being an in-depth qualitative method, the number of interviews should be considered alongside both the richness of data and the range and insight of the data gathered. By using the 'journeying' method I did not intend to necessarily designate a walking interview to each case study or expect to have one walking interview per case study, but rather to achieve a spread of participants and cover diverse urban areas within Bahrain. For the selection of participants, during the site visits, the information sheets were distributed particularly to the contributors in the on-site short interviews. I distributed 40 information sheets. I also requested them to participate in the go-along interview if they were interested in sharing their experience of using open spaces and in conducting a walking interview in and around their familiar spaces or near the current location. This resulted in a range of 'starting points'. The information sheet clearly specified that I was looking for either women or men, Bahraini or non-Bahraini over 18 years of age, who can have a conversation in English or Arabic (writing skills are not important), and a user of any POS in the selected case studies. Some of the participants accepted to do the go-along interview directly; however, others contacted me later to arrange the interview.

The time allocated to fieldwork allowed me to conduct 13 go-along interviews with 18 people and related to six case studies with a 45- minute average duration. Five of the 13 interviews were conducted with Bahrainis and the rest of the participants belonged to different Asian migrant backgrounds: Syrian, Indian, Balochis, Malaysian and Indonesian. Appendix Six illustrates the go-along participants. To overcome the challenge of script recordings during the interview, audio recordings were used with participants' consent (Kusenbach, 2003; Rose et al., 2010). After completing each go-along interview, the interview was transcribed and a field note was prepared from the recording including interviewer notes as to context (Kusenbach, 2003).

3.5.3 Expert interviews

This research also gathered data from eight expert interviews. The expert interview method is valuable to validate the perceived verity of the qualitative data from a different perspective and to draw out reactions to this (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). Studies such as Rishbeth (2004), Powell and Rishbeth (2012) and Siu (2013) accompanied their researches on cultural diversity in POS and perception of users with practitioner interviews for testing, exploring and

triangulating the outcomes of the data through a broader view, which clarifies that practitioner interviews are helpful and important in terms of an overall research programme. Powell and Rishbeth (2012) interviewed practitioners *"to seek confirmation of key issues which emerged from the raw data, to analyse significance, and identify areas of convergence and divergence with regard to experiences and values"* (p.73).

Expert interviews helped address the third aim of this research, which is framing the research findings with professional practice interviews to inform design approaches and policies for planning and managing open spaces. Increasingly, academic research has a commitment to 'impact' and this can be significant in relation to findings from ethnographic practices (Lawrence-Zuniga, 2011; Rishbeth et al., 2018). Disciplines such as landscape architecture, with a longstanding professional focus, is built on a long tradition of connecting research with practice. However, within academic explorations of transnational places, mostly within sociological and anthropological fields, there have traditionally been limited attempts to explore the practical implications for urban design and place management practices. By attending to practitioners' expertise within the framework of this research, it has been possible to ground the findings on a pragmatic practice: awareness of key contexts, ability to identify key barriers and current shortfalls in provision and gain some insight into good practice and promising directions.

a) Planning and conducting expert interviews

Within the methodological framework in this research, the broad scope of the expert interviews was to add professional perspective to the research, and the main purposes were to:

1. Gather additional data and further understanding of the historical and contemporary contexts and policies.
2. Triangulate the findings and instigate a (limited and unestablished) collaborative analytical lens.
3. Test the relevance of findings for practice, which provides a landscape architectural specificity to the research outcomes.

The basis for selection of the interviewees is shaped by several broad categories or criteria. The criteria were developed around the main aims of the research relevant to the professional specialisation and selected case studies: planning, design, management of POS, regeneration,

renovation and conservation of POS and heritage sites, policing of public spaces, migration and cohesion agenda. The categories of the selection were further fine-tuned with the emerging findings and themes such as community involvement, public right, and parenting and littering issues.

The final broad categories that shape the selection of the expert interviewees were: planning, design and management of POS, and community involvement and the new theme of social and professional responsibility in dealing with different practices in public. The relevant organisations were selected and subsequently the expert interviewees in the selected organisations were approached because of their long and in-depth experience in the significant areas of the research focus and emerging findings. These professionals also held key positions that enabled them to provide a broad understanding of policies, decisions and measures implemented with regard to public spaces and the selected case studies. In this research, the preliminary proposal was to conduct five to seven interviews with the intention to modify the list contingent to the findings from the other methods.

Conducting expert interviews was based on the need to prioritise interpretation and the significance of the data so as to justify the findings within practice. The decision was made to conduct these interviews toward the end of the main fieldwork when data had been gathered and some findings had been revealed. However, I was aware that this would also be dependent on the availability of the high-profile interviewees, particularly given the fact that I was in Bahrain for specified periods only to conduct the interviews. Therefore, certain opportunism and flexibility was needed and I had to utilise any opportunity that arose to schedule the interviews. For example, the first interview with an expert from the Authority of Culture was conducted during the main fieldwork at an earlier stage than the other expert interviews; however, only after some general understanding had already been obtained.

Besides being opportunistic, conducting the expert interviews at different stages of the research broadened the value of the expert interviews. For instance, the initial expert interviews were also useful to secure an early perspective from practitioners about the feasibility of this research in Bahrain. By the conclusion all the conducted interviews, their questions and the timing of the meetings were productive and valuable and the responses provided professional perspectives that framed the findings.

To conduct the interviews I had letters of support from the research funding body to contact the organisations and the expert interviewees. The interviewees arranged for the place and

the time of the interview. Most of the interviews were conducted in the workplace of the interviewees, except for three phone interviews upon requests from the interviewees. Ethical considerations for the expert interviews were reflected within the main ethics application for the research; the consent forms included a clause seeking permission for recording, optional however, and verbal consent was taken for recording the phone interviews.

b) List of expert interviews:

Ultimately, eight formal in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts from different organisations. The following explains the basis for sampling, both regarding key organisations, and the individuals (and their professional roles) within these.

1. Urban planning, design, management and renovation of outdoor spaces: When conducting research in landscape architecture, it is fundamental to explore the experts' perspectives on the influence diverse cultural practices and management of POS have on each other. The findings on the potential for and constraints on social interaction in public open spaces across differences would also be tested in relation to the practice. Expert expectations on how people use the POS were used to triangulate the findings and provide a collaborative analytical lens. By having a number of case studies, formal and informal, understanding different collaborations that inform decisions about POS in Bahrain could also be obtained.

   Under this broad category, the decisions about specific selection of the relevant organisations and interviewees had been made as follows:

   - Municipality of Manama in Ministry of Works, Municipalities Affairs and Urban Planning (MWMAUP):

     Maintenance and Operation Engineer of Parks and Gardens, Fatima Hamza.

     Director of Properties and Parks in Municipality of Manama, Landscape Architect Zuhair Al-Dallal.

     Urban Observatory Chief in the Department of Urban Planning, Architect Wafa Sharif.

I had also visited different municipalities in Bahrain and talked informally with different practitioners. I also conducted short interviews with the workers and on-site wardens in the selected parks and gardens.

- Authority for Culture and Antiquities: Head of Architectural Affairs, Architect Noura Al-Sayeh.

I was looking to access the management and design organisation responsible for Amwaj-lagoon, but I was not able to interview their management personnel because the concerned organisation was undergoing a process of evolving and changing. Yet, the expert interviewees from MWMAUP provided their perspective and knowledge about this case study.

2. Community involvement in professional practice: It is important to understand the role of community in providing and regulating POS and how they are being involved. Aspects of public participation would be discussed with expert interviewees; yet, selecting interviewees who are involved in practice from the community would further help to gain real insight into community involvement in practice and test how successful this approach was in relation to findings. In Block-338, the role of community in design and management of the space and temporary intervention appeared significant in the collected data. In parks and gardens, the role of Friends Groups was revealed in the collected data as well as in other expert interviews. Hence, the selection here were as following:

    - Al-Riwaq Art Space, a community centre in Block-338: The founder of Al-Riwaq Art Space, Artist Bayan Al-Baker,

    - Friends Groups of Parks and Gardens in Bahrain: General Coordinator of the Association of Friends Groups and Vice President of the Friends Groups of the Capital Gardens, Mohamed Al-A'ali.

3. Social and professional responsibility in dealing with different practices in public spaces: This category is specifically relevant to parenting and cleanliness themes and mainly to the question of who is responsible for dealing with emerging issues in POS in Bahrain. Issues relevant to parenting and cleanliness would be discussed in different expert interviews, and since the conflicts continued to prevail, I sought different

expert perspectives from professional fields other than planning, design and management of POS. With aspects relevant to parenting issues in POS, I wanted to investigate if there are any regulations in Bahrain about children being in public spaces and how such regulations, if any, could affect children's rights in using parks and gardens. It would be also important to explore any concerns raised relevant to parenting practices in public spaces from an expert perspective to triangulate the findings. I was also looking for more understanding about policies that regulate POS in Bahrain with regard to different practices in public.

Under the third broad category, in Bahrain, there are no specific organisations that deal with issues related to parenting and cleanliness in public spaces. Hence, the decision was to interview the following expert individuals with relation to the obligation of public organisations in Bahrain:

- Member of the Supreme Council for Women - President of the Arab Society for the Prevention of Violence Against Children, Dr. Fadhila Al-Mahroos was interviewed to obtain an overview of policies relevant to parenting practices and protecting children's rights in using public services.

- Attorney and expert in human right and public international law, Dr. Ahmed Farhan was interviewed for further understanding of regulation in public spaces.

Dr. Ahmed Farhan also highlighted the absence of organisations that work under a cohesion and integration agenda in Bahrain compared with the western countries, and explained that the policies of migration in the region are different. This explains why it was not possible to find a key informant relevant to the category of cohesion agenda and integration in relation to migration in Bahrain. As a result of his position and specialisation, Dr. Ahmed Farhan also contributed to the research his knowledge of migration policies and his perspective on migrants use of urban spaces.

c) Context of Interview:

The semi-structured questions for the expert interviews covered three key areas:

1. Understanding the professional role and perspectives of the interviewees.

2. Gaining additional contextual data on the local histories and policy of some or all of the case study locations.
3. Sharing some of the emerging data and reflecting on the findings.

For the first key area, the questions were designed to understand in-depth about their professional role and experience. The questions took a general and open approach such as asking about the greatest challenges the experts faced in their projects, different collaborations and inputs essential for informing briefs or decisions, aspects of the scheme they are most proud of, and experiences and skills they gained from undertaking certain projects. For the second key area, some questions directly relevant to the case studies highlighting strategies, process and decision for planning, management, design and funding and the stories behind the case studies concerned were required. I also asked for supporting documentations such as reports. For the third key area, the interviewees' perspectives about the main topic of the research were obtained by asking about their expectations, and any changes they had observed over time about how people use the POS. Within the expert interviews, clarifications and reflections were also sought when the participants introduced topics which had emerged in the fieldwork as relevant to the research themes (e.g. leisure activities, open space management, walkability, notions of publicness, social interactions, parenting and cleanliness).

The emphasis between these sections would vary depending on the nature of the expert's role and the timing of the interview within the research project. For example, when interviewing experts from a professional field other than built-environment, questions about design and management were not asked. Timing had also an impact on what content could be addressed in individual interviews and in this research, some interviews were conducted at an earlier stage.

d) Generating Data:

To turn the expert interviews into data and use them in the research, all interviews were recorded and transcribed. I read and listened to them several times to make detailed notes and highlight the main topics. Table 3.4 presents the list of the eight expert interviews and a summary of the covered topics organised within a timescale. These main topics were compared to the findings from the other methods to identify correlations and contradictions: where they supported or elaborated and where there were conflicts or discrepancies (as analysed and discussed in Chapter Eight).

1	**Noura Al Sayeh: Architect and Head of Architectural Affairs in the Authority of Culture**	**16.09.14**

- *Management of cultural and heritage sites (specifically Sahat and Bab Al-Bahrain renovations).*
- *Integrating elements and concepts of contemporary urban design in the historical sites (such as micro-POS, walkability, water bodies and microclimate).*
- *Considering contemporary needs in historical sites.*
- *Reflections on the impact POS has on social interaction in contexts of cultural diversity.*
- *Limitations of current understanding in professional practice with regard to social interaction across difference.*
- *Relevance of political contexts.*
- *Potential of temporary interventions.*

2	**Fatema Hamza: Maintenance and Operation Engineer in Parks and Gardens Department in Manama Municipality**	**20.01.15**

- *Main procedures in the maintenance and operation of parks and gardens.*
- *Patterns of use affect the maintenance (such as littering and misuse).*
- *The actions taken to minimise certain practices (placing instructions boards in parks and gardens, increasing number of security guards and raising awareness for example, Friend Groups).*
- *Examples of contacts that would be initiated between the work-team (e.g. supervisors) and the users.*

3	**Wafa Sharif: Architect and Chief of Urban Observatory in Ministry of Works, Municipalities Affairs and Urban Planning.**	**29.12.15**

- *Information about decisions and strategies taken in assigning land for POS.*
- *Planning standards categorise POS as parks and gardens according to their different sizes to: National Parks and Neighbourhood Gardens.*
- *The significance of private investments in providing public spaces (e.g. Amwaj-lagoon).*
- *Challenges of political and economic forces in shaping planning decision.*
- *Reflection on social exclusion developed from certain decisions.*
- *Role of design and management (particularly distribution of activities or walkability) in supporting social interaction and limitation in practice in reflecting and understanding people's lives.*
- *Cleanliness is a management problem in POS.*

4	**Zuhair Al-Dallal: Landscape Architect and Director of Properties and Parks**	**06.01.16** **07.01.16**

- *The importance of POS in Bahrain.*
- *Different decisions and procedures taken in different case studies, including parks and gardens, Block-338 and Bab Al Bahrain.*
- *Community gardens (or neighbourhood gardens) are small-sized gardens and serve a smaller population and are located within residential areas, whilst the national parks serve a larger population and to which the users have to drive to access.*
- *The size of the park determines the number of the provided activities.*
- *Reflection on some limitations in design and management of POS, such as current design standards of parks and gardens (national and neighbourhood) are not reflecting contemporary needs; the importance of walkability quality in Bahrain is not formally considered in practice; there is no proper cooperation between planning, management and design; restrictions in planning regulations on providing new activities influence design and management; there are no evaluations of projects; and there are no proper site inventory for better understanding of different social factors.*
- *How pattern of use affect management procedures (unexpected vandalism, littering and misuse) and that the actions taken in management (security, instruction board, locking toilets, eliminating seating) to overcome these challenges are not always effective to resolve them.*
- *Calling for new vision in the concept of POS and design of parks and gardens that reflect diversity in population and that people are changing.*
- *Block-338 is a significant initiative of POS project in Bahrain with walkability quality.*

5	**Mohammed Al-A'ali: General Coordinator of the Association of Friends Groups and Vice President of the Friends Group of the Capital Gardens**	**11.01.16**
	• *The story behind launching Friends Group in Bahrain.* • *The structure of Friends Group and a description of their roles and duties, their achievements, the limitation and the problems the group faced.* • *Friends Groups could be more effective in dealing with misuse than security.* • *The concept of volunteering in Bahrain.* • *The future vision for Friends Group in Bahrain.*	
6	**Bayan Al-Baker: Artist and founder of Al-Riwaq Art Space, a non-profit private space to support the community.**	**14.01.16**
	• *The role of the public in managing Block-338 and in arranging activities.* • *The role of the development projects for public benefits.* • *The challenges of funding in community projects as they are without any financial rewards.* • *Protecting the role of public spaces and providing high standards public services that respect people's needs and suit the public taste.* • *The importance of elevating people's feeling of responsibility toward owning and sharing public spaces with others.* • *Differences and that people change, which is reflected in the history of Manama, to be accepted and recognised and to be considered in providing public spaces and events.* • *The role of Al-Riwaq Center and the role of art in providing high standard public events and outdoor urban activities.* • *The concept of short-term projects and urban design in the streets of Block-338.*	
7	***Dr. Fadhila Al-Mahroos: Paediatrician and professor at the Faculty of Medicine and Biomedical Sciences at the Arabian Gulf University, Member of the Supreme Council for Women and a former president of the Arab Society for the Prevention of Violence against Children.***	**21.01.16**
	• *Overview of the country's obligations towards protecting children's rights in using parks and gardens.* • *Children's law as a policy framework to shape the provided services by different organisations.* • *The provision of public parks is part of the public services for children's benefits are the responsibility of the country and the organisations.* • *Regulations regarding parenting responsibility in public spaces are not established in Bahrain.*	
8	**Dr. Ahmed Farhan: Attorney and expert in human right and public law**	**24.01.16**
	• *Insight into policies relevant to migrants' situation in Bahrain.* • *The regulation in POS particularly regarding misuse or littering.* • *Reflection on the nature of social mixing between local and migrants in public life in Bahrain, while there is limitation of policies on integration.* • *Philosophy of law and jurisprudence of assigning fees or punishment.* • *Regulation in POS should be under the management authority of the space not under the law.* • *Assigning entry fees for public parks and gardens could be a dangerous strategy.* • *Clarity and specificities of regulation and engagement of people should be considered when assigning regulation.* • *Story behind the recent fee regulation in Khalifa Garden. It was targeting users younger than 20 years old, as the residents perceive that it is users in this age group who misuse the Garden.* • *Perspectives on the misuse of public space as shaped by the class of users and their education and culture.* • *Thoughts on the importance of considering transparency between different classes and cultures in the management of POS.*	

Table 3.4 List of the expert interviews and a summary of the covered topics.

3.5.4 Overview of fieldwork methods

Main aims	Objectives		Broad ethnography (Observation and interview)	In-depth ethnography (Go-along interview)		Expert interview
Aim 1: To understand the everyday activities, preferences and motivations for using POS in Bahrain, with a particular emphasis on the experiences of users from migrant backgrounds	Understand how the use of outdoor spaces is reflected across different typologies of spaces.	Pilot site visits, December 2013, May 2014: Selecting case studies and General understanding of the sites	Spending time on site and observation built on-site interpretations and narrative description of what is happening at different times. The interview supported the observation with more understanding of different activities and personal data from participants' responses and description, which supported the narrative account.	Participant led interview with more details of participants' observation and interpretation of what is happening, in different places and at different times, who are the users, and more details of past experiences and places.	Analysis of the conducted interviews, supported by the narrative description of the observation and visual evidences to achieve aim one and two. The analyses provided more understanding of interaction of data. The observation also provided data about the spatial and physical qualities. (These findings are covered in Chapters Five, Six and Seven)	Triangulate the findings and provide a collaborative analytical lens which add a professional perspective and voice to the research. Test the relevance of findings for practice and shape a landscape architectural specificity to the research outcomes, which frame the findings from the other methods. Provide a broad understanding of the policies and gather additional data and further understanding of the historical and contemporary context. (The findings covered in Chapter Eight)
	Investigate how these uses are reflected at different times of the day and year,					
	How they are reflected with intersectionalities in gender, socio-economic status, generation and migrants' identities.					
	Address how the history of migration shapes the values and preferences of using POS.					
Aim 2: To explore how conviviality is supported or aggravated in urban public spaces within the context of an ethnically diverse population.	Explore how everyday activities support different types of social interaction in formal and informal spaces.	Pilot go along: To test the feasibility of conducting this in-depth interview in Bahrain and in addressing the research aims	The observation provided general understanding of interaction of different activities across different sites. The short interview also broadened the scope of the in-depth interview to include wider sector of the users.	This provided in-depth data from participant point of view with regard to understanding social interaction in site across cultural diversity and different practices and affordances of spaces.		
	Investigate how conviviality is shaped with regard to cultural and ethnic differences.					
	Examine both supportive and problematic spatio-temporal negotiation in transcultural use of POS.					
Aim 3: To identify the potential of planning and design of POS for supporting conviviality in transcultural public spaces.	Address the current policies for implementing POS in Bahrain.					
	Identify culturally appropriate opportunities for supporting conviviality in public open spaces.					
	Inform design approaches and policies for planning and managing open spaces specifically within Middle Eastern and Islamic contexts.					

Table 3.5 Summary of the fieldwork linking research aims and methods.

As an overview, this research was primarily based on case study strategy supported by multiple data collection techniques. Observation, short interviews and go-along interviews were conducted in the selected case studies with ethnographic approach to collect a range of data from a broad to in-depth understanding of the social reality in POS in Bahrain. The data collection and analysis from the case studies were also supported and validated with expert interviews at different stages of the research. The combination of methods is appropriate for fulfilling the objectives of the research, which therefore meets the overall aims as summarised in Table 3.5.

3.6 Qualitative data analysis

The research analysis was conducted using qualitative data analysis approach (QDA). This approach includes a range of processes and procedures that develop the collected data into some form of coherent explanation, understanding or interpretation of the investigated social situations (Taylor and Gibbs, 2010). The main purpose behind QDA is to identify patterns, concepts, themes and meanings. Creswell (2003) explains, *"The qualitative data analysis may be a description of both the story and themes that emerge from it"* (p.56). Bogdan and Biklen (2003) define QDA as *"working with the data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them, and searching for patterns"* (p.159). Different approaches were used to analyse the collected data at different stages, which yielded diverse outcomes.

3.6.1 Organising and transcribing of data

Organising data is part of QDA process. In my research, the data was organised continuously throughout the data collection process and a filing system was established to save all the collected data. The handwritten notes from short interviews were directly typed up after each site visit. All the voice memos were transcribed, and the photographs were arranged by date, time and case studies. The Arabic interviews were translated into English immediately either during the interview on site, or when typing [3]. All recorded go-along interviews were translated and transcribed immediately after the field visit. I took the decision to do all the organising, transcribing and typing of the data by myself as it would enable me to understand the data as a whole throughout the process and support the analysis. Organising the data,

[3] The interviews were conducted in English or Arabic, but many participants were using a mix of Arabic-English language

including field notes, maps, voice memos and photographs helped me to develop an initial framework or coding plan.

3.6.2 Coding

The QDA broadly took some principles from the Grounded Theory Analysis Approach that developed these codes directly from the data, which supported the research process. Coding is an analytic term in Grounded Theory Approach (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006, p.46) explains, *"Grounded theory coding fosters studying action and processes"*. He states, *"Coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data"* (p.46). He also finds that *"coding is more than a beginning; it shapes an analytic frame from which you build the analysis"* (p.45). In QDA, there are deductive and inductive approaches (i.e. top-down and bottom-up coding systems). The deductive approach uses the research questions to group the data and then look for similarities and differences, while the inductive approach uses the emergent data to group the data and then look for relationships (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Taylor and Gibbs 2010). Many real qualitative data analyses use some of each (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Braun and Clarke, 2006).

In the research, the decision was made to code the transcripts of both the on-site short interviews and the go-along interviews. The expert interviews, field notes, photos, voice memos and other secondary data were not coded, but they were used to support the analysis as explained further above in Section 3.5.1.1 for the field observation data and Section 3.5.3 for the expert Interviews. The coding process in this study was conducted sometimes word by word, line by line and mostly incident to incident (Charmaz, 2006). According to Charmaz (2006, p.53) 'people's actions in a public place' is better to be coded incident to incident. He asserts:

> *"To gain analytic insights from observations of routine actions in ordinary settings, first compare and code similar events. Then you may define subtle patterns and significant processes. Later, comparing dissimilar events may give you further insights"* (p.53).

For the coding system, I found both pre-coding and bottom-up approaches useful for analysing the fieldwork data .The bottom-up coding framework provides new codes found in the data and with the on-going process of open coding; top-down coding process is decided on a specific pre-determined category simultaneously. Bottom-up coding technique was suitable for this research because it intensely examines the realities. Throughout the inductive coding process, coding was based on the content (used words and interpreted meanings of the coded

part in the data) and different names (labels, titles or phrases) were used to specify the emergent codes.

The coding was done to find rhythm and patterns and categorise the data based on the coding system and themes such as: activities, values and benefit, case studies, other places, climate, economic factors, time, daily, difficulties and mobility. There were many codes, but they were categorised or clustered and linked to develop into new themes or into the initial theme plan. Focused coding establishes relationships between the selective codes, usually through clustering related codes together and related categories and subcategories (Charmaz, 2006). The clustering codes and developing themes in this research are supported by theoretical coding.

3.6.3 Structuring

A process of structuring (or Theoretical Coding) was used to identify pattern and connection and make sense from codes. This analysis stage found the coherence and the flow across the data, and how the codes are set within the whole narrative in which stories are revealed. Charmaz (2006) defines:

> *"Theoretical coding is a sophisticated level of coding that follows the codes you have selected during focused coding. [...] Theoretical codes specify possible relationships between categories you have developed in your focused coding"* (p.63).

Charmaz (2006) further explains that theoretical coding:

> *"can aid in making your analysis coherent and comprehensible. Depending on the data you have and on what you learn about them, you may find that your analysis takes into account several coding families. For example, you may clarify the general context and specific conditions in which a particular phenomenon is evident. You may be able to specify the conditions under which it changes and to outline its consequences. You might learn its temporal and structural orderings and discover participants' strategies for dealing with them"* (p.63).

At this stage, themes are developed into theoretical ideas, which were used for writing up. Theoretical coding is a shift from detailed coding to a more literary style where certain themes and coding indicated important sections and headers for this thesis.

The main aim at this stage is checking and comparing the coding to the theory and other codes. The selected codes were interesting because some of them appeared in the literature in other geographical contexts or because they did not appear in the literature but prevailed in my findings (such as parenting and cleanliness) and yielded new understanding. Using 'constant comparison', a grounded theory analysis approach, means constantly reading and re-reading through the codes being currently attributed to the data and comparing between codes and theory to check both consistency and contradiction (Creswell, 2003). For example, I considered the codes that specify social interaction in relation to theory to define how meaningful encounter could be generated and how loose encounter could be meaningful. Theoretical coding also allowed me to find a connection between wellbeing in POS, social interaction, meaningfulness and migration.

3.6.4 Using of QDA software

The analysis of qualitative data is facilitated by Nvivo; computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (Bazeley, 2013). Nvivo was helpful to store the data, sort them and arrange them systematically by which the coding was easily accessible. The software enabled me to read through the data several times, and the provided tools helped me in managing the coding of the large amount of data. The tools of the software allowed me to do the analysis corresponding to the type of interviews, people, place and any other variables. The Nvivo also made it easy to trace the quotes to support the analysis and writing through which the key findings emerged.

The documents of short interviews and go-along interviews were downloaded on Nvivo. These documents in Nvivo were classified under case studies and type of interview using Case Classification and Person Classification tools. Attributes of age, origin, gender, the number of years in Bahrain, language, location of interviews, type of interview, occupation and place of living were assigned to the Person's Classification. I created Nodes (term used in Nvivo equivalent to codes and themes) in relation to the research themes in a hierarchical form with Mother and Child Nodes (categories and subcategories). The expert interviews, field notes, photos, voice memos, and other secondary data were not downloaded in Nvivo, but they were used to support the analysis.

My research analysis supports the case that the Queries tool in Nvivo is highly useful for checking codes, compression and cross-coding analysis (Bazeley, 2013). Using the option of Text Search Criteria in Queries allowed me to search for codes and their synonyms

corresponding to the literature. For instance, the terms picnic, meet and gathering are used in literature as synonyms for gathering and have a meaning of social interaction. The Queries tool allowed me to study the relation between codes through Coding Query Criteria option that helped in Theoretical Coding and structuring.

3.7 Positionality and reflexivity

When undertaking a qualitative research, there is an inherent need to critically evaluate positionality, reflexivity and power relations in the context of the research to ensure an ethical and participatory research process (Sands et al., 2001; Das, 2010; Teye, 2012; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). Qualitative research is context-dependent and sensitive to the changing contexts and situations in which the research takes place (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Mason, 2002). In qualitative research, moreover, the cultural position, personal identity and experience of the researcher play an important role; hence, the positionality of the researcher needs to be considered (Sands et al., 2001; Das, 2010; Teye, 2012; Oliveira, 2012). Explaining this, Mason (2002) states, "This *is based on the belief that a researcher cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are generating*" (p.7).

This research draws on my personal experiences and I recognise that my 'positionality' as a Bahraini mother working in academia could affect my research process. Examining my positionality in the light of my research context needs to be critiqued within the fieldwork context and in the interpretation of the findings. My identity as a Bahraini mother supported my ability to recruit and conduct interviews in public despite the challenges of cultural sensitivity in the given context (Addas, 2015). This is because it could be much easier for a female researcher to interview both men and women in public, which is different from Al Ansari's (2009) case in Bahrain and Addas' (2015) case in Saudi Arabia both of whom were male researchers and faced obstacles in interviewing local women. My identity provided commonalities with some users such as parents, females or residents in Bahrain despite having different ethnicities and social positions, which facilitated my research process, particularly that I introduced myself as a research student. Having some things in common facilitated the interviews and bridged the power differences between the interviewee and the interviewer (Sands et al. 2001; Oliveira, 2012). Furthermore, my experience as a migrant during my study may also provide me a common ground with some participants with migrant backgrounds. However, my positionality could influence my interpretation of the data based on my perceptions in valuing POS as safe, accessible and convenient spaces for mothers and children.

As a result of my position in landscape architecture academia, I might tend to support investment in landscape design and in improvements on the use of open spaces; therefore, it is important to understand my position and be reflexive in data collection and analysis.

To address potential bias, it is important to understand my position e.g. as someone who believes in the positive potential of greenspace and broadly supportive of migration and to be reflexive in data collection and analysis. Analysis of the data also involves considering the broader context of the evidence and 'the whole in mind' and considering consistency and contradiction required reflection on the entire research context (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). The on-going organising of data was useful to support reflexivity and understand the fragmented data in relation to the 'whole of the data'. Hollway and Jefferson (2000, p.53) highlight *"the importance of the whole in understanding a part"*. They said that in their research *"to do this involves thoroughly familiarising ourselves with the rest of the interview transcript material"* (p.53). Accordingly, the findings did not emerge only at the end of the research, but developed during the different phases through reflexivity. Simultaneously, organising the data and reflecting also helped me to evaluate the quality and the process of the collected data, my skills in conducting interviews and observation and also how to negotiate when approaching participants in the field and ensure subjectivity in the analysis.

Besides being reflexive, the methods of this research are designed to overcome the challenges of positionality. Participant-led interviews in this research contributed to reducing the power relation between the interviewer and interviewee. During the go-along interviews, the Indian mother and the migrant workers in Bab Al-Bahrain and the Syrian sisters in Khalifa Garden appeared as the insiders while I was the outsider even though my personal identity as Bahraini was clear. The go-along interview method also reduces the influence of the researcher's presuppositions as it is supported by the participants' interpretations. Rose et al. (2010) add that go-along interviews give direct evidence of what the interviewer means in the conversation, and the ability for both the researcher and participants to share this experience to some extent. Conducting a participant-led walking interview reduces the detachment between the researcher and participants and helps in acquiring the interpretation from the participants' view and not only from the researcher's (Jones et al., 2008; Carpiano, 2009; Rishbeth, 2014). Rishbeth (2014) adds, *"The participant may have the best questions as well the best answers and may perceive a different more relevant scope to the area of inquiry"* (p.102-103). Conducting mixed methods was also a qualitative approach to support the analysis and my interpretation from different perspectives and to validate the findings.

3.8 Ethical consideration

This research involves human participants; therefore, it required ethics approval via the Ethics Committee in the Department of Landscape before the fieldwork was conducted. Since the data collection for this research took place in Bahrain and there is no research ethics review procedure in Bahrain, approval therefore was granted based on the University of Sheffield's Ethics Review Procedure.

Since the fieldwork was conducted in public spaces with people whom I did not know, safety was an issue raised during the research. To manage this, each time I was working on-site, someone had been informed and I ensured to have a mobile phone with me. I also avoided conducting the fieldwork in any isolated places or getting into the car with a participant. I met participants at the sites in places where there were other people around.

I considered cultural sensitivity when taking pictures and interviewing men particularly in go-along interviews. Taking photos of people in a place of leisure can be an invasion of privacy (Alderson, 2004). So, I have tried to avoid interfering in situations that were truly private, e.g. where a family or couples were in an isolated spot away from the crowd.

Regarding interviews and cultural sensitivity, contact between male and female has some reservations in Arab-Islamic culture (Addas, 2015); however, as described in the positionality section, it is easier for a woman to interview men in public than vice versa. In response to the cultural sensitivity, I had to consider my appearance and behaviour in my role as an academic researcher. Yet, due to complexity of intersectionality and different perceptions, during the walking interviews with men, my husband accompanied me or at times the interviewees were accompanied by a female member as it was not just a matter of cultural sensitivity but also of safety.

It was not expected that this research would cause any physical or psychological harm to the participants and it did not involve vulnerable participants or any sensitive issues. It was possible that some participants may have some bad experiences or memories about POS so that they might feel uncomfortable talking about it. Therefore, I used participant-led interviews (Rishbeth, 2014), and the format of the interviews was designed to be neutral and open to the participants' honest reflection. I also respected the time of the interviewees. In this research, all the respondents were recruited on a voluntary basis and they were informed that they were free to withdraw from or refuse to take part in the process at any time. The

sampling was mainly based on people's willingness to be interviewed together with their language ability and also on their demographic and cultural factors.

Additionally, throughout the fieldwork, I respected the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants and the information they provided (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). During the short interview survey, the names of the respondents were not requested. In the go-along interviews, I knew some of the participants' names and some personal details from the interviews. To ensure confidentiality, all the participants were provided with the option to suggest a pseudonym for themselves. Since locations can also help to map personal information, care was taken not to identify the participants' home address or names of other people in their neighbourhoods. In the expert interviews, the questions were concerned with planning, design and management policies relating to public open space and no personal data was requested. I also discussed with them how the data might be represented in the research.

Regarding the recording process, the go-along and expert interviews were recorded with the participants' consent (Kusenbach, 2003; Wiles et al., 2006; Rose et al., 2010). Consent was obtained through consent forms in go-along interviews and expert interviews. For go-along interviews, the process of recording was explained in the information sheet for the protection of the participants. The information sheet and consent form were given to the participants in advance to help the participants to understand the purpose and requirements of the research project, with the chance to read it carefully and discuss it with others.

The recording was conducted via smartphone and deleted as soon as it was transcribed. A copy of the recording and the transcripts of the interviews were saved in a password-protected computer and subsequently deleted from the phone. Moreover, no one, apart from the supervisors, was allowed access to the recordings. The interviews were analysed for the purpose of the Ph.D. research study. Following this, the voice data will be destroyed.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter shows how the chosen approach and methods are appropriate for addressing research questions in the contexts of transcultural cities, encounters in public space, and professional practice in urban POS. The complexity of the research context was a challenge, but this complexity shaped the selection of methods and analysis process. Following the qualitative approach was crucial to address the research questions to explore nuances of meanings and experiences with cultural differences and dynamics in transcultural contexts.

Case study method appeared significant in this research in contributing to the current complexity. Selecting varieties of case studies, informal and formal with different surrounding contexts, demographic profile and geographical locations, would contribute to overcoming the challenges of cultural differences that shape individuals' perceptions and leisure activities. The affordances of the open spaces for different activities are also perceived differently and shaped by people's cultural values and their history of places. Having a number of case studies could answer questions relevant to spatial and temporal experiences and social interactions. The case study method adds originality to this research in terms of understanding the adaptation process in relation to different typologies of places as well as conviviality and social encounter.

Observation and on-site interviews were significant to understanding the social and cultural dynamics and patterns of use in POS in reality in their natural settings. Substantiating the observations with interviews supported the analyses in relation to users' values, intersectionalities in gender, socio-economic status, generation and migrants' identities, as cultural differences is a challenge in transcultural cities.

Go-along interviews were appropriate to add in-depth findings relevant to socio-spatial experiences in POS as these experiences are shaped by participants' identities and history. This approach is an important consideration in landscape architecture theories and practices because it will add to the values of POS and understandings of how culturally appropriate these places are to support social inclusivity and wellbeing. Walking interviews could also investigate how places can support adaptation spatially and temporally and construct hybrid identities, which add to the theories of transcultural studies. As this interview is led by participants' outlook on the reality, it also could investigate nuances of meanings of everyday encounters. It could add to understanding on how such meanings are relevant to the values, how such encounters shape the future translated from past experiences and how such encounters shape users' perceptions. This hybrid method is used to observe and to analyse the data with socio-spatial qualities and physical characteristic, which can relate the findings to landscape architecture.

The expert interview method was important to better relate the fieldwork findings to professional practice. The method provided an overview of the policies and helped gather additional data on the historical and contemporary contexts. The outcomes from the expert interviews gave additional richness and context to the on-site fieldwork thus ensuring that the research and its implications were grounded in the reality of professional perspective.

Chapter Four: The Selected Case Study Areas

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an introduction to each of the case study areas. As outlined in the methodology, the research used a case study strategy to investigate the research questions framed within a landscape architecture discipline. Cases were selected because they were suitable for the context of the research and appropriate for answering the research questions (Bryman, 2004); in this case, the research is focused on sociability in relation to transnational urban spaces. The selection of these areas was mainly related to the aims and objectives of the research, which investigate the spatial and temporal uses, diversity of social uses and values of everyday public open spaces in Bahraini cities. Firstly, the selected areas had to be in urban settings and in contexts of everyday mixed-use spaces. The second criterion was to consider the diversity of residents and users. For this, I had to rely on both the census data and initial site visits to the selected areas, though as the research progressed it became apparent that users are not always local residents. Varied perceptions, mobility and people's journeys during their daily routines also create more diversity among users (and frequent users), who may not necessarily live or work nearby. Thirdly, the selected case studies include diverse spatial typologies, which supported the study of socio-spatial association and diverse landscape perceptions and values. This chapter initially familiarises the reader with the nature of urban public open spaces (POS) in Bahrain, and subsequently the locations of the selected case study areas are illustrated on the map of Bahrain. Finally, I included eight A3 visual portfolios to introduce each case study site and provide a reference for understanding the fieldwork context.

4.2 Public open spaces and urban form in Bahrain

This section covers three main topics. Firstly, it describes the broad character of outdoor urban spaces in Bahrain. Then, it highlights the spatial and temporal leisure patterns in relation to types of spaces in different seasons, and lastly, this section briefly addresses the role of professional practice in recent urban development.

In contemporary Bahrain, although many new urban developments have been initiated, some of the old city forms still survive including some traditional outdoor urban forms such as alleys, 'souq', 'Sikka', 'Baraha' and 'Saha'. The term 'Sikka' means the street in the neighbourhood that was used for the movement of carts and animals and was also commonly used by people to hangout. The term 'Baraha' was the unused land; a space that has the potential to be built on, where the children play, particularly, football. The term 'Saha' meant an open space and has a similar concept to a formal public open space. This term is mainly used for the open space in front of the mosque. These spaces were formerly utilised for necessary and leisure activities and they also enabled social interaction, particularly between men during everyday practice[1]. Those traditional social activities seldom exist today. Globalisation and economic and population growth have resulted in urban expansion and densification in Bahrain, i.e. new housing typologies, new land uses and more traffic congested roads. This has also led to urban complexity and spatial variation, which shaped forms and types of urban open spaces. Many large-scale developments have also been initiated, and several areas have been converted into carparks or privatised for investment developments[2] (Ben-Hamouche, 2004). However, there have been benefits as recreation land uses such as parks and gardens have been increased and more attention has been paid to the quality of landscape design in both private land development projects and in POS, e.g. streets, squares, parks and gardens.

The weather is a prime concern when outdoors in Bahrain, particularly in summer; hence, the weather shapes the leisure outdoor patterns. The beaches, usually located on the periphery of the cities, have always attracted residents in summer for leisure purposes. Recently, due to the privatisation of most beaches, public beaches have become rare and people tend to use the informal beaches in the undeveloped or reclaimed areas around the country (Al-Ansari, 2009). Though popular, these informal spaces have no facilities, are not easily accessible and are not in public ownership. The fishermen also use the coastline for gathering, either in informal spaces or in the provided harbours. Al-Ansari (2009) investigated the formal and informal waterfront open spaces in particular and discovered that with privatisation and reclamation, only 3 to 8% of the Island's shoreline has formal public accessibility.

[1] For women, the courtyard, which is a private open space in the house, was mostly used for socialising.
[2] With globalisation and the economic boom, Bahrain started seeking diversification in its economy to prepare for any decline in oil reserves, and this has resulted in the initiating of investments in banking, finance, tourism and industry. As part of that, malls, cinemas, hotels, clubs, resorts, luxurious restaurants and cafés sprang up around the island.

In winter, it is common for people to use the desert for their leisure activities. Camping in the desert has been formalised through regulations stipulated by the municipality authority. Presently, camping is permitted in designated areas only at fixed times during the year; namely the winter months. Bahrainis and Arabs await the season with eagerness to set up their camp facilities prior to the start of the camping season. Such a cultural practice with a day or night out is infused with joy generated from the temporariness of place (Hailey, 2008). The extravagances one can see in the facilities in a tent depend upon the financial capacity of the campers, even the less wealthy residents and migrants can enjoy a day in the desert. They demarcate their boundaries with their cars instead of camping, or set themselves up in areas where there is foliage or raised topography. Additional activities in the desert are driving through the sand and drifting. Though these practices could be illegal in some parts of desert as they disturb or harm the desert's fragile ecosystem, they bring joy to many Arabs, especially males. However, increasing cultural differences can also shape the seasonal leisure pattern of use of different types of POS.

The Ministry of Works, Municipalities Affairs and Urban Planning is responsible for the planning, design and management of most of POS in Bahrain. The urban historical sites are under the Authority for Culture and Antiquities. In recent times governmental bodies are also in the process of involving the private sectors in public projects to achieve better quality and contribute to increasing POS in Bahrain. Consultation with the Municipal Board and their approval is compulsory for permission or control of any proposed public projects, which can be seen as a step forward in public accountability. The members of the Municipal Board are elected not only by the citizens, but also migrants who own real estate and have the right to vote. Urban planning in Bahrain has been exposed to various development strategies. Most recently, the significant 2030 National Planning Development Strategy aims to prepare the state for the anticipated decline in oil revenue, and at the same time improve the quality of life for residents, improve the quality of the environment and prepare Bahrain for global challenges (Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, 2007). In addition, this strategy includes new concepts and principles for open spaces, in which it specifies that it will provide more attractive POS for families in Bahrain. The 2030 strategy proposal for POS in Bahrain includes increasing greenspaces, providing pedestrian avenues, more outdoor seating arrangements and tackling the issues of car parking (Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, 2007). This strategy was prepared on the assumption that the population will reach 1 million between 2020 and 2030; however, the population in Bahrain has already exceeded that estimate. Further, the strategy does not mention anything regarding the diversity of the population. To address these global

challenges, it is necessary to understand that communities in Bahrain are changing in a transnational context and how the transformation of urban open spaces has affected cultural, social and spatial practices. The selected case study method could be innovative in understanding socio-spatial variations in the use of POS in contemporary Bahrain with its cultural dynamics.

4.3 Location of the selected case study areas

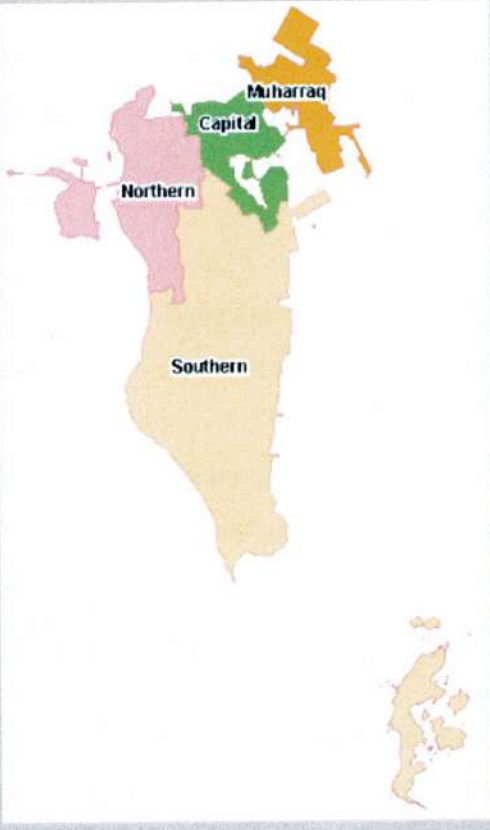
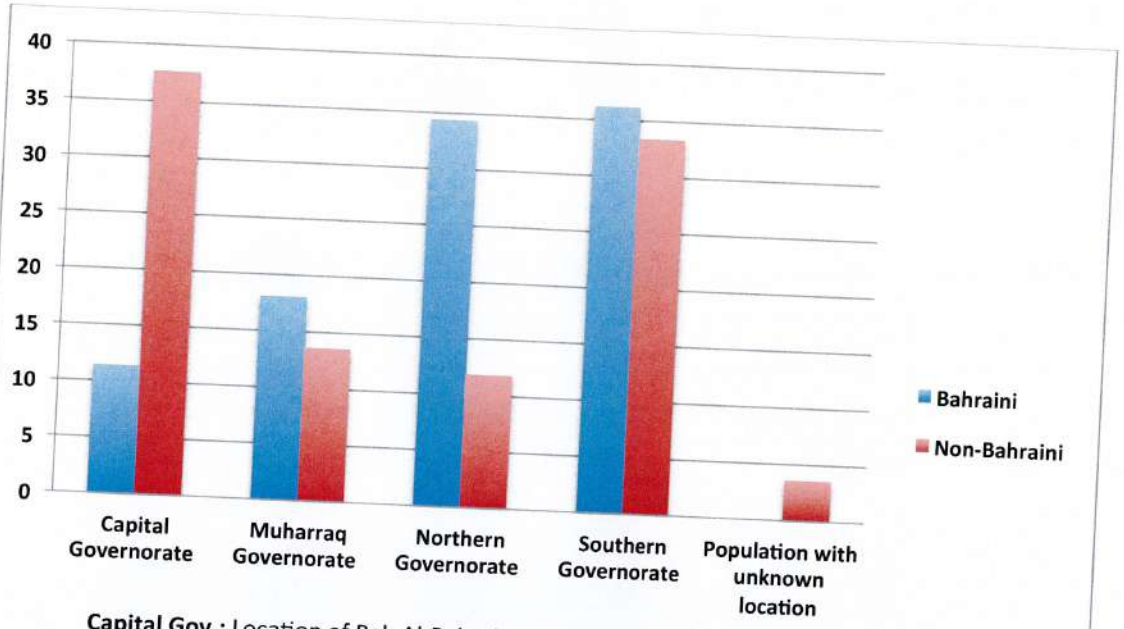


Figure 4.1 Bahrain Governorates (Survey and Land Registration Bureau, 2015).

Bahrain is divided into four governorates, as illustrated in Figure 4.1, and the three main largest cities in Bahrain are Manama, Riffa and Muharraq, which are located in Capital, Southern and Muharraq Governorates respectively and the selected case study urban areas are situated in these cities. Figure 4.2 (page 117) shows the distribution of Bahraini and non-Bahraini population in these districts.



Capital Gov.: Location of Bab Al-Bahrain square and souq, Andalus Garden and Block-338
Muharraq Gov.: Location of the Pearling Trail, Arad Bay Park and Amwaj lagoon
Southern Gov.: Location of Hunainiyah Park and Khalifa Garden

Figure 4.2 Distribution of Bahraini and non-Bahraini population in Bahrain districts with % of total population (Central Informatics Organization (2011).

Viewing the aerial map of Bahrain, we find that the urban context is concentrated in the northern half of the country. This urban planning distribution affects the pattern of use of urban open spaces and shapes the selection of the case studies. Four case studies are located in congested urban areas, two in waterfront locations, and two in low-density areas (Figure 4.3 on page 118).

Each case study is focused on a significant public open space but considers the surrounding context. Therefore, each case study includes formal and informal POS. For ease of reference, each case study is titled by the name of the main formally provided public open space in its area.

It is worth noting that Bahrain is a very small country and also includes a group of islands, and that the sea has played a significant role in constructing the landscape, culture, history and identity of the country (Dayaratne, 2012). Alansari (2009), in his research on formal and informal waterfront open spaces in Manama, addresses the histories of reclamation and peoples' links to the sea. However, this research does not focus primarily on water front public spaces. With cultural differences that could shape accessibility and perceptions, the aims and

objectives of this research are focused on everyday POS whether they are located on the waterfront or in hinterland.



Figure 4.3 Location of the case study areas on the aerial map of Bahrain (Central Informatics Organization, 2013).

4.4 The portfolio of the case studies

This section includes the eight A3 visual portfolios of the selected case studies.

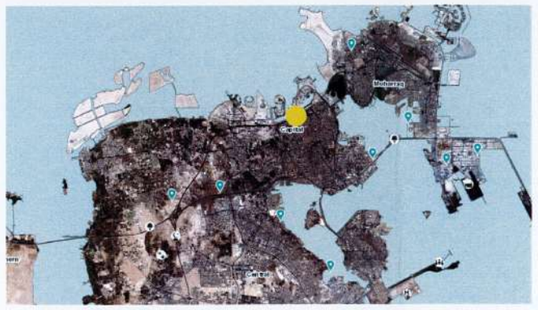
Case Study Area One: Bab Al-Bahrain Square and Souq in Manama

This case study area is located in Manama, in the capital governorate, and 78% of the population here is non-Bahraini residents. This site is a place where the old city meets the new one; where the Souq meets the Financial Harbour (FH). The souq and the housing area still feature vintage building forms (dating back to over 90 years). Bab Al-Bahrain is a historic and heritage monument that was originally built in the 1920s, but has been through extensive renovation periodically. The site has also a city centre context; it is congested and surrounded by high-rise buildings and towers. The renovated area together with the surrounding neighbourhoods integrates a combination of urban fabric between maintained and unmaintained souq and residential neighbourhoods.

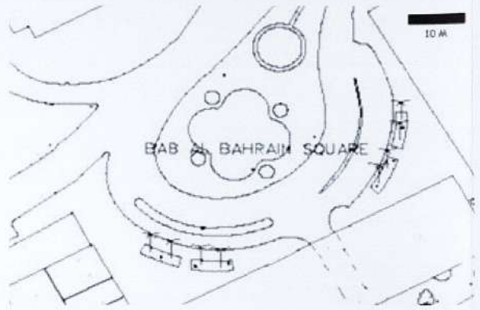
The area in front of the monument is considered the first public open public space in Bahrain and the Gulf region. The square together with the souq includes a number of used open spaces, such as the small open spaces in front of monument, the souq alleys, the roundabout, street sides, traditional cafés, pedestrian streets and a bus stop.

Physically, the space is accessible from different parts of Bahrain through roads network and it is also visually accessible from the surrounding towers. Considering the fact that the Bab Al-Bahrain is located not far from the seafront, it benefits from the soft coastal winds. The flat topography in this case study is hardscape with an evident lack of vegetation and water, except in the fountain at the roundabout in front of Bab Al-Bahrain and some maintained plants in the roundabout and in front of a few buildings. The area also attracts a number of bird species especially pigeons.

The management of the souq and Bab Al-Bahrain moved back and forward between the municipality, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and, currently Authority of Culture is also involved.



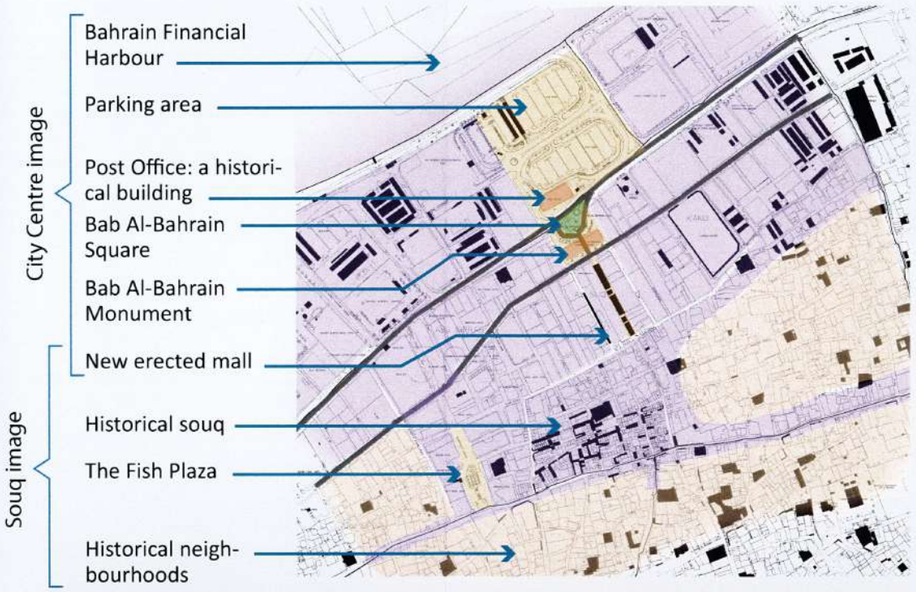
Location of the case study area



The scale of the roundabout in the square

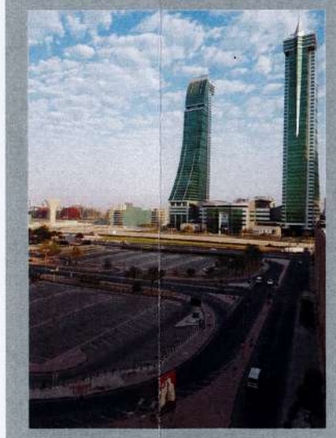


The pedestrian avenue through the mall





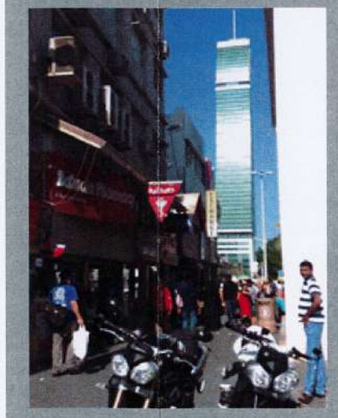
The square does not act as square, it is mainly used by cars, however, the roundabout is fully occupied by migrant workers



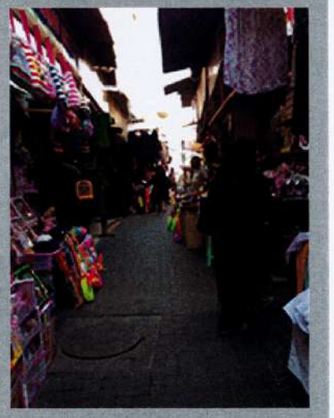
Car Parking between the FH and Bab Al-Bahrain Square



A traditional alley in Bab Al- Bahrain Area

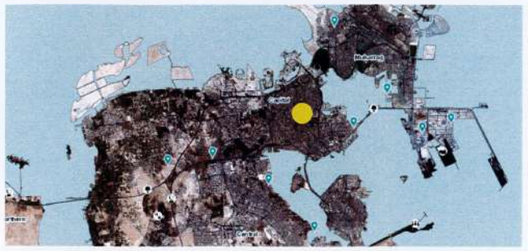


A view from the souq to the one of the harbour towers



One of the souq alleys

Case Study Area Two: Andalus Garden in Manama



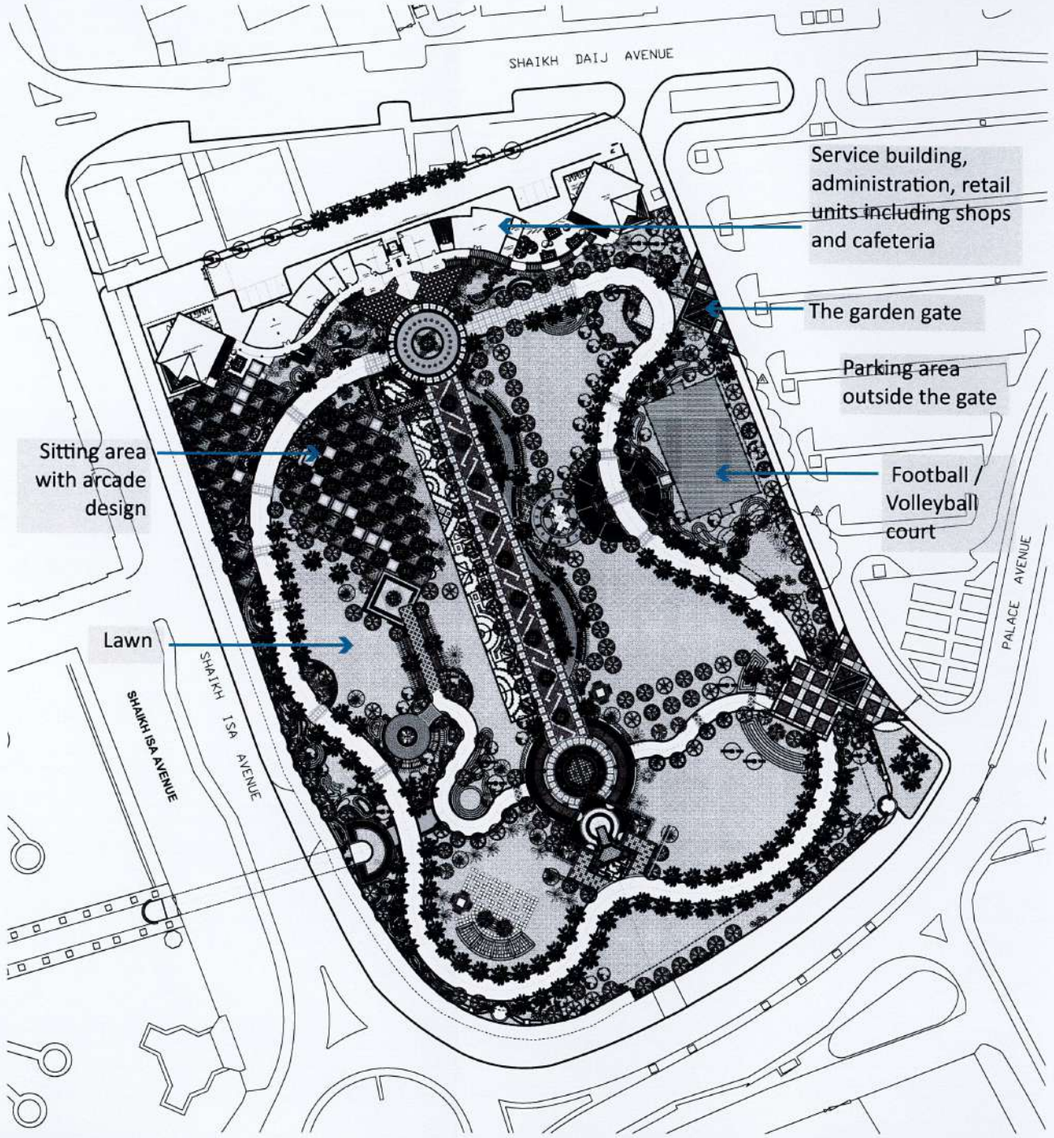
Location of the case study area

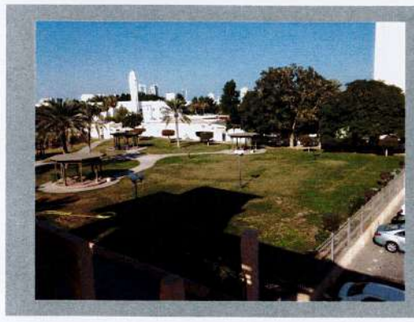


Salmaniya and Andalus are two nearby gardens in this area



The pedestrian bridge links the two gardens across the road





A view to Salmaniya Garden from the bridge



Walking track in Andalus Garden



The sitting area with arcade design in Andalus Garden

This case study area is located in Manama, in the capital governorate, and 78% of the population here is non-Bahraini residents.

The two gardens in this case study are examples of early-implemented gardens in Bahrain with applications of urban planning practice. Salmaniya and Andalus Gardens were constructed in 50s and 60s of the previous century. Although these gardens have historical and social values; no publication has been found documenting them.

In the early days, these gardens were colloquially termed as male and female gardens according to the users; mostly men frequented Andalus and women went to Salmaniya.

Andalus Garden went through a renovation process and reopened in 2007.

The area of this case study has a high-density population and is surrounded by high-rise buildings: residential and commercial. Most of the surrounding multi-storey buildings are with no access to private outdoor area.

The Andalus Garden has only one gate in the east side, while in the west side it has access directly to a pedestrian bridge. This garden includes a walkway track, children's playground, shaded sitting areas, lawn, retail units, sport field and services building.

The Salmaniya Garden includes a fountain; lawns, kids' playground, sitting areas, gazebos, a centre for special needs, football court and multipurpose open court. This court is mostly used to play cricket, a sport commonly played amongst Asian migrants. Salmaniya Garden has two entrances; one in the east from the parking area, and the other one in the west. The garden has also a direct access to the bridge.

Thus, the gardens are used as a short cut in the area and many residents in the western side of the site go to Andalus through Salmaniya.

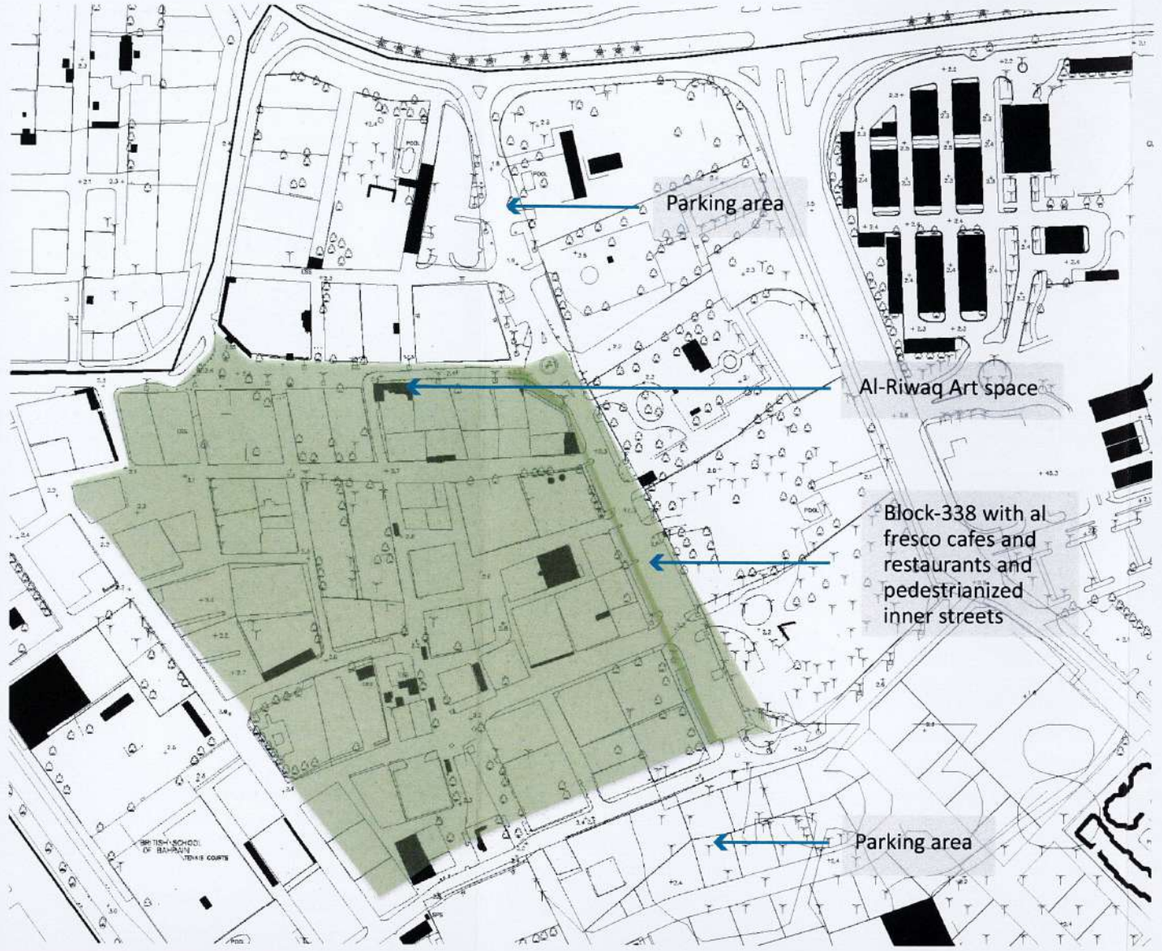
Case Study Area Three: Pedestrian Quarter; Block-338 in Manama



Location of the case study area



AL-Riwaq Art Space



Block-338 is located in Adlyia, in the city of Manama in the capital Governorate, where the Non-Bahraini residents are 78% of the population.

This site has high-density, but with no high-rise buildings.

Block-338 is the first kind of modern pedestrian quarter in Bahrain.

It is an up-market street with cosmopolitan characteristics.

It consists of a series of street restaurants and cafes.

The new luxury restaurants are targeted by middle and high-income users, while the residents in the area are migrant workers.

The space is under the management of the municipality, but a lot of public events are arranged and managed by Al-Riwaq Art Space.

The area is also distinguished with the outdoor galleries and artistic murals created by the public participation organized by Al-Riwaq Art Space.

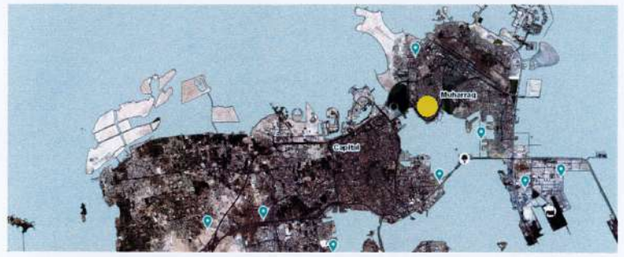
Views in Block-338







Case Study Area Four: 'Sahat' in the Pearling Trail Project in Muharraq

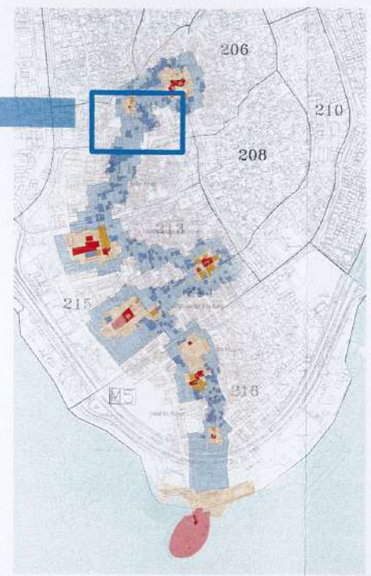


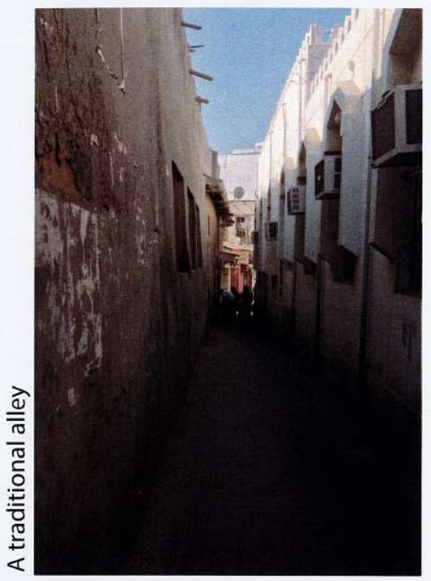
Location of the case study area

The Pearling Trail is a cultural landscape site that documents the history of an era when the economy was dependent on the pearl. This site has been added to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2012. This case study is located in a historical neighbourhood in Muharraq. Non-Bahraini residents in this area comprise 44% of the population here. Many studies elaborate the social, urban and architectural aspects of the traditional Muharraq. Dayaratne (2012) claims, *"If there is an architecture that reflected the deep roots of people inhabiting the island 'Bahrain', it would be the traditional urbanism of Muharraq."* The city of Muharraq has witnessed a series of preservation and restoration of several buildings, not only because of their physical and architectural character but also for their Bahraini traditional, historical, cultural and social values.

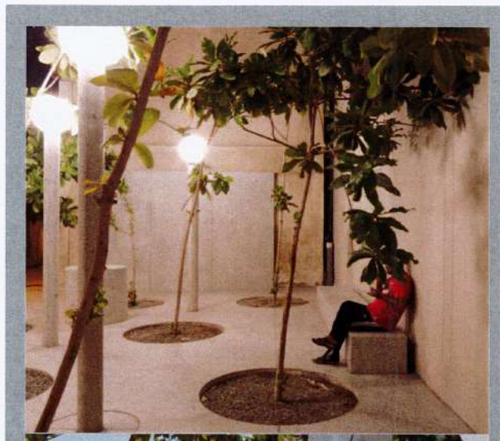
The Pearling Trail Project is in process under the management of Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. As part of Bahrain's tourism initiative, a large part of the site is now pedestrianised and features heritage homes, which have been transformed into either centres for display of local culture or into elegant cafés. The project will be provided with a walking path through a series of heritage and historical sites and buildings in the area. The project will also create 19 micro-POS or 'sahat' along the path. Two of them have been accomplished during the fieldwork. The term 'sahat' means public open spaces; singular 'saha'. These two pedestriansed sahat were designed by private international architectural firm and the design concept *"revives tight streets of the historic neigbourhood of the pearl merchants on the island of Muharraq in Bahrain"* (Abitare, 2014). This case study area will consider the recently pedestrianised streets and two micro-public spaces (or sahat). The research will also consider the various informal POS in the neighbourhood. Within walking distance, the surrounding context of the selected site includes a new cultural centre with heritage homes, cafés, and a traditional souq; 'Qaisareia Souq', in addition to residential areas.

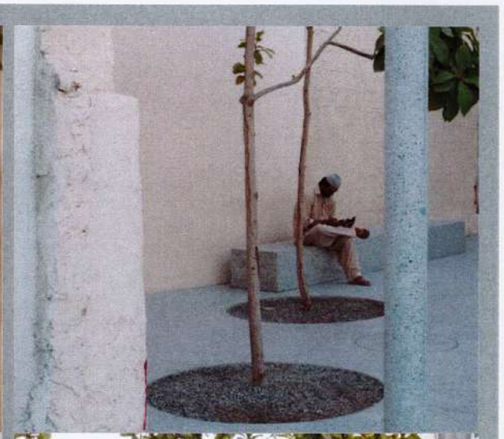






A traditional alley









After implementing the design

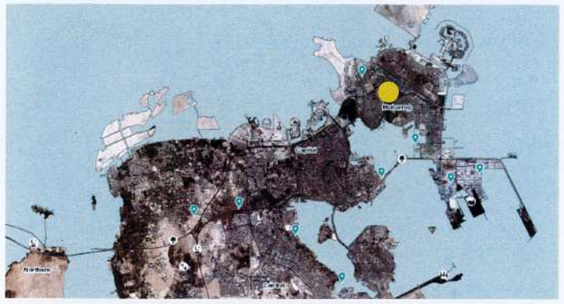


During restoration



Life pattern in the night

Case Study Area Five: Arad Bay Park in Muharraq



Location of the case study area

Arad Bay Protected Park is located in Muharraq. Non-Bahraini residents in this area comprise 44% of the population here.

This area is a natural preserved bay, which the government transformed into a park that was opened formally in 2010. The area is a habitat for migrant birds, shrimps and rare marine life. The visitors can also see the flocks of flamingos, which make the island their winter home.

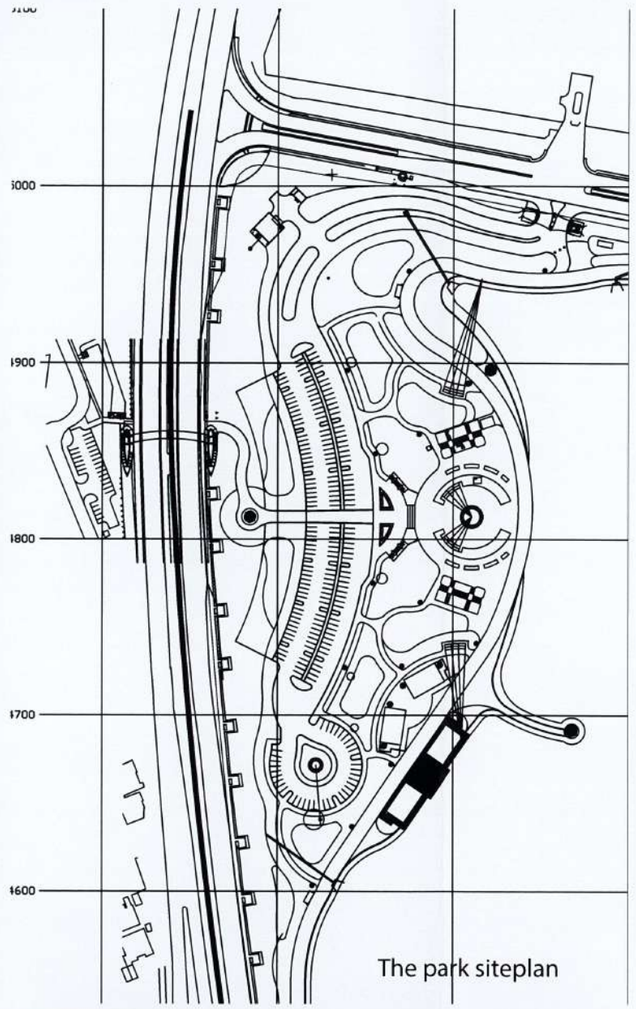
The implementation and management of this area is under the Supreme Council for Environment.

Immediately, the park is surrounded by residential areas and social housing, hotel, airport and public services buildings, this is in addition to the water (the bay itself). The area has low density and no high-rise buildings. The park is also visually accessible from above as it is adjacent to the airport.

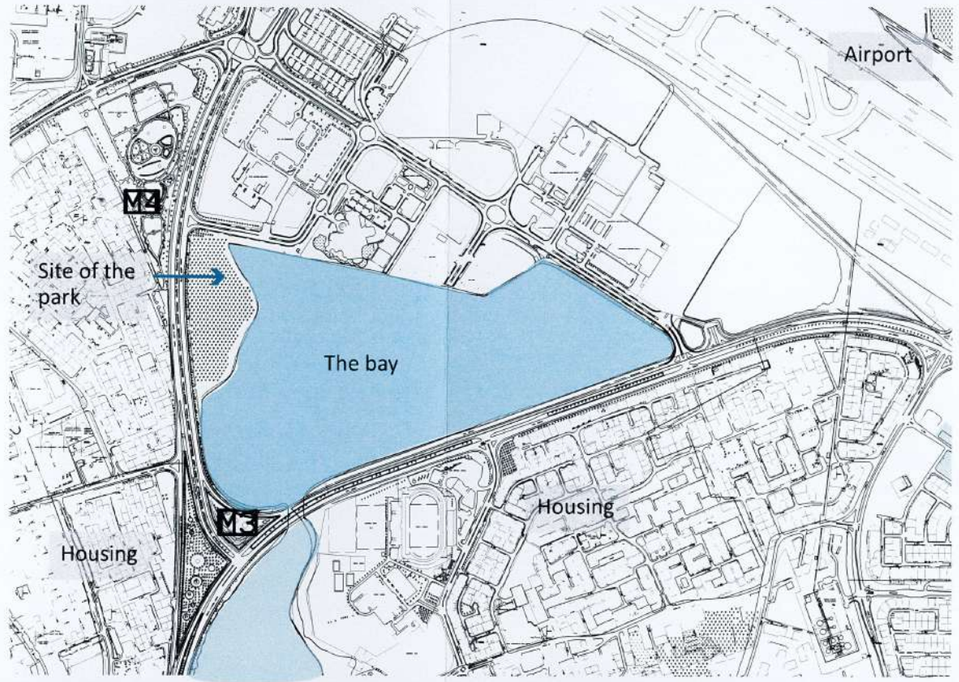
The area is linked to the surrounding areas by two elevated pedestrian bridges crossing two highways.

The site is also considered a distant destination for users from different parts of Bahrain.

The area consists of restaurants, cafés, a water fountain, playground, picnic areas, mosque, toilets, shaded and un-shaded benches, parking areas and the longest walking track in Bahrain (three-kilometre along the parameter of the bay).



The park siteplan





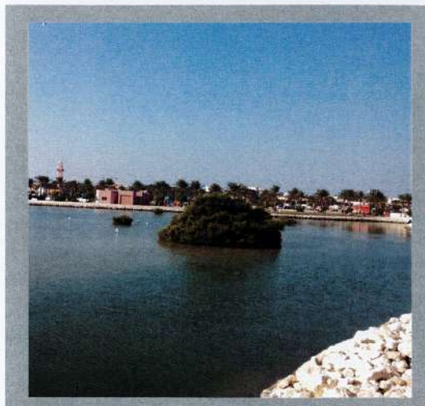
The walkway track

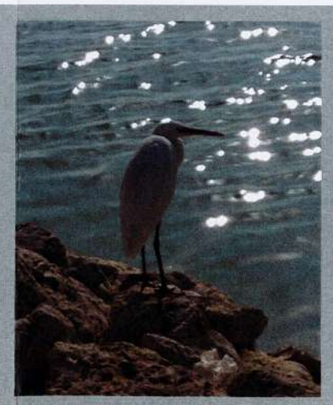


The wooden walkin bridge over the bay



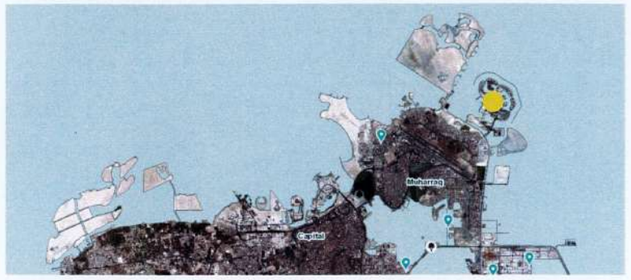
One of the elevated pedestrian bridges linking the park to the neighbourhood





Examples of marina life in the protected bay

Case Study Area Six: Amwaj-lagoon in Muharraq



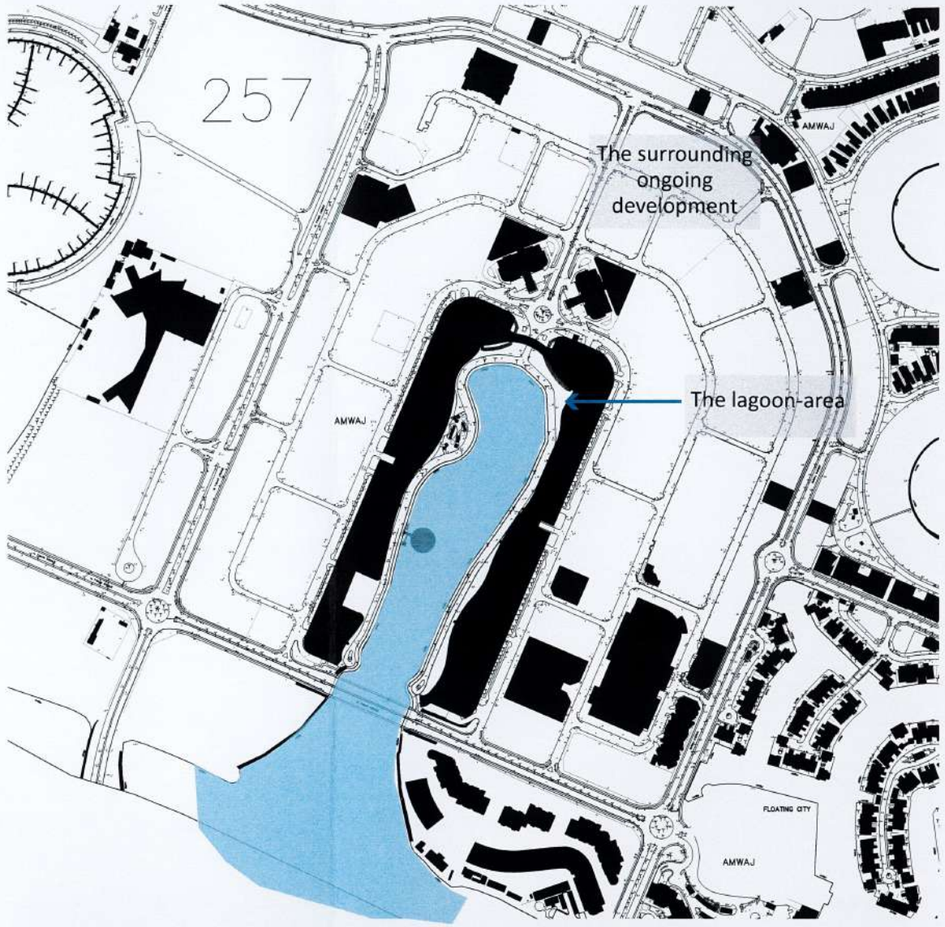
Location of the case study area



The lagoon-area

A causway connecting Amwaj artificial island to the island of Muharraqal

Amwaj Artificial Island: a gated community





Sitting areas



The Lagoon

This area is located in Amwaj; artificial islands in the northern coast of Muharraq. Amwaj was established in 2001.

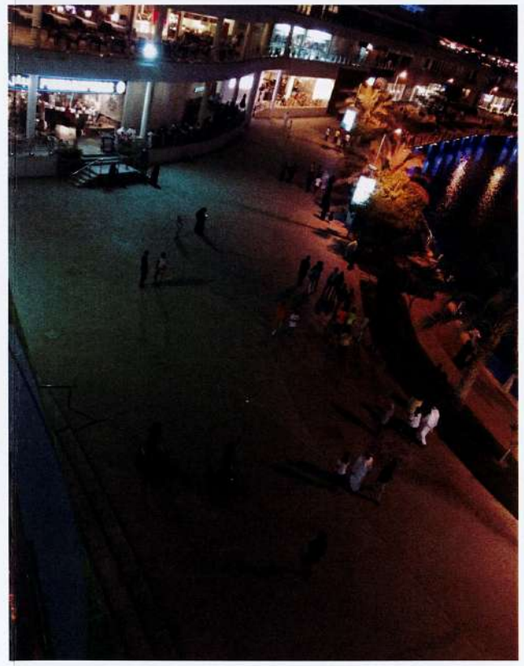
Amwaj is a gated community in which the right of entry for visitors is controlled by security personnel positioned at the entrance.

Affluent migrant residents are the majority on these islands.

Amwaj-lagoon is a private development project and managed by a private company, but publicly accessible.

The Lagoon is a focal point for Amwaj. Amwaj-lagoon is a one-kilometre long water's edge commercial destination that was built along the lines of London's Covent Garden.

The lagoon space is structured as an outdoor pedestrian pathway- in a traffic- free zone- encircling an elongated, curving lagoon and interspersed with restaurants and cafes that offer a choice of both indoor and al fresco dining facilities.

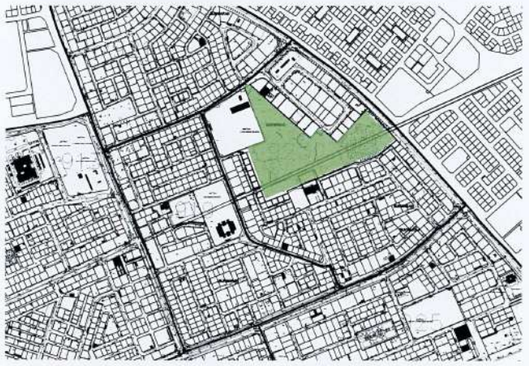


Pedestrian pathway with restaurants and cafes >>

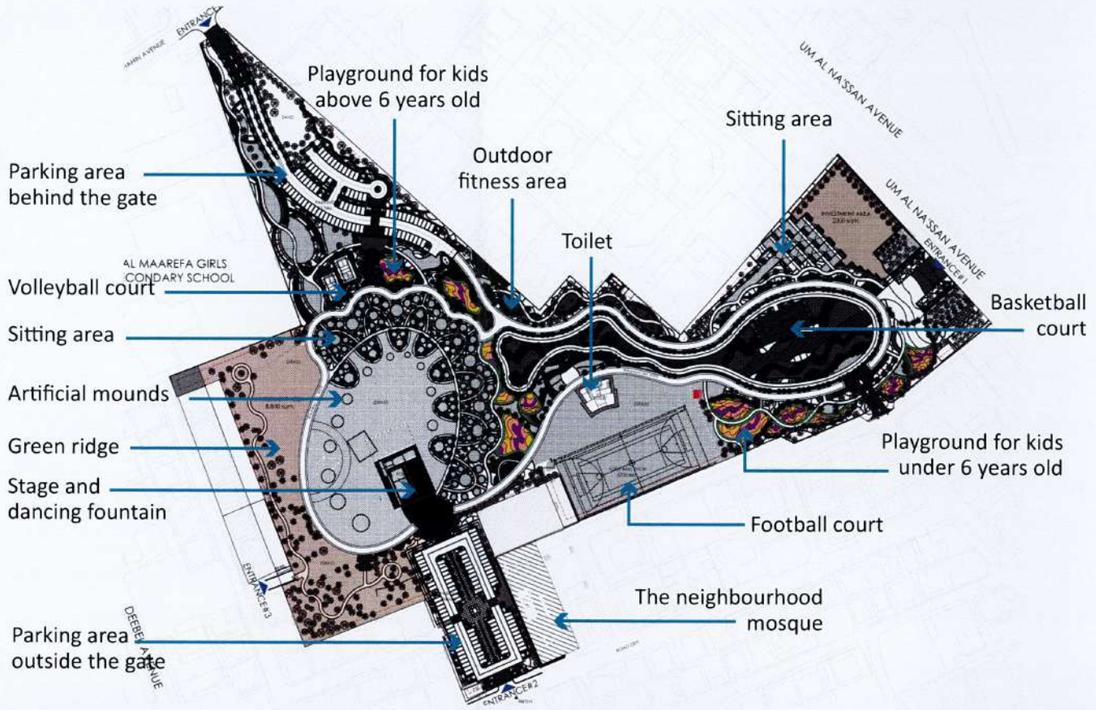
Case Study Area Seven: Khalifa Al-Kubra Garden in Riffa



Location of the case study area



Relatively well-designed and large garden, about the size of a national park, located amidst houses





<< Al fresco cafes in the commercial center next to the garden



<< A path through the garden



View to the garden from the ridge

A view outside the garden >> boundary shows the fence



The green ridge >>



This area is located in the centre of Riffa city in the southern district. The non-Bahraini residents in this district are 44% of the population. Riffa is considered a low-density city compared to Manama. The garden, which was opened in 2012, is under the management of the municipality and designed by a private office.

The site is located in a residential zone and the area also includes commercial buildings and public services with no high-rise buildings (maximum four storeys). All the surrounding buildings and roads are relatively new.

Khalifa Garden is the main formal public open space in this area. The surrounding area also includes a series of restaurants and cafes with outdoor dining overlooking the roads. There are also informal uses of outdoor areas in the neighbourhood. The garden and al fresco café add permeable character to the area.

The garden has visual accessibility from both the attached houses and the permeable fence. The garden has also number of gates.

The functions in the garden include football, volleyball and basketball courts, an outdoor fitness area, walking tracks with distances marked, an interactive fountain, playgrounds for under and above six years with a rubber ground finishing material, sitting areas, picnic areas, administration, toilets and two parking areas. The garden is an example of no smoking area beyond the entrance gates.

The design has utilized the topography with respect to the cool north wind. For example, the ridges are kept exposed and open which receive the highest flow of breeze. The garden also provides an educational facility through the labelled plant materials. Opening a well-designed and maintained garden in this context is something unique and also attracts other users.

Case Study Area Eight: Hunainiyah Park in Riffa



Location of the case study area

Hunainiyah Park is located in Riffa city where Non-Bahraini residents are 44%.

The area is distinguished with a desert valley called Hunainiyah Valley and is considered an important natural indigenous feature in the landscape of Bahrain.

This area of the case study is also considered a historical area with the 17th century renovated fort and old neighbourhoods. In the history, Hunainiyah had a famous well that was targeted by many people from all over the island seeking its fresh water. The park has been erected in the well location.

The park is visually accessible from the surrounding ridges. The fort is a landmark and also visually accessible from the whole valley and from the opposite sides of the valley's edges.

The fort also houses a Cafe, which overlooks the Valley.

The area is also provided with number of prepared land for playing football or cricket.

The neighbourhood areas are used by kids to play, by boys to gather and by men who sit outside either in front of the houses, shops, mosques, and bus stop or even in the pedestrian side roads.





The park site plan





The park



The fort overlooking the park



Migrants playing cricket in the prepared land for sport ^^

<< View from the ridge to the garden. A long stair from the neighbourhood to the Hunainiyah Valley is provided for the pedestrians

4.5 Conclusion

This study aims to investigate in depth the selected case studies areas and to explore issues that might contribute to the relevant research knowledge or relate to the practice. The case study approach can provide a better understanding of the social reality in a particular research context and the wider resonances of the studied phenomenon. The variety of case studies is not only looking at diverse typologies but testing different theoretical ideas and questions raised in each case study area, integrating participants' perceptions and values.

The selected urban spaces together with their immediate surroundings are a reflection of a superdiverse population and mixed land use, which contribute to the research on transcultural cities and cosmopolitan everyday spaces. The diverse users at different time patterns provide an opportunity to study socio-spatial dynamics. These selected sites are destinations for leisure; therefore, considering a variety of attractions with the diversity of population is an important dimension in this research.

Each site has also specificities. Amwaj offers the chance to look at an area shaped by globalisation and migration, but in a very different sphere of affluence, security and class to that in the Bab Al-Bahrain case study, for example. The area is a new urban development for a private community but is open to the public, which illustrates interaction across different social positions. Andalus Garden, located in a congested context with 78% migrant residents (majority workers) who do not have access to private open spaces, differs widely from Amwaj, where the majority are affluent migrants. Arad Park offers a family destination for recreation and focuses on particular forms of leisure and attractions including sea view, park, a walkway and marine life. Opening a well-designed and maintained garden such as Khalifa Garden in Riffa is an innovative venture as it could also attract users from different cities. Compared to the other case studies in this research, Khalifa Garden is a distance from the sea, is not in the city centre and has low density. In Bab Al-Bahrain, with the renovation of the space, the diversity of users and a mix of maintained and unmaintained urban fabrics, a dimension of gentrification is added. This has to be considered in the analysis and in studying users' perceptions and how gentrification could reflect on conviviality. Block-338 affords a new perspective for studying the role of open spaces in users' everyday lives in a pedestrian friendly environment in a congested and busy context. Block-338 is also a tourist area; therefore, aspects of gentrification have also to be considered here. The new luxury restaurants target middle and high-income users, while the residents are migrant workers,

which also gives insight into how social interactions across socio-economic differences could be enacted. In this area, the users' perceptions towards mural and outdoor art could also be considered. The Pearling Trail, Bab Al-Bahrain and Hunainiyah are heritage sites and are inclined to promote tourism. These historical neighbourhoods show some evidence of traditional urban public open spaces. In an era of migration and globalisation, we need to understand what these vernacular outdoor spaces could mean for different cultural practices. Understanding how migrants feel a connection with heritage sites in Bahrain could add to the studies on transcultural cities, while the deprived residential neighbourhoods in these areas could also be considered as culturally different.

A case study strategy involves empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson, 2002; Yin, 2003). In this research, studying social life in public spaces within a context of a diverse population is significant given the contemporary trend of globalisation and massive migration. The case study strategy was followed with the qualitative approach, and both allowed for an in-depth understanding of the social phenomena in its natural setting. The next two chapters present the findings of the six months of in-depth fieldwork study.

Chapter Five: Understanding the Everyday Patterns of Diversity in Public Open Spaces

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents results from the fieldwork, which discuss the everyday activities, preferences and patterns of diversity in public open spaces (POS) in Bahrain, addressing the first aim of the research. The collected data illustrated the dynamics of the spatial and temporal patterns of use and demonstrated evidence on how these uses are integrating and changing along with people's values for POS, transnational identities and intersectionalities with gender, age and socio-economic variables. The collected data for this chapter is the result of multiple methods of data collection used during the main fieldwork that was scheduled between July 2014 and January 2015. The data is generated from 85 short on-site interview transcripts, 13 go-along in-depth interview transcripts and field notes and photographs from 80 site visits.

Analysis of the transcripts shaped the structure and contents of this chapter, which are based on the patterns revealed during the analysis of the data and from the categorisation of the codes: case study location, activities, time, climate, other locations, users' profile, difficulties, values, sensory qualities and design elements. The observation provided narrative descriptive data (field notes) on the happenings, their time and place and are supported by visual accounts (photographs) and descriptions of the spatial quality. The on-site interviews supported the definitions of the users' cultural groups and their motivation and preferences. Short on-site interviews and go-along interviews provided evidence about the users' activities at different times of the day and year and their motivations and values for being outdoors. The go-along interviews also provided descriptive data from the participants' point of view and their interpretations and tacit knowledge of everyday practices. For the purpose of research ethics and integrity, describing cultural identities is (wherever feasible) based on how the participants describe their own or other users' origins. Some participants define users' origins from their appearance, colour, behaviours, dress, language or accent.

The collected data in this chapter is divided into seven sections according to the themes in the analysis. The first four sections (5.2 - 5.5) are about the activities and patterns of use of the case study sites. The selected case study sites are arranged into three broad spatial typologies: parks and gardens (Andalus and Salmaniya Gardens, Khalifa Garden, Arad Bay Park and Hunainiyah Park), pedestrianised urban spaces (Amwaj-lagoon, Block-338, Bab Al-Bahrain Square and Souq and the Pearling Trail site) and the informal open spaces (e.g. sidewalks, the front of houses, mosques and shops, parking areas, or empty plots in the neighbourhood). The structure of these sections is arranged based on the details and similarities of the results. For example, the pattern of use in parks and garden appeared to be similar, but the use of pedestrianised streets differed compared to that in parks and gardens, so each merited a clear introduction. Therefore, I grouped the pedestrianised spaces according to their characteristics e.g. placing the Pearling Trail and Bab Al-Bahrain together, and Amwaj and Block-338 together. However, the sections of these broad typologies are structured according to the users' diversity, daily temporality and seasonal patterns. The seasonal patterns are shaped by climate, school terms and occasional events. Incidental spaces were not the primary focus of the fieldwork, but I described the activities as collected in the field. Section 5.5 also describes the activities in terms of religious observances and supported with examples from different case study areas. Sections 5.6 and 5.7 summarise the barriers to using POS and the final section outlines social and sensory values for POS in Bahrain. The following points are a summary of Chapter Five findings.

1. The diversity of population in Bahrain is reflected in the open spaces where different practices and patterns of use are visible.

2. Leisure and recreation activities are common motivations for using POS, this includes migrants, indicating that the provision of POS supports adaptation and integration of new residents.

3. In the transcultural context of Bahrain, with its superdiverse population and the prevailing social and cultural dynamics, it is possible to broadly describe the shared spatial and temporal diverse patterns of use across different typologies of outdoor spaces.

4. Practices of shared patterns of use across diversity prevail; yet, cultural variables and differences can be barriers to using or accessing POS, with possible negative impacts on wellbeing and equalities framed by understandings of social justice.

5. Spatial qualities, physical characteristics and facilitated events with choices of how to engage are central to harmony in sharing spaces and patterns of use.

5.2 Formal public open spaces: Parks and Gardens

5.2.1 Users' diversity

From initial observations, most users in the parks and gardens are migrant families, and during the fieldwork, I encountered users who originated from a wide range of countries. The interviews in Khalifa Garden revealed that the users are mostly Syrian, Yemeni, Egyptian and Jordanian along with non-Arab users such as Filipinos, Indians, Nepalese and Pakistanis. Khalifa Garden is a well-designed garden located in Riffa, a low-density city, within a residential neighbourhood where a fairly middle class and mostly Bahraini population live. The most frequent users are usually from various low socio-economic neighbourhoods either in Riffa or the surrounding areas. Some of these users travel longer distances from different cities and villages to Khalifa Garden where they feel more integrated. For example, in a go-along interview in Khalifa Garden, two Syrian sisters, Badra and Zaina[1], who have lived in Bahrain for the last 20 years, they said that, since the Garden was opened, they meet up with a family from Hamad Town: *"Whenever we come, we see them sitting here in the Garden"*. The sisters are mothers in their early 30s, homemakers and illiterate. In this interview, though the Garden is recently opened, the Syrian sisters mentioned that they do not feel as comfortable in other parks and gardens because they are not as familiar with those spaces as they are with Khalifa Garden. In Andalus and Salmaniya Gardens, located in Manama in a congested context where 78% of residents are migrants, the users are mainly Filipinos and Indians, but there are also users from Arab North Africa and Mediterranean countries as well as Bahrainis as revealed from the ethnographic approach of spending time on-site. This social mix is reflected by the demographics of the surrounding residential context; there are also users from different cities and villages in Bahrain, this observation was supported by broad on-site interviews. For example, a Filipino woman who was resting on the lawn after jogging said that she lives in Arad but prefers to come and walk in Andalus Garden, travelling alone everyday by public bus. She also meets her boyfriend in the Garden where they jog or play badminton. She stated that this Garden is more convenient for her than going to Arad Bay Park where she lives. In Arad Bay Protected Park in Muharraq city, the majority of users are of Yemeni, Egyptian and Jordanian origins. There are also Filipinos, Europeans, Indians and Pakistanis of varied socio-

[1] All the names in the description of the collected data are pseudonyms.

economic background, as well as Bahrainis, since it is located within an area that houses many diverse inhabitants. In Hunainiyah Park, a desert edge location, the users are mostly Yemeni, Pakistani and Balochi of low socio-economic migrant status from the surrounding poor neighbourhoods. Affluent people from various areas visit the Hunainiyah Park as a local tourist attraction for the fort and the luxury coffee shop in the fort.

Class and income bracket can also intersect with migrants' background and informs the patterns of use and activities. Hala, a young mother of Palestinian-Syrian background who has lived in Bahrain with her family for 12 years, said, *"You don't feel that Khalifa Garden is for us, the Riffa people. You feel that people in Riffa are not for gardens; maybe Malls"*. Hala here raised an important point obliquely relating to class: the residents in Riffa, who are mostly affluent, have different interests from the garden users. Shahrazad, a young Bahraini woman and talking broadly about more affluent Bahrainis, explained that Bahrainis prefer sophisticated places such as *"coffee shops, cinemas, malls or the sea"*. Since the parks and gardens do not have luxury facilities that attract affluent users, middle and high-class people are usually less visible in parks and gardens. A Bahraini student interviewed in a café next to Khalifa Garden said that the people who are using Khalifa Garden are different from those who are using the nearby cafés and their 'lifestyles' and 'preferences' are different. Hence, the branded cafés and restaurants (likewise in Amwaj-lagoon and Block-338, as will be explained in Section 5.3) are attractions for high and middle-income users.

However, the fieldwork found that users with a middle-class profile frequent parks and gardens for walking, playing football or for their children to play. In a go-along interview in Khalifa Garden, Rashid, a young Bahraini father and physician who lives next to Khalifa Garden and frequently visits the garden for his sons to play or to walk, said that Bahrainis and other affluent migrants in Khalifa Garden are generally from the nearby houses and come to walk, exercise, play sport or to bring their children to play and so they usually only stay for a short time. He added that they usually do not picnic in the provided picnic pod. Other interviewees in Khalifa Garden and Arad Bay Park also shared Rashid's observation.





Figures 5.1 The diversity of users and everyday patterns of use is visible in all parks and gardens, particularly among walkers and runners.

The observations showed the diversity of walkers and joggers (Figures 5.1); they come from different migrant and socio-economic backgrounds, but, according to some interviewees, it is less common for Bahrainis and affluent users to have picnics in parks and gardens. However, it is not conclusive that Bahrainis do not have picnics in the parks and gardens. From the collected data, it was extremely complex to specify how patterns of use are shaped by users' profiles when paying attention to class and income bracket intersectionality, but it was possible to broadly describe the spatial and temporal patterns of use across different typologies with reference to the selected case studies.

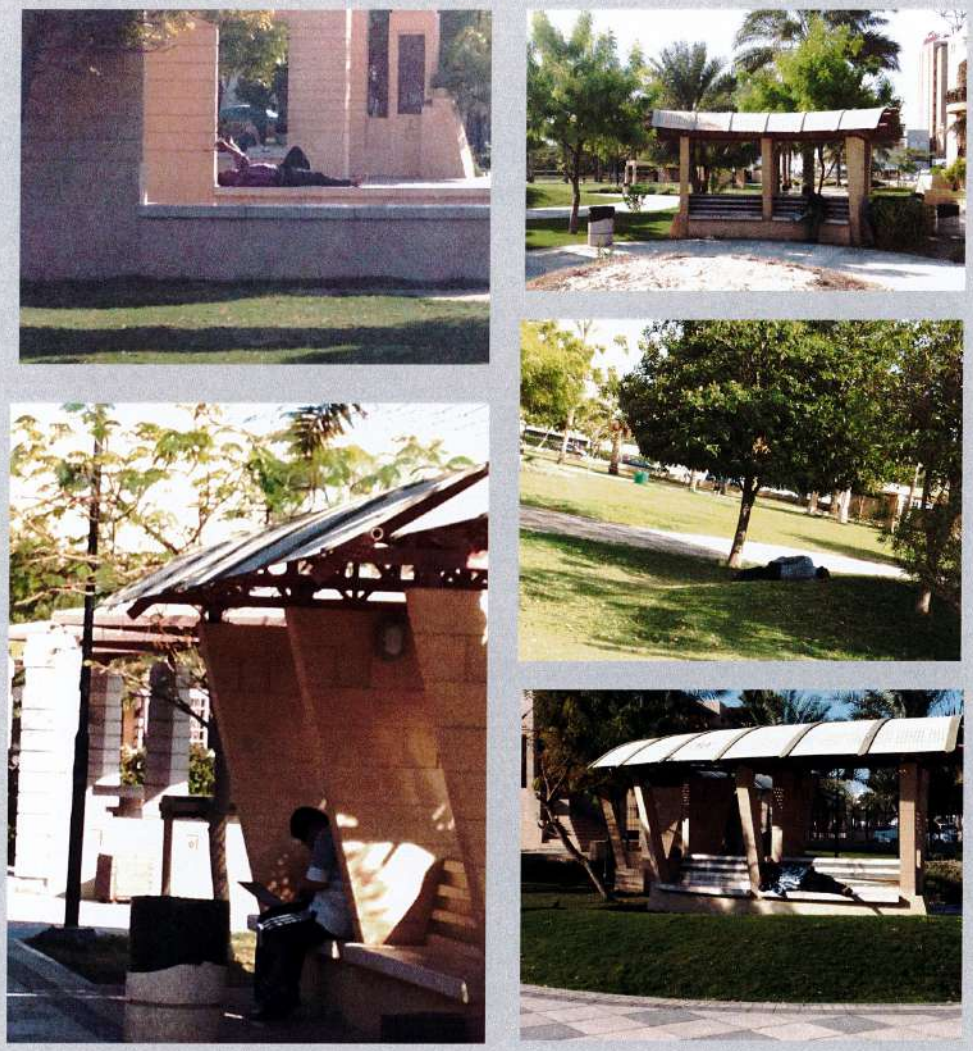
5.2.2 Daily temporality

From repeated visits and spending time in parks and gardens at different times of the day and days of the week, I became aware of the daily pattern of use in these spaces. In the early morning, most users come to the parks or gardens on a regular basis for exercise, running and team sport. Some people also do aerobics on the lawn areas in groups or individually, while

Khalifa Garden also has fitness equipment installed. Even in the cooler climate, which is important for scheduling around busy routines, fitness enthusiasts choose the quiet hours of the morning to do their daily exercise routines and then leave to continue their everyday life activities such as taking their children to school, going to work or doing household chores. Some parents drop their children at school and then arrive at a park or a garden to walk or exercise. Interviewees mentioned that mornings are also the perfect time to stroll, study, read or participate in restorative activities. Women and older users also choose this less busy time of day to participate in their activities while the rest of the family are either at work or school. It is usual to see women bringing their young preschool children to the parks and gardens to play at these times. Some of them come occasionally in groups to have a breakfast picnic, either in the arbour or on the grass. At this time, some users who are either doing their exercise or with their families are night shift workers. (Figures 5.2 -5.3 below)



Figures 5.2 Morning times in parks and gardens are the less busy when users can participate in activities of their choice (a-c). Sunbathing is not common in POS in Bahrain but can be observed in the morning during cool weather (b).



Figures 5.3 Studying, working on laptops, reading, resting or sleeping are some common patterns by migrants in parks and gardens, particularly during the quiet morning hours.

The analysis of the interviews revealed that different users shared the value of the morning hours, though with different motivations as explained by two young adult women at Arad Bay Park in Muharraq city. Leen, an Indonesian by birth who has lived in Bahrain for a number of years in Jufair[2] and works as an airhostess, visits this park frequently. She talked about how the morning hours are significant to her:

> *"Morning is a little bit quiet, for me, it is more peaceful. It's nice and the weather is not hot. So, it is just perfect. Morning is more relaxing because some people are working and the kids are still in the school".*

[2] A suburban area in Manama where mostly inhabited by middle class and affluent migrants.

While Leen talked about mental relaxation during morning hours, Shahrazad, who lives in Manama city, explained her motivation for walking every day at dawn in this park:

> *"I particularly like Arad Bay Park at dawn time [...] People are serious at that time; there are those who come from clubs to do exercise. I was fat (laugh) so the best time for exercise to burn fat is at 4:00am After the prayer call, you go there for pure air [...] it is a very nice place, especially when the sky starts to become light, and the view of the sunrise, it is pureness".*



Figure 5.4 A group of university students chose to prepare for their exam at Hunainiyah Park on a busy Friday afternoon.

After a quieter period of use during the middle of the day, the data from the broad scope field observation and on-site interviews revealed that the parks and gardens become more vibrant between 4:00pm and 8:00pm (after working hours) for leisure, enjoyment, relaxation, or escaping from indoor spaces, daily routine and responsibilities. Observation data supported by short interviews illustrated users are socialising and participating in a variety of concomitant passive and active uses, such as picnics and gatherings, having meals outdoors, exercising, playing sport, relaxing or, for children, playing. Teenagers also gather for chatting, hanging out, sport and practising dance moves. Within this vibrant pattern of use, some users choose to partake in a passive or tranquil activity of their own (Figure 5.4). A number of users mentioned that they choose to come after 8:00pm, when the space is quieter. During the fieldwork, all the gardens were closed by 10:00pm or mid-night, except Arad Bay Park, which was open 24 hours; meaning individuals and groups (male and female) could come regularly to walk and

exercise even after midnight, which also appeared in the observations and interviews during site visits at different times.







Figures 5.5 From the data, it appears that the concept of health and wellbeing influences the patterns of use in the parks and gardens. Walkers and joggers in the different POS in Bahrain allocate time in their daily routines for healthy activities regardless of their busy schedules. Socialising and restorative activities also influence the regularity of people's use outdoor spaces.

By conducting the ethnographic approach of spending time on-site and repeated visits, I became aware that users were spending different lengths of time in the parks and gardens. Some families stay in the parks for a short period, for one hour or less for their children to play or for only the time needed for jogging or walking, which may vary between 45 minutes and two hours (Figures 5.5). Those visitors who come to participate in multiple activities tend to remain longer. Some users spend more time there often gathering and staying from lunchtime until midnight (Figures 5.6 on page 130). From the field observations in Khalifa Garden, some families and groups who stayed for longer periods had food delivered from restaurants. In the night and especially on active days, there were a number of motorcycles outside the gate, with delivery boys delivering food for the garden's users.







Figures 5.6 It is a familiar sight to see visitors in small and large groups setting out picnic mats, food baskets and flasks, with some users bringing along radios, board games, playing cards, baby cots and changes of clothing for children and other items that allow them to spend five to eight hours away from their homes.

5.2.3 Seasonal patterns of use

5.2.3.1 Climate

The climate largely affects the patterns of use in these open spaces. The summer is very hot and this extreme heat coupled with high levels of humidity prevents people from participating in outdoor activities. Observation and on-site interviews revealed that in the hot season, the crowds gravitate to indoor spaces and malls for their leisure activities, while some users of parks and gardens shift their leisure activity to evenings after sunset or reduce the duration of their stay. The perceptions of users towards being outdoors in summer vary even in the night. For example, in Khalifa Garden, on a night in August, a retired Jordanian grandfather in his 60s, who visits the Garden several times a week though living in another city, asserted that despite a humidity level of 70 to 80 per cent, he enjoyed being outdoors on summer nights, reasoning that his Bedouin ancestors had lived in similar weather conditions in the desert.

When the climate is cooler, parks and gardens draw larger crowds and by early afternoon groups of families are found congregating for picnics. From observations in these months, the activities are more prolonged from midday until midnight. During interviews, some respondents mentioned that they frequent parks and gardens only in winter months[3]. However, from analysis, I ascertained that users of public spaces had divergent views on the use of outdoors spaces in winter, as encountered in different interviews in various gardens. Faiza, a young Indian single mother who visits Khalifa Garden weekly explained during the pilot go-along, *"In winter we are always coming to the garden. It is nice and we enjoy the weather. We wear nice warm clothes"*. Some emphasised that those families with young children and older users favour afternoons in the winter, when they have their lunch or a picnic, as after sunset it becomes very chilly. According to Bahrain standards, even 17 degrees is considered too chilly to be outdoors. For example, two Egyptian sisters interviewed in Andalus Garden in the evening during December mentioned that the garden is very busy during weekends, but with the onset of winter the user numbers decline. The sisters are teachers and mothers who have lived for 10 years in Bahrain with their families in the neighbourhood close to the garden and visit the garden every weekend.

[3] In Bahrain, the winter months are from November to March, when the temperature varies between 25 to 17 Degrees.







Figures 5.7 A space between plants provides privacy for women and is warm in winter (a). The green ridge is a spatial choice for a family during late afternoon in the summer (b). The green plaza in Khalifa Garden is an alternative picnic spot (c).

Climate also shapes spatial patterns of use in parks and gardens. During an interview in Khalifa Garden in August, a young homemaker and mother, who was raised in Yemen and has lived in Bahrain for the last 8 years, was sitting on a portable chair while having a picnic with her friends in the open picnic pod next to an artificial mound. She explained that in summer they prefer to gather on the open lawn, and every time they sit at the same spot in a large group of more than ten women and their children, and this was verified during the site visits. She added that in winter they do not sit on the grass but use the provided seating areas between the trees and shrubs as Figure 5.7a shows. The Yemeni women visit Khalifa Garden in Riffa city everyday despite living in another city. In December, during the interview with the Syrian sisters in Khalifa Garden, one of the sisters explained, *"When we started coming to this garden, we chose to sit here in this location; but when it is hot, we go up the hill (pointing to the natural sloped topography in the garden)".* Her sister added, *"Now it is cold, many people avoid going up the hill"* as displayed in Figure 5.7b.

In Khalifa Garden, people also use the plaza area in front of the gate. The plaza is paved and includes a stage. Figure 5.7c shows a plateau raised with a few steps and covered with lawn overlooking an interactive fountain. A young Indian father interviewee, who has worked as a mechanical engineer for a number of years in Bahrain, said that he visits the garden everyday with his wife and children to walk, have a picnic or for their children to play; this was supported by observation. They were sitting on the lawn of the plateau and said that they prefer that spot because it is cool, breezy and has a wide view of the whole garden. However, this area does not provide the privacy Arabian families seek for women, who generally choose other areas to have a picnic in this Garden. These photographs are evidence from the site visits illustrating the relationship between social patterns and spatial characteristics.

Compared to other parks and gardens in the selected case studies, the size and context of Khalifa Garden is larger with a natural topography, which provides choices in use. Salmaniya and Andalus Gardens are provided with picnic tables, gazebos and shaded gathering areas that are used as more appealing alternatives for congregating, particularly in winter when the lawn is wet. The observation data showed examples of these different choices in the selected parks and gardens as displayed in Figures 5.8 (page 134).











Figures 5.8 Alternatives of sitting areas.

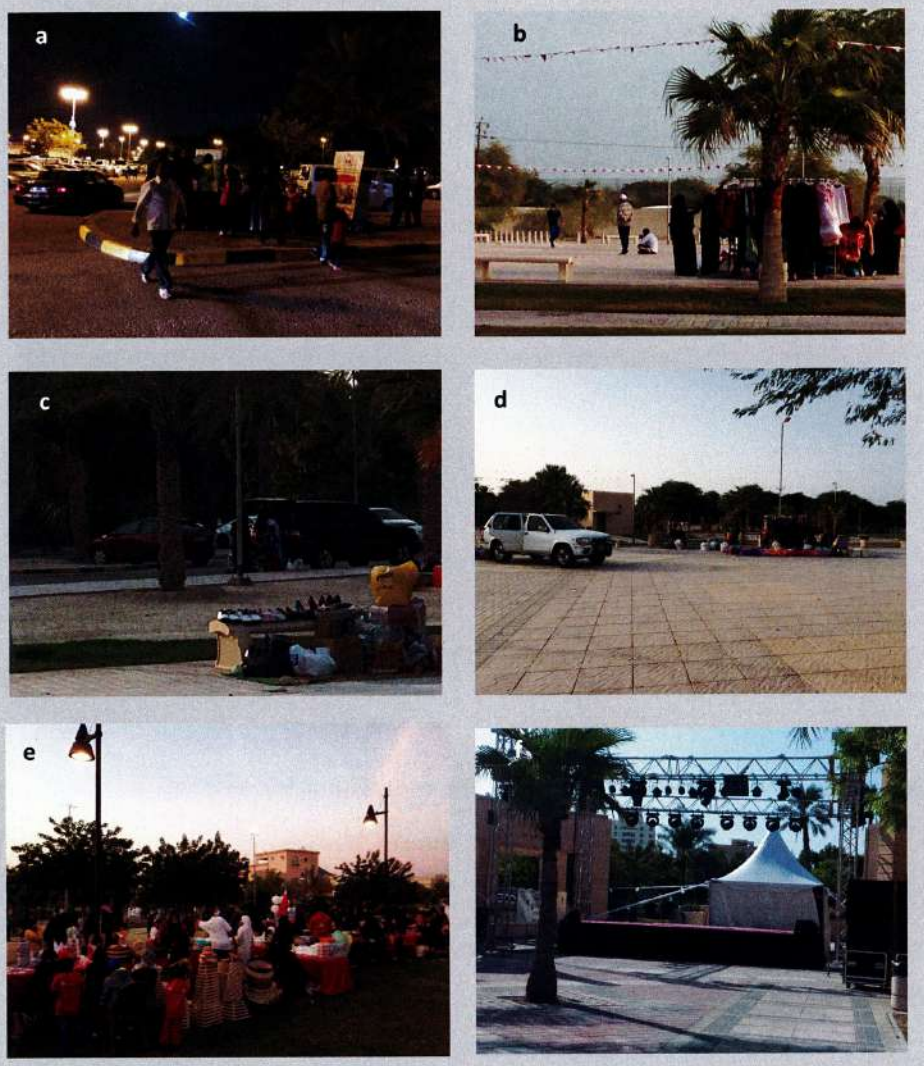
5.2.3.2 School terms



Figure 5.9 On crowded days it is 'mat on mat'.

Similar to many other Arabic countries, education is taken extremely seriously in Bahrain (World Bank, 1999; Akkari, 2004), so school commitments like homework, exams and private tuition shape the patterns of leisure and use of parks and gardens during school terms. The Syrian sisters live close to the garden; but Badra said *"School commitments, this is the only thing that stops us from coming every day, as the children have homework"*. While, her sister Zaina added that during summer vacations, Khalifa Garden is crowded and there is no place to walk as people sit in groups and 'mat on mat'. In this regard, Badra commented, *"In summer, we come at sunset and stay till midnight, or until it is announced on the microphone that gates are closing"*. This crowding also persists at weekends and on public holidays (Figure 5.9).

5.2.3.3 Events



Figures 5.10 Formal and informal events in parks and gardens: Discover Islam arranged by Muslim migrants in Bahrain in the parking area of Andalus (a); vending in Hunainiyah Park arranged by mostly Yemeni women (b-d); a formally organised market for the celebration of the national day of Bahrain in Khalifa Garden (e); and a formal event in Andalus (f).

Occasionally, different events, such as markets, the sale of food, promotional events, walking events and national celebration days of Bahrain and those of other users' countries are held in these parks and gardens. Figures 5.10 illustrate examples of such events during site visits. For instance, from observation during weekends, Hunainiyah Park is used for selling goods, which is appealing to local residents without private transport. This was also confirmed in the interviews. A housewife in her 40s, who was raised in Yemen, sells her products in Hunainiyah Park every weekend to earn a livelihood. In other site visits to Khalifa Garden, groups of

women were seen having a picnic every day and also using the opportunity to informally vend cosmetics, clothing and similar goods. While in Andalus Garden, through my visits and especially at weekends, I usually encountered communal events or celebrations e.g. birthdays, markets for selling migrants' food and goods or promotional events; and on one of the site visits, there was a booth for Discover Islam. As supported by different interviewees, most of these events are arranged by migrants. Shahrazad and her friends claimed that Andalus Garden always have events e.g. weddings, dance competitions, sale of cotton candy and popcorn or setting up a T.V. to watch live matches. The observation showed that many of these activities are conducted communally and openly in a way making it difficult to ascertain which are formally or informally arranged.

5.3 Pedestrianised urban spaces

Bab Al-Bahrain area, Block-338, and Pearling Trail include pedestrianised urban spaces within neighbourhoods. Typical of many neighbourhoods in Bahrain, life in these areas starts as some residents go for 'Fajer' prayer (dawn prayer), take their children to school or leave for their work and business. These local urban spaces are also tourist destinations. If the users appreciate a heritage urban area or 'souq' (traditional market space), they visit Bab Al-Bahrain or Muharraq. Both the Pearling Trail in Muharraq and Bab Al-Bahrain Souq in Manama are partially pedestrianised sites, under renovation, located in historical neighbourhoods. While, the Pearling Site is much quieter than Bab Al-Bahrain, the latter has a more distinctive daily pattern as a city centre area. If an individual prefers a European or modern style with alfresco cafés, his destination could be Block-338 or Amwaj-Lagoon; although, the built-up walkway or the sea view attracts more users to Amwaj.

5.3.1 Sahat in the Pearling Trail

As introduced in Chapter Four, the Pearling Trail is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and is currently undergoing a restoration process as a tourism initiative and integrates elements of contemporary urban design. The project will be provided with a walking path and 19 micro-POS or 'sahat'[4] in the sites of some historical houses. Within the research timescale, two of these micro-POS were implemented. The surrounding area of the selected site includes a new cultural centre, heritage homes, traditional coffeehouses and a souq.

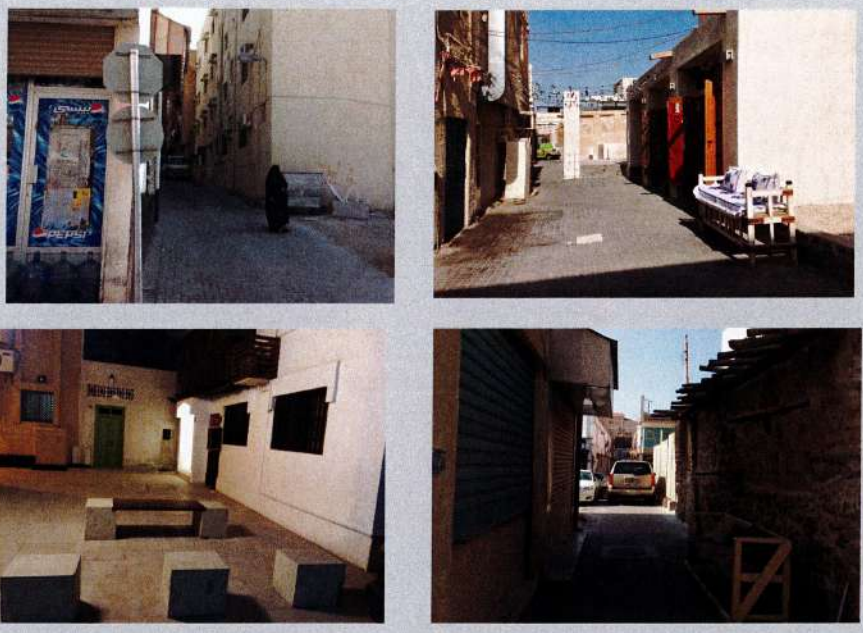
[4] The term sahat means public open spaces, singular saha.

5.3.1.1 Users' diversity

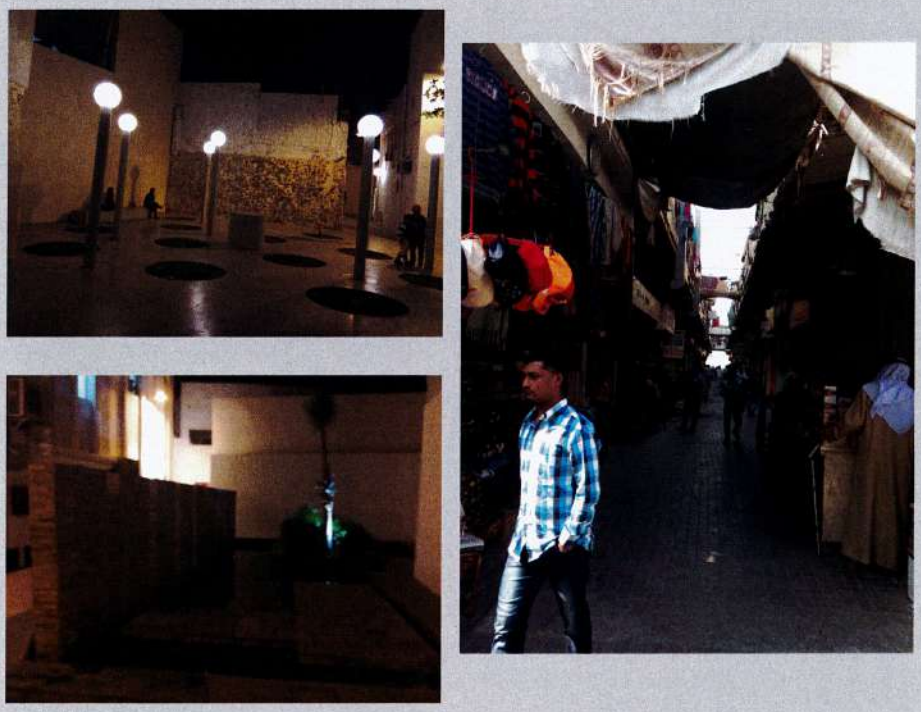
This case study is located in old Muharraq where the residents are Bahrainis, senior citizens and migrant workers. The site also attracts diverse users from different socio-economic echelons who are residents of Muharraq or other cities. From observations and interviews, during the day, the visitors who walk in or around the new cultural centre are the more affluent Bahrainis or migrant populace or tourists. At night after the cultural centre is closed, the migrant-worker residents start gathering in these micro-public spaces (sahat) to spend time. The Muharraq Souq is also a popular tourist destination especially among GCC tourists. Bahraini and migrant residents - mostly non-affluent - use the space frequently for meeting, sitting or strolling leisurely. The no-traffic zone attracts families with children who can play safely. Through interviews, I gathered that the resident users were pleased with the recent changes in the appearance of the space as many of them use the space every day as they go about their routine life or walk through the space to their respective destinations as it is shorter.

5.3.1.2 Daily temporality

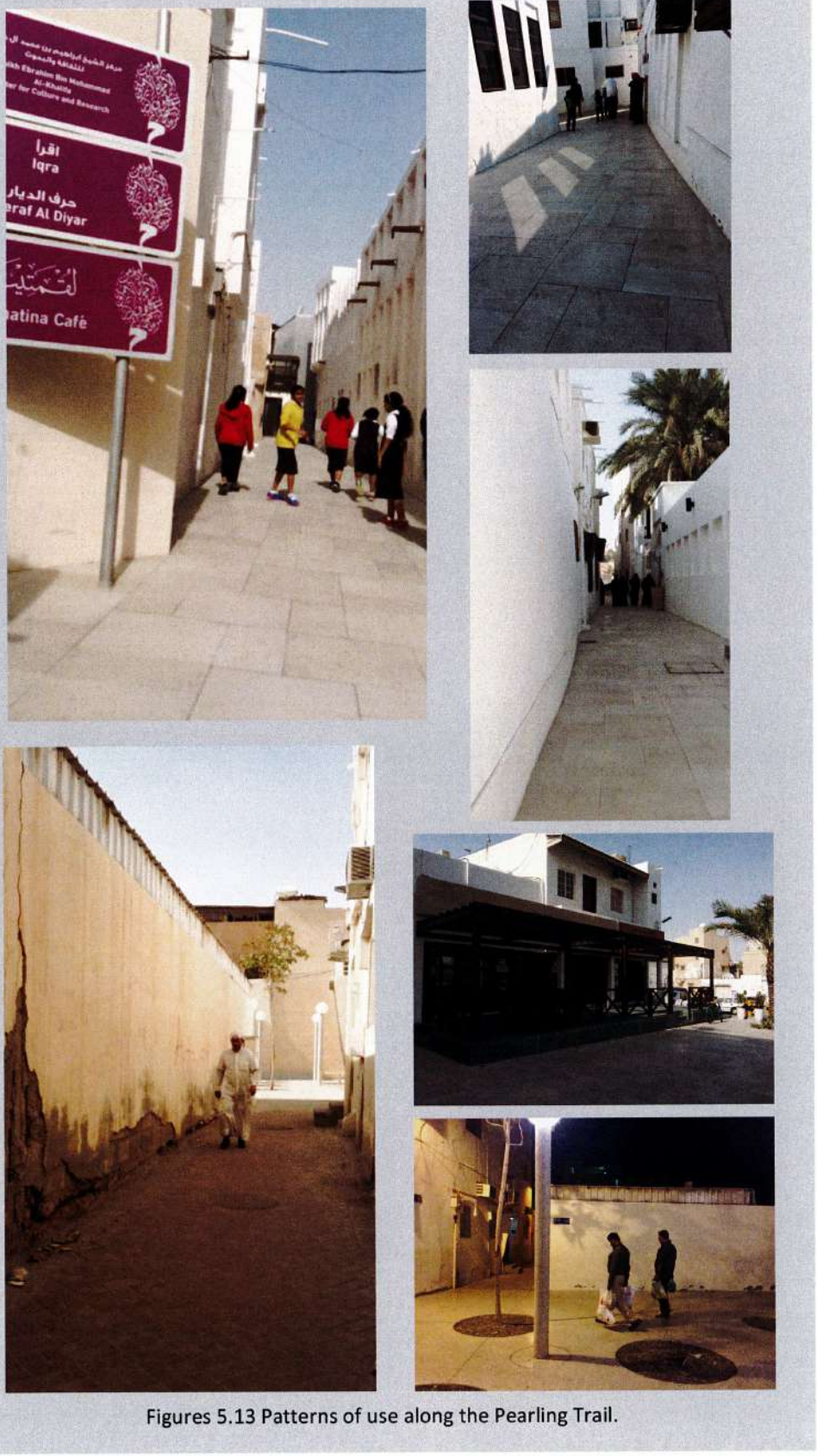
From site visits using ethnographic methods, it was possible to obtain a broad understanding with narrative accounts of the daily patterns of use in this Pearling Trail area. In the daily temporality, the users and residents in the area participate in their routine cultural and social practices, go shopping in the souq or dine in traditional coffeehouses. With the opening of the souq and cultural centres, more users enter the area. Asian workers crowd the souq where they also work or look for jobs and the senior citizens mostly gather in the traditional coffee shops or in front of the shops. The no-traffic zones of sahat and pedestrianised streets provide opportunities for meeting, sitting, strolling around and exchanging pleasantries with others. During fieldwork, these micro-spaces appeared also as a meeting locus for some residents or teenagers and a brief retreat for some women. Although it was possible to differentiate between the maintained renovated urban spaces and non-maintained ones in this case study, the walkways are interwoven between the Pearling Trail Project and the surrounding context. These patterns of use are also supported by the physical affordances and elements of urban design as demonstrated in the photographs in Figures 5.11- 5.13 taken during site visits.



Figures 5.11 The pedestrianised streets and the benches, which are provided, support everyday patterns of use in the Pearling Trail area.



Figures 5.12 One of the sahat sites (micro-POS), water garden and souq in the area of the pedestrianised Pearling Trail Project.



Figures 5.13 Patterns of use along the Pearling Trail.

5.3.2. Bab Al-Bahrain Square and Souq

Bab Al-Bahrain case study site comprises the square and souq. This site has a city centre character and includes high-rise buildings and a historical residential area that still features traditional buildings. Bab Al-Bahrain Square is considered to be the first formal POS in the region. In its initial years, it overlooked the old Manama port. The Square's name is derived from the Bab Al-Bahrain heritage monument, which means Bahrain gateway. The souq that is directly accessed from the gate is an Arabic cultural urban space.



Figure 5.14 The flow of migrants in one of the souq alleys along the mall. The wall of the mall building separates the street from the atrium.

5.3.2.1 Users' diversity

Bab Al-Bahrain was the epicentre of community life in the past and is still a frequently visited location for both residents and tourists. The data from observations and interviews showed that most of the residents in Bab Al-Bahrain area are Asian low-income migrants, elderly citizens and underprivileged families. From the interviews, it was noted that a large numbers of migrant workers who populate Bab Al-Bahrain square and souq do not work or live in Bab Al-Bahrain, but on Fridays and holidays they crowd these open spaces (Figure 5.14).

Senior citizens also populate the Bab Al-Bahrain area; some of them are not residents any more but continue to feel integrated and revive their memories through the old urban fabric of the space. Rashid stated:

> *"Bab Al-Bahrain area has a social life especially for people from older generation. Several times I went there I saw old people are gathering still in the souq, walking in the souq or sitting in traditional coffee shops there. So it has social role for old people".*

An elderly retired Bahraini teacher, living in another area who was interviewed in Bab Al-Bahrain, claimed that he visits Bab Al-Bahrain frequently in order to walk in the souq or to congregate with old friends and other retired teachers in a coffeehouse or 'Gahwa'[5] and also to meet new people from different parts of the country coming for the 'Gahawi' or to pray.

The ubiquitous presence of veteran Jewish, Indian, Arab and Persian traders in currency, gold and other businesses is also a distinctive feature of this space. There are several 'mattams[6]', mosques in this vicinity and a 200-year-old Hindu temple is located in the heart of the souq. These buildings are also gathering points for the diverse users as revealed during the site visits.



Figure 5.15 The Atrium in the mall acts as attraction point for middle class users to Bab Al-Bahrain Area.

[5] Gahwa, plu. Gahawi: traditional coffeehouse
[6] Mattam is the Shai Islamic worship centre or mosque

Observations and interviews revealed that the affluent and middle class users visit the Bab Al-Bahrain Souq for the commercial and business centres or they are tourists, particularly the people from GCC countries. A recently constructed mall with luxurious traditional coffee shops also attracts more wealthy users. Though Faiza asserted that she finds the new mall attractive and she likes to stroll inside; she does not shop or eat there, as she cannot afford it. Laughingly, she added, *"We think if we sit, we have to pay, we don't have that much money"*. This feeling of segregation was mentioned by a number of interviewees. However, Faiza tried to adopt a humorous stance rather than a feeling of humiliation. This is because Bab Al-Bahrain itself provides many alternative activities and affordances for different social groups including low-income groups. However, this gentrification attempt of building a mall to attract a different category of users to this space could be implemented without the construction of a 'fortress'[7] wall (Figure 5.15 above on page 142) that separates the users of the mall from the users of the souq alleys just beside this mall (Figure 5.14 on page 141). Even so, some of the mall users mentioned that they prefer to have more interaction with the street.

5.3.2.2 Daily temporality

Bab Al-Bahrain souq and square starts to bustle with activity as people gather early for breakfast in the coffeehouses. Some of these are open for business from 5:00am. The repeated visits with multiple ethnographic methods provided a narrative understanding of the daily patterns of use in this area. For example, in a go-along interview in the Bab Al-Bahrain area with Kareem, a Bahraini father in his 50's and an employee in a major company, he recounted that at the weekend after 'Fajer Pray'[8], accompanied by friends or family, he often comes to this area to walk, have breakfast or explore other parts on foot. Kareem was raised in Bab Al-Bahrain area and later moved to a different city.

In the mornings, most users come to the souq for the commercial activities, while the space is more crowded at the weekend and in the evening for leisure activities. Faiza, in her walking interview, also discussed temporal patterns in Bab Al-Bahrain:

> *"After five, more people bring their families to enjoy themselves, shop and walk. Also, you can see many couples here in the afternoon- wife and husband, boyfriend and girlfriend [...] Morning is only for shopping, working, and business, only for necessary activities, or they are residents or tourists. People are busy in the morning; they don't have time for social gathering unless it is holiday. And it is also hot in the morning".*

[7] A term used by Whyte (1980) to describe when architecture creates exclusion and segregation.
[8] Dawn time

Similarly, in another go-along interview, Irfan, a young Indian employee with a temporary work contract and who has lived for two years in Bahrain, claimed that he and his friends meet in Bab Al-Bahrain every weekend –Thursday evenings and Fridays- for chatting, hanging out and shopping as they work six days a week. The roundabout in Bab Al-Bahrain Square has a unique appearance in the area with its many incidental uses. On a typical evening or on particular weekends or holidays, as illustrated in Figure 5.16, crowds of Asian migrant male workers congregate around the roundabout, sit or lie around, specifically to meet friends and socialise.



Figure 5.16 The Square on a Friday night is a leisure urban space for migrant workers.

Once the night arrives a different category of users and uses starts appearing. In the interview with Irfan in the area on Friday night, he said, *"At this time people are leaving because shops are closing at 9:00pm and other people are coming now, for hotels and restaurants"*. Kareem also said *"In the night, most people come for the hotels for drinking; Bahrainis or non-Bahrainis, and also you can see migrants who live in the old houses or apartments in this area walking around"*. From observations, the nightclubs shut around early dawn and some of their users move to the traditional restaurants and coffee shops to have breakfast.

Issues related to the nightlife are raised by some respondents as they are contradictory to the Arabic-Islamic culture. Though Faiza also disapproved of the bad reputation of some business activities; she justified their presence by mentioning that it is a characteristic of the space. In

her words, *"Many people like to come here to enjoy. Bab Al-Bahrain is nice for enjoyment [...] Nobody watches you [...] we call it public place (laugh)"*. Similarly, Irfan offered his interpretation on the common enjoyment found in this location:

> *"A person who comes to Bahrain has to visit this place, good place to shop and spend time. This is a place you can find anything. Also, maybe you find this is an abuse, but if someone comes only for enjoyment he can easily find in this area. In Bab Al-Bahrain, you can do whatever you do and nobody disturbs you. People are coming here to enjoy and pass their time".*

5.3.3 Amwaj-lagoon and Block-338

5.3.3.1 Users' diversity

Amwaj Island is predominantly a gated community where affluent migrants reside (mostly from Europe and North America). The lagoon-side in Amwaj is a public space and is accessible to residents here as well as non-residents who come from different areas and different socio-economic backgrounds. The users come to enjoy being outdoors in a facilitated space. In Amwaj, people do not appear to be restricted from entering the public space. However, the restaurants and coffee shops are frequented mostly by middle class visitors. Similarly, Block-338 is an up-market food street; however, it is located amidst residential areas that are mostly for low-income migrant workers. This creates a social mix of people in the open spaces in these case study areas, people from different class and income levels and country of origins, as revealed from the observations and interviews.

The lagoon area and Block-338 are also popular destinations among visitors from neighbouring GCC countries. In an interview in the lagoon area, a young Saudi engineer living in Saudi Arabia (SA) said that he drives to Amwaj Island at least twice a week. He claimed that it takes him around three hours to get to Amwaj which included crossing the border. For him, Amwaj is a luxury amenity and area like those found in Dubai. Another young Indian mother who also lives in SA was interviewed in Amwaj, she elaborated that she comes to Amwaj with her husband once or twice during the weekend. Bahrain has become the weekend destination for many visitors from the Eastern Province of SA after a causeway was opened between Bahrain and SA in 1986. Bahrain has varieties of entertainment and recreation that can meet diverse needs. There are also many affluent migrants who live in Bahrain while working in SA and they travel daily between the two countries. For them, life in Bahrain is comparable to the European way of life. Similarly, Hala claimed that, *"in Amwaj residents are living as they are in Europe. They practice their life as if they are in Europe"*.

5.3.3.2 Daily temporality

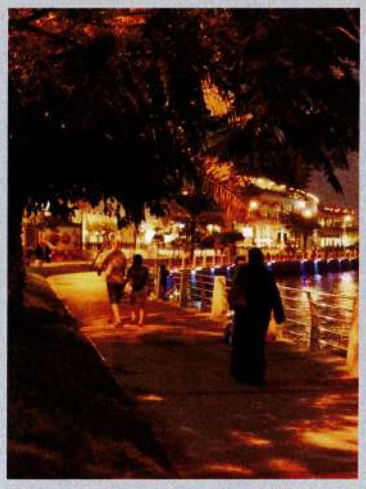
Both, Block-338 and the lagoon-side have distinct rhythms during different times of the day. They include restaurants and cafés that offer a choice of both indoor and al fresco dining facilities. Individuals, couples and large and small groups of people and families can be seen in these urban spaces, socialising, reading, having business meetings or studying while enjoying a meal or coffee or merely strolling around and sitting on the public benches. In addition, shisha-cafés attract a number of users. In these precincts, life starts when a number of cafés start serving breakfast; while in Amwaj-lagoon, there are also people jogging or exercising from early morning. The tranquil environment during the early part of the day and the scenic sea views, a rarity in Bahrain, were mentioned as prime reasons for walking enthusiasts to frequent this area at this time of the day. Both areas also have a flourishing nightlife throughout the week and get even busier at the weekends and on public holidays. Some of these eateries do not close until 1:30am, which also attract a different crowd of people.

Amwaj-Lagoon also has a walkway track, a cycling track and rental services for bicycles and Segways as illustrated below in Figures 5.17-5.18. The collected data from field observation and interviews showed that cycles are available for all the visitors- male and female of different ages. A Bahraini mother in her thirties residing in Riffa[9] interviewed at the lagoon-side mentioned that she comes to this area to walk, along with her husband and children. She added that the most attractive feature of Amwaj-lagoon is the range of activities for all ages groups; while some people enjoy a meal at one of the several restaurants here, the children can have a pizza, play and ride bicycles or scooters.

[9] 45 minutes driving time between Amwaj and Riffa city.

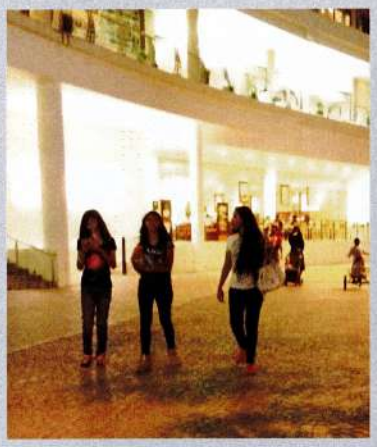








Figures 5.17 Affordances of the lagoon-side with diverse activities that cater for the different needs of age-gender intersections.





Figures 5.18 Examples of patterns of diversity and use at the lagoon area.

Amwaj-lagoon is not a garden in interviewees' perceptions; hence, the activities may differ. For example, during a go-along interview in Amwaj with Samar, a Bahraini student and a resident of the gated island, she expressed some displeasure at once having seen a group of ladies laying out a picnic on the landscaped turf in the lagoon area. Figure 5.19 (below) shows this occasion where a group of migrant women had taken a secluded spot to have their picnic in a family atmosphere. According to Samar, *"It is the first time I have seen people doing that in Amwaj-lagoon, and I do not think it's a fitting activity here".*



Figure 5.19 A group of Pakistani women having picnic at the lagoon-side.

On the other hand, during my fieldwork in Block-338, I observed two clearly demarcated zones. The precinct with carpark spaces and the road appear congested and noisy with traffic and people, while the more secluded inner area has a serene ambiance. Observation data in Figures 5.20 to 5.22 (below) show the patterns of use in Block-338, which demonstrate how spatial territories allow for the differing requirements of Block-338 residents as compared to the tourists and high-end leisure users.



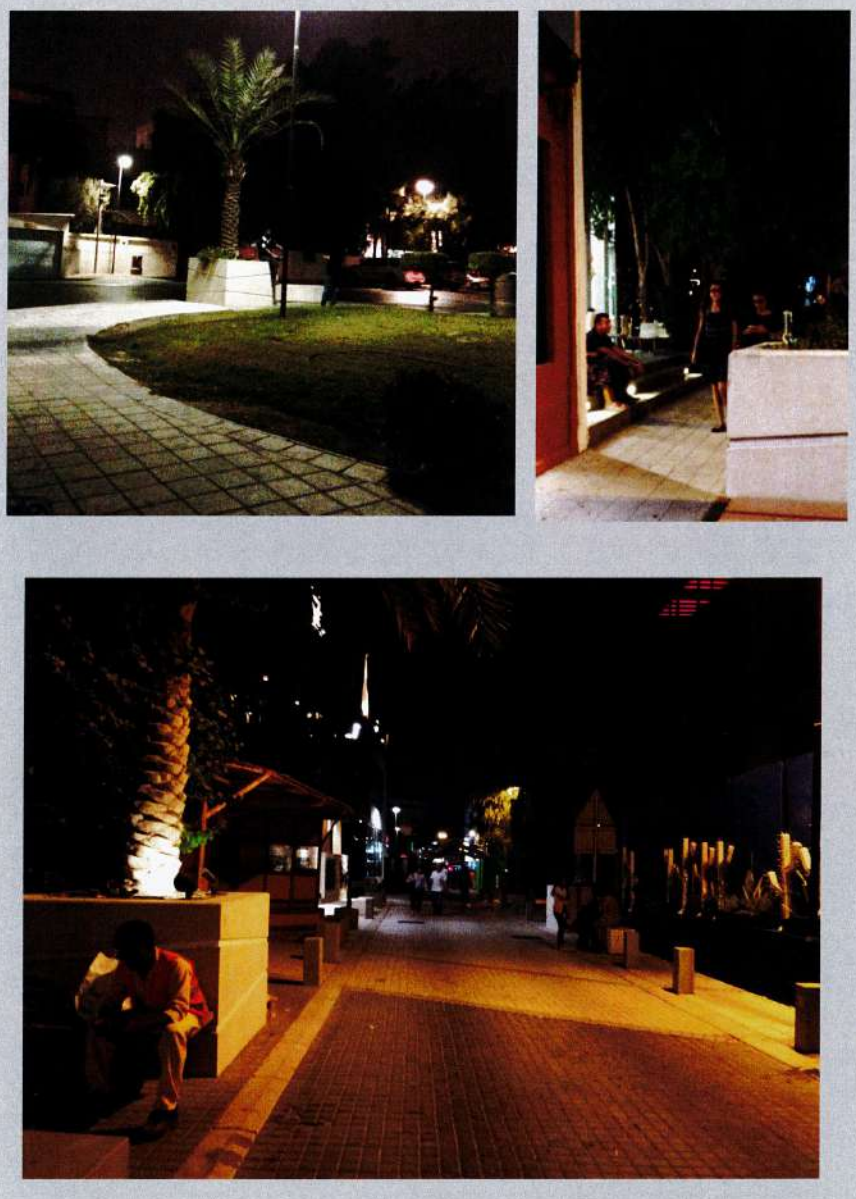


Figures 5.20 The different spatial territories at Block-338 provide affordances for different residents and tourists needs in the area.

Field observation and interviews revealed that the quiet zone is largely used by Asian migrant workers and neighbourhood residents. Those who reside in the vicinity generally do not frequent the plush establishments; they typically use the open space to gather, meet friends or stroll around after work. Asian migrant workers' families also frequent this zone as their children can cycle around or play, while the accompanying adults can sit on the benches placed along the pavement. According to a male respondent from Bangladesh who moved to Bahrain 20 years ago and is currently unemployed, he enjoys sitting in Block-338 area to see different 'interesting people' as tourists from different countries and from Bahrain visit this area. He stated that most of the visitors come here for the restaurants. During the interview, he was sitting outside on a bench and socialising with a friend. He also emphasised that when the weather is pleasant or on holidays, a few residents simply sit around on the benches and share the packed meals they bring with them or meet friends, whilst a few unemployed workers come to this area to search for work. Another interviewee, a Filipino who moved to Bahrain a number of years ago and lives and works in Block-338, had just finished work and was relaxing outside his apartment with a friend who had come from another area of Bahrain on his bicycle, to visit him while waiting for the call of prayer at the local mosque. Another two Bangladeshi male workers, who moved to Bahrain four years ago, said that they came along with their friends who live and work in different areas in Manama. They congregate in the streets of Block-338 during their leisure hours, take photos and then stroll to Bab Al-Bahrain.



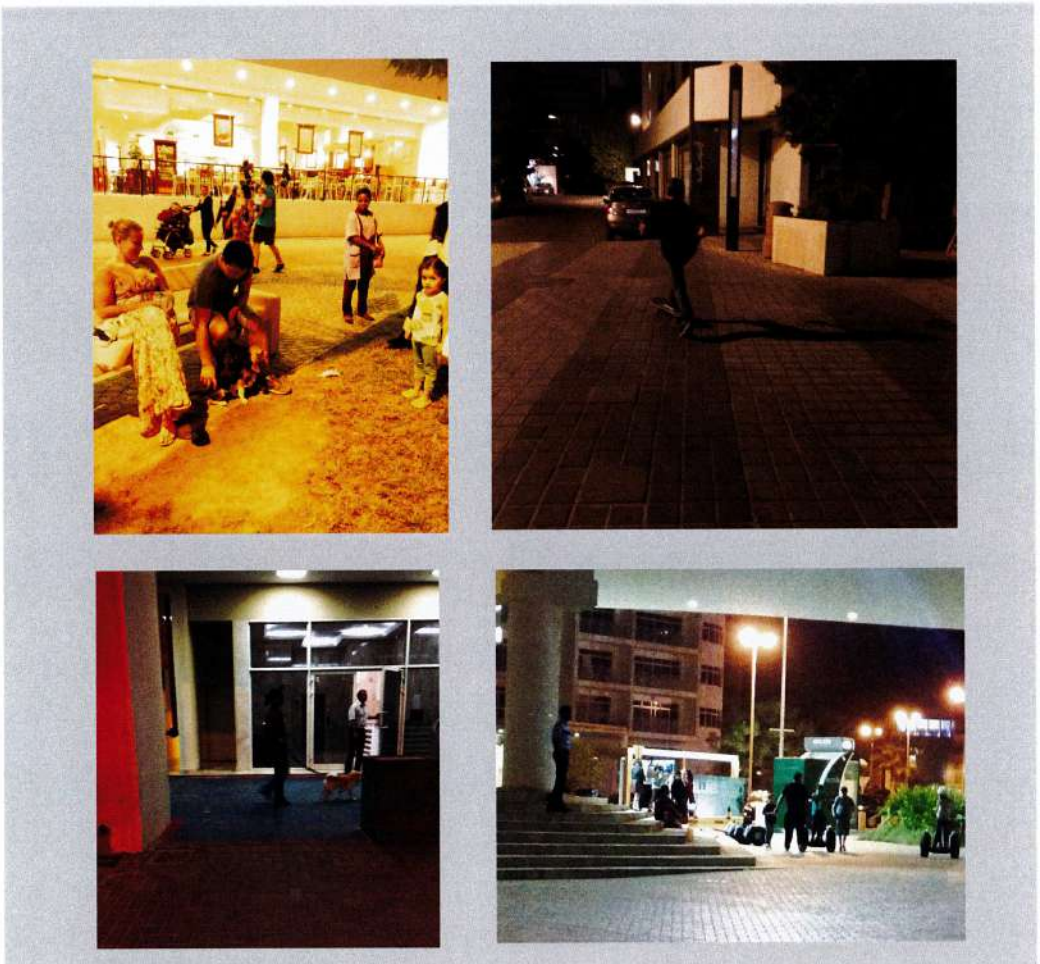
Figures 5.21 The street cafés in Block-338.



Figures 5.22 The pedestrianised zone at Block-338.

However, some of the visitors to the restaurants also use the pedestrianised streets to walk or have a leisurely stroll, which provides aspects of similarities in use between users of different socio-economic levels. A British couple living in a different city and who had moved to Bahrain five years ago mentioned that they occasionally drive here to eat at one of the restaurants. I observed them walking down the street slowly and sitting on the steps overlooking the cobbled streets while the man had a smoke. They stated that they enjoy the area because it is

quiet, pedestrianised and they can also stroll, sit outside and smoke. A Bahraini employee, who was also strolling outside a restaurant with a friend, whilst smoking, supported the British couple's viewpoint. He mentioned that Block-338 is perfect for strolling around, socialising or enjoying a meal with friends at one of the restaurants. On several instances during my site visits in Block-338, groups of people were chatting on the streets whilst walking to their parked car or standing next to their cars. During peak hours in the evenings and at weekends, it is usual to see people waiting outside for a table at one of the restaurants.



Figures 5.23 Skateboarding and dog walking have become popular activities among both migrants and Bahrainis in Amwaj and Block-338 as well as in other urban localities.

As in Amwaj area, it is common in these spaces to see some affluent or modern activities such as users playing their guitars or skateboarding, as was apparent from the observations and interviews. Similarly, the cobbled pavements in Block-338 attract youngsters who use the traffic- free zones to skateboard. The skateboarders generally confine their activity to the quieter zones in the area and hence have gained social acceptance among the users of this

open space. Some waterfront activities appeared on the boundaries and seashore in Amwaj: sailing, jet-skiing and other water sports. Such activities are not restricted to residents, but large numbers of visitors also participate informally throughout weekends and on public holidays. In Amwaj, dog walking is a popular activity among both migrants and Bahrainis, and is starting to become noticed in other urban localities. Such activities are quite a novelty in Bahrain and therefore, contribute to an aura of modernity in the space. (Figures 5.23 above)

5.3.4 Seasonal pattern in pedestrianised urban spaces

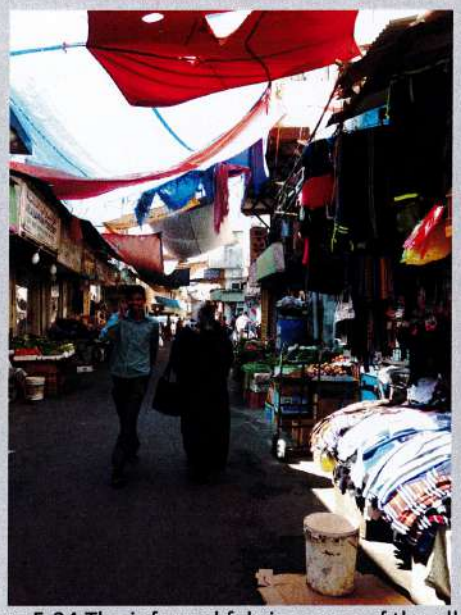


Figure 5.24 The informal fabric covers of the alleys providing shade for the users and the items for sell.

Like the gardens and parks, the users in the pedestrianised urban spaces are sharing the dynamic seasonal patterns of use in a collective manner. Conducting the ethnography in different seasons revealed that these spaces adopt a festive appearance in the winter months as people use the space for longer hours, unlike in summer when the users mostly appear after sunset. For example, it appears significant that the lagoon-side is largely a winter space and there is a dramatic drop in user numbers in the outdoor spaces during the hot months; this observation was also supported by interviewees. In summer, the visitors of Amwaj-lagoon and Block-338 gather indoors at the restaurants and cafés or sit outdoors around the cooling units provided, while in the cooler months, the open spaces become more vibrant and are

furnished with tables and chairs. Similarly in Bab Al-Bahrain area, the elderly retired teacher stated that in winter, he prefers to walk around the souq during the day and have tea or chat with friends in one of the streets' traditional coffeehouses; but in summer, he has his tea in the mall or other indoor spaces in the area. Likewise, an elderly Bahraini grandmother in Bab Al-Bahrain, who lives in another city but frequents the area, stated that in summer she comes to Bab Al-Bahrain Souq for shopping in the early morning before the heat becomes excessive, and after quickly finishing her shopping she relaxes in the air-conditioned atrium and has breakfast and fresh juice. She added that in winter the time is not a constraint for her and so she can linger. Besides climate, from the fieldwork, it is evident that children's school and after school commitments shape patterns of use.

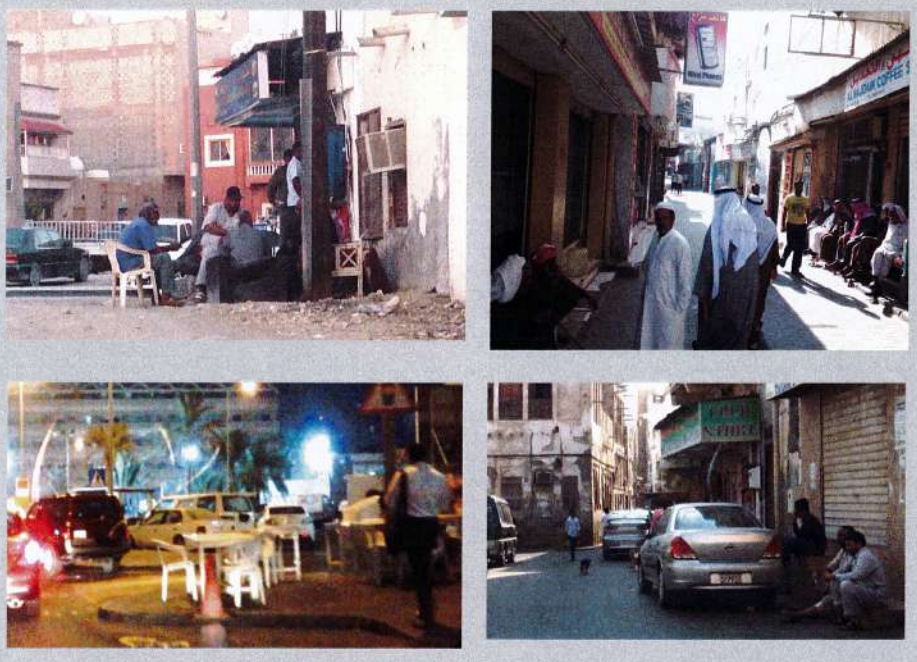
Block-338, Amwaj-lagoon and Bab Al-Bahrain play host to a number of cultural and social activities such as exhibitions, open-air markets, live concerts, festivals, carnivals and traditional street markets that display local wares. These events are typical features during the weekends in the cooler months and attract crowds from all parts of Bahrain and are managed by public or private sectors, as revealed in the observations and interviews during site visits. In Bab Al-Bahrain Souq, the provision of a mall with a high wall (fortress) is a strong segregation design element for affluent users; however, different weekly events are created in the outdoor pedestrianised avenue and integrated with the mall space, which attract different social groups.

5.4 Informal and incidental public open spaces

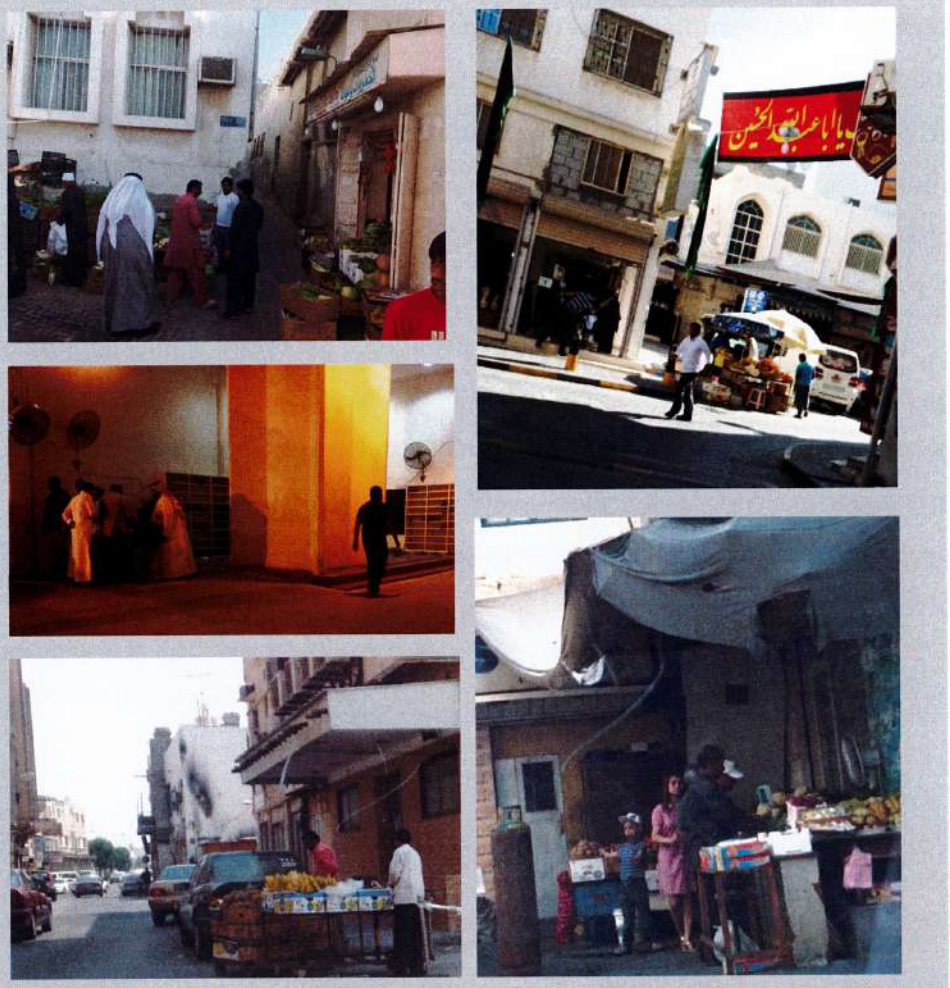
This section explores the uses of incidental spaces in Bahrain as recorded during the fieldwork period. The interviews and observations provide an understanding of why people appropriate specific places over other places. There are a number of archetypes that offer a true sense of how these informal spaces are used in Bahrain. Figures 5.25 – 5.30 show patterns of use in informal POS, which includes streets, sidewalks, parking areas, vacant lands, traditional coffeehouses, or spaces in front houses, shops and mosques.

In Bahrain, there is a distinctive and lively street life. The sidewalks in several areas are used for purposes of leisure, gathering and socialising as well as for walking and exercise (Figures 5.25 - 5.27 below). The spaces in front of the local shops (cold stores or mini-supermarkets), 'karak' (tea shops) and 'Khabaz' (traditional bakeries) are common places for young males or migrants to gather as well as for residents to meet. Figures 5.25 show examples of how these micro-spaces, predominantly located around stores, food outlets or takeaway cafeterias, are

popular for impromptu get-togethers among the people who frequent these outlets. Additionally, vendors sell fruits and vegetables, fish, popcorn or ice cream on sidewalks as shown in Figures 5.26. Activities of this type were chiefly observed in the deprived neighbourhoods, where the people have restricted mobility across the city and limited options of other leisure facilities. Figures 5.27 show an example of a neighbourhood in Hunainiyah site. Many residences in these poorer areas have a porch or an outdoor extension, which extends onto the street and serves as a point for gathering and socialising both for the homeowners and other neighbourhood residents. It is customary to find local residents chatting over a cup of tea or migrant workers making conversation about their homeland or job opportunities. This was especially apparent in the Hunainiyah context. Some residents also use the incidental spaces and side roads to play caroms (table stone) or cards. Men gathering in front of houses are also common in old Muharraq, where senior citizens are preserving this Bahraini traditional practice. The threshold between buildings and the street is an important typology of place for successful integration and belonging 'from below' (Alexander et al., 2007).



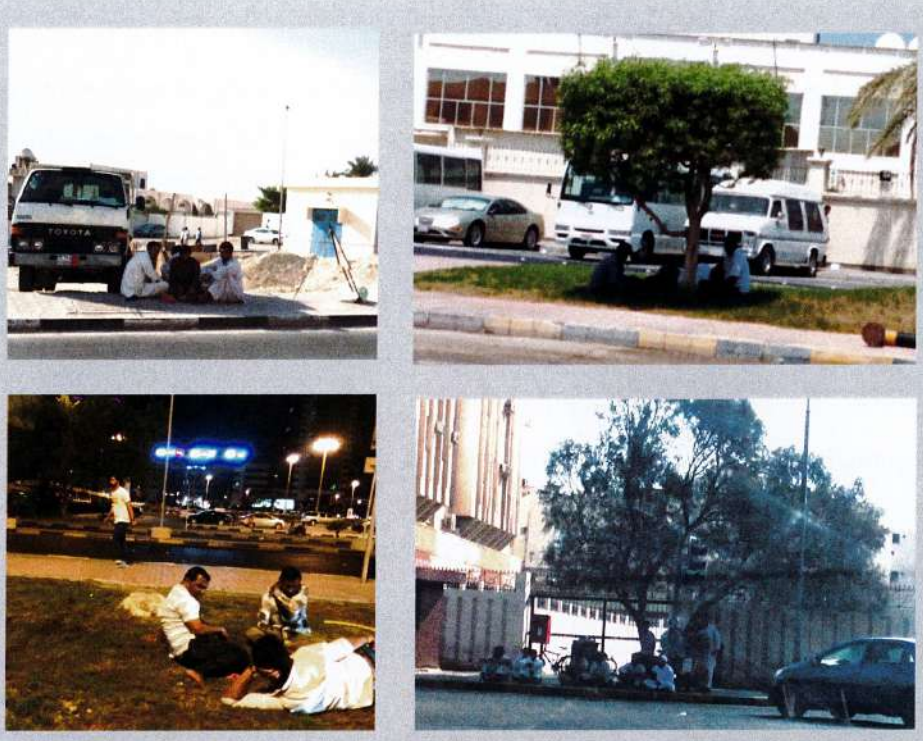
Figures 5.25 Being outdoors is a mundane cultural practice amongst the diverse population.



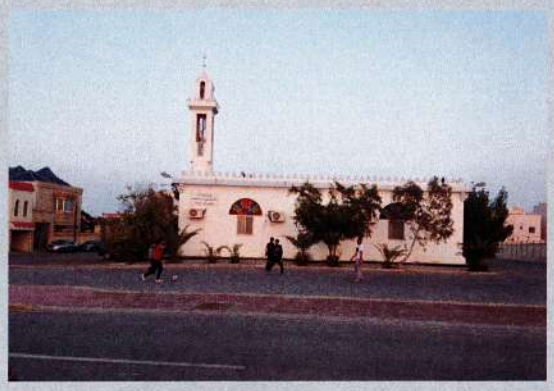
Figures 5.26 Vendors and vegetable shops, usually operated by migrants, provide social interaction points in streets.



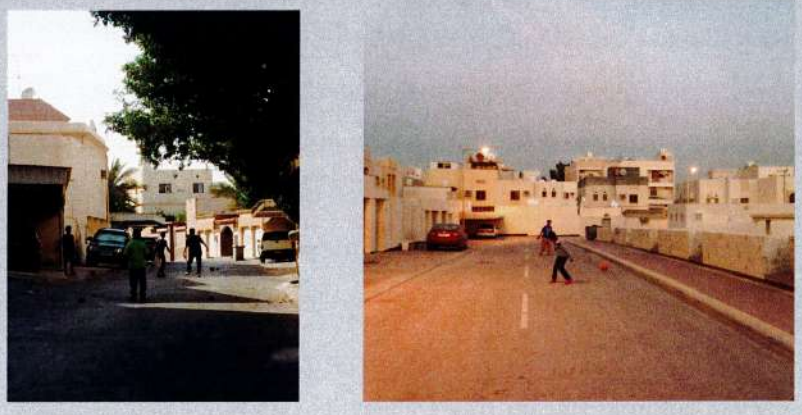
Figures 5.27 In some deprived neighbourhoods, the ice-cream van or a corner shop could be the only provided leisure.



Figures 5.28 Using the sidewalk, street corners and parking island for resting and gathering by migrant workers.



Figures 5.29 Playing football or cricket are common in informal POS by Bahrainis and migrants.



Similarly, parking areas and vacant lands in neighbourhoods are also used for social gatherings and informal meetings, particularly by migrants and teenagers and by children for playing (Figures 5.28 – 5.29 on page 157) Vacant lands and sidewalks are also used as parking spots, which generally deter people from using them for recreation. Streets, parking lots and vacant plots in a neighbourhood are often used for informal leisure activities mainly by men, young children and youths. Adult Indians and Pakistanis also sometimes come to play sports such as football or cricket. These streets and parking lots are also favoured by young children for riding bicycles. In some public carparks and on some roads, Arab male youths -including Bahrainis- participate in activities such as lingering around their cars or motor bicycles and chatting, doing group riding, exhibiting cars and motor bicycles, car drifting or washing and polishing their cars.



Figures 5.30 'Gahawi' or traditional coffeehouses in streets are heritage urban spaces and provide social interaction points within the diverse population.

In both Muharraq and Bab Al-Bahrain, the 'gahawai' (coffeehouses) are significant spaces during the daily routine as shown in Figures 5.30. These spaces hold a distinctive appeal to gather for 'Gahwa' (coffee) or chai (tea) and have always been a prevalent feature in Arab cultures. The 'gahawi' are currently used mostly by men, both Arab and non-Arab, and primarily by the older Bahraini men, reflecting a tradition that was fashionable in their generation. Recently, Asian women workers from the Philippines and India have also been seen using some of these coffeehouses. Bahraini families from middle-income groups were also seen in some of the renovated 'gahawi' in the case studies. A young Bahraini mother and employer, living in a different city and interviewed in a 'gahwa' in Bab Al- Bahrain, mentioned that she regularly comes at the weekend to have breakfast in one of these renovated 'gahawi'

with her husband and two young daughters as they value the traditional atmosphere of Bab Al-Bahrain Souq despite the renovation. These 'gahawi' are scattered on the sides of the roads and the benches and chairs outside the coffeehouses are also places for optional uses (Gehl, 2011), e.g. for weary or hungry visitors to sit for a while, rest or wait for their transport and also create instances for direct interaction between the 'gahwa' users and passers-by. In these spaces, the seating arrangements usually spill onto the streets and provide visible points for people to socialise.

Walking for exercise is an everyday practice and is the predominant activity in the urban areas in Bahrain as appeared from conducting ethnographic methods. Although the activity of walking for exercise has already been addressed earlier in Section 5.2 in formal greenspaces, it is also relevant to understand this activity in the context of incidental spaces. The roads and pavements in Bahrain are not particularly conducive for walking or running. Recently, a number of walkways and paths in formal POS have been constructed for the safety and convenience of walkers and joggers. However, there are still residents who prefer walking or jogging on the streets or pavements in their immediate vicinity. One of the main reasons for doing this activity on the roads is to avoid the crowds in the gardens and parks. Another rationale is to save driving time, since many people need to drive to reach the nearest provided walkway track. However, the walkers and runners avoid busy streets and junctions and instead choose roads of appropriate distances, with sidewalks. Some issues put forward by the users of these spaces relate to the fact that some pedestrian sidewalks are not paved or are too narrow, which led to safety concerns. Accordingly, walkers and joggers in these contexts prefer the main roads to the neighbourhood streets because many streets inside the neighbourhoods are without pedestrian paths or these spaces are occupied by residents for parking their cars.

As many of the incidental spaces have become inconvenient or less accessible for families' leisure practices and sociability, the increasing number of parks and gardens has appeared as an alternative. For example, the Jordanian grandfather said, *"Before we were going to the desert, but with the urban development we are going to the gardens more as the country is providing them"*, hence the parks and gardens have replaced the desert leisure practices.

5.5 Religious observances



Figure 5.31 The proximity of religious institutions.

Although people may feel more comfortable and integrated in spaces shared with similar religious groups, segregation by religion was not observed in my fieldwork. Spaces may be socially defined, such as mosque, temple or church; however, these different institutions are seen in close proximity on the roads (Figure 5.31). It is a familiar sight in Bahrain to see people congregate in the carpark of a religious building or on the street and open spaces adjoining a busy mosque, mattam, temple, or church after worship. These spaces also attract vendors who sell fruit, vegetables and other wares to the prayer-goers and provide points for encounters. Since Islam is the shared religion amongst the majority of population in Bahrain, it has a distinctive effect on the patterns of use.

5.5.1 Prayer times

Prayer times directly shape the temporality of Muslims' daily life pattern. The fieldwork shows how the prayer time adds a communal pattern of use. For example, observations indicate that several Muslim users of Khalifa Garden enter the space directly after prayers at the adjoining mosque[10]. An Indian accountant discussed how he comes to Khalifa Garden immediately after

[10] At Dhuhr (midday)-prayer time the Garden is closed, although in winter when the weather allows being outside at midday.

'Maghreb' (early evening) prayer every day and walks until 'Isha' (late evening) prayer, thereby doing his exercise time between these two prayers. Similarly, a physician mother, a second generation with Palestinian roots, stated that her father walks in Khalifa Garden every day after 'Fajer' (dawn) prayer, even in 'Ramadan' (fasting month). On Fridays in winter months, the fieldwork also shows that families start gathering and having picnic for lunch after 'Jema'ah' (Friday midday) prayer[11].

Any mosque next to a park or garden also has a social role for both men and women. In Khalifa Garden, many regular worshippers visit the garden or do their everyday walking after their prayers in the mosque. The fieldwork in Khalifa Garden shows that the adjacent mosque is not only used just by residents in surrounding neighbourhoods but also by the users in the garden who come from other cities. Rashid explained:

> *"The mosque next to the garden has a social role, many worshippers pray the Fajer (dawn) and go to the park, and similarly many people from the garden come to the mosque, and in the weekend the mosque has many people who are not from the neighbourhood; they come to the mosque from the garden".*

5.5.2 The temporality of Ramadan Month

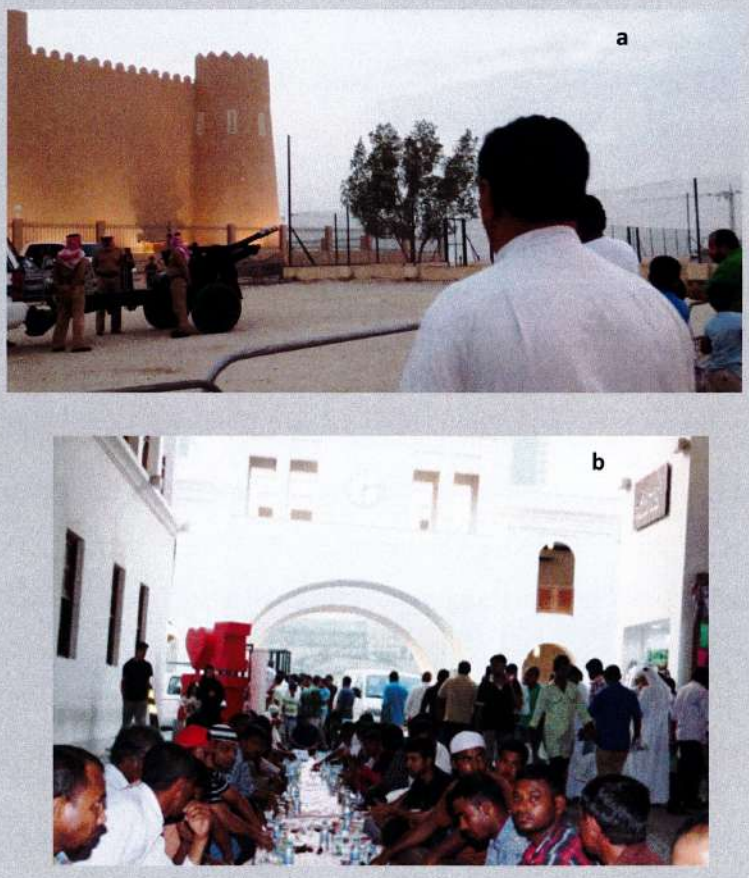
In the Islamic countries, the Holy Month of Ramadan (fasting month) is significantly different to other times of the year, which shapes the activities in the cities. In Bahrain, the start and end of the fasting period is announced with the traditional firing of the Ramadan cannon. At the time and place where the cannons are fired, many people gather with their family and children to enjoy the moment, e.g. in Figure 5.32a (below) a cannon is set overlooking the Hunainiyah valley. However, once the cannon signals the fast breaking time, there is a lull in activities around the country and the streets and neighbourhoods are virtually deserted.

Just before 'Iftar' (breaking the fast), the roads get busy with people rushing to either mosques or homes to break their fast. After 'Iftar' and the late evening prayers[12], people gather in marquees, tents, 'majles'[13] or coffee shops to socialise. It is common to visit extended families and close friends, and the streets are busy with people out shopping or meeting families and

[11] Khalifa Garden is closed as lunchtime. The gates are open from 4:00am to 8:00am and then closed to be reopened from 4:00pm to 10:00am or 12 midnight.
[12] The mosques have additional night prayers.
[13] Sitting and gathering room or hall in the house

friends. Tantalising aromas of traditional food waft down the streets and the restaurants and coffee shops are open for business, some until dawn, as during the day Muslims fast.

The mosques serve 'Iftar' meals for needy families and people; it is mostly migrant workers who frequent these 'Iftar' meals. This activity usually happens in the open spaces next to the mosques or in marquees. Such events are also held by some charity organisations in the Bab Al-Bahrain's pedestrianised avenue (Figure 5.32b).



Figures 5.32 Ramadan cannon over the ridge of Hunainiyah (a). Arranging Public Iftar in Bab Al-Bahrain usually attracts migrant workers (Alwasatnews, 2015) (b).

Parks also get busy during the night. Some Muslim migrants have their 'Iftar' and 'Sehor' (a late meal) in the gardens; such an activity being more predominant in Andalus and Salmaniya gardens by non-Arab migrants. Users from different religions also frequent the gardens and

parks as at other times of the year, but they refrain from eating, drinking or smoking during the day as eating is banned in public spaces during fasting times. Migrants are also more visible as the working hours are shorter in Ramadan. A number of people continue their habitual exercise schedule, walking or jogging at dawn, afternoon or night. It is customary to see a number of people, walking or running in the parks or the roads just before breaking the fast.

In Ramadan, there are a number of Bahraini folk events that take place in outdoor spaces that I encountered during the fieldwork. These folk events are known to be part of Bahraini heritage, but are not religious events. 'Qerqa'on' night, celebrated in the middle of the Holy Month, is an event exclusively celebrated in Bahrain and is no longer culturally significant in other GCC countries. Children wear traditional outfits and go from house to house singing traditional verses and playing the tambourine or drum. Sweets and nuts are distributed to these groups. The 'Fresa' (a horse model) is also taken out in small processions in different neighbourhoods at this time. Another practice is 'Wedaeia' (farewell night), which falls at the end of the Holy Month, where groups of men chant songs and walk in the neighbourhood. These folk events are also shared by families from different origins.

5.5.3 The temporality of Eid days

During the Eid days, the trend is for families to visit their relatives and gather in their houses. It is also a traditional practice for the children to walk around the neighbourhoods, go to different houses to seek blessings and to collect 'Eidia' (money). The parks and gardens spaces are also used for leisure activities, and are specifically important for migrants who do not have relatives in Bahrain. In the night that precedes 'Eid Al-Adhha' or Feast of the Sacrifice, there is also a Bahraini folk celebration called 'Heia Beya' for the young children. This celebration takes place in POS at seashores and in Hunainiyah (Figures 5.33 below). Children join friends, neighbours and family to sacrifice their beloved plant, which they have carefully grown in a basket in the days preceding the event, by throwing it into the sea or into the valley. Observations revealed that these activities are also shared by families from different origins.





Figures 5.33 A traditional event in the night that precedes 'Eid Al-Adhha' in Hunainiyah.

5.5.4 Muharram

In Muharram month[14], the use of incidental spaces in particular reflects religious activities and in certain areas in Bahrain, worshippers congregate in very large numbers on the streets. In Bab Al-Bahrain, in the days before the Muharaam, I observed the preparations for these events, which dramatically changed the space. The space becomes crowded with Bahraini women and families who come to prepare food in mattams and go shopping for black clothes and green flags and accessories. During the site visits, vans with food and goods were seen

[14] Muharram is the first month in the lunar Islamic calendar and is not fixed compared to Georgian calendar months. Particular religious practices are conducted by Shia Muslims in some POS in Bahrain during this month.

delivering for the mattams as part of the preparation procedure. The facade in Bab Al-Bahrain is also completely transformed. Figures 5.34 show how textile banners cover the walls of the alleys and are also hung over the canopies. In the days and nights of relevant events, the police are dispersed into the area to ensure safety. The mattams provide permanent and temporary shade and outdoor seating areas, which also promote everyday sociability. The congested spaces are not convenient for big crowds; however, the space has significantly important mattams that attract large crowds during these events. Residents in Bahrain are familiar with such large religious gatherings in Muharram and so they change their time and duration of use of Bab Al-Bahrain accordingly.





Figures 5.34 The urban temporality of Muharram.

5.6 Political uprising in the field

The recent events in Bahrain stemming from the Arab Spring affected the use of some urban outdoor spaces, but did not prevail or appear significant in the collected data. Most interviewees did not talk about conflicts in this respect, except for some interviewees who elucidated that they avoided places where disorder occurred. For example, during a walking interview with Irfan in Bab Al-Bahrain on a Friday night, I observed a large presence of riot policemen, Irfan said, *"Shops close early now, after fighting and problems on the streets [...] usually we stay here 3-4 hours but if there is a fight or a problem in the area, we leave soon".* During the fieldwork, there were no obvious political observances, except the delays on the

road if there were some protests. These affected the fieldwork on only a few days. The delays caused due to roads being blocked was also mentioned by some interviewees as difficulties that hampered their movements.

5.7 Movement Barriers

In Bahrain, a car is a necessity for many, and the design of the urban environment reflects the priority given to road transport.

> *"Remember how shocked you were when you arrived in Bahrain and discovered it was considered normal to hop in a car simply to cross a road? [...] And do you remember how quickly you got used to driving everywhere, not even considering whether it was possible to walk from A to B?"* (Timeout Bahrain, 2011)

However, not all people have a car or drive, particularly migrant workers, less affluent families, elderly and young people and some women[15] who depend on the male family members to drive them around. In the go-along interview in Hunainiyah on a mid-week morning, Nazir, a Balochi father who moved to Bahrain 10 years ago, expressed his concerns regarding car availability and long working hours that affected his family's accessibility to POS. He said:

> *"I've been working 12 hours shift and I didn't sleep yet. I just came from work but I have to take the kids out [...] Near where I'm staying; there is no space to play or sit outdoors. [...] My children wait for my day-off to take them outside".*

Working hours also shaped the pattern of uses of affluent users. For example in Amwaj, a Bulgarian interviewee in Amwaj-lagoon stated that in spite of the fact he lives on Amwaj Island and it only takes a few minutes to reach the lagoon-side, he does not have time to visit as often as he would like. He occasionally meets a friend for coffee. At the time of the interview, he mentioned he was recuperating from surgery and hence had some time to enjoy walking at the lagoon-side. However, his fourteen-year-old son rides his bicycle to the area and spends time with friends. Samar also stated during the walking interview in Amwaj:

> *"People here are busy as they mostly work in high positions and time is very important for them; they don't have much time to go out with friends. Also, a large number of residents are GCC nationals who buy property here as a second home".*

[15] In Bahrain, women are allowed to drive and it is common to see Bahraini women or women from different migrant backgrounds driving. For different reasons, intersected with class, culture, income or age, some women choose not to drive.

Another barrier in cities or neighbourhoods is the inconvenience of walking. For example, during the prayer times, it is common to see the elderly walking to the mosque and crossing the roads in an unsafe and inconvenient situation. One of the main difficulties throughout my fieldwork was the practical challenge of walking through different neighbourhoods either in the go-along interviews or during the site visits. Many roads have no sidewalk; there are limited pedestrian bridges and limited pedestrian traffic. Most of the available pedestrian sidewalks are unpaved and narrow and several are used for parking due to insufficient parking spaces.

Lack of parking areas was another barrier for accessing some places. This issue appeared acute in congested contexts, especially in Bab Al-Bahrain area and was mentioned by many participants, who avoid the area because of this. In some neighbourhoods in Bahrain, even the mosques have no parking spaces, and cars often block the streets during prayer times.

Walking from place to place can also be interpreted as a low status activity, which could be linked to the poor physical quality of the pavements in streets. Some participants suggested that walking conveys the impression of being a second-class resident or migrant worker (as narrated by Hala, Faiza, Badra and Samar in the go-along interviews and supported by the on-site interviews). Badra said:

> *"If you don't have a car, in Bahrain, it is a problem. It happens that I need to take my daughter from school, if she is having an activity after school. Then, I have to walk to take her. I feel embarrassed to walk and cross the road. I know Bahraini habits are different from Syrians'; I know they don't walk or cross the roads. But what I can do? I have to bring my daughter from school. I can't allow her to come alone".*

Hala also said:

> *"All the people look at you if you are walking. I don't like this feeling that I'm doing something weird. But, if I walk in Amwaj nobody looks at you. It is very normal, people are used to walking. And the same thing in Bab Al-Bahrain, it is also normal to walk".*

Hala found that walking in Amwaj is a common practice as foreigners often walk in their neighbourhood, while she expressed feeling alienated if she walked where she lives.

Currently, the public transit system is commonly used by low-income groups. In April 2016, after the fieldwork, a new public transit system with better buses and increasing number of routes was introduced. The idea of using the transit system is still new to the public and therefore it cannot be evaluated for its efficacy. However, during the fieldwork, interviewees including affluent users mentioned the need for proper transit routes. Having clear bus routes, convenient and shaded bus stops provided with benches may also have a positive effect on integration and socialising. Encouraging people to use public transport is also linked to walkability and has the potential to animate pedestrian routes as interconnected with transit points.





Figures 5.35 At the bus stop, migrant workers are visible.

5.8 Multi-sensory pleasures of socialising outdoors

In the collected data, the users' pleasure at being outdoors in nature appeared strong not only in greenspaces but also across the three broad typologies (parks and gardens, pedestrianised streets and informal spaces) and provided users with multi-sensory experiences. Different patterns of use expose users to diverse sensory experiences together with the 'leisure-pleasure' of being outdoors. Pink (2008) highlights that different activities in outdoor spaces would create 'sensory sociality' experiences. The sensory experiences of seeing and being amongst others in POS also intertwine with natural sensory qualities. This is mentioned by Amanda Wise when she considers 'being around difference' as sensory qualities that emerged in a qualitative research about encounter (Neal, 2015). In the go-along interview with Rashid in Khalifa Garden, he emphasised the value of sitting outdoors to enjoy the different sensory experiences with others either in a garden or in a street café, *"People want to have nice outdoor sitting areas with scenic view and good weather where they can gather and see*

others." In this quote, encountering people appears as part of the sensory experiences. This adds a social dimension to a restorative space (Thwaites et al., 2011). Similarly, the sound from the sport fields in parks and gardens during the day and night conveyed a cordial and safe atmosphere from being in shared spaces. Users enjoy sharing a space and their activities, which facilitate positive feelings and thereby create 'mixed and mingling populations' not only in parks and greenspaces as explored by Neal et al. (2015, 470) but also in other urban contexts.

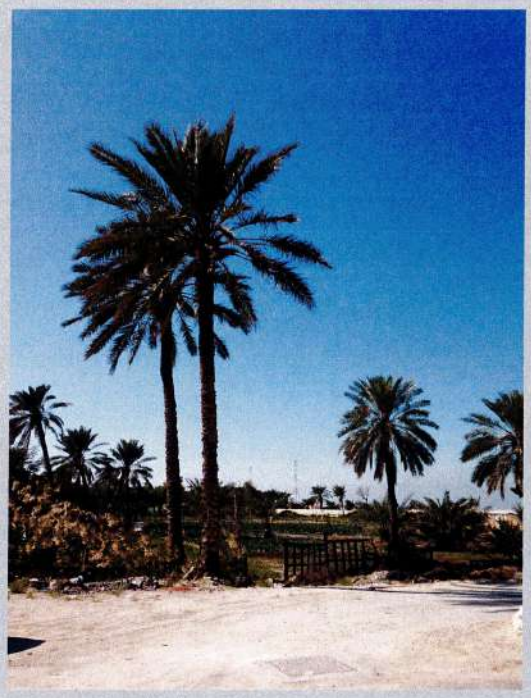


Figure 5.36 Bahraini culture has a strong relationship with palm trees, which are also valued by migrants.

Different spaces have different sensory qualities with different perceptions. The range of the case studies in the research shows the varieties of natural sensory experiences relevant to the vegetation, desert topography or sea. The presence of vegetation in public space is highly valued by many, both Bahrainis and migrants. Though interviewees preferred extended green views; any small piece of lawn[16] can be valued and used, especially by migrants as plants and greenspaces provoke their home-country memories (this will be explored in Chapter Six). Additionally, the interviewees said that they preferred using the grassy picnic pods because it is cooler, free and comfortable so that they can lie down or stroll without slippers on the grass,

[16] For example in Arad Bay Park, on crowded days, I observed some families having a picnic in the small green island in the parking area or on the roadside.

which enriches their sensory experiences. The people also talked about trees, especially palm trees (Figure 5.36 on page 169), e.g. Leen and her friend Adam, a Malaysian chef on board a liner, said that, *"It is something unique about Bahrain; we don't have palms in our country".*

The desert has always been considered an elegant natural element among Arabs. In a go-along interview in Hunainiyah (the desert-edge location), Rahman, a 22-year-old Bahraini student, explained: *"The view might not be nice for some. But it is desert natural view for those who like the desert".* This area provides quietness and extended views away from the hustle and bustle of congested urban spaces. Rahman explained that some users – groups or individuals - seek this topographical location in the vastness of the desert for serenity and tranquillity. He claimed users in this spot respect others' motivation for quietness and privacy, a shared value: *"they even turn off their car lights."* Similarly, in another interview in Hunainiyah Park, two fathers of Arab origin, who were raised outside the country but have lived in Bahrain for decades, found that because the area of Hunainiyah is surrounded by the desert, open from all directions and *"not blocked by buildings"* it has *"nice clean air and is not polluted".* The desert character in Hunainiyah's context also offers desert activities such as driving through sand. (Figures 5.37-5.38 below)



Figure 5.37 The renowned valley desert view from the ridge in Hunainiyah site. This picture was taken from the ridge next to a neighbourhood in this site. Hunainiyah Park is located in this valley.





Figures 5.38 The topography of the ridge in Hunainiyah creates a substantive informal setting for the residents in the area and visitors (a). Social setting and respecting privacy on the ridge (b).

Bahrain is an island-country and like most islanders the residents here share a deep bonding with the sea, however, a natural sea edge and view is rare in this urbanised context. Hala drives 45 minutes several times a week in the morning to Amwaj to walk along the sea edge. Similarly, in a short interview in Arad Bay Park, an elderly Czech grandmother and housewife who has lived in Bahrain for 30 years mentioned that she drives 45 minutes every morning from her house in Saar to pick up her Greek and Cypriot friends from Juffair and then come to

Arad Bay Park, where she and her friends jog along the seafront for the fresh air during the less crowded times. This is a daily ritual for them during the winter mornings. The feeling of being comfortable and relaxed in the fresh air in close proximity to the sea appears as a shared value.

While the climate in Bahrain is often perceived as a constraint for outdoor leisure activities, one of the most striking themes that emerged was the pleasure of being outdoors in good weather as a natural sensory experience. In Bahrain, winter months are usually perceived as 'good weather'. However, people usually have different perceptions about weather, which shape their temporal outdoor leisure pattern of use as explained previously in this chapter. Nazir in Hunainiyah Park said, *"If it's cloudy, my wife says it is good weather, you have to take us outside and not stay at home"*. The physician mother in Khalifa Garden said that in summer she does her walking in the Garden only during the nights of full moon because it is breezy.

Many interviewees expressed how sensory experiences when in contact with nature have restorative benefits (Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2010). In the parks and gardens, the participants highlight the restorative values in some specific landscape elements such as the water fountain and flowers and also wildlife such as birds and fish. The Syrian sisters in Khalifa Garden, Nazir in Hunainiyah Park and Maysa, a Syrian mother in Arad, narrated the benefits of getting away from home and indoor spaces and feeling relaxed and comfortable while being around nature. During one of the site visits in the morning to Arad Bay Park, I saw nurses from a mental hospital with their patients sitting on the benches facing the fountain in the plaza. Smell in the outdoor spaces also has restorative values and appeared very relevant to the migrants in the fieldwork, especially in the pedestrianised case studies. For Faiza and many other migrant communities in Bab Al-Bahrain, the aroma of foods being cooked in the Indian restaurants and the incense burning from the temples provoke their memories and bring meaningful nostalgia.

The sensory experiences of being around different people or spending time outdoors with friends and families also have restorative values. Escape or get away in the collected data did not always mean getting away from a crowd. Users go to places with a 'good crowd' to see people. For many users the good place is the one that offers unforgettable experiences of gathering outdoors, meeting others, or even being 'alone together' (Bynon and Rishbeth, 2015). People have different perceptions towards seeing familiar or different cultural groups, which all influence restorative values. This will be explored further in the next chapter.

5.9 Conclusion

The fieldwork showed that there are different spatial patterns of use in public open spaces, and that the temporality of these activities reflects personal, communal and seasonal rhythms. Bahrain has a highly ethnically diverse population, and this diversity is reflected in the open spaces. The mundane practice of being outdoors for leisure can be interpreted as both a cultural practice and as a support for personal wellbeing in a highly urbanised context. Hence, barriers to being outdoors need to be considered.

In investigating patterns of use in POS, migrant experiences across borders and different heritage practices that flow with migrants (Hou, 2013) have predominated in the findings. Lingering and being outdoors with patterns of sociability and extensive gathering appeared as leisure cultural practices in the findings. Leisure activities are context dependent (Byrne and Wolch, 2009) and the collected data showed that in Bahrain formal parks and gardens are not the only outdoor leisure spaces, so are the pedestrianised streets and informal POS where necessary and leisure practices intertwine. For example, Bab Al-Bahrain square and souq, the traditional coffeehouses, and open spaces in front of houses and shops all show evidence of gathering, socialising and spending leisure time outdoors amongst others. Supporting the necessary activities in POS with optional activities such as offering options to sit and linger (Gehl, 2011; Bynon and Rishbeth, 2015) provides choices for continuing home leisure practices in a new place, which in turn supports the process of adaptation and forms of transcultural practices in contemporary Bahrain (Noussia and Lyons, 2009; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012; Hou 2013). The findings also show how different leisure practices are shifting spatially and temporally between day and night in different seasons. These seasonal dynamics generate collective experiences among diverse users with different activities and motivation.

With varieties of formal and informal POS in the selected case study areas, the findings show that the use of POS, either greenspaces, sea or desert edges or souq and street, would promote restoration and social and mental wellbeing. This reflects individuals' diverse perceptions and extends the studies on POS and stress restoration (Kaplan, 1995) to include desert and urban spaces in hot climate contexts with affordances to use outdoors spaces and socialise. In the findings, the sensory qualities of natural scenery, clean and fresh air, and birdsong are significant restorative elements (Kaplan, 1995; Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2010). Likewise, social sensory qualities (Neal, 2015) of being different or in familiar cultural groups could promote feelings of integration, conviviality and egalitarianism when sharing spaces with

others (as mentioned by Faiza, the Syrian sisters and Maysa). Migrants could feel welcome in POS where they can continue their leisure practices that reflect their identities, which promotes a sense of belonging. Being outdoors also evokes migrant's memories of multi-sensory experiences of home countries, which in turn contribute to the wellbeing of migrants. Accordingly, the research supports that the quality of permeability in POS has a prime role in developing a sense of belonging and supporting migrants to adapt (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). The selected methods help to understand the qualities that support the ability to engage in outdoor activities. Following an ethnographic approach of spending time on-site and repeated visits allowed me to capture evidence of the visibility of different practices and affordances of being outdoors. Supporting the affordance for being outdoors and facilitating repeated use, lingering, extended gathering, indulging and exploring outdoor spaces support adaptation and also enlighten users with values and sensory experiences (Rishbeth and Finney, 2006).

In the findings, cultural practices are not only shaped by religion or origin but also by other cultural differences such as education, length of residence, socio-economic level, mobility, working hours, and family commitments and by affordances of the place with socio-spatial-temporal dimensions and sensory qualities (Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). These differences and affordances could also be barriers for using POS and affect social wellbeing and justice. Physical and social barriers could also be struggles for adaptation and transcultural practices (Hou, 2013). To enact social inclusivity, justice (Low and Iveson, 2016) and wellbeing and to support adaptation, sense of belonging and transcultural practices (Hou, 2013; Rishbeth, 2014), theories and practices on POS need to recognise social and cultural differences and dynamics and support affordances of different places for different cultural practices. The findings show that formal greenspaces could be sites for adaptation and similarly informal POS could support diverse cultural practices and patterns of sociability. Hence, the locational disadvantages in urban contexts and poorly facilitated open spaces should not be ignored. It should be noted that visibility of diversity and being amongst differences may not always be positive. Themes of memory, conviviality and responsibilities emerged in the analysis, but these may not be as amenable as these results suggest and points of friction could also appear. These themes will be explored in the chapter that follows.

Chapter Six: Visibility of Cultural Difference and Affordances for Conviviality

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data on the second aim of the research of how conviviality is supported or aggravated in urban public spaces within the context of an ethnically diverse population. The data from the previous chapter is elaborated here to explore how everyday activities support different types of social interaction in formal and informal spaces and how conviviality is shaped with regard to cultural and ethnic differences. This data resulted from the main fieldwork activities that were scheduled between July 2014 and January 2015 in the form of interview transcripts, photographs and field notes. The go-along interviews enrich the data with stories about people's relations and details of socio-spatial association in public open spaces (POS). Walking interviews along with the storytelling approach explored nuances of the meanings from the participants' perspective (Valentine and Sadgrove, 2012). On-site interviews were a significant method in supporting the ethnographic practices to explore the meanings of encounters that happened during the interview.

This chapter is divided into 10 sections. The next section illustrates how aspects of geographical, historical and cultural dimensions in the research context support conviviality. The chapter then demonstrates how POS can shape transcultural belonging and support transcultural bonding among migrant groups. However, with the visibility of different social positions in a superdiverse context, differences may not always be acknowledged and conviviality is not always straightforward as will be explained in section 6.5. Some themes appear to shape a moral code, namely cleanliness and parenting practices, and these are discussed in more detail in section 6.6. Finally, before concluding this chapter, the research analyses the affordances of mundane and designated POS for sociability and meaningful encounters and aspects of positive negotiation as elucidated in sections 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9.

In summary, this chapter highlights the following findings:

1. Sociability, visibility of diversity and the cordial atmosphere in shared spaces are highly valued by users.

2. A sense of local belonging and being welcomed is revealed in the participants' stories, demonstrating how in particular places, participants felt like an insider and 'at home'. Often these emotions reflect migrants' identities, past memories and the history of places.

3. Parenting and littering in parks and gardens appear as minor conflicts from the different cultural expectations regarding social responsibility and ethics of care in public. These conflicts were not shaped by different senses of belonging and place attachment nor related to the spatial and physical characteristics. Some of these conflicts were found in relatively well-maintained and designed formal green spaces. In specific locations, public responses to these differences do pose a potential challenge to conviviality and can exacerbate social divides.

4. In response to some of these 'minor' conflicts, some users withdraw temporally (adapt their times of visiting) or spatially (choose not to visit) specific locations. This can be allied to the patterns of negotiation in responding to different cultural expectations.

5. Withdrawal can create segregation and limits the ongoing potential for social encounter across differences.

6. Affordances for recreation in POS were central to providing outdoor activities and are important for facilitating the regular practice of being outdoors and providing opportunities for encounters with diverse people. Spacious parks and gardens with a wide range of facilities are highly valued by users. Streets that support walkability and/or sitability are valued for their affordances for being outdoors; particularly for people with a busy lifestyle or without access to private transport.

7. Increasing spatial and temporal recreational activities in POS, with integration and intersection of these activities, provides choices for being outdoors and supports informal encounters and positive forms of negotiations.

6.2 Affordances of the research context

6.2.1 Hybridity and commonplace diversity in Bahrain

While about only half of this small country's land is populated, Bahrain ranks seventh among the most densely populated countries in the world with more than 50% of the population comprising of international migrants. In the selected case studies, observations revealed that this diversity is exceedingly visible in the dissimilarity of attires, life-styles, languages and accents among the users. This diversity can be observed whilst one is having a morning coffee in a corner cafe, walking in the souq, jogging on the road, visiting a park or garden, or just strolling in a neighbourhood. Chapter Five explained that the users with diverse social and cultural practices from different migrants and non-migrants' backgrounds conduct divergent or parallel activities, collectively or independently, in the shared spaces. Participants accept these moments of sharing activities in the outdoor spaces, and for them diversity adds value and quality to the space, which is a convivial appeal of integration (Neal et al., 2015).

Many interviewees expressed that they do not have a problem being surrounded by people of different origins. In Amwaj Island, Samar, the Bahraini woman resident, said, *"Bahrain doesn't segregate between different nationalities, so people get along with each other. Even if they don't interact directly, they are at least accepting being together in a place"*. Rashid, the Bahraini male in Khalifa Garden, also commented, *"Bahrainis don't mind other nationalities or origins, anywhere you go in Bahrain you can find different nationalities"*. For some users, this diversity fosters a feeling of belonging and familiarity in being in a cosmopolitan space (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). Similarly, Wessendorf (2014b) describes the research context in Hackney that *"everybody comes from elsewhere"*. This diversity for the Malaysian interviewee, who has lived seven years in Bahrain, allows him to consider Bahrain a metropolitan city comparable to his country. He states, *"I'm from the capital. To me Bahrain is another metropolitan city"*. Hence, the concept of commonplace diversity appeared to be relevant to the research context, which supports conviviality (Wessendorf, 2014b).

The fieldwork revealed that the diversity did not pose a threat to the users; in fact, it lent a sense of normality or rootedness to them. An Italian man who has been living in Bahrain for 22 years said (also corroborated by the Ethiopian women sitting with him):

> *"Bahrain is a very small island and anywhere you go – for example, in a coffee shop, you can find maybe 20 different nationalities sitting at one table and all are good friends. But*

if you go to UAE or Dubai, it is huge and they are different, completely. Scandinavian separate, German separate and British separate, but only in Bahrain [...] because the island is very small and everybody is connected somehow to each other and socialise. We are friends".

This demonstrates the relationship between the conviviality and geographical characteristics of Bahrain. In this context, William Whyte (1980) has argued that there is a positive relationship between the small cities and the social interaction among their residents. Kareem, the Bahraini man interviewed in Bab Al-Bahrain, also justifies this perception from a different viewpoint relevant to education and culture, implying a culture of hospitality (Section 2.3.3). He said that Bahrain had a flourishing oil industry and Bahrainis are generally highly educated and progressive-thinking people, hence, Bahrain explicitly welcomes diversity. He added that foreigners who have experienced life in other Arab countries readily agree that Bahraini people are hospitable, affable and cultured and for this reason diverse nationalities have made this country their home for generations and have deep-rooted ties with the local people.

However, migration in Bahrain is not something new and hybridity has developed throughout its history (Section 2.2.4.1), which is also shaped by Bahrain's physical and social urban fabric. This hybridity caused diversity to be recognised positively as part of the history and heritage of the research context. In the sense of migration, hybridity in cities means cultural mixtures from different geographical locations and over different time periods; hence, it represents the history of migration and cultural practices and identities of both migrant and host populations (Hutnyk, 2005). The layers of complexity that are interwoven between global and vernacular, traditional and modern assume distinctive hybrid and cosmopolitan characteristics (Nasser, 2004a). In the case studies and from observations, the complexity in physical contexts appeared in mixture of styles, functions and zonings at micro or macro-levels. For example, in the go-along interview in Bab Al-Bahrain, Faiza pointed out:

"Look at the shops, there is also a mixture: Bahrain-Bangladesh cargo, this is a Pakistani Hotel and this is Bangladeshi Hotel. They are next to each other. Look here also a Pakistani-Bangladeshi Internet shop".

Hospitality, to some extent, can be seen as a resource that aids social interactions in public spaces, but conviviality is also supported by the geographical context and hybridity that have extended throughout history, as well as, by the visible everyday diversity and cohabitation in contemporary cities.

6.2.2 Intercultural sustained relations




Figures 6.1 Intercultural sustained relations were obvious in the fieldwork.

In the fieldwork, I commonly encountered families and groups of friends with members from different home-country origins. In Hunainiyah, I did a short interview with a group of friends from Sudan, Pakistan, Italy and Russia who are students and employees in various fields, living in different areas in Bahrain. In Arad Bay Park, the three friends from Cyprus and Greece routinely come together to do their walking exercise along the seafront and another group of five adult friends and families from Indonesia and Malaysia came to the park in different cars and had arranged their running and picnic together. I also met three women from Serbia and Italy who live in Amwaj and had arranged their gathering at the lagoon-side. Faiza also described the groups of people who occupy Bab Al-Bahrain area, *"each group gathering can be from different mixture of nationalities"*. She also talked about her weekly gathering in Khalifa Garden with her sister, friends and neighbours from Bangladesh and India and clarified that her Indian friends are from different regions in India with different cultures. Faiza also mentioned that many of her friends are Indians, but their husbands are Bahrainis. During the fieldwork in the selected case studies, I met several families from mixed marriages (e.g. Filipino-Bahraini, Syrian–Bahraini, British-Bahraini, Indian-Bahraini, Pakistani-Bahraini). These types of social relations are not relevant to the concept of sustained and extended encounters as described by Neal et al. (2016) and Wilson (2016). These intercultural relations are more deeply sustained, but their visibility in the fieldwork, though they are not necessarily initiated from POS, add to the affordances of the place to support the potential for transcultural conviviality.

6.3 Memory and transcultural practices: Sense of belonging in POS

In urban sociology and ethnography, moments and details within 'cosmopolitan canopies' are qualities that provoke memories between 'here and there' or 'now and past' (Anderson, E. 2004; Ingold, 2012). These memories translate into meaningful attachments, transcultural connections and social associations in a new place (Armstrong, 2004; Rishbeth and Powell, 2012). This emotional hybridity (in memories) appears to foster a sense of familiarity or new belonging for migrants in a host country.

In the findings, participants with migrant backgrounds formed significant connections between their experiences of home and host country in the hybrid forms of memories, which have become part of their daily, social and cultural practices post migration.

6.3.1 In Bab Al-Bahrain Souq and Square: Little India

Faiza, the Indian single mother who moved to work in Bahrain 16 years ago, whose daughters were born here mentioned that Bab Al-Bahrain reminds her of India. She used expressions 'Like my India,' 'I feel here it is our country' and 'I feel it is my place' which unmistakably express her intimate affiliation and belonging to the area. Regarding the roundabout in Bab Al-Bahrain Square, Faiza added, *"We have in India exactly the same place: a round area with water [fountain], where people are sitting, drinking tea and eating samosa. So it is exactly like India"*. In another go-along interview, Irfan, who has been in Bahrain for two years, made a reference to a bonding with his homeland when he visits Bab Al-Bahrain, *"There is one place in India same like this. It is also a 'bazaar'. What happens here is similar to the 'bazaar' in India, same activities"*. For these two participants, the Bab Al-Bahrain site is a hybrid space where 'here' (the Arabic souq) and 'there' (the Asian 'bazaar') are intertwined (Figure 6.2 on page 181).

Faiza's apparent familiarity to the space was also evident in her reference to herself as the 'insider' who was leading me (a Bahraini) 'the outsider'. During the journey with Faiza in Bab Al-Bahrain, she guided me through the alleys of the souq with confidence, pride and familiarity about the space and the people, which was clearly evident in her voice and manner. She wanted to show me everything about the place and said, *"You have to come many times to know the area. I know the area very well"*. Faiza has never lived in Bab Al-Bahrain area; yet, transnational bonding has allowed Faiza to feel that she belongs more to Bahrain than to her home country, as explicitly mentioned by her. Irfan travels to Bab Al-Bahrain once or twice

every weekend by bus, which takes more than one hour. The attachment to the space is informed by repeated visits to the area (Rishbeth and Finney, 2006), in which they have become more familiar with the space as insiders (Armstrong, 2004; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012).

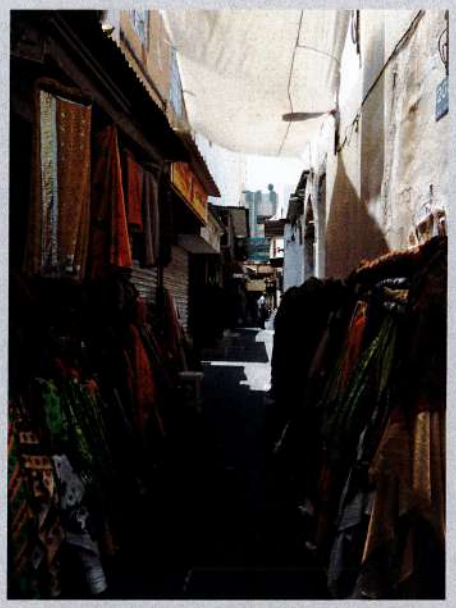


Figure 6.2 The souq in Bab Al-Bahrain is like an Indian bazaar.

Faiza also describes Bab Al-Bahrain as 'our shopping centre', but the motivation and values for using this space go beyond that. For Faiza, the fact that she can meet and communicate with people and simulate experiences similar to those in her native country inspires her to frequent Bab Al-Bahrain, *"If my mood is not nice, I take my children and come here"*. The aromas of the Indian food in the alleys allow Faiza to relive her childhood memories. The fragrance of incense from the temple is also present in parts of the souq alley allowing a visitor to experience the feeling as if they have travelled to an Asian country. A busy souq alley with a visibility of her cultural groups has a restorative value for Faiza; she chooses to 'escape' and connect to her home country here (Section 2.4.2.1).

It was revealed from spending time on-site that the users of this space are diverse, but mostly Indian, so the Hindi language is dominant. It is apparent that in Bab Al-Bahrain, the relationship between Bahrainis and Indians is congenial. Faiza mentions that in Bab Al-Bahrain all the regular Bahraini users speak Hindi:

"When you go to Bab Al-Bahrain you see a Bahraini who says 'ha banji kaisa hai', which means 'sister how are you? [...] Here many people know Hindi. It looks like the common language here. Not difficult to talk with others and know what others are saying".

This demonstrates a positive relationship between Bahrainis and Indians in the space. The historical background of the space has reflected on the spatial transformation of the souq as well as on the cultural practices and social relations. This means newcomers feel at home and this affection toward Bab Al-Bahrain area is also shared by diverse Asian nationalities such as those from the Philippines, Pakistan and Bangladesh as also explained by Faiza.

While a space like Bab Al-Bahrain has a transcultural connotation for Asian migrants, it is not solely a migrant 'ethnoscape' (Irazábal, 2011). It also has authentic social values and interpersonal attachment for Bahrainis, particularly for the older generations for whom Bab Al-Bahrain represents the carefree days of their youth. While many of them have moved out of the area, they continue to visit regularly to reconnect with their past and reaffirm their social relationship with the area, whilst sharing the space with diverse users, which supports opportunities for social interactions as 'therapeutic values' (Section 2.4.2.1). Kareem, the Bahraini middle-class participant, claimed that he drives to Bab Al-Bahrain area every weekend, *"We walk and see the other people".* Kareem narrated:

"I'm so attached to this souq; however, when I talk about it to you or my sons, I can't explain it because this is something that cannot be expressed. The age I lived here and my memories in the space link me to the space".

Shortly after my fieldwork was completed, a project named 'Little India' was inaugurated in the area, which could be considered a positive recognition practice (Low and Iveson, 2016) of the Indian groups and their history in Bahrain. The project incorporates the souq, the surrounding streets and a 200-year old 'Krishna' Temple. Bab Al-Bahrain is also a tourist area for locals or foreigners who occasionally use the space, but for some people the place is significant as much more than a tourist destination.

6.3.2 Parks and gardens: like-home desert practices and childhood memories




Figures 6.3 The parking area is the preferred spatial choice for male leisure activities in Hunainiyah.

Memories of their home countries appeared to users in different spaces, including parks and gardens. Several recent migrants can trace their Bedouin ancestry to where verdant lawns serve to rejuvenate the winter desert leisure practices. For users, picnicking on lawns or gathering in groups helps them to reconnect with the desert ambiance not only in winter but throughout the year. Zaina, one of the Syrian sisters in Khalifa Garden, clarified, *"The Syrians only relax when it is winter and all the winter means desert for them, where they can have their comfort and freedom"*. In Hunainiyah, the broad ethnographic methods revealed that a large section of the users are Yemeni and in the words of an old Yemeni grandmother, the area reminds them of Sana'a: The fort on the top of the ridge. A common noticeable trend among certain desert users is to cordon off their sitting areas with their cars. In Hunainiyah, it is also a familiar sight to find groups of Arab men gathering beside their cars in the carpark to chat, have a meal, drink tea or play cards, synonymous to the desert practice (Figures 6.3). Proximity to their cars offers a sense of identity and a personal territory to these users.

A day out in the parks and gardens also allowed migrant (Arab and non-Arab) users to be away from their homes for longer and served as a reminder of the leisure activities popular in their countries. Faiza reminisced about her childhood in India when she would go on trips to distant places during holidays with her family, and she expressed a closeness to her homeland when she takes her children on a picnic with food she has cooked to a location at a distance from her home.

It is common for migrant families and women to arrange their gathering at parks and gardens. Hala, the Palestinian-Syrian mother, states that it is unlikely to find Bahrainis arranging their gathering at the gardens and parks as they generally gather at their homes and 'Majles[1]'. It appears that for some migrants, the gardens are their 'Majles', and indeed Zaina used the word 'Majles' to describe picnicking and gathering groups in the Khalifa Garden. Such gatherings also instil in the users the value of affinity to a second home to which they can invite friends and relatives. In the parks and gardens, during the field observations, it was noticeable that some migrant families gather in large groups of 10 to 15 persons or more. The Syrian sisters stated with obvious pride, when I asked about their gathering size compared to other groups during the time of the interview in Khalifa Garden, *"It is larger than that when we meet"*. From the field notes, the Filipinos and Indian families in Andalus Garden also hold large family and friends' gatherings, picnics or celebrations of specific occasions such as birthday parties. It could be interpreted that socialising in the garden enhances migrants' self-esteem, as it represents the size of their social network. Such practice is also restorative as it helps them to retain their migrant identity in the host country.

From observations with a landscape architecture perspective and supported by users' interpretations, the vastness of the lawn enables them to hold large gatherings and to socialise with others; in contrast, the benches accommodate only small groups and are not comfortable for those families who prolong their stay. Additionally, the benches are usually hot in summer, while the lawn is cooler. Salmaniya and Andalus are also provided with choices of seating areas, picnic tables and gazebos, but some of these seating areas do not accommodate large groups. In Andalus, according to the field notes, some large groups use the low wall next to their dining tables (in the arcade sitting areas) to extend their sitting area and to place their household goods brought along for an extended picnic. (Figures 6.4 on page 185 and also Figures 5.8 in Chapter Five)

[1] The Majles is an indoor sitting and gathering room in the house or extended from the house where people meet, socialise and gather.



Figures 6.4 Visible patterns of sociability in parks and gardens are supported by the affordances of the design and management of the parks and gardens and the provided landscape elements.

6.4 Transcultural bonding in POS

The interviews with different respondents, especially migrants, highlighted that a strong motivation for users to gather in parks and gardens is the opportunity to meet and interact with others from their native country. For these interviewees, incidental meetings and making acquaintances are memorable experiences, which add distinct value, meaning and interpersonal dimensions to these spaces. While such encounters cannot be classified as inter-

cultural, they promote, sustain and widen opportunities for migrants to socialise in a host country and establish bonding or connection.

Alluding to this, the Syrian sisters explained the significance of Khalifa Garden in their lives, as it was here they could meet and socialise with other women in a neutral yet friendly environment. Badra related how on one occasion she met a relative whom she had not seen since she left Syria 16 years ago. Such encounters and social bonding changed these women's perceptions of living in a foreign country away from friends and family. The sisters explained during the go-along interview their feeling of belonging to Bahrain but not to their home country. It was evident that this increased sense of belonging to the host country is not a negative reaction to the recent political upheavals in Syria, but a positive reflection of their life in Bahrain.

The design and layout in the Bab Al-Bahrain area also benefited from high visual and physical permeability, in which users can see that on weekends the space is crowded with male migrant workers. According to Irfan from India who has spent the last two years working in Bahrain, *"Bab Al-Bahrain on Friday is for Indian people. It becomes a bright and happy place filled with Indians"*, and Kareem said, *"This is the most important place for Indians to sit,"* referring to the roundabout. Irfan claims that he and his friends choose to meet at the roundabout as it is easy to spot people approaching from any direction, *"from the roundabout, we can see interesting scenarios"* as people are moving around in the Square. It was mentioned earlier that Indian migrants crowd the Bab Al-Bahrain area as the space has significant transcultural connotations.

Migrants also crowd to areas where they feel integrated and there is a feeling of belonging to one large cohesive group (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). Irfan reminisces his early days in Bahrain:

> *"I remember that first time I came to Bahrain I sat with one of my friends there, at the roundabout, and I was discussing some matter about my state [...] Suddenly I found one person sitting there who belongs to my state and he stays near to my home in India, so I find him here from this point".*

These encounters enabled people like Irfan who were far from their native land to identify themselves in a society so different from their own.

The findings support the work of Bynon and Rishbeth (2015), which indicates that socialising between people can be strengthened through lingering and spending longer periods of time outdoors. Faiza, the single mother from India, mentioned that in Khalifa Garden, she is able to meet people whom she may otherwise not encounter in her everyday life. She recounted her visit to Khalifa Garden thus, *"I go as one person, but in the end, I meet so many people"*. In Amwaj, Samar explicitly mentions:

> *"While staying longer I see people I know. We exchange felicitations or stay and chat together with some friends we have not seen for a while, such as childhood friends. We chat and share numbers. We have social connection again. It would not happen if we didn't stay outside longer walking or sitting and watching people"*.

Such opportunities are common when people spend time outdoors in public space. Though Samar is Bahraini; the impact of this can be even stronger for migrants, as by spending longer outdoors, they meet people from their home country. This can strengthen bonding (Putnam, 2000) and mutual support within migrant groups.

6.5 The visibility of being outside: Acknowledging or judging differences?

In the fieldwork, interviewees' perceptions toward acknowledging diversity and mixity in public spaces often surfaces in the discussions. Analysis of the transcripts indicates awareness of superdiverse social positions, often precisely in terms of gender, age, socio-economic echelons, social positioning, health conditions, dress code, or small details in life-style practices such as parenting or type of car. In the findings, people would explore similarity among the diverse social positions that bridges other cultural differences. The Yemeni female vendor in Hunainiyah Park said that she valued her interaction with the different nationalities in Hunainiyah Park, but she also said that they are all poor and *"poor people understand each other, they are same"*. Religions are also considered aspects of commonality that bridge national migrant diversity. Nazir, the Balochi father in Hunainiyah, said that there are different ethnicities in the park:

> *"but all together they are good with each other. Sometimes, we talk to each other and the kids play with each other. They don't say they are different, Pakistanis or Yemenis; all are good with each other. So, there is no problem [...] all are brothers: all Muslims"*.

We cannot ignore, however, that visibility of differences has also challenges and that some people instead of looking at commonalities look at aspects of differences, which may cause

categorisation. For example, a group of friends, three females and one male, from Italy, Russia, Pakistan and Sudan, talked about their experiences of socialising. They said that in their relationship, they share the same values, and through these common values they bridge the ethnic differences amongst them. However, they added that some people judge others based on stereotype. The Italian girl said, *"Especially us, we are very white. We are very visible,"* while pointing to both her Russian friend and herself.

Differences could also be seen among the same cultural groups. In Khalifa Garden, the Jordanian grandfather who moved to Bahrain in 1978 criticised the current tendency of some people who instead of looking at Arabs as an ethnic community categorise them by country of origin *"Bahraini, Jordanian, Yemeni, or Syrian"*. In Arad Bay Park, a middle-class Bahraini mother, criticised the majority of non-educated Arab migrants with their different cultures in public parks and gardens and found that it is a *"problem in Bahrain"*. Hala, an Arab migrant, also mentioned that she avoids spaces, such as Khalifa Garden, frequented by low-class, uneducated migrants, including Arabs, and those who had different life-styles and mentalities. Cultural differences could shape people's norms and behaviours in POS, and these variations are complex in transcultural cities. The collected data shows that different social behaviours and cultural practices can also be judged based on individual perceptions. Given the research themes of sociability in shared open spaces frequented by users of diverse cultures, it is vital then to look at how users' moral values and personal boundaries shape social interaction.

6.6 Mundane moral judgements in parks and gardens

Moral judgements at a social level are often related to common understandings (or indeed misunderstandings) of tacit codes of conduct. Valentine and Harris (2014) find that moral judgements, which are based on people's lifestyles and their different ways of living, categorise the social, cultural and economic worth of groups of people. In the analysis, different behaviours and moral codes emerged, which affected the users' healthy social interaction in the parks and gardens in the selected case studies. Cultural codes of parenting and cleanliness were mentioned repeatedly as problematic in which people judged others regarding their sense of social responsibility in parks and gardens. It is also relevant here to consider these practices and behaviours with regard to respecting the rights of those using these public spaces.

6.6.1 Cleanliness responsibilities

The surprising insight gained during the data analysis was the potential of littering to frame different expectations and cultural norms regarding how people expect others to behave in public spaces in contexts of cultural differences. Cleanliness in POS has been highlighted in a number of studies under duty of care and pro-environmental behaviour (Spartz and Shawa, 2011; Southworth and Ruggeri, 2011; Francis et al., 2012). A relationship between pro-environmental behaviours and place attachment has been suggested in these studies. Although this relationship is not well established, the general assumption is that there is a correlation between a high level of attachment and a positive attitude to keeping the place clean. This assumption fails to consider that the notion of cleanliness is cultural and context dependent (Lewicka, 2011). For example, it was revealed from the analysis of the interviews that some people in the findings have a high level of place attachment and really value sitting outside, but they still litter.

Given the complexity of cultural differences, in the collected data, cleanliness issues in the patterns of use are often wrongly reflected in descriptions of migrants' identities, class and education, which is a problem and may result in prejudice and segregation. Regarding littering in Khalifa Garden, Rashid, the Bahraini physician, said that:

> *"Most of the users are not Bahraini, and they are not taking care of cleaning. This prevents Bahrainis from going there more often [...] The issue is not about having picnics on the lawn, as the providers designated it for picnics, but it is about not taking care of the garden, throwing trash around them and making the place dirty".*

In another short interview in Hunainiyah Park, two Bahraini mothers said that on weekends and holidays, there are large crowds of Yemeni and Syrian visitors taking part in 'inappropriate practices and behaviours' like cooking and selling food, hanging up clothes for sale and dirtying the surrounding area and toilets. These two Bahraini mothers, regular visitors who come with their families and friends to picnic in Hunainiyah area, claimed that the dominant users do not know how to 'share' public facilities.

The analysis of the collected data shows that there are other factors that affect littering behaviour and it is not only about migrants, class or education. It was revealed by the findings that migrants share similar perceptions of duty of care in parks and gardens and criticised vandalism, littering, spitting and not taking care of the space, e.g. the Egyptian parents in Arad Bay Park refer to the migrant workers, Hala in Khalifa Garden judged the uneducated people's

littering behaviours and the Syrian sisters, who are illiterate, judged the littering of many users as irresponsible behaviours referring to these people as Arab migrants from other countries. Yet, cleanliness could be influenced by overcrowding and also be shaped by a different sense of appropriateness and responsibility.





Figures 6.5 Hawking and littering have been criticised by some participants in parks and gardens.

From the analysis of the in-depth go-along interview supported by the on-site interviews, it appeared that there is a tangential relationship between littering and crowdedness and

avoiding the park or the garden. The findings revealed that the density of the crowd at weekends has a direct implication on the intensive visibility of littering (similarly unsupervised children), thus some users choose not to use these gardens or parks on these days. Rashid, the physician, in the go-along interview in Khalifa Garden said: *"It is very crowded in the holidays, and many people prefer not to go to the garden in the holidays"*.

According to the participants, the gardens at the weekend are very crowded and mostly used by poor migrants. Undeniably, these high numbers of users reflect the popularity of parks in Bahrain, and this was also reflected in the views of some interviewees who saw the crowded spaces a sign of success and some visit spaces with a 'good crowd'. On the other hand, there is also withdrawal of other social groups of middle-class status as they feel a minority group amongst the majority migrant users' groups.

The perception of the sense of leisure in the parks and gardens and being in a managed space has also influenced different expectations about littering. It is relevant to note the cultural landscape of managed parks is relatively novel to many migrants who are used to desert areas and farms for social gatherings and for their children to play, these have shaped their outdoor cultural leisure practices. Many people may consider that cleaning in parks is a management responsibility and that someone is paid to pick up the litter. The Syrian sisters in Khalifa Garden stated that some users perceive the garden as an 'escape' or 'getaway' from household chores and responsibilities; yet, the sisters judge the littering practiced by some users:

> *"Some people leave everything here and say why should we trouble ourselves and clean, there is an Indian (cleaner) who comes and cleans [...] They don't care, they say we clean at home and if we go to the garden also we clean!"*

6.6.2 Parenting responsibilities and children's manners

Parenting also appeared as problematic in the analysis because different practices with different expectations regarding the supervision of children were often coded in the interviews transcriptions with country of origin, particularly in Khalifa Garden and Hunainiyah Park, which could be interpreted as perpetuating prejudice. Interviewees criticise other parents for being careless and not supervising their children, leaving them unattended or under the supervision of other children. Yet, the whole data together demonstrates that it is not an accurate generalisation, as the concerns regarding children's supervision is also shared by migrant-parent interviewees. For example, during a short interview in Khalifa Garden with a Yemeni

mother, who had moved to Bahrain nine years ago, I noticed that she was sitting with her children on the lawn next to a playground although the lawn was not suitable for a picnic as it sloped and was on the boundary of the soccer field. It seemed the mother wanted to sit close to her children. In another on-site interview, I also noticed that the Jordanian grandfather was sitting on a prayer mat while watching over the children at play and he claimed that he brought along the mat as there were insufficient seating spaces near the playground. These two examples show that it is wrong to generalise the judgment about migrants being careless parents. The examples also show the role of management in providing convenient and alternative seating next to playgrounds to support carers.





Figures 6.6 One of the shared motivations for going to the parks and garden is for children to play. The collected data showed a high demand for the use of the playground equipment.

Decisions regarding supervision of children in parks and gardens are shaped by different perceptions towards safety and different ways of parenting. Aiming to better understand the rationale for these dynamics and conflicts, in the fieldwork, I interviewed some mothers and fathers from different Arab migrant backgrounds and residence duration (from Egypt, Syria and Yemen) who feel confident in allowing their children to play along with their older siblings

without any adult supervision because of the reassurance of the friendly rapport among family or friends. They also believe that the gardens are safe places due to the security measures and the locked gates. These factors encouraged them, particularly mothers, to frequently visit these spaces to be able to socialise or do exercise. These parks and gardens, for those women, are the only opportunity for release, where their children can play while they relax or socialise.

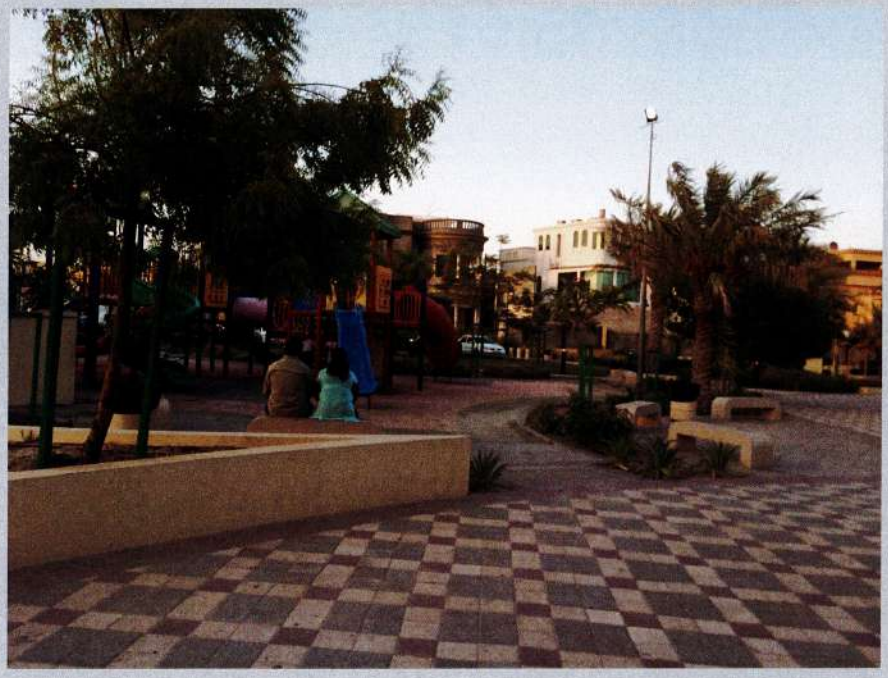


Figure 6.7 Asian migrant parents looking after their children in Khalifa Garden.

Different parenting cultures (Bernstein and Triger, 2010; Babuc, 2015) could be another reason. In Arad, a group of Yemeni women who had moved to Bahrain 24 years ago mentioned that fights among children are not unusual in parks as they want to use the swings and they highlight that such fights are escalated when adults get involved. Avoiding getting involved in children's issues to prevent problems from escalating is a parenting style as is over-parenting (Bernstein and Triger, 2010). However, these fights do not deter those Yemini and Syrian women from using these gardens and parks, because of the potential and affordances of these gardens for their different values and social and restorative activities. Yet, the Yemini women pointed out that it is the responsibility of the management to provide more swings to increase the capacity and reduce the pressure in demand for the use of the playground.



Figure 6.8 Children at the boundary of Arad Bay Park.

Likewise to cleanliness, issues related to different expectations about parenting appeared as negative outcomes that reduce the opportunities for sharing spaces; many participants mentioned their decision to withdraw temporally or spatially to other spaces (such as Amwaj, private open spaces or the mall). Bahraini parents mentioned that they are apprehensive of their children encountering improper behaviours, so they decide to withdraw. For example, Rashid, the Bahraini physician, stated that they *"don't want to face those issues, and they don't want to take their children to encounter such behaviours"*. Some parents revealed that they decided to use Khalifa Garden at less crowded times and stay for very short periods and monitor their children closely as other unsupervised children may 'kick balls or push their kids'. Territorialisation of the playground by the unsupervised children who do not allow other children to play freely also emerged in the findings as a reason for spatial or temporal withdrawal. However, Faiza, the Indian low-income worker and single mother in Khalifa Garden, negotiates in sharing the space by having informal alternative activities and bringing their own play equipment. She said:

> *"Syrians don't let our children play. They hold the swings even if they are not playing. They hold them and say my brother is coming and my poor children are standing around waiting, and before he leaves he calls somebody to take his place. So, on Thursday, there*

is no chance to use the play area. My kids only go around and we take a ball and badminton so they will not be upset".

It is a right for all children to use the public parks and gardens provided by governments and this right should be protected for all children in the society; yet, conflicts arising from different parenting practices deter some carers from taking their children to public parks and gardens. The professional practice should not ignore these issues even though they are only relevant to cultural differences. These concerns should be addressed by supporting social inclusivity and sharing the responsibility with users to reduce the conflicts.

Design, planning and management of POS can support different parenting styles, but many problems may be exacerbated when the resources and facilities are not adequate, not thoughtfully distributed or the spaces are not designed with care. Ensuring adequate amenities and social comforts at the site for carers and providing suitable playing areas are both vital. Some interviewees made comparisons between different parks and gardens based on the maintenance, quality, quantity and variation of playground equipment, safety precautions, fences, and playground surfacing. This displays the different perceptions and also that some specific details are important. For example, due to the lack of adequate seating spaces (alternatives seating areas and picnic spots) near the children's play area in the parks and gardens, some mothers affirmed that they do not feel comfortable to stay longer as there are no seating spaces close to where their children are playing. Some carers prefer rubber surfacing such as in Khalifa Garden rather than sand to avoid dust. For example, parents who want to supervise their children closely mentioned that the sand is not convenient for them to use. Some carers also talked about design quality that allows them to watch their children and they criticised Arad Park for the structures that block their view of the play area.

While the above findings show how the visibility of different cultural practices may create antagonism amongst users, it has illustrated that the spatial affordances of particular places, their size, resourcing and visibility can impact on social encounters and conviviality. Hence, the quality of the POS is vital and needs to be addressed in discussions on social encounters across diversity. The following section looks specifically at the affordances for sociability in POS.

6.7 Affordances for sociability in streets: Permeability and walkability

According to Powell and Rishbeth (2012), permeability in a space is the ability to see and participate in outdoor activities and thereby support opportunities for social interactions. The

literature has identified permeability and walkability as important design qualities in urban spaces (Carmona et al., 2010), and the findings show that both qualities support each other. The ability to move through an environment is also a facet of the permeability of a space (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012) and supports social encounter (Wilson, 2016).

6.7.1 From estrangement to familiarity

The collected data shows how affordances for walkability support migrants in exploring and becoming familiar with local spaces, and how the ability to move about within Bahrain encourages migrants to discover niches where they feel comfortable. Hala, the Palestinian-Syrian mother, described her initial years in Bahrain and the social role of everyday walking in her neighbourhood to get acquainted with people and spaces. The fact that she was amongst people from unfamiliar cultures initially frightened Hala. For her, Bahrain was a new experience as she had never encountered Indian or Filipino people and Bahrainis themselves were strangers to her. After she got accustomed to walking in her neighbourhood she became familiar with the other residents, Bahraini as well as multi-ethnic people. Besides being a healthy activity, outdoor walking can also help promote familiarity and bridge cultures.

Equally, unrestricted boundaries allow different choices of destinations and attractions within a country. Faiza considers that some people visit Bab Al-Bahrain for relief from their formal life, as everything is common and one is accepted with no restrictions as people are here to seek joy. For Faiza, Bab Al-Bahrain is a cosmopolitan retreat where individuals can retain their anonymity. Hala claimed that she feels more comfortable in Amwaj and she prefers to drive the distance regularly to escape to a potentially more sanitised and less complex environment:

> *"I have friends living in Amwaj; they are living as they are in Europe nothing changed except that they are in Bahrain. Maybe because of that I like to go to Amwaj because I feel that this is my lifestyle".*

Having mobility within the city allows migrants to learn more from the other cultures, which also promotes adaptation and integration at different levels. Adam, the Malaysian chef, related how he enjoyed visiting villages as it gives a taste of the real essence of Bahrain. In his profession, he feels it is important to connect with the heart of the country and its culture in order to understand the local cuisine and flavours. Adam feels fortunate to have Bahraini friends who show him something new or different during the weekends. Visiting different spaces regardless of the proximity of the area from their respective homes may *"respond and*

reflect new forms of hybrid and negotiated identities" (Rishbeth, 2013). There are still, however, movement barriers as explained in the previous chapter.

6.7.2 Neighbourliness

In Bahrain, it is common practice that residents greet others whom they may encounter along their way with words, smiles, raising or shaking hand, regardless if they are familiar to each other or not. Bahraini-Arabic values of socialising and hospitality in public spaces express the notion of culture as having a positive impact and this may also be rooted in the concept of Islamic morality. This mundane sociable practice produces 'loose social connections' between people of different ethnicities (The Young Foundation, 2012).

During our go-along interview in Bab Al-Bahrain, Kareem would greet men on our way who were quick to acknowledge his greeting (Figures 6.9). I was almost certain that they did not know each other. He added, *"By talking with people, I feel this unity between us in our community"*. The generosity of the community was also apparent in the way a Bahraini, who was a complete stranger, paid for a meal that the participant had ordered from a traditional Indian restaurant during the walking interview, *"It is just this kind of social and friendly behaviour of some Bahraini people"*, Kareem commented. This meaningful encounter in Bahrain stems from the Bahraini culture of sociability, hospitality and sharing food.




Figures 6.9 In the go-along ethnography the participant was exchanging regards with pedestrians during the journey of the interview.

As described in Chapter Five, in Bahrain, it is common to observe people acknowledging others in front of houses, mosques, cold stores (mini supermarkets) and traditional bakeries in their neighbourhood. Field observations showed that people also stop at the roadside vendors to buy fruit or vegetables and at the same time exchange a few words with others gathered there. In Bahrain, these mundane spaces are frequented by and even mostly operated by migrant workers and low-income citizens. The traditional cafés have always been unique social spaces, but mostly for men. In these cafes, the seating usually spills onto the streets providing visible points for people to gather and interact. It is interesting, as revealed in some interviews, that some Bahraini men drive long distances to a cafe where they can socialise with other frequent users. However, recently some cafes in Bab Al-Bahrain and in in Muharraq have been renovated and these attract families from different economic backgrounds.

The pedestrianised traffic-free urban areas supported such affordances for encountering and socialising. During ethnographic observations and interviews in these shared mundane pedestrianised spaces, diverse classes and ethnicities come together to share joyful and pleasant moments. These pedestrianised urban spaces allow people to linger and meet with people from diverse ethnicities; however, the lack of seating arrangements limits the duration and constancies of such encounters.

Bab Al-Bahrain and the Pearling Trail case studies were vibrant and active spaces in heritage locations with souq and historical residences. In these spaces, being outdoors also means there are opportunities for social encounters of spontaneous exchanges and acknowledgement. In addition, greeting people from divergent cultures and backgrounds is an indicator of the conviviality and sociable habits of Bahrainis. During the site visits, it was also clear that such walkable spaces could be meeting points for residents and other users. In the Pearling Trail site, a Jordanian resident from Muharraq who frequently traversed these spaces on foot mentioned that he felt a sense of belonging as others often greeted him. However, neighbourliness also has meanings of sustained relations. Kareem, during the go-along interviews, was cordially greeting shop owners who were Indians or Pakistanis, while a few of them even remembered him from the days of his youth. Those shop owners had long-established roots with the neighbourhood and coexisted with the local population. In another interview, Hala also described the friendly associations in old Muharraq between the Bahrainis and other residents who are from different ethnic backgrounds:

"In Muharraq, I see Indian families socialising with Bahrainis. For example, an Indian migrant who sells in the cold store and lives in Bahrain with his wife socialises very normally with a Bahraini family and they visit each other".

Sharing the use of these historical spaces with diverse people and being attached to them bridge the differences between the users.

In Block-338 (another pedestrianised space), it was visible, during field observations, that a regular mix of classes and ethnicities were using the space differently as described in Chapter Five. Sharing the space supports encounters between different socio-economic classes, either through exchanged gestures, giving food to workers or using the local mosque collectively. Some unemployed migrants waited there for job opportunities. Additionally, there are also encounters between the diverse users of alfresco restaurants and cafés. Interviews also revealed that the users of Block-338 valued the space and also the opportunities it provided for integration.

In Amwaj, on the other hand, people gather for very different reasons. In the residential area of Amwaj, there are no mosques, shops or bakeries typical of other neighbourhoods in Bahrain. Nevertheless, the design and layout contribute to the visual appeal, in addition, the beach and the sea view attract visitors and residents to walk around.

However, the sociability attitude differs in Amwaj; Samar, during the walking interview in Amwaj, elaborated that while people spent a lot of time lingering outside, they did not directly enter into social interaction with strangers or other residents. She recognised this as a very European or American cultural aspect of respecting others' privacy, and remarked that a large section of the residents in the area were western migrants. A possible explanation for this interpretation is that Samar was comparing the social attitude of people in Amwaj to the sociable life of the Old Muharraq, where she was raised and still frequently visits. Her old neighbourhood had a high level of social interaction between neighbours where they would exchange visits almost daily. Samar said:

"In Eid and Ramadan, there's nothing here. You will not feel that it is Eid or Ramadan [...] We used to go to the old Muharraq to our grandma's house in Ramadan [...] here we are missing the sociability that we find in Muharraq".

During the ethnography in Amwaj, the convivial atmosphere with qualities of walkability and permeability allowed me to communicate with some residents, who appeared very

welcoming. I encountered an Italian man and two Ethiopian women socialising outside their house. Their visible seating arrangement allowed me to engage in a conversation with them. The man remarked that in his hometown in Italy, it is quite normal to sit outside when the weather is pleasant and socialise with the neighbours. The fieldwork shows that in Amwaj, people shared the space and everyday activities, exchanged smiles while they were in the street and also offered care. For example, Samar mentioned a story when her little brother left the house alone and one of their English neighbours brought him back home. Accordingly, and referring to the definition of conviviality, it can be felt in fleeting encounters as well as in sustained relationships (Neal et al., 2013). Samar also valued the design of the space, the sea view and the shared activities of walking outside in Amwaj, which, according to her, were not possible in other cities in Bahrain.

Sociability and conviviality are not synonyms. Sociability, like hospitality, has ethical dimensions. Affordances for sociability can support conviviality to some extent, but differences in sense of sociability could have cultural dimensions, which may also lead to misunderstanding (Section 2.3.4).

6.8 Affordances for sociability in parks and gardens: Being outdoor and shared patterns of use

6.8.1 Acquaintanceship and sharing temporalities

The overlapping of spatial and temporal patterns of use and different cultural practices in the shared POS as described in the preceding chapter appeared as aspects of commonalities or 'niches of similarities', which may also support conviviality across differences (Wessendorf 2014b). In addition the spatial and temporal attributes of these places can help to promote familiarity and provide opportunities for getting acquainted with new people.

The daily temporality of use enhances familiarity among diverse users as people and their patterns have become recognisable. Chapter Five showed the diversity of users in parks and gardens. From ethnography and repeated site visits, it appears that some groups sit in the same spot during every visit, and on crowded days they arrive early to reserve their place; hence, these groups have become familiar to other visitors sharing the same patterns of use and interest. From the fieldwork, it appeared that regular users are familiar with other users even though they live in different neighbourhoods in Bahrain or have different countries of

origin. They also mentioned some details of other users' lives. The Syrian sisters, who live in Riffa, said, *"Whenever we come, we see a family from Hamad Town sitting in the garden, they are Syrians, a man with his two wives"*. They also explained how they built friendships with Yemeni women who used to sit next to them in the picnic pod during their regular visits to Khalifa Garden. The sisters also talked about their relationship with the Jordanian and Egyptian women they had met in the garden. In Arad Bay Park, a Yemeni interviewee said that she became acquainted with other women from the mosque when families visit the park each weekend and pray in the mosque at the same time. Women usually pray at home, but having a mosque next to a garden provides opportunities for them to meet.

Every day walking enthusiasts also share their interest in areas as walking adjacent to other walkers provides opportunities for intercultural sociability. Shahrazad, the Bahraini woman, said:

> *"At Arad Bay there was an exercise coach. I saw her every day in the morning while I did my walking. So I was smiling to her and she would as well. Then, she started talking with me and commenting on my hair style [...] So I had some kind of friendly relation with her".*

The Bahraini girl and the non-Arab migrant coach became acquainted through sharing the activity of exercising at dawn. In Hunainiyah Park, two fathers of Arab-origin mentioned that they got acquainted with each other in the park, and now when they meet each other by chance in the park, they do their jogging together. The users may also share multiple commonalities, for example, in Hunainiyah Park, a group of grandmothers and mothers from Pakistan and Yemen do their walking exercise together in the park every day because they have diabetes. They mentioned that formerly they did not know each other and they met coincidentally in the park for the same motivation and then regularly met every day and enjoyed their walk together and followed it by gathering on the grass for a chat.

Familiarity toward the spaces and the individuals from diverse cultures who share these spaces is also a part of the adaption process. This familiarity has resulted from the social encounter and sharing of tacit knowledge between regular users. The routine activities in these POS develop a sense of familiarity and affiliation between the users and the space (Neal et al., 2015, p.469). Such evidence was present in the interviews when users mentioned the different 'spots and elements' in these spaces and why they favour some over others (Neal et al., 2015, p.469).

6.8.2 Informal solidarities among female park users

During the site visits to these formal greenspaces, the sociable atmosphere was clearly revealed in the different social activities enacted there. This observation was consistent with that of Neal et al. (2015, p.469) in their study in Leicester *"A very mundane, micro-sociality threads through these various park practices"*. The parks and gardens, during fieldwork, presented affordances for families to socialise. Rich social encounters were also visible in the picnic pods, the picnic table areas in Andalus, in walkway tracks, on the sport fields among male visitors, in the parking area and at the gates of the parks and gardens, particularly when there were vendors (selling popcorn, ice cream, and cotton candy).

These opportunities to socialise provided social support for migrants, especially women. Permeability in POS promotes sensibility between users and a feeling for others not only because they are neighbours but also because they are park companions. Likewise, in Arad, a Jordanian mother and housewife who had moved to Bahrain six years ago said that usually when she is sitting with her two daughters on the lawn other Arab women from different origins come to her offering coffee or tea, or asking her to join them. During my fieldwork, I was quite often offered tea, coffee, fruit and cake by participants who were of Arab or Persian origins, including Bahraini.

In a number of short interviews, it was apparent that some migrant women visit the parks and gardens to see other women and to have an opportunity to chat and establish rapport with each other. These women come in small or big groups or as a single mother with children. The visibility of social position, their identity of being migrant women, common interests and motivations in using the park are common factors among these women of different origins. Alluding to this, the Jordanian mother indicated that she socially encountered women from different nationalities in Arad: from the Ukraine, Egypt, Yemen and Morocco in addition to Jordan. For this Jordanian woman, building relationships is based on trust and respectfulness in appearance and manner. The women also mentioned that the children have an important role in helping their mothers to be able to socialise. Additionally, many children are accompanied and supervised by their nannies or housemaids. During the field observations and interviews, domestic workers and nannies were using these moments to interact with each other. Usually, they are of different nationalities but they interact in a common language, Arabic, English or Hindi.

Some of these interactions might be casual and fleeting, but the Jordanian woman also said that they sometimes exchange telephone numbers to be able to continue arranging their meetings in the park. She mentioned that she has an Egyptian friend from the park, working as a teacher, who gives her a call before coming to the garden to pick her up on her way. The data from interviews revealed that the popular parks and gardens have become a meeting point for these women to socialise, rather than the small neighbourhood gardens that do not provide this opportunity.

6.8.3 Family atmosphere for lone migrants

A lively place is the best place for a person even if they are alone (Whyte, 1980). Thus, these crowded parks and gardens, which create a family atmosphere, appeal to migrant workers as they mingle in the crowd and they do not feel estranged or alone in the country. This aspect of being in a collective context was commonly mentioned by single migrants in their interviews. Hala mentioned that a number of migrants do not have families in Bahrain and so they visit these parks and gardens to recreate a feeling of belonging to a family. In this regard, in the go-along interview in Arad with Maysa, the Syrian mother mentioned the significant restorative value of gathering in parks and gardens, particularly as she is a migrant away from her family. For Maysa, the park is her retreat where she escapes to when she is emotionally overwhelmed and can spend time with her friends and their children. She said, *"When I'm in bad mood, I come here and I feel better. It is nice, especially when I come in a group with family and bring our Syrian tea"*. She claims that sometimes during her visits to the park, she notices groups of Egyptian families sharing a meal sitting close to each other and then she too longs to be part of such a family gathering. Alluding to this, in Andalus Garden, Shahrazad explained:

> *"Most of the foreigners, they are coming together to have a family atmosphere [...] many families are sitting with each other. The garden brings them together [...] if you notice they are humble and sit anywhere, gathering is more important for them"*.

Shahrazad and her friends are young Bahraini women who have visited the garden weekly and at times daily since their time in school. They also enjoy the atmosphere of the garden though the majority of users are migrants from different social groups.

Additionally, during the field observation, I frequently noticed migrant workers having their lunch break in the parks and gardens rather than on the roads or sidewalks. The greenspaces with their trees and grassy areas and the provided shaded seating areas offer a cool space for workers (Figures 6.10) to seek respite from the scorching summer sun and afternoon temperature. The affordances of design and management of these spaces support sharing diverse patterns of use and hence support conviviality.



Figures 6.10 Workers from the surrounding areas have their meal in their break in Andalus and Arad.

6.8.4 Encouraging healthy activities

In the field observation, it was also common to see runners and walkers of different ages competing in friendly ways to encourage each other. Two girls, friends from Jordan and Egypt, run in Andalus every evening and are encouraged by being surrounded by people of diverse ethnicities. The practice of exercising seriously, walking or jogging is recognised by many users though they are not partaking in the activity. In Khalifa Garden, a Bahraini mother and employee said that the walkway is nice and many people are walking which is good for their health, but she does not have time to walk. Likewise, in Arad Bay Park, Adam, from Malaysia, mentioned, *"People are doing healthy activities"*. Leen, the Indonesian airhostess, also supported him, *"People are very nice, they enjoy their life and exercise all the time, because at whatever time I pass here for my work, I can see people here,"* as the Arad is next to the airport.

Neal et al. (2015, p.470) demonstrated that it does not require dialogic interaction to bring together diverse populations in proximate space when sharing spatial and temporal patterns of use. Neal et al. (2015, p.471) emphasised that light forms of conviviality could be developed

by sharing activities and bringing together users from different ethnic backgrounds. This explanation was extremely relevant to the findings. For example, the walking and jogging enthusiasts liked to go where others were also sharing the same activity in order to feel motivated by others. This was also supported in Wilson's research (2011) on physical orientation and collective experiences and how affective atmospheres can support the production of affective encounters.

6.9 Spatio-temporal negotiation across-differences in sharing POS

The findings show positive patterns of negotiation between diverse users, which support continuing transcultural practice and conviviality across differences. As explained above in Section 6.6, people sometimes avoid certain spaces that do not agree with their different expectations (different sense of crowdedness or different sense of appropriateness and social responsibility) or spatially or temporally withdraw to other spaces. This withdrawal is not only relevant to parks and gardens. For example, in Amwaj, an Italian resident decided to use private clubs during weekends because most of the users on those days are not residents of Amwaj gated community, which creates crowdedness. In this context, he refers to the crowds around the lagoon area and also on the beach in the residential areas as a *"problem during the weekends when a lot of jet skiers use the area and there is no privacy"*. He appeared disconcerted by his observation that Amwaj Island security was lax and the crowds were a bit unruly at times. This was not a problem for Samar, the Bahraini resident, while other affluent migrants express their anxiety about the large crowds. She said, *"Residents in Amwaj complain about crowdedness and the jet skis [...] I think this is disturbing for the foreigners, but for us Bahrainis, it is normal. It is fine for me"*. The jet skis and water sports are signs of the modern lifestyle for Bahrainis. However, Samar, through the go-along interview in Amwaj-lagoon, describes an incident when we saw women gathering on the lawn area as unsuitable or out of place (Chapter Five Figure 5.19).

The space that does not meet different expectations challenges social inclusivity and social encounters. A good diversity of parks and POS across a city provides choices for different people of various kinds of places. Providing a choice of POS across the city could be an appropriate action to prevent conflicts arising from different expectations; yet, social equity in using POS must not be ignored. It is vital to understand if withdrawal from a space is in response to a specific threat or uncomfortable situations, or due to unequal power dynamics. It is also essential to understand how providing different choices of POS across the city can

support transcultural practices and conviviality. At a local space level or at micro-scale, positive negotiation can support positive social encounters. Ensuring that there are inclusive local spaces means that people do not need to withdraw, which could be a professional aim. Increasing activities with alternatives would provide choices for different people and groups; this again could be a professional aim to promote inclusivity at local spaces. The sections below illustrate examples of positive negotiation supported by the affordances of the parks and gardens.

6.9.1 Gender in a shared space

The analysis of the interviews supported by data from repeated observations at different times of day revealed that low-income migrant women value the activity of gathering, chatting and meeting other women in the parks and gardens as it is their only escape from routine chores. Interestingly, some groups of women stay until late in the night for a picnic in the parks and gardens with or without male family members, and they also come for a walk at dawn alone or accompanied.



Figures 6.11 The pictures show the spatial choices and affordances of the designed landscape elements for women; either seeking privacy (a) or being visible (b).

In Arad Bay and Hunainiyah parks, people are sharing the provided spaces and managing their sitting in a familiar yet respectful manner, using the affordances of the space. In Hunainiyah, where most of the users are Pakistanis and Yemenis, observations revealed that usually women and men sit in different parts of the park, particularly on crowded days. The collected data show that men prefer sitting on the pavement, on benches, in their cars or in the parking area next to their cars enjoying different activities, retaining the picnic pod for women and respecting their privacy. Nazir (from Balouchistan) explained this is a common social practice in

Hunainiyah because the women have different topics to talk about. He added that the men drop off the women of the family, the children, their bicycles and picnic equipment and wait for them to finish their picnic. In Arad, the field notes showed that women mainly occupy one side of the lawn, whereas on the other side of the lawn, both genders are found.



Figures 6.12 A mother preparing her place for sitting (a), a family with picnic equipment walking to their picnic space (b), and a group of women moving to their place of gathering (c).







Figures 6.13 Families arranging for their stay in the parks and gardens.

From a landscape architectural perspective in understanding the case studies, in Khalifa Garden, the lawn area is much wider than in Hunainiyah and Arad and it has several options of picnic pods, which provide choices in terms of privacy. Faiza preferred having a picnic in the area among foliage as it affords a partition for privacy, *"The trees are covering us and we remove our hijab (hair scarf). We feel free and private"*. Though sitting on an open lawn, families respect the others' privacy. In different short interviews, the participants mentioned

that they respect others' privacy and keep respectful distances between each other. A Yemeni woman in Khalifa Garden said, *"If a man is sitting with his wife, people are not sitting close to them, they respect their privacy"*. Furthermore, on crowded days, as mentioned by the Syrian sisters, picnickers tend not to look at others to respect their privacy despite the fact they are sitting next to each other on the lawn. Zaina added *"They can't see other groups, some women are with their husbands, you can't see them, [...] families are with men, it is embarrassing to see others"*. The level of the lighting also affects women's seclusion. According to a Pakistani family in Salmaniya, at night, some women select to sit away from the light when they remove their veil (face cover).

During my observations in the informal spaces, I noticed that in the neighbourhoods, it was a common practice for males to sit outside or gather and for children to play, but not usually for women to engage outdoors in these informal spaces. For example, in Bab Al-Bahrain, the field notes and interviews data showed that there are limited opportunities for gender negotiation. In the go-along interview with Irfan, the Indian male worker, he confirmed the concentration of migrant male workers from the Indian subcontinent, especially in the night and at the weekend, in Bab Al-Bahrain area. He said: *"Families don't sit at the roundabout, only bachelors"*. Through site visits to Bab Al-Bahrain especially at weekend and evenings, I observed that the limited seats in the Square were almost always occupied by males. Many of them also stood in groups or sat on the pavements; some even obstructed the path of the pedestrians. According to Faiza, the Indian female worker, during the walking interview in Bab Al-Bahrain, *"I can't find space to stand anywhere [...] all the men are sitting and I cannot enter"*. She narrated her experience as a woman being in a place with mostly men standing around, which might feel stressful or uncomfortable. This also shows difficulties for a woman to claim a space in an area occupied by men. Faiza also talked about her experience of using the traditional coffee shop in Bab Al-Bahrain, *"Sometimes I sit and have some tea or water if I'm tired, but I feel shy among groups of men. There is no place for women to sit. Men can sit everywhere, while the women only walk or stand"*. Faiza is attached to Bab Al-Bahrain and she is very familiar with the area so she can repeat her visit frequently at other less crowded times or try to spatially avoid the crowds.

6.9.2 Playing sport





Figures 6.14 Sport areas create vibrant inclusive spaces where players interact.

Users also negotiate their use of the sport facilities in parks and gardens. For example, in Khalifa Garden, Rashid said that the main football pitch is used by Bahrainis from the neighbourhood, while Yemenis are mostly playing volleyball or football in the provided different sport areas. He also said that groups of Filipinos play basketball every day in the early morning, which is also supported by observation on different days. On different site visits, I saw a group of Nepalese playing volleyball during the afternoons. In Andalus, spending time on-site revealed that an arrangement is made between Filipinos and Indians to use the sports field for playing football or volleyball. In Salmaniya, Pakistani and Indian teenagers were

observed playing cricket on the multipurpose court. During Ramadan on several days, I encountered groups of African people playing football before the Iftar.



Figures 6.15 Playing badminton has become common in parks and gardens (a-b). Boys playing cricket in a provided court in Salmaniya Garden (c). Cricket and badminton are usually played by Asian migrants in Bahrain.

There are also instances of sport activities bringing together players of diverse nationalities. For example, referring to my field notes, on one occasion in Khalifa Garden, Filipinos, Indians and Arabs were playing volleyball together. Rashid also said, *"Once in the multipurpose court (in Khalifa Garden) I saw on one-side Filipinos playing basketball and on the other side Bahrainis playing football"*. As recounted in the short interviews and from the observations in Hunainiyah, I noticed Balochis and Pakistanis playing cricket either in the park or at its boundary.

From field observation, the provided formal sports area is used mainly by men, as playing sports is considered a masculine activity. However, in different gardens, badminton is a

common sport and an informal activity seen among Indian and Filipino groups of both genders and different ages. Faiza also said about her activities in Khalifa Garden:

> *"I like to play badminton. Every time I come to Khalifa Garden, my daughters, my friends and I play badminton together. And everybody is watching us, because I'm a fat woman and playing. But I like to play (laugh). When I play I forget that I'm lady and I just play even if everybody is watching us. No problem. I just enjoy (laugh)".*

However, despite the provision of designated sports areas in parks and gardens, from my observation in the informal spaces, it was still very common to see children playing football in the neighbourhoods, and occasionally in unsafe conditions, which could imply that some children prefer to play in their neighbourhoods and/or the provided sport fields are not sufficient or near enough to housing areas. There are also hierarchies of age when it comes to using the gardens or parks, some older teenagers or adults monopolise the sport fields, leaving no space for younger children to play. In both cases, the needs of users from the younger generation have not been fully addressed in public outdoor urban spaces.

6.10 Conclusion

The analysis showed a general positive perception towards diversity amongst both migrants and local users, which is shaped by the historical, geographical and cultural characteristics of the research context. These characteristics support conviviality and inform the development of these places and authentically reflect the hybridity of the city. The research explored the evocative qualities of being outdoors and how memories are rooted and reflected in the use of these spaces. A sense of local belonging and being welcomed is revealed in the participants' stories, demonstrating how in particular places participants felt like an insider and at home. These qualities add to the restorative values of POS and show that a busy souq or an alley can have an escape function and those restorative values can be achieved within a crowd. Similarly, desert spaces should not to be ignored from the debate on nature and restorative values as this typology also promotes wellbeing through the multi-sensory experiences that reflect migrants' identities, past memories and the history of places.

It is vital to highlight that parks and gardens appeared significant places for adaptations and transcultural practices. The affordances of parks and gardens to continue home cultural practices are valued, even though their typology differed to that from the home country. A space that reflects a hybrid sense of identity can promote adaptation in a transnational context.

Exposure to and visibility of others motivated people to socially engage with the crowd and explore the commonalities; however, the visibilities of differences are not always acknowledged. Some people judged others based on their perceptions of duty of care and responsibilities. In the analysis, differences in parenting and cleanliness perceptions were mentioned repeatedly as problematic, and this tended to exacerbate racial stereotypes and negatively affected healthy social interaction in public spaces. This implies a need for a better understanding of different cultural expectations.

The visible qualities of public open spaces inform people, including newcomers, of the pattern of uses that can be pursued in these spaces and provide opportunities for them to meet people from their home country. Some residents choose to frequently drive long distances to spend their leisure time in an area where they feel more integrated, comfortable and welcome. For example, Asian migrant workers crowd the square and the souq in their leisure time as these spaces appear familiar to them with visibility of their leisure cultural practices and social groups. The space also invokes memories for those migrants who find similarities to spaces in their home country with regard to its physical form, social fabric and the availability of familiar food and goods.

Nonetheless, in the selected sites, togetherness with cultural differences was evidence of social integration. The research also showed some evidence of where the affordances of permeability and the spatial qualities support sociability and positive encounters across differences. The in-depth ethnography explored significant evidence on how repeated encounters without interaction have translated into generalising respect for others, for example as expressed by Shahrazad in describing the family atmosphere in Andalus and Leen and Adam in Arad describing the healthy activities and other examples that change the estrangement feelings to familiarity or even integration, which support the concept of 'scaling up' effect (Valentine, 2008). The collected data also showed different patterns of negotiation when sharing spaces supported by the range of activities and alternatives. This positive negotiation supports conviviality (Wise and Velayutham2009; Wessendorf, 2014b) and could also be of assistance to processes of adaptation, integration and reformation of hybrid identities (Noussia and Lyons, 2009; Hou, 2013).

The findings show that social encounters in POS can be developed to form sociability and sustained relationships, especially across people of the same gender. The findings reflect some of the differences between ideas of conviviality and sociability. Conviviality is different from sociability; it is about engaging with diverse others with the emphasis on being equitable in

differences. In contrast sociability is a form of cultural and leisure practices whilst being together usually with familiar people from a social network or cultural group. The 'publicness' of a public open space may support sociability but in a transcultural context the practice of conviviality may be vital to social functioning.

These findings can add significant details to the theories on transcultural cities, conviviality and meaningful encounters, as discussed in the next chapter. The aggravations at micro-level could also contribute to extending the relevant studies of conviviality and transcultural cities. Although sometimes seeming trivial, it is important that nuances of aggravations and conviviality are responded to in urban professional practice, as they threaten the inclusive value of urban public spaces. The nature and scope of this response is discussed in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Seven: Contribution to Developing Theory

7.1 Introduction

As illustrated in the theoretical framework in Chapter Two, this research is conducted within the discipline and approaches of landscape architecture, and contributes to theories of transcultural cities and conviviality alongside interdisciplinary aspects of geography, sociology and urban studies. By critiquing the analysed data in Chapters Five and Six with the literature, this chapter discusses the findings on the first two overarching aims in relation to several areas within the above-mentioned theories. This data was the outcome from multiple qualitative methods of short on-site interviews and go-along interviews supported by field notes and photographs, which all resulted from the ethnographic practice of spending time in the field of the selected case studies. In using landscape architecture as a means throughout this research to examine the relationship between conviviality, transcultural cities and public open spaces (POS), the spatial and design qualities are taken into consideration for understanding cultural differences with regard to different experiences, meanings and values.

The first research aim investigates the everyday activities, preferences and patterns of diversity in POS in Bahrain and contributes to the discourse on transcultural cities and highlights an area of theory related to migrant experiences across borders that are discussed in Section 7.2, and also touches on themes of conviviality. These are relevant to the second research aim, which explores how conviviality is supported or aggravated in urban public spaces within the context of an ethnically diverse population, and how this contributes to theories on conviviality and encounters across differences and informs the two areas of theory, specifically meaningful encounters in Section 7.3.1 and extending the effect of encounters in Section 7.3.2. Section 7.4 subsequently discusses the emerging tensions in everyday encounters in POS and highlights the relevance of mundane spatial practices within such a debate. The third research aim develops these theories with implications for practice and they will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight with relation to the expert interviews.

Currently there are no existing studies about spatial and temporal activities and pattern of use in public open spaces in Bahrain. Therefore, this research provides specific knowledge that addresses the existing gap. While this knowledge contributes to both the theories of transcultural cities and conviviality in this research, it also points to further research agendas into these areas, specifically studies of leisure practices and recreational uses of open spaces in the Gulf, Middle East, or globally. The following points are a summary of Chapter Seven findings.

1. Spatial variation in outdoor affordances for different patterns of recreation and sociability (in both formal and informal spaces) can reflect transcultural identities and differences in perceptions, with the potential positive impact of promoting social and mental wellbeing.

2. Conflicts at micro scale in POS indicate the complexity of negotiating everyday life in transcultural cities with regard to different expectations of social responsibilities and ethics of care in parenting and cleanliness in public spaces.

3. Long-term meanings of social inclusivity can be generated in socially responsive outdoor spaces, despite (and sometimes because of) the often temporary and fleeting nature of most encounters.

4. Heritage sites in the selected case studies act as significant transcultural sites for migrant leisure practices and patterns of outdoor socialising.

5. Cultural differences can create barriers to being outdoors and sharing space with others. Design and management approaches informed by principles of social justice need to be thoughtfully considered in transcultural public spaces.

7.2 Transcultural cities and a sense of belonging: Being yourself in a new place

With evolving cultures, the discourse on transcultural cities has emerged to help understand both cultural transformation and hybridity in cities and how transnational identities are shaped, which has also led to increasing cultural differences (Hou, 2013). Migrant experiences and socio-spatial associations across borders play a crucial part in the transcultural process (Rishbeth, 2013). This area of theory looks at how the 'translocalities' and built environments

influence adaptation and hybridity in which the transnational identities evolve and new forms of attachments developed. To discuss the findings in this section, I bring together literature on migrants' experiences in a new place and social uses and values of POS. This also addresses the studies on the importance of POS for migrants and transcultural practices and processes.

7.2.1 Patterns of sociability supporting transcultural practices

After investigating the patterns of use in POS in Chapter Five by using the ethnographic tools of spending time on-site for observing, recording field notes, taking photos and talking with users, sociability and extensive gathering predominated in the data as outdoor leisure practices. These mundane cultural practices, to a certain extent, flow with migrants across the border. Continuing these practices and activities in a new place is a form of adaptation that supports the transcultural process (Ghosh and Wang, 2003; Noussia and Lyons, 2009; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012; Hou, 2013).

Leisure activities are context dependent (Byrne and Wolch, 2009). In Chapters Five and Six, the data analyses showed that POS reflect different leisure typologies and cultural identities common in migrants past experiences which support the process of adaptation. The findings show evidence of how desert leisure practices are seen in formal urban greenspaces: for example, extensive gathering and gathering near cars. Hence, the formal parks and gardens are sites for the adaptation process. The analysis of the transcripts supported by the field notes also confirmed that in Bahrain formal parks and gardens are not the only outdoor leisure spaces, so are the pedestrianised streets and informal POS. For example, Bab Al-Bahrain square and souq, the traditional coffeehouses, and open spaces in front of houses and shops also show evidence of gathering, socialising and spending leisure time outdoors with others. Having several case study areas (with both formal and informal POS) revealed a variation of outdoor affordances for appropriate different cultural leisure activities and patterns of sociability (Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Peters and de Haan, 2011).

Chapter Five also highlighted how these leisure practices shift spatially and temporally between day and night in different seasons, evidenced after conducting six months intensive fieldwork, visiting different case studies and conducting interviews at different times of the day and different days of the week. These dynamics display transcultural practices with patterns of diversity and spatial and temporal aspects of adaptation (Hou, 2013). Additionally, this seasonal adaptation generates collective experiences amongst diverse users with different activities and motivation.

7.2.2 Memory triggers in public landscapes

Participants with migrant backgrounds narrated their memories of home countries in describing their outdoor experiences in Bahrain. These memories support migrants' adaptation and translate into transcultural connections and social associations in a new place (Ghosh and Wang, 2003; Armstrong, 2004; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). Similarities between Bahrain's context and migrants' past experiences and history of places such as climate, geography, cultural practices, typology of spaces or history stimulate migrants' memories. For example, in Hunainiyah, the trees remind them of their home country Syria, while the fort on the ridge is like Yemen, the round form fountain and souq in Bab Al-Bahrain are similar to a place in India, the souq in Bab Al-Bahrain resembles an Asian Bazaar, Block-338 looks like a local street in Europe and Amwaj is similar to a western neighbourhood. The aromas of food from ethnic restaurants and incense from temples in Bab Al-Bahrain remind Asian users of their countries. Experiencing the weather on a summer night reminded an interviewee in Khalifa Garden of his ancestors in Jordan. Migrants' memories of past experiences and current experiences of patterns of sociability and outdoor leisure practices also intertwine in an urban locality, for example, gathering and eating 'samosas' at the roundabout. In a landscape architecture focus, these details remain in memories and can be provoked through the outdoor multi-sensory experiences (Dee, 2001). Social activities in open spaces evoke memories through exposure to diverse sensory experiences at a micro- scale. Being outdoors also stimulates multi-sensory awareness (visual and non-visual) that evokes childhood memories (Ward Thompson, 2007; Pink, 2008; Ingold, 2012) and reminds migrants of their home countries (Low et al., 2005; Rishbeth and Finney, 2006). These are the evocative qualities of POS (Armstrong, 2004; Low et al., 2005; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012; Rishbeth, 2014).

7.2.3 Wellbeing and outdoor transcultural process and practices in arid climate

Chapters Five and Six illustrate that outdoor spaces stimulate multi-sensory awareness, which is an aspect of stress restoration that promotes wellbeing (Ottosson and Grahn, 2005; Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2010; Ward Thomson, 2011). The findings explored that natural scenery, planting, clean and fresh air and birdsong are important restorative elements (Kaplan, 1995; Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2010). They also highlighted the evocative qualities of POS in stimulating memories of migrants' past experiences, which in turn promote their wellbeing (Armstrong, 2004; Low et al., 2005; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012).

The variety of formal and informal POS in the selected case study areas supported a wide range of affordances for outdoor leisure and sociability that reflect cultural identities, past memories and different outdoor spatial leisure typologies. Being outdoors, in greenspaces, sea or desert edges or in souq and street, stimulates multi-sensory experiences and evocative qualities, which promotes social and mental wellbeing. Alongside the consideration of spatial variation and different cultural practices, there is a positive relationship between social contacts and experienced wellbeing (Schwanen and Wang, 2014). These variations in the outdoor spaces of cities respond to the individuals' diverse perceptions (Byrne and Wolch, 2009).

Hence, the desert in the Arab and hot climate countries could also support stress restoration and promote wellbeing. Similarly, a busy souq or an alley can have an escape function and these restorative values can be achieved within a crowd (Cattell et al., 2008). These typologies are not only common in Bahrain but are shared by various migrants from Africa, the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent where there are similarities in climate, geography, history, religion or culture.

7.2.4 Connecting migrants and urban heritage in transcultural cities

Dependence on foreign labour in the Gulf is unavoidable; however, the concern is also how to protect the local heritage (Al-Rasheed, 2005; Gardener, 2011). Another outcome of migration are the potential changes in both perceptions of urban historic form and the emergence of new transcultural practices, which in turn affect both migrant and local cultural practices (ibid). This research argues that urban heritage sites are inclusive spaces and that protecting heritage does not conflict with transcultural processes and the adaptation of migrants. Part of this empirical research was conducted in heritage urban locations: Bab Al-Bahrain area, a historic square and souq; the Pearling Trail, a UNESCO Heritage site; and the Hunainiyah Park, which is located in a desert valley beside a fort. These sites have all received investment with regard to design and management for recreation, aiming to be used by tourists as well as locals. The evocative quality (Rishbeth, 2014) of these places prompted memories that connected migrants to different heritage locations and experiences in home countries. The findings, from interviews and supported by observation and spending time on-site, highlight that heritage sites also act as significant transcultural sites for migrant leisure practices. Participants valued these sites as places to gather, echoing patterns of socialising that span centuries. The historical sites in the case studies were connective locations for people and provided support with a sense of belonging and welcome. Accordingly, the heritage sites can

be both rooting at the local scale and also support transcultural adaptation. Urban heritage sites can still be tourism destinations in the Middle East and North Africa (Steiner, 2010) if more activities and options are provided to support the needs of contemporary societies

This research also explores the role of everyday outdoor spaces in continuing the cultural practices of migrants in a new place (Rishbeth, 2013). In the findings of Chapters Five and Six, experiences of leisure - activities performed and patterns of socialising - in formal and informal POS can be conceived as a dimension of living heritage, reflective of material culture, social norms and values shaped by gender, religion and climate (UNESCO, 2010). Patterns of outdoor sociability are intangible heritage practices that are shaped by the migrants' identities (ibid). The concept of transcultural urbanism outlined in this research could support continuing different cultural practices post migration, while protecting the local culture.

7.2.5 Visibility of difference: Opportunities and apprehensions

Bahrain has a highly ethnically diverse population, and this diversity is reflected in the open spaces. The analysis showed a general positive perception towards diversity amongst migrants and local users, which is shaped by the historical, geographical and cultural characteristics of the research context and authentically reflect the hybridity of the city. As explored in the previous chapter, exposure to the visibility of others in POS motivated people to socially engage with the crowd and explore the commonalities in either social positions or patterns of use that bridge other cultural differences (Wessendorf, 2014a and 2014b). In a country like Bahrain, a migrant can also retain their anonymity (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012) whilst being part of the crowd (e.g. Faiza in Bab Al-Bahrain), while the cosmopolitan life reminds Adam of his country Malaysia. The visibility of cultural groups has also promoted transcultural bonding in new places (Putnam, 2000). Likewise, social sensory qualities (Neal, 2015) of being different or in familiar cultural groups could promote feelings of integration, conviviality and egalitarianism in sharing spaces with others (as explored in the go-along with Faiza, the Syrian sisters and Maysa).

Hybridity and diversity in Bahrain (Al-Rasheed, 2005; Dayaratne, 2008) provide rich sensory experiences that evoke transcultural memories and emotional hybridity. Bahrain is a culturally hybrid country because of the long history of migration to this part of the world. The argument is that hybridity in the social and physical urban fabric in Bahrain is visible; in Bab Al-Bahrain particularly, this hybridity has become part of the heritage. The distinctiveness in Bab Al-Bahrain arises from the availability of traditional food and wares from different countries, and

in the harmonious coexistence of the mosques, temples and churches. Therefore, the idea of the memory in this site becomes more nuanced, complex and inclusive. Here, the findings show that the permeability (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013) in Bab al-Bahrain context and the visibility of different activities, functions and food outlets at the same time and place supports the engagement of different practices. This diversity responds to different perceptions, provides choices for dissimilar users and promotes a sense of belonging.

In the findings, cultural practices are not only shaped by religion or origin, but also by other cultural differences such as length of residence, socio-economic level, mobility, working hours, and family commitments (Vertovec, 2007b; Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Agyeman and Erickson, 2012; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). The affordances of the place with socio-spatial-temporal dimensions and sensory qualities also shape these practices (Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). The analysis in Chapter Five described how the daily and seasonal patterns of use could be shaped by nuances of differences such as family responsibility, working hours, perceptions and options of leisure and availability of car. As a result of the selected fieldwork methods and the analysis, these variables were highlighted in the findings, for example, with the Balochi father in Hunainiyah Park, the Syrian sisters in Khalifa Garden, the Indian worker in Bab Al-Bahrain and the Bulgarian resident in Amwaj. The observation supported the analysis of the interviews in exploring the affordances of places.

These differences and affordances could also be barriers for using POS (Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012) and affect social wellbeing. Physical and social barriers in the research context such as weather, gender mix or locational disadvantages could also be the struggles for adaptation and transcultural practices (Hou, 2013). Chapter Five also showed that the spatial, seasonal and daily patterns of use could be influenced by the barriers of cultural differences. With the concerns of transference between different environments and cultures in transcultural cities, cultural differences could create barriers to being outdoors and sharing the space with others, which should be considered in transcultural cities with social justice.

7.2.6 Moving towards authentic belonging in transcultural cities

A sense of local belonging is revealed in the participants' stories demonstrating how in particular places, participants felt like an 'insider' and at home. Investigating POS in transcultural contexts, using ethnographic and qualitative approaches of field observation and interviews in the selected case studies, emphasises the potential values of outdoor city spaces and multi-sensory qualities in promoting a sense of belonging amongst migrants (Rishbeth and

Finney, 2006). The evocative qualities of POS and transcultural memories developed senses of belonging and meaningful attachments for the migrant users (Ghosh and Wang, 2003; Armstrong, 2004; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). Being able to spend time outdoors post migration has the potential to support emotional attachment and develop belonging and adaptation within a new place (Peters, 2010; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013) even if the migrants are temporary workers.

While being outdoors, in souq, parks or gardens or in other newly initiated urban districts, migrants can explore further place affordances to engage in their cultural practice wherein they begin to feel at home. Cultural transformation, adaptation and the ability of continuing cultural practices (being outdoors and socialising) have promoted a sense of attachment, confidence, meaningful nostalgia and familiarity. A space that reflects a hybrid sense of identity and a feeling of being welcome and adapting into a transnational context can promote an authentic sense of belonging.

7.3 Theories of conviviality and encounter across differences

The theory of conviviality and everyday multiculturalism has emerged as a counter-narrative for anxieties related to diversity, and focuses on how people manage cultural differences in their everyday encounters (Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Neal et al., 2013). Within the debate on romanticised accounts of conviviality and civility, studies on conviviality and geographies of encounter put more emphasis on considering the effectiveness of the convivial encounters (Valentine, 2008; Noble, 2013; Wilson, 2016). Hence, this research focuses on the relationship between conviviality and encounters in transcultural cities and how both conviviality and the qualities of everyday encounters can support each other. Within theories of conviviality and everyday encounters, this section discusses the contribution to two areas of theory around meaningful encounters and extending the positive benefits of encounters across differences beyond the moments of encounters in relation to social uses and values of POS.

7.3.1 Meanings of everyday conviviality in POS

7.3.1.1 Wellbeing and inclusivity

In framing understandings of wellbeing among urban dwellers, it is important to consider how social encounters are supported, the role of POS in promoting this and how transcultural discourses can reflect the understanding of the nuances of meanings. POS are important for individual wellbeing (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995; Dunnet et al., 2002; Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Cattell et al., 2008; Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Regional Public Health, 2010; Ward Thompson, 2011) alongside social benefits (Putnam, 2000; Mean and Tims, 2005; Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007; Peters 2010; Thwaites et al., 2011) and psychological benefits (Kaplan, 1995; Thwaites et al., 2005; Ottosson and Grahn, 2005; Grahn, and Stigsdotter, 2010). According to the research findings, as explored by using qualitative methods, the nuances of the meanings of mundane encounters are complex and invisible reflecting different individual's perceptions and identities; their importance, however, should not be ignored as these meanings are relevant to an individual's wellbeing.

Encounters in POS (i.e. parks and gardens, pedestrianised, and informal POS) hold significant meanings, (senses of family, friendships, neighbourliness, familiarity, solidarities, belonging and transcultural bonding). These meanings appeared important particularly among migrants with smaller social networks as narrated by Shahrazad, Maysa and Hala in Chapter Six. Some of these meanings are relevant to transcultural practices. Affordances for outdoor sociability connect migrants with home and maintain their cultural practices, which can also promote wellbeing as well as support transcultural adaptation and develop a sense of belonging (Cattell et al., 2008, Rishbeth 2013). Outdoor social activities also expose them to multi-sensory qualities and experiences (visual, non-visual and social) as discussed above in Section 7.2 and provide opportunities for transcultural belonging. Recalling childhood memories and memories of home social leisure experiences have deep meanings and promote mental restoration for individuals (Low et al., 2005; Rishbeth and Finny, 2006; Ward Thompson, 2007; Pink, 2008; Ingold, 2012), even for the temporary migrant workers. These memories are interpersonal dimensions (Scannell and Gifford, 2010), which required in-depth qualitative methods to be explored. In order to support conviviality in POS in transcultural cities, it is important to consider, with inclusivity, the nuances of meanings of encounters with regard to social benefits and wellbeing.

It is also important to understand conviviality at a society level (Valentine and Sadgrove, 2012) as a collective meaning. Socialising, gathering, greeting strangers on the way and sharing food are significant codes in Islamic culture. Busy street areas can be restorative (Cattell et al., 2008), which, in this research, reflects back to the other warm countries, in which daily socialising is visible in streets. Traditional Bahraini coffeehouses, for example, add a visible convivial atmosphere to the local urban spaces. Greenspaces also have important recreational values for many users.

7.3.1.2 Egalitarian practices of outdoor leisure

In comparison to indoor spaces, using outdoor spaces for leisure can be described as a democratic and elective practice (Neal et al., 2015). In POS, users choose to repeat their visits to these 'micro-public spaces' with the presence of diversity. It is the concept of choosing to share the spaces among diverse others and conducting different leisure activities with the presence of others and with the potential of encounters. The research suggests that there is a relational process between social practices and increasing possibilities of encounter, contact and proximity (Gilroy, 2004; Neal et al., 2015). It was also apparent in the data collected by conducting on-site interviews and spending time in the different selected case studies that the visible qualities and alternatives of POS help inform people, including newcomers, of the range of activities and patterns of use that can be pursued in these spaces and the choices they have spatially and temporally which support providing inclusive cities (Ghosh and Wang, 2003; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012; Wessendorf, 2014a and 2014b; Neal et al., 2015).

Considering the concept 'leisure-pleasure associations' in parks and gardens for supporting meaningful encounters (Neal et al., 2015, p.473), the findings of Chapters Five and Six indicated that we should not assume that in Bahrain the parks are the only leisure places, many people also enjoy being on streets for leisure. Though streets are considered necessary places (Neal et al., 2015), the necessary activities in mundane open spaces provide opportunities for everyday social encounters and casual interactions. Supporting leisure activities in streets would further support meaningful encounters. Hence, formal and informal POS in Bahrain appear as sites for everyday encounters and conviviality. Asian migrant workers crowd in Bab Al-Bahrain square and the souq in their leisure time whilst they might not feel welcome in a public local garden. Bab Al-Bahrain site appears familiar to them and provides opportunities for them to meet people from their home country. This location also invokes memories for those migrants who find similarities to spaces in their home country with regard to its physical form, social fabric and the availability of familiar food and goods.

7.3.2 POS as connective conviviality sites: cross-cultural social benefits

This section demonstrates how encounters in POS relate to the broader social benefits of POS and how POS could be connective spaces that promote the cross –cultural conviviality. Mobilising, scaling up and extending encounters (Valentine, 2008; Neal et al., 2016; Wilson, 2016) are relevant to the concept of social capital and social support for people to promote their collective efficiency (Putnam, 2000; Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007). Valentine and Sadgrove (2012) argue that understanding the meanings of encounters has to be in relation to spatio-temporal experiences and how such encounters could have a lasting effect, e.g. in relation to memories or values. Wilson (2016) argues that rather than only thinking about meaningful encounters as change in an individual's value or wider belief, we may consider the concept of mobilisation and relocation of the effect. Extended encounters are also linked to the concept of scaling up and mobilising encounters in relation to how a temporal encounter translates beyond its moment (Neal et al., 2016).

7.3.2.1 Ways in which qualities of POS can support meaningful encounters

The overlapping of spatial and temporal patterns of use and cultural practices, as investigated in Chapters Five and Six, provides opportunities for a range of interactions: fleeting spontaneous interactions, positive social exchanges and acknowledgements between diverse users. Sharing spatial and temporal patterns of use in POS in repeated manners maintained the regular encounters in which people have become acquainted (Cattell et al., 2008; Neal et al., 2015) such as in the examples of Shahrazad and the foreign coach in Arad, the Syrian sisters in Khalifa Garden, and the group of women in Hunainiyah. Sharing POS and everyday patterns of use with others does not necessarily mean that people build sustained relationships beyond the space, though the research explores such examples; but it does mean that they accept continual usage of a place with the presence of others, or maybe that their activities have become linked with or rely on each other. Comparing the research findings with that of Neal et al. (2015, p.472), they assert that the *"social affinities afforded by sharing a park"* generate *"deeper form[s] of encounter"* though without interaction.

Conducting research on POS extends the focus on materiality and critiques the relationship between social and physical affordances and the activities and cultural practices in POS that support encounters. Here, the affordances of the spaces for different spatial and temporal activities could be determined by conducting ethnographic practices and supporting the interviews with observation from a landscape architecture perspective. Using case study

method and conducting the research in different formal and informal spatial typologies of POS also helped in exploring the relationship between social and physical affordances. It was also possible to understand how different typologies and social functions and activities in different sites could support different leisure practices, stimulate memories and the history of places and shape spatially and temporally different practices post migration, which promote adaptation and transcultural practices.

Both the spatial and physical qualities of POS, infrastructure and allied facilities are important in maintaining and facilitating the regular practice of being outdoors. The provision of facilities and long opening hours also support regular use, particularly if they are responding to and meeting the users' motivation and values. For example, walking or jogging near the sea in Arad at dawn was possible only because the area is provided with a proper walkway track and security guards and the Park is open 24 hours a day. Hunainiyah is a unique natural desert location that attracts many users, but people visit the location repeatedly because the space is provided with a park and facilities such as picnic pods, benches, a sports field, walkway, playground, parking area and toilets that support users' diverse activities.

The values and meanings of social encounters could be extended in POS through linking different occasional activities and events that are related temporally with different times of the day, days of the week and seasons, even if the social encounters are repeated in the same open space. This dynamic and temporal patterns of use draw on the concept of 'temporality of the landscape', 'taskscape' and related activities (Ingold, 2000). Design and management of these spaces have vital roles in providing the spaces for these events and supporting regular use. POS, as connective and dynamic spaces, support the argument that repeated encounters with different others link social connection beyond the moments of the encounters (Wilson, 2016; Neal et al., 2016). People still need to have options and accessibility to move within the city. Aspects of mobility therefore must be considered in understanding connectivity in cities. Increasing POS in different locations within the cities also supports conviviality. Hence, planning, design and management practice has a significant role within the debate of extended encounters.

7.3.2.2 Intersection of gender and migration: Social support for migrant women and male migrant workers in use of public space

Social support for women: Parks and gardens, in the findings, appeared to be the only outdoor leisure spaces for some women to socialise and have opportunities to establish rapport with other women, sustain their social relations and extend their social networks. The building of strong relationships in POS was apparent amongst less mobile women. Women were exchanging their telephone numbers to continue their contacts within a park or garden or beyond. The value of building sustained relationships or extended encounters has to be a fundamental consideration of practitioners in the field of providing POS. However, intersectionalities of gender matter here given that the women are from different ethnicities. There is a reservation in Arab-Islamic culture to have contact with strangers of the opposite gender. The findings from Chapter Six, however, explored that there was a collective tendency in arranging gatherings in different parks and gardens and tensions with regard to privacy or mixed- gendered spaces did not appear and users spatially manage their seating according to their preferences and respect others even on crowded days.

Social support for male migrant workers: POS support affective encounters with collective social benefits as well as social supports for individuals, including temporary marginalised male workers. Many migrant labourers in Bahrain are living in stressful situations, i.e., in poor neighbourhoods, away from families, in harsh working conditions, with low wages and at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Gardner, 2010a). The results in Chapter Six showed how the crowds in parks and gardens promoted a family atmosphere for lone migrant workers (Bynon and Rishbeth, 2015) as mentioned by Nazir, Maysa, Hala and Shahrazad and other participants in the on-site short interviews. POS also encouraged walking enthusiasts (including lone migrants) who choose to go where others are sharing the same activity to feel motivated (Neal et al., 2015). Chapter Six also demonstrated how through walking outdoors and moving in between spaces support migrants in becoming familiar with local spaces and explore niches where they feel comfortable (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). Migrants and Bahrainis both highlighted the sense of belonging and cohesion through exchanging acknowledgments and fleeting encounters (Kareem in Bab Al-Bahrain and the Jordanian participant in the Pearling Trail site). In Bahrain, as many migrants are temporary contract workers or have short stay status, such fleeting encounters, which could be described as 'light conviviality' (Neal et al., 2013), are important for these migrants.

With the social and cultural dynamics of population in transcultural cities, the fluidity patterns of sociability in POS in Bahrain provide a rich medium for 'temporary or loose connection' (The Young Foundation, 2012) and support the concept of 'temporary solidarity' and 'temporary community' (Wilson, 2011; Neal et al., 2015).

7.3.2.3 Towards socially responsive spaces

Social support in POS among diverse populations could be linked to social capital (Putnam, 2000; Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007; Cattell et al., 2008; Peters, 2010), which supports conviviality and extended meaningful encounters (Neal et al., 2016). POS are a stage for fleeting and incidental interactions. With the debate on romanticised accounts of conviviality and civility (Valentine, 2008; Noble, 2013), Chapter Six revealed evidences where the everyday civilities of 'friendliness', 'togetherness' and 'altruism' in sharing facilities, giving way, giving food and taking care of another's child in a diverse context are productive in supporting meaningful encounters (Wise and Velayutham, 2009). This research found that long-term meanings could also be generated with a sense of socially responsive spaces.

However, there is a small but significant distinction between civility and conviviality (as discussed by Valantine (2008) Noble (2013) in Section 2.3.2) as well as between sociability and conviviality as further shaped by the findings of Chapter Six. With cultural differences, sociability could be expressed differently under cultural codes, and one role of the researcher in the field is to understand how these codes are received by different participants. For example, in Khalifa Garden, a Bahraini mother said that her little daughter likes to play on the swings in the garden, but she said that the Syrian and Yemini children play there all the time and territorialise the playground for their relatives. She did, however, remember that on one occasion very polite Indian parents made sure that their children allowed other children to play. The mother did not forget that moment and, to her, this was a very responsible act. Faiza also had the same point of view regarding the territoriality of the playground, but she had brought with her a badminton set and a ball so that her children did not feel upset when the play equipment was occupied. What Faiza did is negotiation in using informal activities instead of the formal provided and also introduces a sense of social responsibility. For the concept of conviviality to be better enacted here, more playground options and alternatives to have a socially responsive environment should be provided; this is the responsibility of the providers.

7.4 Conflicts at micro scale in POS: Complexity of transcultural cities

The questions that arise are how the transcultural complexity is reflected in everyday social encounters, and how cultural differences in transcultural phenomena shape the complexities for conviviality in POS. The studies on transcultural cities recommend looking at nuances of everyday encounters to understand more about complexities (Hou, 2013; Lung-Amam, 2013). In this research, supported by theories of conviviality (Gilroy, 2004; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Neal et al., 2013; Noble, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014b), investigating the reality of everyday social relations in public spaces explores a positive perspective of living together in diversity that can mediate cultural differences. The diversity of the population is reflected in the diversity of users in formal and informal POS in Bahrain. This context differs from other countries where the migrants and minorities are seen to be excluded from some POS, whilst in this research context; the majority of the users in urban formal and informal spaces are migrants (Elsheshtawy, 2006; Gardner, 2010b; Jarach and Speece, 2013). In the context of Bahrain this also presents challenges.

7.4.1 Parenting and littering in public: Cultural differences and social responsibility

The findings revealed from the analysis of the interview transcripts show that forms of conflicts at micro-scale, namely parenting and cleanliness, have become a matter of ethical obligation with regard to public spaces (Lofland, 1989; Valentine, 2008; Noble, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014). In the findings, users stressed the need for more duty of care in public spaces even among people with shared Arab cultures and religion. For instance, though cleanliness is a common Islamic manner, some Arab migrants have been judged for irresponsible behaviour of littering. This shows that though cleanliness is a moral value, it is not shaped collectively by cultural groups; but it is shaped by cultural differences in transcultural cities and intersectionality. Yet, those people who litter value these parks and gardens and have a high sense of attachment to these spaces. Littering can be seen as 'out of place' behaviour (Cresswell, 1996; Lieberman, 1996; Manzo, 2003; Sofoulis et al., 2008; Yatmo, 2008; Campkin, 2013), but this assumption may fail to consider that cleanliness is cultural and context dependent (Lewicka, 2011). There is also no clear correlation between a sense of belonging and pro-environmental behaviours, such as cleanliness and taking care of the place (Uzzell et al., 2002; Lewicka, 2011).

Similarly, from the analysis in the previous chapter, allowing children to play in the garden with other children and siblings without direct adult supervision was a parenting style or culture (Bernstein and Triger, 2010; Babuc, 2015) that was shaped by different perceptions (Byrne and Wolch, 2009) of safety and trust in being in a public place. However, these parents were criticised or judged for not having a strong sense of parental responsibility or for being careless parents. It is common that parents and their child's behaviours in public can face disapproval from other parents, e.g. in playgrounds (Wilson, 2013; Brown, 2013; Babuc, 2015). These judgments are formed due to different cultural expectations, and hence, practices and responsibilities of parenting cannot be divorced from intercultural dialogues (Phillips et al., 2014). Parenting is a dynamic cultural practice and differs with age of the parents and children, education level or origin (Bernstein and Triger, 2010; Babuc, 2015).

These cultural practices of parenting and cleanliness in outdoor spaces in Bahrain are not shaped by migrants' origin or ethnicity or by class and income bracket, but by cultural differences regarding social responsibilities in public spaces. Hence, social responsibility appeared as another variable in transcultural cities. These variables and intersectionalities of gender, age, economic and education opportunities, mobility, life pattern, working hours, family responsibility, school commitment and availability of social support (Vertovec, 2007a; Agyeman and Erickson, 2012) are also social barriers in transcultural cities (Hou, 2013).

In the findings, conflicts emerged because of differences in cultural expectations in public spaces regarding parenting and cleanliness. Although such conflicts appear trivial in the intercultural discourses, they challenge social encounter and cross-cultural interaction in transcultural cities. Some parenting and cleanliness issues were judged in relation to the predominantly low socio-economic migrant users, which could be interpreted as perpetuating prejudice. However, evidences in this research from on-site and in-depth interviews showed that varieties of practices appeared across and among different social and cultural groups, which sometimes create intercultural conflicts. For example, some users feel alienated and choose to avoid certain places territorialised with dominant behaviours. Interviews revealed that feelings of estrangement and cultural alienation are not only experienced by migrants and newcomers (Section 2.2.5), but can also be felt by the receiving community (due to the cultural differences). People judging others is common in everyday use of POS, but it becomes a problem when conviviality and inclusivity in these spaces is challenged. Some of these conflicts also happen between different restorative perceptions when some users are looking for a more sanitised and less complex environment and others are looking for more vibrant places. The outcome of these conflicts with regard to different practices leads to temporal or spatial

withdrawal, which could be sort of negotiations but could also reduce the opportunities for encounters.

Moments of transgression and conviviality in public spaces are evidence of fluidity, hybridity and social transformation. For Wiesemann (2012), these moments show how such experiences can lead to re-thinking fixed notions towards others. Wilson (2016) explains moments of conviviality include conflict or disharmony when the feelings or even expectations of differences are not considered or understood (ibid). However, Wilson (2016) argues that mobilising the effects and meanings of encounters could happen with either positive or negative encounters. Understanding tensions at micro level is vital with concerns of scaling up, generalising and mobilising encounters (Valentine, 2008; Wilson 2016). For this reason, there is the potential that minor conflicts escalate to inform anti-migration policies or policies that limit the development of cultural diversity and different heritages.

It is vital for professionals and scholars in the field of landscape architecture not to ignore such conflicts, however minor or irrelevant to the physical structure of the space. With escalating conflicts, POS could lose their positive social values. A better understanding of temporal and spatial qualities in POS is needed along with a consideration of the diverse users and values and mundane conflicts. Mundane conflicts could reinforce segregation between groups of different backgrounds, such as country of origin or poor and rich if scaled up. Therefore, this needs to be better related to the professional practice and will be discussed in Chapter Eight in relation to the findings from the expert interviews.

7.4.2 Opportunities for negotiation in POS support conviviality

The mundane conflicts as discussed above, however, were not publicly expressed and people in general appeared hospitable across differences in their everyday relations. Rashid in Khalifa Garden said, *"They might complain amongst themselves and only avoid going to that garden at certain times, but they don't face the other users and don't interrupt them"*. The findings also show other evidences of spatio-temporal negotiation in sharing POS, for example, mixed-gendered sharing of parks and gardens, or different ethnicities and perceptions in playing sports in the provided sports yards. In the first example, the tendency or value of respecting women's privacy was collectively clear between users and, in the second example, there was a prior agreement based on a direct communication and dialogue between the users in using sport areas. Both these examples were supported by the design and management affordances of the parks and gardens. This supports other studies on negotiation and show that users can

still manage their social relations and support conviviality in POS to some extent (Noussia and Lyons, 2009; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012; Hou, 2013; Neal and Vincent, 2013; Neal et al., 2015; Wilson, 2016; Neal et al., 2016).

By exploring the ways in which transcultural social conflicts in POS at micro-level are related not only to the physical context but also to the visibility of different cultural practices, this research highlights the importance of considering mundane practices within debates on socio-spatiality and tensions (Amin 2008, Valentine, 2008). By understanding and observing the case study locations from a landscape architecture perspective, it was possible to argue that conflicts in the findings appeared in reasonably well-designed, facilitated and maintained parks and gardens with diverse activities. For example, Khalifa Garden, Hunainiyah Park and Arad Park are high quality POS in good locations and valued by many users. From the ethnographic practices of combining both field observation and interviews at different times of the day and days of the week, it was revealed that these spaces were accessible to low socio-economic migrant families who feel welcome to use these spaces for their leisure activities, but there were aggravations and conflicts.

Providing a choice of activities and spaces and opportunities for negotiation and communication all support the social and cultural dynamics and thus thoughtful planning, design and management in POS can help avoid conflicts. Multi-intercultural situations with social and cultural dynamics will always have some conflicts in terms of different cultural expectations, which *"can be more clearly understood through the particular than through broad generalisations"* (Rishbeth, 2014, p.102). Hence, social justice needs to be considered in the provision and regulation of POS with concerns for wellbeing, social and physical barriers and cultural differences in transcultural cities as will be discussed further in the next chapter. The relevant questions that are considered in the next chapter under the scope (and responsibility) of professional practice are how do we define what is acceptable and what is not, that is, what are the social responsibilities for being in a public space, and how can these responsibilities be communicated to different cultures and yet maintaining inclusivity?

7.5 Conclusion

This research constructs an argument that when looking at conviviality in contemporary cities such as in Bahrain, we need to understand the phenomena of transcultural cities, and that public open spaces are important sites for conviviality, partly due to the visibility of cultural differences and social dynamics. The literature review discussed the relevant theoretical areas and the discussion in this chapter elaborated how the findings support and extend the existing body of knowledge by looking at a new context within an Arab-Islamic culture, arid climate and a distinguishing pattern of temporary migration. The research is the first in the region that specifically explores the role of the built environment in promoting a sense of belonging in a new place for temporary and short stay migrants and its role in supporting their adaptation and integration.

The research examines the overlaps between conviviality, transcultural cities and POS and explores the idea that conviviality and transcultural practices are interrelated and can be mutually supportive. The findings show that transcultural practices and processes are about transformation, adaptation, hybridity and cross-cultural interaction (Hou, 2013, p.4-7), which also supports the view of Valentine (2008, p.333-334) that meaningful encounters and conviviality should include cultural exchange and social transformation. Management of POS should take the approach of supporting an inclusive recognition of different activities in which cultural difference can be expressed. The findings highlight that the visibility of difference along with migrants continuing their leisure practices and patterns of sociability in POS supports the development of authentic belonging in transcultural cities.

The research reveals different examples of meaningful encounters developed from the affordances for being visible outdoors and sharing a space, an activity or a moment with others. The role of design also appeared predominantly in users' perception and experiences of POS: the well-designed pavement and sitting areas in Andalus were unique compared to other places, the design of the lawn with topography and its vastness in Khalifa Garden, the ambience of the lagoon-side with the walkway and seating areas, the pavement and benches in Block-338 and in the Pearling Trail site with its artistic features. Users were very conscious about the qualities of these landscape elements as well as the maintenance required in POS to facilitate their use. The affordability and accessibility of POS are essential. Free entry to parks and gardens was highly valued, even by the middle class and the egalitarianism of the seating areas was also a valued, especially in places where most of the chairs belong to the restaurants

and cafés. This research examined how the spatial and physical qualities of a space can bring diverse people together so that they can explore commonalities and bridge differences.

Investigating the overlaps between conviviality, transcultural cities and POS also explores the complexities for conviviality in POS that arose from the complexity of transcultural cities. The above discussion shows that the visibility of diversity in sharing the use of POS is not always positive and placing different groups in the same physical space can reinforce conflicts with regard to cultural differences. Parenting and cleanliness appeared in the findings as cultural differences in transcultural discourses. These cultural differences shape pattern of use in parks and gardens (Byrne and Wolch, 2009) and also create conflicts and misunderstandings with the different cultural expectations. Parenting and cleanliness are comprehended under social responsibility in public spaces and ethics of care (Barnes, 2012; Low and Iveson, 2016). Hence, along with cultural differences and aspects of socio-spatial uses and values of POS, ethical and moral dimensions need to be considered in theories and practice of transcultural cities to support conviviality. Social justice and the implication for practice (Low and Iveson, 2016) will be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter Eight: Contribution to Developing Practice

8.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the third aim of the research, which is to identify the potential of landscape planning and design practice for supporting conviviality in transcultural public spaces. This chapter will specifically analyse how the findings of the fieldwork may have the potential to inform and impact future practice. One means of conducting this analysis will be to examine the findings of the on-site and participant interviews in comparison to the perspectives, values and practices as revealed in the interviews with experts (Section 8.2). Subsequently, I will use Low and Iveson's (2016) Social Justice and Public Spaces Framework to explore the potential for a more forward thinking and inclusive approach to POS in intercultural cities. The findings and discussion of the first and second aims (Chapters Five, Six and Seven) have addressed some culturally appropriate pragmatic examples in public open spaces (POS) that support conviviality across differences and, in this chapter, these findings are embedded in an informed understanding of the POS policies in Bahrain.

Prior to discussing the current policies, I re-visit the main tenet of this research in relation to the professional practice of POS: Why theories and practices of transcultural urbanism are fundamental for professionals in the field of built environment in Bahrain. The concept of transcultural urbanism does not impose a common culture to be shared by diverse users. The focus of this research is how to support diversity and sociability in POS and reduce the routine tensions. The intercultural approach is *"based on shared fundamental values, respect for common heritage and cultural diversity as well as respect for the equal dignity of every individual"* (Council of Europe, 2008, p.4). This statement can be important for professional remits in the built environment within the contexts of a diverse population to promote social equity and respect in POS.

The research has addressed how Bahrain fits within studies of transcultural cities, whilst its culture, climate and pattern of migration are markedly different from the Western countries, where most of the existing studies are centred. The non-Bahraini temporary migrants are the majority of the population; but due to their temporary migrant status, the policies of integration and intercultural interactions developed in Europe and North America may not

appear relevant to the context. However, it does not mean that the professionals in the field of built environment should disregard inclusivity and diversity in POS. Urban planners and landscape architects need to be aware that the migrants' right to use the available POS should be maintained even though their status is 'temporary'. Hence, it is important to ground the discussion of transcultural urbanism in the reality of the current practice. Within the methodological framework, practitioners' perspectives were sought out in the form of eight interviews with key individuals with the purpose of gaining an overview and insight into policies and strategies for providing and regulating POS in Bahrain. Table 8.1 below is a summary of the conducted expert interview method (for more detail, see Chapter Three – Section 3.5.3).

Expert interview method **Semi-structured in-depth interview**			
Justification of the method used	**Participants and time scale**		
• Triangulate the findings and provide a collaborative analytical lens which adds a professional perspective and voice to the research. • Test the relevance of findings for practice and shape a landscape architectural specificity to the research outcomes, which frames the findings from the other methods. • Provide a broad understanding of the policies and gather additional data and further understanding of the historical and contemporary context.	Head of Architectural Affairs in the Authority for Culture and Antiquities	**Architect. Noura Al-Sayeh**	**16.09.14**
	Maintenance and Operation Engineer of Parks and Gardens in Manama Municipality	**Engineer Fatema Hamza**	**20.01.15**
	Chief of Urban Observatory in Urban Planning Department	**Architect Wafa Sharif**	**29.12.15**
	Director of Properties and Parks	**Landscape Architect Zuhair Al-Dallal**	**06.01.16** **07.01.16**
	General Coordinator of the Association of Friends Groups and Vice President of the Friends Groups of the Capital Gardens	**Mr. Mohammed Al-A'ali**	**11.01.16**
	Founder of Al-Riwaq Art Space non-profit community organisation	**Artist Bayan Al-Baker**	**14.01.16**
	Paediatric, Member of the Supreme Council for Women and President of the Arab Society for the Prevention of Violence Against Children.	**Dr. Fadhila Al-Mahroos**	**21.01.16**
	Attorney and expert in human right and public international law	**Dr. Ahmed Farhan**	**24.01.16**

Table 8.1 Summary of the expert interview method.

8.2 Comparing findings from fieldwork and expert interviews

This section frames the findings from Chapters Five, Six and Seven in relation to the expert interviews, which significantly contribute to linking theory with practice. The expert interviews are compared to the findings from the ethnographic methods to identify correlations and contradictions. Four topics emerged from the comparison:

1. Recognition of how diversity shapes the practice of outdoor recreation in Bahrain POS (Section 8.2.1).
2. Understanding barriers to access for using POS in Bahrain (Section 8.2.2).
3. Identifying intercultural conflicts in the use of POS in Bahrain (Section 8.2.3).
4. Ideas of how to develop inclusive management practice (Section 8.2.4).

Under each of these four areas, I set out the summary points under three headings: expert interview findings, ethnographic fieldwork findings and comparison between these.

8.2.1 Recognition of how diversity shapes the practice of outdoor recreation in Bahrain POS

8.2.1.1 Summary of expert interview findings

1. In general, all the expert interviewees commented on the nature of social mixing between local and migrants in public life in Bahrain and the importance of POS in Bahrain for social interaction.

2. Current practice usually follows a principle of standardisation of the outdoor recreation activities that meet family needs.

3. However, there are limitations in professional practice in understanding the everyday lives of people from diverse backgrounds, and how demographic change in city residents is reflected in the diversity in public spaces.

4. There are also limitations in professional practices current understanding with regard to social interaction across difference.

8.2.1.2 Summary of findings from ethnographic fieldwork

1. The diversity of population in Bahrain is reflected in the open spaces where different practices and patterns of use are visible.

2. Leisure and recreation activities are common motivations for using POS, this includes migrants, indicating that the provision of POS supports adaptation and integration of new residents.

3. A sense of local belonging and being welcomed is revealed in the participants' stories, demonstrating how in particular places, participants felt like an insider and 'at home'. Often these emotions reflect migrants' identities, past memories and the history of places.

4. Sociability, visibility of diversity and the cordial atmosphere in shared spaces are highly valued by users.

8.2.1.3 Comparison

1. There is a gap between practice and the fieldwork findings because cultural diversity is not considered in practice but appeared significant in the analysis and discussion of the ethnographic findings.

2. Although there is limitation in practice about considering diversity and social interaction in the current projects, users recognise this diversity and both users and experts value diversity and sociability in Bahrain.

3. There are standards in practice regarding the provision of activities, but ethnography shows affordances in POS for diverse recreational activities which promote adaptation and a sense of belonging

4. Some user groups' needs are not prioritised, including those of migrants. Current design standards of parks and gardens are not reflecting contemporary needs of superdiverse population and cultural differences.

8.2.2 Understanding barriers to access for using POS in Bahrain

8.2.2.1 Summary of expert interview findings

1. There is a broad understanding that Bahrain has a low quantity of urban POS and these spaces are unevenly distributed across the city.

2. In many cases, walkability quality in Bahrain is not formally considered in practice, even though, the importance of walkability can be seen in some projects. A strategic approach that has been successful in Bahrain is the pedestrianised streets with walkability in the heritage site, in Block-338 and in the private investments.

3. Planning standards categorise POS as parks and gardens according to their different sizes. Community gardens (or neighbourhood gardens) are small-sized gardens and serve a smaller population and are located within residential areas, whilst the national parks serve a larger population to which the users must drive.

4. The size of the park determines the number of provided activities and the standards within planning regulations on providing activities influence design and management.

5. Regulations of POS are assigned at management level which define the restricted activities (including leisure and recreational activities). In public parks and gardens, these regulations, for example, are either in the form of notice boards or assigning entry fees and women-only days.

8.2.2.2 Summary of findings from ethnographic fieldwork

1. Practices of shared patterns of use across diversity prevail; yet, cultural variables and differences can be barriers for using or accessing POS, with possible negative impacts on wellbeing framed by the understandings of social justice.

2. Cultural differences and intersectionalities in gender, socio-economic status and migrants' generation and identities shape the patterns of using as well as not using POS. For example, differences of life patterns, family responsibility, working hours and accessibility to private transport could have impact on accessibility to POS. Similarly,

gender-dominant locations (e.g. male in Bab Al-Bahrain) and socio-economic specific spaces (e.g. Amwaj) are barriers, shaped by cultural differences, to inclusive POS.

3. Certain regulations and practices appeared as barriers and have an impact on the use of POS (regulations such as removing benches, providing physical barriers and fences and opening hours). Some of these regulations are to control certain behaviours (i.e. lack of parental control and littering).

4. Design and management approaches informed by principles of social justice need to be thoughtfully considered in transcultural public spaces through understanding affordances and the appropriateness of spaces for users with different cultural practices.

8.2.2.3 Comparison

1. The current practice standards did not acknowledge or consider the nuances of cultural differences such as the experiences of women, people who do not drive or have long working hours. Yet, in ethnographic findings, such differences shape the barriers as well as spatial and temporal patterns of use of both formal and informal POS. For example, women and families value spacious parks and gardens with a wide range of facilities for their extended and large gatherings, but this is an issue for women who do not drive. The planning standards show that large parks are provided with a wide range of recreational activities but these spaces can only be reached primarily by driving as also explained in the expert interviews.

2. Small POS (including small neighbourhood gardens) have fewer recreational activities, which presents some limitations in responding to different patterns of use and cultural practices. This limitation would have impact on social justice in certain locations such as in congested neighbourhoods mostly resided in by migrant workers and low-income families (with limited accessibility to private transport and/or long working hours) as appeared in the Bab Al-Bahrain, old Muharraq and Hunainiyah contexts.

3. The ethnography also underlined that certain regulations are barriers to using public spaces for people of certain migrant identities, gender and/or income; however, the experts were not aware of the impact certain regulations have on the inclusivity of public spaces and services.

4. Another disparity is that the standard categorisations of POS only include parks and gardens, but the selected studies include a variety of important (formal and informal) POS and the collected data found that each typology has significant values and uses for people with cultural differences. Leisure activities in the informal POS raise questions about the accessibility, affordability, sufficiency and conveniences of the formal provided POS in Bahrain for different people with varied working hours and mobility or specific cultural needs (ethnic, age or gender). Informed by social justice and wellbeing, these informal spaces need to be thoughtfully considered in practice to support inclusivity in transcultural Bahrain with different spatial leisure specificities and different barriers to being outdoors.

5. There is a similarity in the collected data about walkability having a significant value, but this is not considered formally in practice. Streets (such as Bab Al-Bahrain and Block-338) that support walkability and/or sitability are valued for their affordances for being outdoors; particularly for people with a busy lifestyle, long working hours or without access to private transport. The expert interviews explored some initiatives in professional practice by stakeholders such as urban planning, municipality, cultural authority, private investments and community involvement in providing creative spaces such as Block-338, historical sites and Amwaj. These initiatives supported diverse patterns of leisure and recreational activities, and this good practice could be extended.

8.2.3 Identifying intercultural conflicts in the use of POS in Bahrain

8.2.3.1 Summary of expert interview findings

1. The provision of public parks is part of the public services (including children's benefits) and is the responsibility of the country's organisations.

2. Different users' behaviours, intensity of use and practices (i.e. littering and misuse) affects management procedures as some parks and gardens need more maintenance.

3. Actions are taken in management to reduce conflicts (security, instruction boards, locking toilets, eliminating seating, assigning fees, women-only, assigning fees for under 20's); however, they are not always effective in resolving them.

8.2.3.2 Summary of findings from ethnographic fieldwork

1. Conflicts at micro scale in POS indicate the complexity of negotiating everyday life in transcultural cities with regard to different expectations of social responsibilities and ethics of care in parenting and cleanliness in public spaces.

2. Parenting and littering in parks and gardens appear as minor conflicts from different cultural expectations regarding social responsibility and ethics of care when in public. These conflicts were mostly not related to the spatial qualities and physical characteristics. Some of these conflicts were found in relatively well-maintained and designed formal green spaces. In specific locations, public responses to these differences do pose a potential challenge to conviviality and can exacerbate social divides.

3. In response to some of these 'minor' conflicts, some users withdraw temporally (adapt their times of visiting) or spatially (choose not to visit) specific locations. This can be allied to the patterns of negotiation in responding to different cultural expectations.

4. Withdrawal can also create segregation and limit the ongoing potential for social encounter across differences.

5. Security and regulations practices (to control certain behaviours) are not effective in dealing with intercultural conflicts in local public spaces.

8.2.3.3 Comparison

1. Mundane conflicts of parenting and cleanliness result from different cultural expectations with regard to social responsibility in public. Such conflicts are sometimes raised because both users and practice lack an understanding of cultural differences, particularly regarding the intersectionalities and nuances.

2. Regulating spaces (for example by women-only days or assigning fees) to reduce conflicts means excluding people with cultural differences (by age, income and gender) from entering parks and gardens. The ethnography broadly shows that in most situations, users can, spatially and temporally, manage and negotiate the use of POS

with different expectations; however, both the users and experts found that the current regulations are not effective in dealing with conflicts.

3. With increasing cultural differences, there is a lack in understanding the responsibility of providing socially inclusive and responsive spaces. To support better understanding of common practices in POS and to support the resolution of conflicts in some key locations stakeholders involved in POS management need to engage more with local communities (particularly migrants with barriers). The management needs to be pro-active by taking a relational rather than a regulatory approach.

8.2.4 Ideas of how to develop inclusive management practice

8.2.4.1 Summary of expert interview findings

1. The role of design and management is important in increasing activities or walkability, and considering contemporary needs in local POS including historical sites and urban parks. Open space providers have a role to provide high standard public services that respect family needs.

2. It is important to elevate people's feeling of responsibility towards owning and sharing public spaces with others.

3. There is potential for more temporary interventions in management of POS, including at cultural and heritage sites, by integrating elements and concepts of contemporary urban design (such as micro-POS, walkability, water bodies and microclimate).

4. The role of community (such as Friends Groups) could be effective in dealing with misuse through initiating a direct contact between users and stakeholders.

8.2.4.2 Summary of findings from ethnographic fieldwork

1. Spatial qualities, physical characteristics and facilitated events with choices of how to engage are central to harmony in sharing spaces and patterns of use.

2. Heritage sites in the selected case studies act as significant transcultural sites for migrant leisure practices and patterns of outdoor socialising.

3. Increasing spatial and temporal recreational activities in POS, with integration and intersection of these activities, provides choices for being outdoors and supports informal encounters and positive forms of negotiations.

4. Long-term meanings of social inclusivity can be generated in socially responsive outdoor spaces, despite (and sometimes because of) the often temporality and fleeting nature of most encounters.

5. Involvement of the community and local residents in management of spaces, increasing the authority and engagement of the wardens in POS and introducing fines instead of fees are some recommendations from the users to deal with conflicts regarding parenting and littering in public as the current regulatory practices are not effective.

8.2.4.3 Comparison

1. The role of design in providing harmony was seen in the ethnography, but this connection between the built environment and intercultural conviviality was not mentioned by the experts.

2. While management practices in POS use regulation to control conflicts these created exclusions that challenged conviviality, in the ethnographic findings, the spatial design and management qualities support social inclusivity and that is highly valued by users.

3. The findings show similarity in some of the ideas that support inclusivity: increasing activities (even in historical spaces), pedestrianising spaces, facilitating outdoor spaces, temporal urban design interventions and community involvement.

The role of design and management of POS in supporting conviviality across differences appeared to be important in the comparison, even so this role is currently underestimated. In this section, the expert interviews were compared to the findings from the ethnographic methods to identify correlations and contradictions: where they supported or elaborated, and where there were conflicts or discrepancies. The ethnographic findings explained the role of practice in supporting positive social encounters in transcultural spaces. In the expert interviews, the significant role of planning, design and management of POS was not

highlighted, but the findings from ethnographic tools showed examples of where design and management of POS supported interaction across differences.

Accordingly, there are areas of discrepancies between the ethnographic findings and practice that prevailed in the comparison with regard to considering cultural differences in the provision of POS; however, landscape architecture planning, design and management can play fundamental role in filling these gaps.

The first gap that appeared significant in the comparison is that the expert interviews stated that cultural diversity and integration are not considered in planning, design and management of POS. However, the ethnographic findings highlighted how formal green spaces have a significant role in supporting integration, migrants' wellbeing, adaptation and meaningful encounters and also to promote a sense of belonging.

The second gap is that the practice limited POS to parks and gardens, while the ethnographic findings also provided evidence of outdoor leisure practices and recreations in informal POS and urban streetscapes. The affordances of these spaces support different leisure activities, sociability and recreational practices for users from different social and cultural groups. The importance of everyday open spaces to support social activities and promote a sense of belonging across differences appeared significant in the analysis and discussion of the findings.

The third gap is regarding users without access to cars, which prevailed through ethnography, but was not mentioned in the expert interviews. This also shows that cultural differences shape accessibility to parks and gardens but this is not fully considered in practice.

The fourth gap in the comparison shows a lack of understanding cultural differences that shape different expectations regarding the social responsibility of parenting and cleanliness which reflects the assigning of exclusion strategies for people of different ages, income and gender from entering parks and gardens. A distinct finding here is that inclusivity and the publicness of POS should not be understood only under political forces within the public sphere but also within the social and cultural dynamics.

The role of professionals in the field of outdoor built environment can be further emphasised. Outdoor spaces are central to fostering feelings of citizenship and national sentiments in a multi-ethnic society. The research findings explored that being outdoors in Bahrain and exposed to social life and diverse cultural practices appear to be an important aspect of

migrants' wellbeing, integration and adaptation with the ability to continue home cultural practices. The research also explored that conviviality and social mixity is visible in POS supported by different patterns of outdoor sociability in the cities with evidence of meaningful encounters. Bahrain is currently trying to endorse emotional feelings of citizenship and belonging in schools amongst diverse cultures, and my research suggests that POS, particularly parks and gardens should be an integral part of this agenda (Alexander et al., 2007). The society in Bahrain will continue to be diverse, and diversity in Bahrain is more complex than defining the population simply in terms of Bahraini and non-Bahraini migrant workers, as both are from diverse origins, generations and socio-economic levels. Intercultural exchanges and widening social networks can also help to develop social capital (Putnam, 2000) for which reason integration and social interactions in POS should not be ignored. Hence, practitioners in the field of planning, design and management of POS need to understand their prime role in promoting a sense of belonging across differences.

The research, however, also revealed some underlying tensions. With increasing cultural differences and variables, these mundane conflicts would challenge social encounters and the social values of POS; therefore, they should not be ignored by professional practice of POS though relevant to the social and cultural differences and not physical qualities. Though these tensions may appear trivial, they could negatively reflect on cross-cultural exchanges and could transfer between generations if not thoughtfully considered. Ignoring or a lack of understanding of cultural differences in provision or regulation of POS also leads to the implementation of policies that exclude and segregate (for example women-only days or assigning fees), which contradict the concepts of wellbeing and inclusivity. It is not under the scope of professional practice of the outdoor built-environment to regulate and define what the accepted cultural practices are and are not, but it is their responsibility to meet different expectations about the paradigms of both leisure practices and social responsibility in public spaces. Planning, design and management appear to play a fundamental role in dealing with transcultural differences, but this has to be through inclusivity and choices and without exclusion practices. Outdoor spaces need to be welcoming for migrants from different economic ranks as for these people the spaces need to be an important destination in their leisure time.

The gaps that emerged highlight the role of professionals in the field of built environment in supporting transcultural practices in public spaces. This comparison will be used in the rest of this chapter to contribute to developing practice in the professional field with regard to the social justice and public spaces framework (Low and Iveson, 2016), which will be discussed in

this chapter. The social justice framework would be appropriate in supporting the professional role in responding to different cultural expectations. The information collected from the expert interviews (summarised in Chapter Three, Section 3.5.3, Table 3.4) is further integrated into the discussion in this chapter, which situates this framework in Bahrain and allows a broad understanding of the current practice and introduces ways to improve the process of providing POS. The findings of this chapter would inform planning, design and management of POS with a social justice commitment to support conviviality and transcultural urbanism approaches specific to GCC and Middle Eastern countries and present options for future development.

8.3 Overview of the Social Justice and Public Spaces framework

In this study, I adopt the social justice and public spaces framework (Low and Iveson, 2016) to develop an analytical base that allows a broad understanding of the current practice of providing and regulating POS in Bahrain. This framework, which has been developed within a social geography discipline, could also be vital for professional practice in the built environment and transcultural cities in that to present options for future development to support conviviality in a superdiverse population. The discourses on transcultural cities support democracy, inclusivity and cross-cultural learning and call for more studies to understand and mediate the complexities in cities. Low and Iveson, (2016) state that when some *"identities and ways of being in the city are unfairly denigrated or stigmatized, justice is fundamentally a matter of status and has an inter-subjective dimension"* (p.18) and they add that equality in such situations could mean deprecating the qualities of some cultural patterns and values. Fainstein (2005) argues that it is unacceptable to deal with differences equally, especially when the fundamentals of health and wellbeing are to be negotiated. Rather the implementation of justice is the key concept (ibid). The social justice framework could also be helpful in dealing with small conflicts relevant to cultural differences as the concept of equality might not be enough to promote inclusivity in receiving the benefits of POS (Low and Iveson, 2016, p.18). The research finds that, in transcultural spaces, the social conflicts could be escalated from cultural differences at micro-level. Besides, in the research findings, the mundane conflicts appeared relevant to different perceptions of social responsibility and ethics of care in public spaces; hence, an ethical dimension of the 'just city' framework is required to be explicitly integrated into the transcultural practice with respect to public open space (Low and Iveson, 2016).

The framework has been designed to evaluate the provision and regulation of urban public spaces with issues relevant to five propositions: Justice in distribution of public spaces (Section 8.4), recognition of diversity (Section 8.5), social relation in public spaces (Section 8.6), care for people and repair of the environment (Section 8.7) and the process of decision-making (Section 8.8). Low and Iveson (2016) drew the framework primarily on the North American urban context and this research is an opportunity to test the framework in another. This framework develops the concept of social justice to a more practical level that can be implemented in public spaces in cities with diversity and difference (ibid, p.12 and p.28). Hence, this framework could be used as a basis for assessing the implication for practice of transcultural urbanism for planning, design and management of POS in Bahrain. The outcomes from the expert interviews as summarised in Chapter Three (Section 3.5.3, Table 3.4) are further embedded within this framework, which positions this framework in Bahrain and allows a comprehensive insight into the current practice and presents ways to improve the process of providing POS.

8.4 Proposition One: Public space and distributive justice

This first proposition is about the inequality and spatial injustice in the distribution of POS, which is relevant first to the distribution of public spaces across the wider urban environment and locational disadvantages and second to the accessibility and affordability of POS (Low and Iveson, 2016). Locational disadvantage *"demands attention to the provision of public space across a metropolitan area, and poses questions about the distribution of resources required to provide and maintain public space across the city"* (ibid, p.17). In terms of accessibility and affordability, *"the matter of access to public space is not only one of provision and location, but also one of design and governance"* and mainly *"the accessibility of those public spaces to urban populations regardless of [people] wealth"* (ibid, p.17).

In transcultural cities, cultural differences of mobility, socio-economic and life pattern could be social and physical barriers to accessibility to POS. Cities in Bahrain, similar to other cities in the Middle East and North Africa, witness spatial variations: old, congested and new low density, and locational advantages and disadvantages alongside urban tourism development (Ben-Hamouche, 2004; Elsheshtawy, 2008; Steiner, 2012; Ben-Hamouche, 2013; Beaugrand, 2014; Rizzo, 2014). This section discusses how with an understanding of this proposition, POS can be distributed to ensure inclusivity in Bahrain. The selected case study areas include a wide range of POS (formal and informal), in different cities with diverse surrounding contexts

and population ratios. Responding to the findings in Chapters Five and Six, the data shows a rich pattern of use of formal and informal POS with different leisure motivations. Different cultural leisure practices in these spaces are supported by affordance of spaces or qualities of design and management that support these activities as was highlighted in the previous chapter.

Leisure activities in the informal POS raise questions about the accessibility, affordability, sufficiency and conveniences of the formal and provided POS in Bahrain for different people with various working hours and mobility or specific cultural needs (ethnic, age or gender). For example, families were having picnics on the roadside in the Arad Bay Area on crowded days at the park; this could be because women and families negotiate spatially for privacy. This could also mean that greater capacities of parks and gardens, both in their sizes and numbers, are required to be able to accommodate more people. A further example is the migrant male workers who were seen relaxing and gathering on the ground of some sidewalks and roundabouts. This could be because there are no provided outdoor leisure spaces where the single migrant male workers feel welcome to gather and socialise. Hence, migrants may need facilitated spaces where their outdoor leisure practices are legitimised. Children were also seen playing on the busy roads because these roads are the only affordances for play where they live; accessible outdoor spaces need to be provided for the children to play safely. Poorer migrants appear to be less familiar with the alternative parks and gardens, and have significant constraints to accessing a range of places due to a lack of private transport and long working hours (Nazir in Chapter Five).

Facility	Population Served	Housing Units Served	No of Users	Min Area /User	Min Site Area (m^2)
Children Playground	2000-3000	400-600	2000-3000	1.5 sq m	2500
Community Parks	100000	20000	100000	0.2 sq m	20000
National Parks	200000	40000	200000	0.2 sq m	40000

Table 8.2 Planning standards for parks and gardens in Bahrain (MWMAUP, 2015).

Regarding the current professional practice in the provision of POS, the Urban Planning Department in the Ministry of the Works, Municipalities Affairs and Urban Planning (MWMAUP) follows prescribed standards (Table 8.2) for parks and gardens as described by the

expert interviewee, the Chief of Urban Observatory in Urban Planning Department. The standard does not detail typologies of POS and only includes community parks and national parks within a Culture and Recreation Zone. Ministry of Municipality Affairs and Urban Planning (2012) declares that the current standards are very low in terms of size and the number of parks and gardens (Table 8.3). Figures from the Ministry show that 36% of households in Bahrain do not use parks due to this deficiency (Ministry of Municipality Affairs and Urban Planning, 2012). The Ministry further states that there is no qualitative data of the current situation of users' needs and values (ibid). These figures indicate a serious lack of local greenspace resources as commonly found in other GCC countries (Hashem, 2015; Addas, 2015).

City		Open Space Standards			
		Pocket Park	Neighbourhood Park	District Park	Regional Park
New York (USA)	Pop Served	-	1,000	10,000	-
	Sqm	-	7,000	3,600	-
	Sqm / person	-	7.00	0.36	-
Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)	Pop Served	-	20,000	50,000	200,000
	Sqm	-	20,000	100,000	400,000
	Sqm / person	-	1.00	2.00	2.00
Toronto (Canada)	Pop Served	-	3,000	6,000	75,000
	Sqm	-	2,250	16,200	600,000
	Sqm / person	-	0.75	2.70	8.00
Riyadh (Saudi Arabia)	Pop Served	-	5,000	-	-
	Sqm	-	1,000	-	-
	Sqm / person	-	0.20	-	-
Abu Dhabi	Pop Served	1000	10,000	30,000	-
	Sqm	2500	5,000	60,000	-
	Sqm / person	2.5	0.5	2	-
Oman	Pop Served	5000	15000	30000	-
	Sqm	200	5000	20000	-
	Sqm / person	0.04	0.33	0.67	-
Dubai	Pop Served	-	10,000	30,000	-
	Sqm	-	10,000	30,000	-
	Sqm / person	-	1	1	-
Bahrain	Pop Served	-	100,000	200,000	-
	Sqm	-	20,000	40,000	-
	Sqm / person	-	0.2	0.2	-

Table 8.3 Size and number of parks and gardens in Bahrain compared to other countries (Ministry of Municipality Affairs and Urban Planning, 2012).

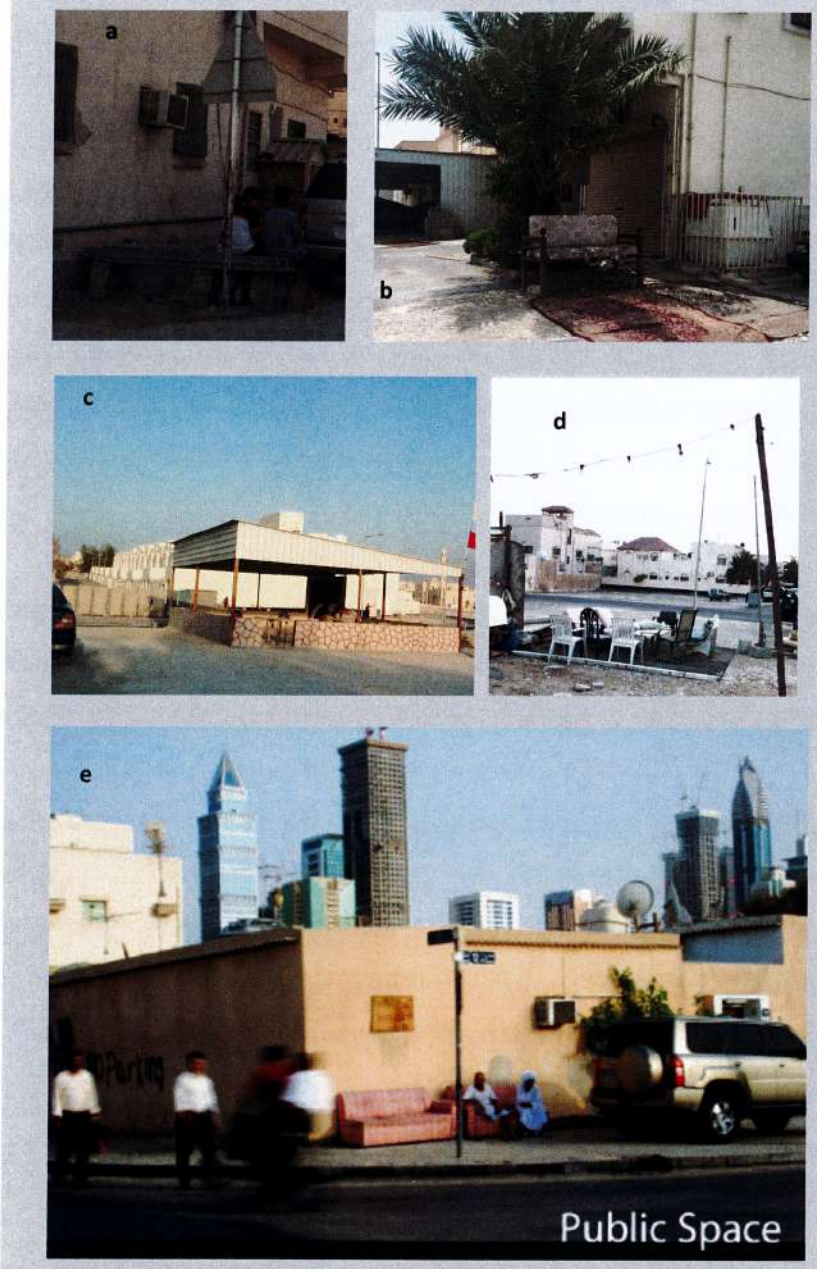
According to expert interviews, there is a limitation in the current categories of POS, which is also reflected in the design and management of these spaces and are seen as not being responsive to contemporary needs. In the report provided by Ministry of Municipality Affairs and Urban Planning (2012), it shows that the Ministry's general standards for activities in a park or a garden in Bahrain is that there has to be 50% greenery and the remaining space should include a number of facilities according to the space available, such as walking / jogging track, playgrounds either with outdoor or indoor play area, sitting area, adults sport area (could be pitches, basketball courts), water bodies (pond / lake) or a kiosk. According to the expert interviewee, the Director of Properties and Parks, the size of the park determines the number of the provided activities, however, he also elaborated that the restrictions in planning regulations on providing new activities (such as restaurants or cafés) influences design and management. He emphasised the need for better cooperation between planning, management and design.

The data from the go-along and on-site short interviews showed that when users want to go to a park or garden, they usually travel to the larger ones that accommodate more uses and people can undertake different activities and enjoy more social encounters. A number of studies also agree with Olmsted's concept that large city parks are valued as socially integrative spaces (e.g. Chiesura, 2004; Low et al., 2005; Sofoulis et al., 2008). The Chief of Urban Observatory also stated that distributing activities support social interaction, and in her perception this is the role of design and management.

The current standard typologies might not be enough if we consider cultural differences, for example people without cars. In the professional interview with the Director of Properties and Parks, he said that the community gardens (or neighbourhood gardens) are small-sized gardens and serve a smaller population and are located within residential areas, whilst the national parks serve a larger population which the users must drive to. The comparison illustrates that in the expert interviews, the fact that not all people drive or own a car is not reflected on, when it is a factor which shapes their accessibility to POS; while the importance of considering differences and contemporary needs is highlighted by those expert interviewees.

Supporting walkability in cities is a spatial justice approach with cultural differences (Agyeman, 2013). It is not always practical to use cars for mobility; and besides the social equity, environmental concerns of driving must be considered as part of a broader ecological strategy for Bahrain. Due to the specificities of car dominance and climate, in Bahrain, there is need for sufficient infrastructure such as parking; it is an important strategic decision to accommodate the needs of non-car owners (Kent, 2007), commonly migrant workers, alongside addressing pollution concerns. Similar to walking, the cities are not safe or convenient for bicycle riders, although it is very common for migrant workers to use a bicycle as their transportation means. In 2016, a policy was enforced to make the use of helmet and bicycle lights mandatory but still much need to be done to ensure safe cycling. From a landscape architecture perspective, providing lanes for cyclists, where possible, is vital; however, this might be difficult to implement in the existing urban spaces. Relevant to this research, to further support integration across different groups of residents, providing cycling lanes is essential because it not only displays consideration toward the needs of migrant workers but also encourages other residents to use bicycles for environmental and health concerns. Encouraging different social groups to walk, use public transport or bicycles reduce the disparities and segregation between different classes.

While the scarcity of land due to the need for housing and urban development is also a challenge for practitioners in terms of provision and distribution of POS in Bahrain, a strategic approach that has been successful in Bahrain is the pedestrianised streets (Block-338, Pearling Trail, Bab Al-Bahrain Souq). Both, the Director of Properties and Parks and the Chief of Urban Observatory, for example, highlighted the significances of Block-338 and Amwaj-lagoon as successful POS. The Head of Architectural Affairs in the Authority for Culture and Antiquities also talked about the urban design in the historical heritage urban spaces. The significance about the selected case studies is these pedestrianised streets are mundane spaces but facilitated with qualities of walkability and sitability publicly.



Figures 8.1 The residents provide their own benches, sofas and plants. Similarly, Figure (e) (Rios, 2009) is in Dubai and is a typical informal setting in the Gulf cities.

With affordances in some mundane spaces, the findings show the significant value of these spaces in Bahrain, especially for people of different mobility abilities (i.e. without a car) or with busy lives and routines and long working hours. Many participants spoke about their experiences of strolling, lingering and enjoying social life in these spaces. Residents talked about the accessibility during different times of the day: for a woman in a wheel chair to enjoy

the morning sun or for workers at night after their long working hours. Some of these informal urban open spaces were in poor condition although people enjoy being outdoors, strolling, socialising in front of the mosque, their shops and houses, on vacant land and on street corners and also children enjoy playing. Nazir and Faiza mentioned that they use parks and gardens as alternatives because the roads in front of their houses are only for vehicular traffic, which shows the importance of the sidewalks, as also asserted by Kim (2015). Ordinary and informal POS, e.g. corners and sidewalks, with their significant values in the Middle East and North Africa (Ben-Hamouche, 2013; Addas, 2015; Alabdulla, 2017) need to be considered in professional practice in hot and humid regions. Landscape design elements and microclimate should also be considered in informal POS along with social justice in considering qualities and affordability. Direct participation of the public in these informal small-scale spaces supports a long-term scope (Ben-Hamouche, 2013).

However, I would argue that everyday POS should not be considered as alternatives to parks and gardens as both have distinctive values for wellbeing. Diverse and creative types of POS (Cattell et al., 2008; Francis, 2011) are required to facilitate temporal and spatial patterns of use in Bahrain. The collected data found that each of the different typologies of POS is with significant values and uses. The parks and gardens are valued if they are spacious and accommodate a range of facilities, while a street in a neighbourhood is also valued for its walkability and everyday sociability. From the fieldwork, the pedestrianised spaces in Muharraq and Block-338 are active, though small and congested; however, streets cannot be seen as replacements for greenspaces. Though streets, and in particular pedestrian streets, do have recreational values, they should not be quantified as contributing to the greenspace provision in the city. Due to the social and cultural dynamics in Bahrain, a long-term strategy for land-use that addresses the defects in quantity and some inequalities in distribution of POS is needed to ease conflicts of difference and to systematically consider and respond to the migrants' needs. This strategy would also support urban tourism development strategies. As part of tourism development strategies in GCC countries, Alraouf (2010) argues that the practice of planning, design and management of POS needs to incorporate the cultural diversity of the population.

8.5 Proposition Two: Recognition of diversity

Unjust recognition of diversity addresses *"the systematic devaluing and stigmatization of some urban identities and ways of life in cities"* (Low and Iveson, 2016, p18). This proposition is concerned with those *"claims for recognition that seek to address institutionalized patterns of cultural value which give a particular group a subordinate status in relation to others"* (ibid). In relation to public spaces, recognition focuses on the patterns of use and behaviours that are entrenched in the provision and regulation process and outcome (ibid).

Initially, I explored the recognition in relation to people's perspectives. In the findings, diversity prevailed in everyday practices, and among the people, including migrants, value this diversity. In Bahrain, with its complexity of transcultural cities and intersectionality of cultural variables, undeniably, there are divisions in relation to socio-economic levels, education and social position and different migrants' status and generation; these all shaped life patterns in cities. The respondents in the findings categorised some practices as second class, for example, walking and using buses are considered as only migrant workers' practices.

Complexity in transcultural cities also shapes patterns of use and behaviours, which are concerns of recognition in this proposition. In the findings, parks and gardens in Bahrain are preferred leisure destinations for migrant workers and migrant families of low socio-economic positions, but during the ethnographic practices some users express their feelings of aggravation and alienation with different cultural practices and social behaviours of the majority users (as revealed in the interviews). In Chapter Six, particular practices regarding cleanliness and parenting were judged by some participants as transgressive behaviours in different parks and gardens, but more particularly in Khalifa Garden. Those participants stated that many avoid the Garden because of the presence of such behaviours. Experts also shared such perspectives; an attorney and expert in human rights mentioned that the misuse in POS is shaped by different patterns of use and behaviours; however, he highlighted the importance of considering transparency between different classes and cultures in the management of POS. If the middle class residents continue withdrawing from parks and gardens, then a long-term consequence will be that these spaces become perceived as inferior.

According to this proposition (Proposition Two), dealing with such conflicts should recognise the different patterns of use and cultural values (Low and Iveson, 2016, p.18) as misrecognition may lead to exclusion strategies (Section 2.5.2). Thus, in Khalifa Garden, with the complexity faced by the current practice in interpreting and communicating the

differences, an entry fee has been introduced for the first time in Bahrain for a public greenspace (Figure 8.2). The municipal council representative explained that the decision was taken to reduce the huge numbers of visitors to the garden as the *"number of visitors exceeds the garden's capacity"* and subsequently to limit 'unwanted behaviours' (DT News, 2015). He also stated that the unwelcome behaviours were mainly practiced by some of 'the expat communities' and said that the *"These conducts are unfamiliar and are rejected in the Bahraini society"*.



Bahrain park to impose entry fee

19-Nov-2015

Entry fees will be soon imposed on the visitors of the Khalifa Al Kubra Garden in Riffa, informed Southern Municipal Council Chairman Ahmed Al Ansari here yesterday. Al Ansari explained that the decision was taken to limit "unwanted behaviours" in Khalifa Al Kubra Garden, one of the largest public parks in the Southern Governorate.

He stated that the unwelcomed behaviours observed were mainly done by some of the expat communities. "Some behaviours have been repeating in the garden. These conducts are unfamiliar and

rejected in the Bahraini society and contradicts with our

Figure 8.2 Charging entry fees proposal to a garden (DT News, 2015).

Khalifa Garden (opened in 2012) had been designed to a high-quality standard and has the specifications of a national park, but it is located in the centre of a residential area mostly resided by middle class residents, predominantly Bahraini. When the garden was opened, the users were mostly migrants' families from other poor neighbourhoods across the surrounding urban context. Over time, complaints were raised to the Municipality Board members regarding different cultural practices in the Garden and as a result entry fees were officially introduced in 2017.

In an interview with the attorney and expert in human rights, he mentioned that the entry fee was initially proposed to target only users under the age of 20 as the residents perceive that it is users in this age group who misuse the Garden. According to the attorney, the residents in the area of Khalifa Garden find that some users misuse the provided activities and as a result, the residents seek to prevent such behaviours. This proposed decision highlights disparity as well as consensus in the findings between expert interviews and ethnography. Firstly, this decision, according to the expert, addresses the misuse and cleanliness aspects. It is also reflected in some of the findings of this research that cleanliness practices are trigger points

for conflict. In addition, the mentioned age group will also include children which in turn could pertain to parenting practices. Alternatively, it was also seen that there are no issues revealed in the findings that are relative to the concerned age groups of teenagers or young adults. This disparity appeared either because the methods used have some limitation in covering wide sectors of the population, for example, the non-users; or because the proposed decision was based on the expectations and opinions of the decision -makers and not on an understanding of the resonances of different patterns of use and conflicts. This decision was only a proposed one but action was taken in February 2017 to apply fees for all users without age discrimination.

Two months later, in April 2017, 'women-only' weekend days were introduced, in addition to the fee which became applicable every day of the week. The justification for this decision was: *"Entry fees have been introduced but trouble continues at the park. Now, we will try the women-only days"* (Al-A'ali, 2017b). It can be inferred from this decision that there is a gender-mixity problem in Khalifa Garden, while my research shows evidence that women valued the parks and garden for their patterns of sociability, which is another disparity in the collected data. The findings showed evidence of how the design, management and choices of activities support women in conducting their social activities in parks and gardens with spatial negotiation and familiarity without being intimidated. This shows that the role of planning, design and management in providing socially responsive POS is underestimated. Fees and women-only weekends would have negative effects on the social inclusivity of POS for workers and also for women and children of low-income families.

These decisions have been taken after the fieldwork but the contradiction between the collected data and the regulation assigned later presents an area for future research. These decisions will create exclusion and injustice with regard to social wellbeing. For example, focusing on the impact of the 'women-only' weekend days on the users wellbeing, the findings previously explained how in the weekend, the public gardens are important for migrant male workers. During the fieldwork, at the weekend, I met male users from India, Pakistan, Syria, Jordan, Nepal, Philippines, Yemen and Bahrain for whom Khalifa Garden is important either for gathering, meeting friends, watching the crowds, playing football, running, or having a family day with their wife and children on their only day off from work. The findings also highlighted that there are women users who do not drive and rely on male family members to drive them to the park or garden. This cannot be compared to using taxi services, it is a family day out which mainly occurs at the weekend or on the children's school holidays. If men are not

allowed to go into the parks, then their role will be reduced to that of a driver rather than the outing being a social or family event.

The Municipal Board[1] has also proposed different strategies to deal with different behaviours in POS (Figure 8.3 and Figure 8.4).



Plan to ban men from Riffa park in Bahrain

MANAMA, May 5, 2015

Men will be banned from entering one of Bahrain's public parks based on a petition submitted to a municipal council.

It follows claims that the Umm Guwaifa Garden, in Riffa, is being monopolised by cricket-playing Asians and Sudanese expats playing loud music at night, said a report in the Gulf Daily News (GDN), our sister publication.

The Southern Municipal Council has now voted to allow only women and children access to the park, after hearing that they were previously too afraid to enter.

Umm Guwaifa Garden in Riffa

Figure 8.3 The Municipal Board proposes to ban men from a garden in Bahrain. This is following claims that it is being monopolised by cricket-playing Asians and Sudanese migrants playing loud music at night. The plan is to allow only women and children to access the garden as previously they were too afraid of being harassed, also there is nowhere for them to sit and there are now plans to hire female-only security guards and increase the height of boundary walls for this garden (Trade Arabia News, 2015).

Public parks clamp on way

By Mohammed Al Aâ€™Ali , Posted on » 07 February 2015

SMOKING and eating seeds could soon be banned in Bahrain's public parks as authorities launch a crackdown on littering.

Security guards are being equipped with whistles to warn offenders as part of the clamp.

The whistle scheme will first be piloted at the Prince Khalifa bin Salman Garden, in West Riffa, before being rolled out nationwide.

Municipal officials drawing up regulations that ban seeds and smoking are now awaiting feedback from Bahrain's three municipal councils and the Capital Trustees in Manama.

Figure 8.4 Proposal to ban eating seeds in public parks and gardens (Al-A'ali, 2015).

[1] As mentioned earlier, in Bahrain, the Municipal Board plays a vital role in decision-making. The members of the board are elected by the residents. Architect Wafa Sharif, Chief of Urban Observatory in MWMAUP, said that the Municipal Board members have a significant role, but lack planning experience. Moreover, it is not apparent if the members of the Municipal Board are responsive to the needs of cultural diversity to promote social integration and equity.

The go-along interviews also revealed some other different management practices to deal with different behaviours and practices. According to Kareem, the government enclosed a small fountain square, popularly known as the Fish Square, and restricted entry because Asian migrant workers used to gather there in large numbers and often littered the space and the fountain. Due to the barriers, this space has lost its visual appeal. Kareem considers that imposing fines or creating an awareness of the importance of maintaining cleanliness amongst the migrants would have been a more effective strategy (Figure 8.5). Another exclusion management practice is in the Bab Al-Bahrain mall, where entry to the toilets is restricted to certain users as mentioned by Kareem. Faiza also explained that some very useful benches were removed from the Bab Al-Bahrain area and that this action was probably to prevent certain people from sitting and littering. In another example in the selected case studies, Salmaniya is the only Garden provided with a signpost to prevent spitting, where the cultural practice of chewing Paan (areca nut) is common. In Bab Al-Bahrain, there is a similar sign (Figures 8.6 on page 260). Excluding 'differently-social'[2] behaviours means not respecting diversity. Ascribing certain behaviours to legal control could mean criminalising some behaviours and this will negatively affect social inclusivity and wellbeing.



Figure 8.5 A double-fenced roundabout to prevent misuse.

[2] A term introduced by Bynon and Rishbeth (2015)



Figures 8.6 Signs have been provided at certain sites in the language of the intended migrant user groups.

Figure 8.7 A notice board in a garden in two languages. Restricting activities could also be a source of misrecognition of different cultural practices and values. There are display boards and signs in all park and garden in Bahrain that include a list of restricted practices such as littering, playing football on the grass, cycling, walking dogs and reminding carers that children are their responsibility. Al-Ansari (2009) explains, "This set of rules could reflect what the 'designers and managers' of the park aimed for given that a minimum number of uses reduces conflict between the users" (p.236). However, some of these restricted activities are informally accommodated at the edges of the parks and gardens; for example, biking, playing football or barbequing, which at times raise concerns for safety. This means that these signs are not recognising differences.



The recommendation shaped by this proposition is that in order to value cultural diversity, professionals in the built environment should take responsibility for dealing with different practices but without resorting to exclusions. Recognising differences in the provision of POS means legitimising and facilitating different outdoor leisure cultural practices, providing spatial choices and varieties of POS to help people to negotiate, increasing capacities and the working hours of parks and gardens and also dealing with locational disadvantages. There also needs to be an understanding that *"the recognition of any given group is never likely to be entirely straightforward"* and that *"activities of one group may be incompatible with the activities of others, so unlimited recognition for all may not be possible"* (Low and Iveson, 2016, p18). Recognition could also shape social encounters.

8.6 Proposition Three: Social interactional justice

Low and Iveson (2016) argue that interactional justice and recognition are related, as

> *"misrecognition may take the form of rules concerning behavior in a public space (see above), but it may also have an interactional component, in which members of a group are subject to verbal or physical abuse when occupying a public space in a particular manner"* (p.19).

Throughout the data analysis, I did not encounter issues about abuse or prejudice in POS, but it would be naïve to assume that they do not exist. Gardner, (2008) in his research about Indian diaspora in Bahrain, declares that there are occasional 'violent undercurrents' in migrants' everyday encounters with the community, in which migrants try to avoid getting into such clashes. Similarly, Irfan, the Indian migrant worker participant in the walking interview, said that Indian migrants in Bahrain try to avoid such situations. Users express their aggravations regarding different perceptions of responsibility (parenting and cleanliness), but such aggravations did not appear to be publicly expressed and in the findings in different POS, conviviality was supported with affordances of the spatial and temporal dynamics patterns of uses and negotiation in sharing POS.

Accordingly, this proposition:

> *"focuses more specifically on the nature of encounters that take place in public space. It is through such encounters that urban inhabitants can establish new collective identifications with one another that are not premised on shared 'membership' of a group, but on shared activities and practices"* (Low and Iveson, 2016, p.19).

Social interaction in POS should not be thought of as only *"a matter for morality or manners"* of people, but also as part of regulation and provision of POS (ibid). The professional practice of planning, design and management can play a crucial role in supporting social interaction and justice by promoting spatial and temporal qualities of interaction through the agenda of conviviality with long-term strategies (ibid).

Chapter Six explored the evidence of how spatial qualities of POS were important in maintaining and facilitating the regular practice of being outdoors and thereby, providing opportunities for encounters with different people. Through the fieldwork, walkability was also valued for supporting patterns of outdoor sociability. The provided outdoor recreational activities are also important for facilitating the regular practice of being outdoors and providing opportunities for encounters with diverse people. Besides, it was found that the formally organised events and programmes (in both formal green spaces and streets) have been very successful in supporting convivial spaces with social harmony that enable the bridging of differences.

The experts highlighted that given the importance of walkability quality in Bahrain, it is not formally considered in practice. Al-Sayeh, Head of Architectural Affairs in the Authority for Culture and Antiquities, elaborated that in historical sites integrating elements and concepts of contemporary urban design (such as walkability) appeared significant in supporting social

interaction. In the expert interview, she described the ideas behind 'sahat'[3] in the Pearling Trail project:

> *"We create open spaces through the path as gathering points between residents of Muharraq and visitors to have some interactions at a certain level. The open spaces are implemented on the site of demolished houses and can be accessed through the path. The idea of the sahat is: instead of renovating the buildings, [...] we consider the needs of the current society. [...] In Muharraq, there is a shortage of open spaces, greenspaces, places where children can play. And the nice thing about sahat is that it is in an historical city; the size of each open space is about the size of a house. So they are micro public spaces. In these spaces we create microclimate; there is a water-cooler, tree shelter shade, water fountain. They are supposed to make it a comfortable place for people to spend some time".*

'The Intervention Project' was arranged by the Authority for Culture and Antiquities in Bab Al-Bahrain Square by temporarily pedestrianising the space (Figures 8.8 on page 264). With respect to this project, Al-Sayeh explained:

> *"It was planned only for a month [...] we shaded the whole area and we pedestrianised it every day between 6pm and 6am the next day, which was a really big struggle with the traffic department because it is one of the most important streets of the inner ring road in Bahrain; but the idea was really to show the potential of what qualities you could add to public space."*

Al-Sayeh added:

> *"What was most successful in the Bab Al-Bahrain intervention was that when the events were happening, there was a co-use of the space by different kinds of people [...] there was a really interesting mix of people- foreign workers, government representatives, architects, [...] This was interesting and really important. It was striking because the talk was mostly in English and the discussions were about architecture, about a very specific topic, and I think a big part of the audience did not understand English. But I think they stayed because it was a really special moment where people from different walks of life*

[3] Sahat means the public open spaces in the Pearling Trail

could be in a place to share the moment, and I think this is what a public space is supposed to provide. It is really important, I think in a country like Bahrain where there is such a mix of nationalities, it is important to provide these kind of places."





Figures 8.8 'The Intervention' is a temporary project held in Bab Al-Bahrain Square in 2012(Zakharia, 2012a and 2012b). The Square was pedestrianised, shaded and provided with seating.

The fieldwork found that the most commonly held events are markets. In the interview with the artist Bayan Al-Baker, the founder of Al-Riwaq Art Space (a non-profit private space to support community), she asserted that Al-Riwaq has arranged a number of events in Block-338 such as markets, music concerts and art shows, and these brought together people of different cultural backgrounds, socio-economic groups and political views. The street in Block-338 was temporally arranged with extra benches and facilities (Figure 8.9 below).



Figure 8.9 The picture shows the concept of tactical urbanism in Block-338 created by Al-Riwaq for a market event in 2012.

The success of these events was also relevant to the affordances of the design and the spatial qualities. The concept of tactical urbanism is used in these events to support the temporary events and create vibrancy. Tactical urbanism means implementing temporary changes to the cities' built environment with the intention of increasing local outdoor gathering places (Silva, 2016). The notion is that with long-term implementation plans, it is difficult for planners to respond to local social and economic changes; hence, temporary interventions are the way to make improvements to cities and also promote public engagements (ibid). An example of tactical urbanism is the 'Playing Out' scheme enacted in the UK and Canada, which facilitates being outdoors and safe by temporarily pedestrianising the streets and allowing children to play outdoors (Playing Out, 2016). Another prime example is the NYC Plaza Programme. The

programme has been introduced to ensure that quality POS could be accessed within walking distance by all residents, and as part of this, a temporary plaza programme was introduced.

Whyte (1980) also found that events in POS are occasions that support social interaction. Events such as concerts or performances, big or small, can create triangulation between users (Whyte, 1980). POS have to be clearly designed, managed and programmed with events to be used, accessed and enjoyed across different sectors of the population.

Arranging occasional attractions and events on the edges of migrants' locations could promote inclusion (Sennett, 2006). This appears to be a theoretical contribution, but Bahrain has made a creative contribution and this concept has been enacted on the ground. In March 2017, the Bahrain National Quarry was opened to the public for the first time in a collaboration between the Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities and Al-Riwaq Art Space for a performance of the 'Nocturne for Pit Orchestra' (Gulf News, 2017). The concept behind this event, which was arranged outdoors, was to ensure the integration of all classes in society. At the event, migrant workers presented musical pieces influenced by their cultural backgrounds and by the places they work and live in Bahrain. The orchestra scheme reflected the impact of the migrant labour history on music and culture in Bahrain. Arranging this orchestra in the National Quarry was an initiative to create public events in the remote areas where migrant workers are located. A further observation is that this performance was arranged in a national spot near the Tree of Life, an important cultural and heritage location. This recent event has a strong significance to the recommendations of this research, particularly as two of the expert interviewees were members of the organisations involved in coordinating this event, namely Al- Riwaq Art Space and the Authority for Culture.

The fieldwork has also demonstrated that everyday places, in particular parks and gardens, have the ability to support positive encounters. Intercultural interactions were common in everyday social encounters in Bahrain. Patterns of outdoor sociability and diversity and the cordial atmosphere of being in shared spaces prevailed in the findings and was highly valued by many of the users. The findings show evidence of socially responsive strategies that recognise diverse needs and life patterns and support patterns of negotiation, conviviality and social encounters, for example, providing different public sports yards (volleyball, basketball, football and cricket) in response to diverse ethnic sporting needs. In Hunainiyah Park, spaces are provided for hawking which is mainly practised by Syrian and Yemeni families. Accessibility and longer opening hours of parks and gardens is a management solution that promotes recognition and different patterns of life.

A consensus between the findings from ethnographic practices and expert interviews was revealed concerning the distribution of activities and the value of walkability quality in supporting social encounters. The findings elaborated that the spatial management and design qualities in the case studies can support conviviality and positive social encounters in transcultural cities. The expert interviews provided information on the possibility of formally designing and managing informal POS in Bahrain as well as operating a tactical urbanism approach or temporary intervention, for example, the potential impact that landscape architecture design and management could have in historical sites.

Wilson and Darling (2016) claim that one of the qualities of encounter is that it can be unanticipated and provides a surprising exposure to differences that are situated within personal and collective histories. My research discovered that given the dynamic nature of landscape and socialising in outdoor spaces in transcultural contexts, these acts of personal serendipity may be better supported in places that are familiar and safe, as mentioned for example by the Syrian sisters, the young Indian mother and the Balochi father. According to my data analysis and discussion in the preceding Chapters (Five, Six and Seven), and supported by studies such as Armstrong (2004) and Powell and Rishbeth's (2012), unpredictability and unfamiliarity can deter migrants and newcomers from using a space. To foster inclusion and to sustain encounters, it is important to support routine activities in which diverse cultures can negotiate their use with confidence and familiarity.

Design and management, supported by planning decisions, have a direct role in promoting conviviality, exploring commonalities and extending meaningful encounters. Social functioning and providing diverse activities with alternatives and supporting a wide range of affordances may also sustain different encounters. POS need be facilitated to legitimise multiple forms of unexpected social encounters and cultural practices of sociability and being outdoors. These spaces have the potential to support social transformation, which happens over time through a cumulative pattern of unpredictable encounters. The recommendation here also supports the recognition of differences, but there are also conflicts. Ignoring small conflicts or aggravations can negatively shape patterns of encounters. Conflicts of parenting and cleanliness have been shaped in the findings by different cultural expectations and ambiguity with regard to a sense of social responsibility and duty of care.

8.7 Proposition Four: Repair and care

This proposition is linked to philosophical discourses on ethics of care and it is about defining responsibilities in terms of care and repair (Low and Iveson, 2016). Low and Iveson (2016) assert, *"Caring for others and participating in the repair of the environment also constitute an important dimension of social justice in public space"* (p.19). Concept of care and repair can be seen in insignificant activities such as picking litter (ibid) or looking after a child in a playground who is left without supervision. However, as inferred from the findings and discussion chapter, people are judging others' behaviours based on different expectations of cleanliness and parenting obligations.

It is my argument that ignoring these differences in moral codes may reinforce segregation and may reflect a fundamental lack of integration. As Low and Iveson (2016) state, *"public spaces also continue to be the object of less spectacular, but no less significant, conflict"* than politics of public sphere (p.10). The role of management and design is vital therefore to deal with conflicts in both public spaces and the public sphere (ibid).

Parenting and cleanliness appear as trivial tensions and not relevant to the public sphere; however, they can escalate and so they should not be neglected at the micro scale. The questions are: Who should pay for the maintenance? Who should be responsible for cleaning the park and gardens with different patterns of use? Who should take the responsibility of caring for the children? Is it inclusive that accessibility for children is conditioned by the access of their carers? Is it possible to provide a member of staff to look after unsupervised children? These questions are complex but show how the quality of care and repair affect the justice and inclusivity of POS.

The maintenance of parks and gardens is funded by the government and the expert interviewees highlighted that some parks and gardens need more maintenance than others because of different intensity and patterns of use. Littering and vandalism that accompany different patterns of use affect the process of providing and maintaining POS in Bahrain in different areas and the creativity of design (From interviews with the Maintenance and Operation Engineer of Parks and Gardens in Manama Municipality and General Coordinator of the Association of Friends Groups). The Director of Properties and Parks added that there is a penalty of 10BD (£20) for littering on the roads or beaches, but there is no legislation aimed at parks and gardens.

Regarding parenting, there is no regulation in Bahrain to prevent children from being unattended. In the expert interview, Dr. Fadhila Al-Mahroos, Paediatrician and president of the Arab Society for the Prevention of Violence against Children, highlighted that for children playing in parks and gardens is very important for their health but she also mentioned:

> *"100% children of a certain age should not be left by themselves. Children younger than 6 years, children aged two to three years are seen walking alone on the roads. Children younger than 6 years should not be left without adult supervision in any public space. There is nothing in the law that states this".*

Dr. Al-Mahroos also emphasised:

> *"Many cases of sexual abuse happen to children in the ages 8 to 11 from being left unsupervised [...] I have seen many cases happen in public parks [...] this happens when the children are with no supervision [...] these attacks need only moments and the child is exposed to danger".*

Hence, it becomes essential that the design and management of parks and gardens in Bahrain should support the carers' role with different expectations and perceptions.

The municipalities recruit security guards, for example, Khalifa Garden is supervised by ten security guards (DT News, 2015). Generally, in most of the gardens and parks, the security and cleaning arrangements are managed by private companies and funded by the municipality through contracts. The recruitment of security guards in POS did not appear as an exclusion measure in the collected data as they were seen to be trusted, were welcoming and supported a sense of security, but there was a lack of clarity in their role. In the fieldwork, some migrant parents mentioned that they considered it safe to let their children wander in the parks because there are security measures, and they believed that taking care of children's safety is part of the security personnel's responsibility. Similarly, the interviews reveal that many users expect that maintaining cleanliness is the management's responsibility.



Figure 8.10 The guards were taking care of children who were unsupervised.

Additionally, some of the guards (from diverse origins) expressed a lack of clarity regarding their role in managing the parks and gardens and their frustration related to a laxity in regulation. An interviewed security guard of Asian origin highlighted the issue of leaving children by themselves under the responsibility of the security guards. He had a concern of whether his job was to be a child-minder in the garden or to guard the space.

The research has raised different interpretations and moral judgments of what constitutes healthy parenting and cleanliness in POS, what the responsibility of the society is for the civic good, and how the different social behaviours are constructed. People have different social and environmental behaviours in taking care of a place and of other people. Some people might accept these behaviours as rational, while some people view these behaviours as distinct problems, or even violent actions, and hence they should be officially regulated. According to the interviewees, the security guards are usually migrant workers with no power. A mother proposed that 'bodybuilders' could be appointed from the users or residents and authorised to monitor orderliness and promote social behaviour in the parks and gardens instead of security guards. Interviewees also said that the level of awareness should be a management strategy. The expert from the Urban Planning Department said: *"The government has started to increase cultural awareness through having campaigns or events*

for cleaning, beautification and painting wall murals [...] and distributing categorised recycling bins in different areas." These campaigns are usually arranged at a societal and collective level, but consideration needs to be given to the question of how we reflect the expectations of a diverse population.



Figure 8.11 A walking track in Andalus Garden. The municipality also has experience of educational promotions with regard to health awareness. They have also provided proper walking tracks with measured distance signs in different parks and gardens with messages concerning diabetes and obesity to help promoting healthy activities in POS in Bahrain. Though on a different and more neutral theme, lessons and successes with regard to health promotion may be instrumental in tackling issues of childcare and littering, but it is important first to consider a wide range of perceptions and cultural differences to endorse social justice, inclusivity and wellbeing.

Some interviewees also proposed issuing fines to deal with nuisances. I suggest that issuing fines (and doing so consistently) might be more responsible than charging admission fees that can lead to exclusion. Singapore's practice of dealing with public nuisances and littering could possibly be adopted (Chuan, 2011). Littering is taken very seriously: CCTV surveillance cameras are used to monitor spaces. Residents also have the authority to take photos of public nuisances and offenders in the city and volunteers are given the authority to talk with the litterbugs and issue fines. In Singapore, regulations regarding littering have been implemented after the government found that 'litter-free' spaces endorse morale in the city (ibid, p.13). The question in transcultural contexts is who decides what morally acceptable behaviours are.

Bahrain also initiated 'Friends Groups of Parks and Gardens' in 2010. The concept of 'Friends Groups' as explained by Dunnett et al. (2002) is a community involvement organisation that is meant to improve the quality of POS and enrich the users' experiences. Mr. Mohammed Al-A'ali (General Coordinator of the Association of Friends Groups in Bahrain) said that the members of the groups (from residents and the frequent users) have a role in cleanliness and

preventing vandalism, as the security guards are not enough. He stated that in 2012 and 2013, there was zero vandalism in some parks due the presence of the Friends Groups. As described by Al-A'ali, the members of Friends Groups have a leading role, more so than the security guards. He said that Friends Groups in Bahrain were initiated after consideration of Australia and America, where they are established due to their long history in voluntary services, while *"we are much behind"*.



Figure 8.12 The project of Parks Friends is announced in all parks and gardens in Bahrain. The boards specify the concepts, the objectives and benefits of the Friends Groups projects, but all the boards are in the Arabic language.

Al-A'ali stated that there are some difficulties: people in Bahrain are not aware of the concept behind the Friends Groups to take care of the parks and gardens; there is a shortage of financial resources so that the number of members is reducing; and significantly, the members do not have any legal authority. He explained that the members talk with people but with no clear role and many people do not respond. Friends Groups in Bahrain require more support, training, and promotion of 'good news stories' to emphasise their social role as community

facilitators. An interesting point added by Al-A'ali was that there are also active foreign members and that these foreigners do not feel that they are strangers in Bahrain. Frequently, these Friends Groups are often not a broad representation of all sections of the community; therefore, the authority could also play a vital role to ensure that the decisions and actions are suitable for the wide variety of users (Dunnett et al., 2002). Extensive consultation with other users could also be a key principle to ensure the inclusivity of the benefits.

This research adds a Bahraini context (and in many respects a broader GCC and Arabic context) to the debate on the vitality of ethics of care in providing and regulating public spaces (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012). It has become crucial that care and repair in the research context should be a shared responsibility, as also asserted by Low and Iveson (2016). However, in a very diverse society, it is difficult, as with parenting and cleanliness, to decide what is unacceptable and what is considered a nuisance, and how to communicate these decisions as either being a common obligation or the need to be regulated, particularly if there are conflicts in values and motivation for use.

8.8 Proposition Five: Procedural justice

The proposition suggests that supporting democratic, inclusive and just public spaces and dealing with conflicts needs to be through a process that supports negotiation and involvement between authority and people (Low and Iveson, 2016, p.22). The above propositions are discussed in relation to the responsibility of providers and the responsibility of people toward the place and users. Low and Iveson (2016) also argue that:

> *"Public spaces will not be perceived as just if people are systematically locked-out of decision-making processes that shape their use— either through direct forms of exclusion that put decision-making behind closed doors or through indirect forms of exclusion where the rules of participation in decision-making systematically favour some groups over others."* (p.22)

This statement indicates that to support social justice the communities' engagement in the processes of providing and regulating of POS is required.

Dr. Farhan, the attorney, claimed that the law is not designed to deal with nuisances related to parenting or littering in POS and he asserted that these should be under the responsibility of the space management. Management strategies can intervene to allow certain groups to practise a right or to prevent certain categories from practicing specific behaviours (Dr. Farhan), which might create exclusion. However, the Attorney asserted that before activating any regulation, it is necessary for these to be published and people should be aware of them. Dr. Al-Mahroos, Paediatrician and President of the Arab Society for the Prevention of Violence against Children, further stressed that the reason behind any regulation should be very clear, and here for example, in relation to Al-Mahroos' expertise, *"regarding children's rights and safety"*. The expert interviews support the case of having a follow up system in POS. For example, the Attorney recommended, *"there is a need to provide a responsible representative in the space"*. These could be some strategies that support the involvement of people in the process of management; the Friends Groups and communication between practitioners and users appeared effective to some extent according to the expert interviewees, but the question is how to ensure a wide consultation and inclusive engagement. When the decisions in planning, design and management of POS reflect certain groups and people, this appears to give preferential treatment to one group over another, a form of favouritism. The analysis of the collected data reveals that the practice of landscape architecture is often not critically addressing these small conflicts that have increased with cultural differences. This can lead to an unjust situation, resulting in these actions being ignored, excluded or criminalised.

Throughout the findings, the disparity was revealed when the experts only talked about regulation and exclusion management procedures to control misuse, while the findings from other methods show examples of design and management that support interaction, negotiation and conviviality across differences. Expert interviews and other ethnographic methods showed different exclusion strategies to prevent certain behaviours, but such behaviours continue which means there is no clarity in understanding of different social responsibilities and cultural expectations.

In professional practice, there should be an understanding that different parenting styles and littering appear from cultural differences; however, these issues should not be ignored, but instead should be considered without exclusion strategies. POS need to be inclusive and the role of design and management needs to be emphasised to provide socially responsive POS for different expectations and legitimising and supporting diverse patterns of use in which people feel welcome and not intimidated. Thoughtful planning, design and management is required with an understanding of cultural differences to alleviate tensions. Social justice also needs to be considered in the provision and regulation of POS with concerns for wellbeing and understanding the cultural differences in transcultural cities.

In order to fulfil this responsibility, *"planners need cultural competency skills to recognise, understand, and engage this difference, diversity, and cultural heterogeneity in creative and productive ways"* (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012, p.358). Cultural competency as recommended in urban planning by Agyeman and Erickson (2012) can support wider consultation and recognition of differences. It is vital to provide wide and effective communication tools to deal with different cultural expectations and misunderstandings. Conflicts could be recognised as opportunities for transcultural engagement and learning experiences (Hou, 2013; UNESCO, 2009). Through cultural literacy, it is possible to understand contradictory aspirations and meanings behind different behaviours in a multi-cultural context (Wood and Landry, 2012). It is important to grasp the most useful method in each context: storytelling, listening, interpreting, visual and body language or *"other more symbolic or non-verbal means of storytelling"* provide, *"a tool-kit for negotiation and mediation"* when required (Sandercock, 2003b, p.26). Sennett (2013) also raised an important point about these communication tools; they are tools for cooperation, which need more than willingness, they require skills and practices as does any other craft.

8.9 Conclusion

Sandercock (2003a) states that the goal of epistemology should not merely be to identify the constraints and conflicts that overlap differences but rather to link to and reflect on the practice. This research contributes to linking theory and practice and uses the framework of Social Justice and Public Spaces (Low and Iveson, 2016) as a basis for considering the implication for the practice of transcultural urbanism in planning, design and management of POS to support conviviality across differences. The expert interviews were useful in analysing the research outcome with a professional perspective and grounding the findings on landscape

architecture practice in a Bahraini context. The framework recognised the link between the outcomes of the expert interviews and findings from other methods with regard to supporting equity to be able to receive the benefits of POS with differences and complexity in transcultural cities. Triangulating the ethnography with expert interviews highlighted the gaps and explored the role of professional practice in areas that were not fully considered by experts. The fundamental role of the social justice framework is to find more positive approaches for professional practice.

The discussions in this chapter illustrated that to support conviviality in POS, social justice in these public spaces (and in social interactions) needs to be endorsed (Low and Iveson, 2016). From the findings, migrants' experiences and transcultural practices in POS supported conviviality and encounters; however, recognition of cultural differences is a challenge to promote social justice with the nuances of perceptions and expectations that may conflict. Parenting and cleanliness appeared as cultural differences with regard to social responsibility and should be considered as integral to the complexity of a transcultural city. Though these conflicts are mundane, ignoring them would have widespread implications for the value of these places as sites of intercultural exchange, and also possibly diminish their status within the Bahraini environment. Discussion of the findings under the social justice framework (Low and Iveson, 2016) highlighted the ethical obligation of professional practice to the built environment (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012). It has always been the role of the landscape designer to maintain the responsiveness of their design and it is still the responsibility of landscape architects to respond to different cultural expectations in POS when working in transcultural cities (Hou, 2013).

The approach of transcultural urbanism in landscape architecture appears as a necessary principle to support conviviality and inclusivity and to respond positively to cultural differences in Bahrain and the region. One of the key findings of this chapter is that in issues relevant to social dynamics and cultural understanding in the built environment, the role of planning, design and management should be seen as intertwined and integrated. Accordingly, to promote inclusivity and support conviviality, the findings strongly recommend the case that both landscape designers and planners need to have a greater understanding of strategic management during the site planning and design process. Management strategies should also be studied with an understanding of social equity concept, distribution of resources and values for public open spaces.

This research develops a socio-spatial implication for transcultural urbanism in planning, design and management of POS in Bahrain within the social justice framework to support conviviality and positive encounters. Recognising differences, maintaining inclusivity and justice and supporting the dynamics of everyday uses of POS would support the positive qualities of social encounters in POS. The key recommendations are:

1. Legitimising and facilitating the cultural practices for using outdoor spaces and supporting the wide patterns of sociability in both formal and informal POS.

2. In parks and gardens, supporting the affordances for leisure practices, legitimising different practices whenever possible, providing spatial choices or variations and increasing recreational activities would inform negotiation and maintain opportunities for encounters with cultural differences. Supporting the affordances of POS for diverse patterns of use is not merely related to flexibility or the standardisation of spaces; but requires thoughtful landscape design and management which employs professional understanding and skills regarding how activities can overlap and/or be separated (spatially and temporality) to ensure high quality experiences for all users.

3. The possibility to change the spatial functions or landscape elements or increasing capacities and opening hours of parks and gardens should be considered under design and management strategies. Short-term projects (tactical urbanism) can also be used in formal and informal spaces (such as streets) given the social and cultural dynamics.

4. In transcultural cities, the concept of conviviality needs to be considered at both the micro scale and city level to meet individual perceptions, for example, increasing the capacities of parks and gardens in scale and number, providing varieties of POS with inclusivity to respond to diverse users and effectively addressing locational disadvantages (formal and informal) while also considering accessibility. Equity in considering the qualities of informal spaces and different outdoor cultural leisure practices should also be considered as crucial in transcultural theories and practice.

5. The quality of inclusivity of POS should be maintained within the complexity of a transcultural city. These complexities are considered as part of the social and cultural barriers for accessing POS. Mundane conflicts are also shaped by the complexity and cultural differences in transcultural cities. These minor conflicts should not be ignored and professional practice should not allow these conflicts and complexities to create

exclusions. Responsiveness towards cultural differences has to be achieved without exclusion or imposing insensitive regulations. Planning, design and management strategies can support transcultural conviviality in public open spaces and some combinations of the above-mentioned pragmatic approaches would work to a certain extent to reduce the tensions or conflicts. Regulation should be produced only through effective transparent collaboration and the articulation and understanding of legitimate difference.

6. Cultural literacy and cross-cultural learning tools are developed within the transcultural urbanism approach. Through understanding the cultural difference in cities, the complexities can be alleviated and opportunities for negotiations between diverse users can be supported. Exclusion has been enacted in Khalifa Garden when the current practice failed in providing options, which required wider communication and consultation. Providing opportunities for negotiation and communication is important to avoid the misunderstanding of cultural differences. With transcultural complexity, it is not realistic or appropriate that landscape architects and managers should have sole responsibility in supporting conviviality. Ideally, greenspace sectors may work in collaboration with local governance structures and community facilitators.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion and Recommendations

9.1 Revisiting the three vignettes

Chapter One illustrated vignettes about three public spaces in Bahrain and also highlighted that public open spaces in transcultural cities reflect a range of social, cultural and political influences. The first vignette was about the Pearl Roundabout and the political uprisings in 2011, which highlighted the spatial relationship between the public sphere and public spaces (Gehl and Svarre, 2013; Low and Iveson, 2016). The second vignette portrayed Bab Al-Bahrain Square and the competition arranged in 2012 to design the Square. This competition received accusations of being a repressive tool; these charges concerned the relationship between urban design approaches used in this competition and the political events of 2011. The third vignette was Khalifa Garden and the very recent directive of assigning entry fees for the first time for a public park in Bahrain. This decision was taken because the municipality was in a dilemma as how to deal with differences in cultural practices that created conflicts in patterns of use. There is a gap in understanding how these various influences shape the use of POS in Bahrain; this research was an attempt to address this gap.

The research looked beyond the headlines. Throughout the research a more detailed understanding of different patterns of use in POS and social-spatial associations was obtained. The fieldwork provided grounded data on how POS are used, how patterns of use are changed with cultural differences and what POS means for migrants. The findings explored positive meanings around wellbeing, social support and feeling welcome and a shared sense of belonging developed from the migrants' experiences in POS in Bahrain. Even though in a different context and with a different pattern of migration, these findings agree with Armstrong (2004), Low et al. (2005), Rishbeth and Finney (2006), Peters and de Haan (2011) and Rishbeth and Powell (2013). The collected data also illustrated evidence of conviviality and positive encounters across differences in the context of Bahrain, which showed similarities with other studies on conviviality in different contexts (Wise and Velayutham, 2009 and 2014; Wessendorf, 2014b; Neal et al., 2015).

By investigating the POS at micro scale, this research gained an in-depth understanding of a range of mundane tensions and conflicts from different cultural expectations in transcultural

cities, and particularly in Khalifa Garden as noted in the vignettes. Though such aggravations are trivial, they could be mobilised or escalated into the public sphere. The differences in parenting practices and cleanliness levels in the Garden have been escalated leading to inclusion in the media (newspapers) and an introduction in Bahrain for the charging of fees for entry to a public park, which is a social exclusion policy. The research investigated that conviviality and transcultural engagement is not always straightforward and can exacerbate prejudice (Valentine, 2008).

The methods selected in this research allowed me to explore cross-cultural interpretations of these conflicts and enabled me to engage with users (Sandercock, 2000; Agyeman and Erickson, 2012) and their cultural differences to recognise the various reasons for dissimilar practices, to acknowledge difficulties and find possible ways for moving collectively towards shared understandings that would support developing recommendations and strategies. From the perceptive of landscape architecture, through design and management of the spaces, it is possible to support diverse needs and engagements. Public spaces mean responsive spaces for different uses and needs (Dee, 2001); with complexity in transcultural cities, it is still the responsibility of landscape architecture to provide inclusive spaces regardless of the differences (Hou, 2013).

As highlighted in the vignettes, there is a relationship between POS and social and political influences and the role of landscape architecture in this relationship needs to be emphasised (Gehl and Svarre, 2013; Low and Iveson, 2016). Hence, this research linked the theory of transcultural cities and conviviality in POS with practice and aspects of policy and management. Public spaces should be egalitarian spaces that support social inclusivity and wellbeing with considering intersectionality and cultural complexity in a transcultural city, but what might be appropriate to some individuals might conflict with others. Decisions may reflect certain views of particular groups and this appears a form of bias of one group over another. This complexity would drive an ethical approach to be addressed as an integral part of the theory and practice of transcultural cities; and with increasing numbers of migrants in the Gulf cities, how might a 'just' city be prioritised and implemented (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012, Low and Iveson, 2016).

As suggested in the title of this thesis, urban open spaces are important sites for conviviality in a diverse population context such as Bahrain. Transcultural and conviviality together in these spaces lead to the development of flourishing cross-cultural interactions and meaningful encounters across differences. The publicness and inclusivity of POS maintain these benefits

for the diverse society whilst supporting the integration agenda. The role of planning, design and management of POS are fundamental in this process.

9.2 The key findings of the research aims

The primary focus of this research was to understand the role and potential of urban public open spaces, and investigate by what means these might support everyday positive social encounters across differences within a Bahraini context. In this research, I focused on three areas of theory: Transcultural cities, conviviality and social uses and values of public open spaces. The research finds that conviviality, transcultural practices and processes and social uses and values of POS are interrelated in supporting meaningful encounters. The research also discovered that challenges for encounters can emerge from the complexity of transcultural cities. By conducting the research using landscape architecture methods and approaches, the research finds that planning, design and management can reflect on and respond to these areas of theory and alleviate conflicts and generate productive spaces that support positive social encounter.

Aims one and two were addressed in both Chapters Five and Six, with a discussion of their contribution to areas of theory in Chapter Seven. The findings of the third aim, as elaborated in Chapter Eight, contribute to linking the developing theory to the practice in order to inform planning, design and management of POS and present options for future development. This research recommends a transcultural urbanism approach to respond to cultural differences and support the concept of being together in transcultural contexts. This section summarises the main findings in response to the research aims.

9.2.1 The importance of POS for transcultural process and developing a new form of belonging

The first aim of this research was to understand the everyday activities, preferences and motivations for using POS in Bahrain, with a particular emphasis on the experiences of users from migrant backgrounds. The main objectives of the first aim were to:

a. Understand how the use of outdoor spaces is reflected across different typologies of spaces.

b. Investigate how these uses are reflected at different times of the day and year, and how they are reflected with intersectionalities in gender, socio-economic status, generation and migrants' identities.
c. Address how the history of migration shapes the values and preferences of using POS.

The key findings of the first aim are:

1. The first overall key finding under this aim emphasises that the use of POS is a resource for migrants across borders that maintains their transcultural connections. The findings addressed the importance of POS as sites for transcultural processes and practices, especially by considering the social uses and values of POS. Leisure activities are a common motivation for using POS in the selected case studies, particularly among migrants, which reflects that POS supports migrants' experiences and are welcome spaces where migrants feel comfortable. The research addressed that patterns of outdoor sociability appeared in the findings as forms of leisure for users with different migrant backgrounds and maintaining these patterns post migration supports the transcultural process. The above findings are in line with the literature on the importance of the outdoor built environment for migrants and newcomers (Armstrong, 2004; Low et al., 2005; Mean and Tims, 2005; Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Beunderman et al., 2007; Peters, 2010; Gehl, 2011; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012; Hou, 2013).

2. The findings from the empirical research validate the need for variation of outdoor affordances for appropriate different leisure activities and patterns of sociability in formal and informal POS with different types, forms and geographical locations, which support the arguments of Byrne and Wolch (2009) and Peters and de Haan (2011) that outdoor leisure activities are context dependent and different leisure activities would fit in different places reflecting ethnic and cultural identities and affordances of places.

3. This research found that in the formal parks and gardens different patterns of use are visible, which reflect different cultural backgrounds and migrant origins. This is also emphasised by the studies in Western contexts, for example, the work of Low et al (2005) about cultural diversity in public parks in New York. The findings also add that the leisure practices in parks and gardens shift spatially and temporally between day and night in different seasons. These dynamics display transcultural practices and aspects of adaptation particularly with the idea of changing environment in

transcultural cities (Hou, 2013). Hence, these formal greenspaces act as important sites for transcultural practices and processes and in developing new forms of belonging, which highlight the role of the providers in supporting diverse cultural practices and adaptation.

4. This research finds that urban heritage sites are inclusive spaces and that protecting heritage does not conflict with transcultural processes and the adaptation of migrants. All the historical sites in the case studies were connective locations for people and provided support with a sense of belonging and welcome. The findings identified that patterns of sociability in desert, souq and neighbourhoods reflect different leisure cultural identities and practices. The locations appeared as heritage sites in the field, but these typologies and practices are not only common to Bahrainis but are also shared by various migrants from Africa, the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent, where there are similarities in climate, geography, history, religion or culture.

5. These findings suggest that, in transcultural cities, alongside social and cultural dynamics, our understanding of memory and sensory experiences in outdoor spaces needs to be inclusive as they support adaptation with cultural differences and promote wellbeing as also addressed in the literature about migrants' experiences in a new place by Ghosh and Wang (2003), Armstrong (2004) and Powell and Rishbeth (2012). The findings explored that the outdoor social activities evoke memories through exposure to diverse sensory experiences (visual, non- visual and social) at a micro- scale, which promote restoration values. Visible outdoor socialising activities can recall similar experiences from the past or childhood memories (Ward Thompson, 2007; Pink, 2008; Ingold, 2012) remind migrants of these experiences in their home country, even connecting across different typologies of outdoor spaces. These findings are reflecting and extending studies on the importance of POS for migrants and newcomers (Armstrong, 2004; Low et al., 2005; Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Cattell et al., 2008; Peters, 2010; Powell and Rishbeth, 2012).

6. The findings support the studies on wellbeing and stress restoration in outdoor spaces (Kaplan, 1995; Korpela et al., 2001; Ottosson and Grahn, 2005; Hansmann et al., 2007; Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2010; Ward Thompson, 2011; Schwanen and Wang, 2014). In common with other research in those topics, formal greenspaces and parks and gardens did appear to have significant restorative value, but also restoration is found in an arid environment and a built environment as well as in spaces reflecting heritage

such as the souq in my findings. This would also emphasise the social dimensions of restorative experiences in relation to spatial configuration of urban open spaces (Thwaites et al., 2005; Thwaites et al., 2011). In conceptions of healthy cities and wellbeing, this research suggests that the different uses and transcultural practices of outdoor spaces beyond formal green space should be considered as being integral to wellbeing.

7. The research also supports the case that the visibility of differences in a superdiverse context can support adaptation and in developing a sense of belonging as specified for example by Wessendorf (2014b), in her study about conviviality in superdiverse contexts and by Powell and Rishbeth (2012), in their study about the relationship of migrants' experiences and the outdoor built environment.

8. The findings also highlight that the process of shaping and evolving cultural identities and developing new forms of attachments through using outdoor spaces is not simple. Cultural differences such as mobility, socio-economic, working hours and family responsibilities and intersectionality of age, gender and migration would also shape the patterns of use and non-use of POS (Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Rishbeth, 2013). My research finds that different senses of social responsibility (parenting and cleanliness) would add to these differences and shape the engagements of people and cross-cultural interactions in transcultural cities (Hou, 2013). These differences are barriers to being outdoors and should not be ignored in theories and practice of landscape architecture, transcultural cities and conviviality.

9. This research is the first in the GCC that discerns the role of the built environment in promoting emotional attachment and a sense of belonging for migrants, including temporary workers and short stay migrants and supporting their adaptation, integration and experiences. This research adds a new context, with distinguished culture, geography and climate and with different patterns of migration, to the literature on migrant experiences in a new place, for example Ghosh and Wang (2003), Armstrong (2004) and Powell and Rishbeth (2012). The research is also an empirical contribution to urban studies in GCC that support the importance of investigating POS in contemporary cities with cultural diversity and transformation and also emphasises the importance of the informal POS (Al-Ansari, 2009; Alraouf, 2010; Ben-Hamouche, 2013; Addas, 2015;). This research is also an addition to studies of the 'the evolving Arab cities' (Elsheshtawy, 2008). While most studies on GCC countries examine cities

at the macro level, the contribution of this research is to investigate the nuances of everyday spaces. The visibility of migrant experiences and the fluidity of outdoor spaces have a vital role in supporting transformation of identities and culture, in which hybridity and socio-spatial associations are developed. Therefore, migrant experiences in GCC countries and the role of urban outdoor spaces has to be considered in studies on cultural transformation in these countries. The research also challenges the work that describes the migrant experiences in GCC as merely being strangers with social complications (Gardner, 2011); my research explored evidence of outdoor transcultural practices, being welcome and the sense of belonging.

9.2.2 The scope of POS in supporting conviviality across differences: Productive sites for positive encounters

The second aim of this research was to explore how conviviality is supported or aggravated in urban public spaces within the context of an ethnically diverse population. The main objectives of the second aim were to:

a. Explore how everyday activities support different types of social interaction in formal and informal spaces.
b. Investigate how conviviality is shaped with regard to cultural and ethnic differences.
c. Critique both supportive and problematic spatio-temporal negotiation in the transcultural use of POS.

The key findings of the second aim are:

1. The findings confirm that the social values for interaction in POS support conviviality and contribute to the body of literature on social cohesion (Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007). Regarding social benefits in POS (Gehl, 2011), the findings showed how everyday social encounters in POS are important for providing social support for migrant women and migrant male workers. Opportunities in public spaces for social interaction represent social values to the users (Mean and Tims, 2005; Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Cattell et al., 2008). Such encounters in POS appeared an essential element for building relationships, which also promotes social capital (Putnam, 2000; Lownsbrough and Beunderman, 2007). For some women, visiting a park is an opportunity to establish rapport with other women, which provides crucial social support and wellbeing for those women. In the findings, the users benefit from

social encounters across differences even though such encounters were fleeting or only involved sharing the leisure outdoor space, as also supported by Cattell et al. (2008), Neal et al. (2015) and The Young Foundation (2012).

2. To support meaningful contacts that promote a sense of community and social capital, the 'elective practice' of being outdoors and leisure practices should be facilitated. The findings indicated that the activities in POS increase the opportunities for interactions as also supported by Peters (2010) and Neal et al. (2015). The research identifies that to support conviviality, we need to support inclusivity in POS and to understand particularly the cultural differences. These findings confirm that the egalitarian principles of POS are important to support conviviality. It is emphasised by Neal et al. (2015) that the elective practices of leisure activities in parks and gardens support convivial encounters. This study highlights that in highly transcultural cities, it is especially important to acknowledge and support different leisure practices. The findings in this research also confirm that, either in formal or informal POS, the different leisure practices, which reflect different cultural identities, should be facilitated to maintain the elective and democratic qualities. Supporting the affordances for different activities in a range of spatial typologies, including greenspaces, sea or desert edges or in souq and street, can support and generate positive social encounters.

3. Using landscape architecture as a lens to examine the physical and spatial qualities of encounters in the findings highlights the relationship between conviviality and materiality (Askins and Pain, 2011). The spatial qualities of POS in the findings appeared important in maintaining and facilitating the regular practice of being outdoors and hence providing opportunities for encounters with different people. Social responsiveness in landscape architecture means that designers should be aware of the divergent ways people use and experience landscapes and then respond to these in space (Dee, 2001; Thwaites, 2001), which also supports the transcultural urbanism approach (Hou, 2013).

4. This research highlights the importance of considering mundane practices within debates on socio-spatiality and tensions (Amin 2008, Valentine, 2008). A better understanding of mundane conflicts is needed alongside a consideration of the diverse users and values.

5. Parenting and littering in public appeared as mundane conflicts regarding cultural differences and social responsibility in public spaces and ethics of care, which challenges social encounter across differences. This finding adds to the literature on complexities in transcultural cities (Vertrovec, 2007a; Hou, 2013) and to the literature on complexities for conviviality across differences (Vertrovec, 2007a; Valentine, 2008; Noble, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014b).

6. People have different cultural interpretations regarding parenting and cleanliness in outdoor spaces in Bahrain and these integrations and practices are not shaped collectively by cultural groups, origin, religion, ethnicity or by class and income bracket. In the findings, users stressed the duty of care in public spaces even among people with shared Arab cultures and religion. The findings from ethnographic fieldwork also show that littering cannot always be explained by the relationship between pro-environmental behaviours and level of attachments to the spaces (Uzzell et al., 2002; Lewicka, 2011). Parenting judgments are formed due to different cultural expectations, but parenting culture or style also differs with the age of the parents and children, education level or origin as supported by literature on parenting cultures and styles (Bernstein and Triger, 2010; Babuc, 2015).

7. Although such conflicts appear trivial in the intercultural discourses, understanding tensions at a micro level is vital to concerns of scaling up, generalising and mobilising encounters as emphasised in the studies on the geographies of encounters (Valentine, 2008; Wilson, 2016). Ignoring these conflicts would have widespread implications both for the value of these places as sites of intercultural exchange and possibly diminish their status within the Bahraini environment. The outcomes of these conflicts regarding different practices lead to temporal or spatial withdrawal, which both challenge social encounters and cross-cultural interaction in transcultural cities. Mundane conflicts could reinforce segregation between groups of different backgrounds, such as country of origin or poor and rich if scaled up. For this reason, there is the potential that minor conflicts escalate to inform anti-migration policies or policies that limit the development of cultural diversity and different heritages. With escalating conflicts, POS could lose their positive social values, which is also a relevant concern in the field of landscape architecture.

8. To support conviviality in POS in transcultural cities, the spaces can be socially responsive and should be provided with choices that support positive negotiation to support social encounters and cross-cultural interactions across differences.

9.2.3 Socio-spatial implications for transcultural urbanism in planning, design and management of POS with commitment to social justice to support conviviality across differences

The third aim was to identify the potential of planning and design of POS for supporting conviviality in transcultural public spaces. To accomplish the last aim, the objectives were to:

a. Address the current policies for implementing POS in Bahrain.
b. Identify culturally appropriate opportunities for supporting conviviality in public open spaces.
c. Analyse the current policies
d. Inform design approaches and policies for planning and managing open spaces, specifically within Middle Eastern and Islamic contexts

The key findings of the third aim are:

1. The role of design and management of POS in supporting conviviality across differences appeared to be important in the findings, but this role is currently underestimated. Though POS are recognised as sites for integration, there is a lack of understanding of the implications of this for landscape planning, design and management professionals as revealed in the comparison between the findings from the expert interviews and ethnography. The research also supports the notion that POS need to be maintained as connective sites and support cross-cultural social benefits. Planning, design and management have important roles in supporting migrant experiences in urban spaces and promoting conviviality.

2. The research supports the case that the affordances for being outdoor have a prime role in supporting conviviality in POS, providing opportunities for encounters and supporting the migrants' adaptation. By supporting affordances of POS for a wide range of activities and cultural practices, flexibility and appropriation and use of different urban public spaces requires thoughtful landscape design and management

which employs professional understanding and skills to ensure high quality experiences for all users.

3. This research found that meaningful encounters could be generated and conflicts can be reduced through the use of the 'just city' framework to explicitly integrate an ethical dimension to the transcultural practice with respect to public open space and cultural differences (Low and Iveson, 2016), as analytically discussed in Chapter Eight.

4. In transcultural contexts, people with professional roles in urban space design and management should share the responsibility (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012) for supporting conviviality and alleviating mundane conflicts.

5. This research suggests that to support conviviality and to respond positively to cultural differences in POS, introducing transcultural urbanism in the planning, design and management of landscape architecture appears as a necessary approach in Bahrain and the region. Supporting inclusivity in POS, legitimising different cultural practices, facilitating the use of informal spaces, supporting negotiation, and cultural literacy are important transcultural strategies with social justice commitment of planning, design and management of POS in Bahrain and the region to support positive encounters. There also needs to be a means to facilitate shared commitments and collaboration with other professional sectors, service providers and community leaders.

9.3 Sociable and integrated culturally responsive public spaces: A framework strategy for planning, design and management of POS in Bahrain

The research developed an analytical recommendation framework involving implementation of transcultural urbanism (Hou, 2013) in practice with aspects of social justice in public spaces (Low and Iveson, 2016) to support conviviality in POS. The framework integrates planning, design and management into a comprehensive approach and supports the case that planners and designers should have management skills to advocate conviviality in modern cities. These recommendations are built upon cultural competency research approach (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012) and critical evaluation of the findings within a social justice framework to support conviviality in transcultural cities. The recommendation highlights social inclusivity, justice and sociability. Considering the values of POS for diverse users, POS have to be

provided and regulated to ensure inclusivity and justice in receiving the benefits. Maintaining inclusivity and justice is accomplished through supporting the dynamics of everyday uses, cultural practices and patterns of sociability and not ignoring mundane conflicts. Responsiveness towards cultural differences has to be achieved without exclusion or imposing insensitive regulation.

The framework encapsulates landscape at different scales, at city level and country level as well as in the small details in places that are designed for or used by people. The framework is developed around four items to promote social inclusivity in POS with cultural differences: Increasing the capacity of POS, facilitating the informal POS and legitimising the cultural practice of being outdoors in mundane spaces, supporting different patterns of sociability and leisure practices in parks and gardens and suggesting effective transparent collaboratively produced regulation. The expert interviews provided a basis for facilitating cooperation with practice. Reconnecting with the expert interviewees, sharing with them the research findings and recommendations and drawing upon their expertise is one way to move forward the research and findings.

These strategies are not only an outcome from my own reflection, but also from cooperation between experts and users in relation to theoretical framework. Expert perspective finely shaped these strategies in relation to the collected data from the fieldwork to support people's social values and uses in these spaces. The relationship between the ethnographic finding and the expert interviews were analysed with the social justice framework that inform planning, design and management of public open spaces in Bahrain. Collaboration could also be developed through arranging workshops on topics relevant to social inclusion, integration, conviviality and cultural competency and the management process in dealing with cultural differences as these all have implications for wellbeing.

9.3.1 Increasing the capacity of POS: Reducing pressure and promoting social inclusivity

1. Implementing more POS of different scales and types within the urban contexts provides increased opportunities for people to have encounters at different patterns during a day. This will give them more options to explore and negotiate with different preferences. There should be an understanding that different types and sizes of POS could have different capacities.

2. Introducing more large-sized parks and gardens is considered necessary because of the high demand in order to reduce pressure on use and to ensure inclusive social encounters. The large parks and gardens with comparable qualities and conditions should be distributed within the cities.

3. There should be also a strategy to increase the number of urban POS at a community level that have a distinct quality and support everyday social encounter. Augmenting the local scale of belonging might also be important in the long term for Bahraini culture, which continues to be ethnically diverse. However, creative design decisions are required for the small open spaces in the neighbourhood. Some small open spaces might not be effective if designed as public gardens, but possibly as small public plazas with social, optional and necessary activities.

9.3.2 Legitimising the cultural practice of being outdoor in mundane spaces and supporting everyday social encounters

1. It is not always possible to provide parks or gardens in some congested areas, but it might be possible to facilitate the sidewalks or pedestrianise streets for use, which is also a creative design solution to deal with inequalities. Designers need to understand the value of the mundane spaces as accessible and inclusive outdoor spaces that support sociability. These spaces could be in front of cold-stores (mini-supermarkets), vegetable shops and traditional bakeries or in front of houses or mosques in the souq or neighbourhood- spaces which people are using for necessary activities. Supporting these essential activities with optional diversions such as sitting or waiting (Gehl, 2011) means providing choices for being outdoors and lingering (Powell and Rishbeth, 2012). There should be provision for more opportunities for sitting and strolling in these spaces to promote sharing spaces and encounters, which could be meaningful. By supporting local mundane leisure practices with materials such as lighting poles, planting materials, benches, shade or pavement it would possibly make these settings more safe and pleasant as well as legitimised. Assigning a budget for the management and maintenance of these informal spaces would also enact social justice in areas with locational disadvantages. In Bab Al-Bahrain, no seating areas are provided, so the migrant men occupy the ground around the roundabout and pavement sides, despite the inconvenience.

2. The role of planning, design and management of the everyday spaces should not mean displacing the local users or segregation, but instead involve facilitating the space into socio-spatial experiences without practising any exclusion strategies. For example in Block-338 and in Sahat, the residents (mostly migrants) are not excluded from using the new pedestrianised cultural and tourism streetscapes. The coffee shops, traditional cafes and food outlets appeared as important spatial qualities in these case studies and encouraged people to use outdoor spaces and come together. While shops, restaurants and cafes are not always affordable, the idea of sharing the use of the public benches and the provided landscape elements enact the egalitarian nature in these spaces, even though not all are using the space for leisure. There might not be a direct social interaction between different classes, but sharing the space with joy and acceptance provided positive social engagements and encounters and also presented the chance for unemployed workers to find jobs.

3. Legitimising the temporality of using urban spaces is also a creative approach. Not all roads in the neighbourhoods in Bahrain are designed with pavements. Temporarily pedestrianising some roads in the neighbourhood could be a creative solution, but it has to be formally managed. Planners and managers should also consider the temporality of using parking areas. In Bahrain, it is very common that children use the parking areas of the mosques to play football outside of the prayer hours, which could be supported by the tactical urbanism concept.

4. Arranging public events and attractions in mundane spaces is also an approach that can promote inclusive engagements and intercultural interactions. The findings show that events in formal and informal spaces such as markets, music concerts, and art galleries are common in Bahrain. The contexts of Bab Al-Bahrain, Block-338 and Amwaj have mostly migrant residents and organising events in these areas bridges differences. Implementing events at the borders of migrants' accommodation areas negates exclusion and supports justice and social encounters. We find that the Bahrain National Quarry event on March 2017 has achieved this.

5. Walkability appeared as an important quality of POS that promotes permeability, legitimises lingering and supports everyday social encounters. Safety in this context represents being secure from traffic hazards and it is also provided through the natural surveillance. Walkability does not necessarily mean car-free zones, but more safe and convenient places to walk. Walkable spaces means providing sidewalks, safe means of

crossing the roads and additional bus stops. It has also become essential for practitioners to consider social equity and inclusiveness in providing alternative transportation modes of a proper quality. Given the importance attached to driving it is important to provide adequate accessible common parking around the cities and consider their connectivity to different communal services and attraction points such as religious buildings, parks and gardens. This also reduces the practice of using the pavement for parking. The hot and humid weather makes many people decide to drive than walk. However, many migrants do not have cars and depend upon walking. Therefore street landscape design and plants can soften the harsh environment through providing shade and benches where users are encouraged to walk or pause. Providing a proper microclimate is essential in Bahrain weather for a formal or informal POS. Planting trees is useful for reducing heat and dust, creating a pleasant microclimate and environmental and visual qualities.

9.3.3 Facilitating social inclusivity in parks and gardens and increasing activities

1. Instead of prohibiting certain activities in parks and gardens, formal spatial and temporal alternatives should be provided through management and design. Children in POS should have priority as if negatively managed this can develop tensions that may result the banning of children from parks and gardens. As alternatives to prohibiting children from cycling or playing on the lawn the design could confirm the children's right to play in urban areas and at the same time ensure their right to be safe. The provision of alternative spaces for children with sufficient playground, cycling tracks and spaces for children to play ball reduce children's fights and keeps them active and safe. The findings revealed that the sport areas in parks and gardens are only provided for adults and the children are not allowed to play on the grass, leaving no space for children to play and so they use the roads without heed to safety. Many of these children are migrant children who do not have other private alternatives. However, flexibility does not mean allowing users to litter, vandalise or to leave children unattended, but providing spatial or temporal alternatives instead of restricting activities.

2. Providing facilities that attract users with different life styles also supports inclusiveness. Cafes and restaurants with outdoor seating areas can respond to the diverse cultural groups who have moved their outdoor activities to Block-338 and Amwaj. The collected data shows that the majority of park users are from less

privileged classes (mostly migrants). Their intensive uses and dominant behaviours have created a feeling of alienation among the middle strata of users who have chosen to withdraw. Therefore, through design and provision of activities and element, the POS can attract different social groups.

3. It is not only about providing various activities in which to engage, but also about developing a sense of collectiveness and being in a place amongst others in a relaxed and pleasurable environment. The design of the park and garden is important to allow a feeling of comfort, being welcoming and convenient for a long stay. A place should be facilitated for use with services (e.g., toilets, water, and food outlets, prayer rooms), provision of alternative sitting areas on the lawn, picnic tables that can accommodate large extended gatherings, different microclimate effects, lighting and durable surfaces. Therefore, the families who spend long hours picnicking will not feel out of place or unwelcome. The parks and gardens could be managed so as to provide equipment for hire such as children's bicycles and portable chairs.

4. Robustness in different spaces, which are used intensively, should not be ignored. The continuous maintenance and cleanliness is still part of management duties and should not be neglected. Any damage and unsafe conditions in the park and tools should be repaired or replaced. Insufficient number of elements (such as benches, playground elements, lighting ... etc.) should be reported and action needs to be taken seriously.

5. The design and management of a space needs to be responsive towards the carers. Similarly, the size of the playground should be adequate to provide different choices of seating areas for parents accompanying their children. The gardens have to be facilitated with ramps and finished with appropriate materials. In large parks, distributing the playgrounds to different areas of the park is a good practice, but each playground should have diverse types of equipment. In Khalifa Garden, the playgrounds are distributed, according to age; so a mother with children of different ages and preferences cannot supervise them simultaneously.

6. Opening hours should be flexible and responsive to the weather and to people's daily pattern of life, working hours, lifestyle, ages and socio-economic status as in Arad Bay Park which is open 24 hours. Extending opening hours with flexibility ensures accessibility with response to social equity and ethics of care.

9.3.4 Effective transparent and collaboratively produced regulation

1. Lastly, there is also a role for regulation to deal with conflicts, though it has to be the final resort. This regulation can be seen as a troubleshooting scheme and attempts to deal with littering and parenting, which were primary issues in the research findings. Working collaboratively, the regulations produced need to be clear and specific to the problems such as littering and leaving children unattended. If a new regulation is introduced, it has to be implemented after wide consultation, intercultural engagement and respecting and responding to cultural differences. Therefore, there is a need for a clear management tool to familiarise and update the users in these hybrid spaces, not only about the rules but also about their rights in engagement in the process of producing regulations.

2. The scheme is also to avoid solutions with a tendency for exclusion, such as fences or fees. A carefully chosen regulation allows people to feel confident and welcome in using the space. Regulation should not contradict the idea of wellbeing, but should protect all users' rights in enjoying the open spaces without them feeling intimidated or unsafe. It could be appropriate instead of imposing fees that fines could be sensibly applied if the littering or parenting issue is repeated and affects others' right in using the space. The management should also avoid terminologies and symbols that focus on certain migrant groups or promote stereotypes; but deal with the situation in a cosmopolitan and fluid manner.

3. The regulation needs to be designed with the understanding that as culture changes; behaviours also change. Some regulations could be short-term and target certain prevalent issues. Parks and gardens could be zoned with different regulations depending on the activities. For example, Hunainiyah is in the middle of the desert; therefore, it could have a different level of regulation. It may not have regulation regarding littering if such an explicit law will be assigned in other areas. These variations should be decided through wide consultation.

4. Introducing intercultural dialogue (Sandercock, 2003a) and a follow-up system could be costly, but socially sustainable. Follow up does not only mean recruiting security guards or police officers. Representatives could be employed not to issue fines to the offenders (who litter or leave children unattended) or report misuse but to have a dialogue with them so as to apply a kind of mutual problem solving. The concept

behind the dialogue should not aim to define a common culture, but to provide practical options and solutions. Users can respect their local culture and retain their individuality. Hence, migrants are dealt with as a source of knowledge of their practices to achieve intercultural exchange. The process of intercultural dialogue helps to understand the moral reasoning of different cultural practices to determine what escalates aggravations. For instance, from my research, sitting on the lawn and children playing on the lawn are not the issues. The issues are littering and unsupervised children; but the current management practices do not interpret these issues effectively. Nevertheless, the research cannot consider different solutions because of contextual differences and therefore the need for wider consultation.

5. It is possible that the members of Friend Groups could have a role in this process. Resources need to be gathered to provide training and authority for the groups. They should have a clear and established role as mutual problem solvers. The representatives or Friend Groups should be aware of the connotations of social equality and respectfulness of different ideas and solutions. It is very important that the representatives who are identified belong to diverse social groups.

6. Workshops could be held for decision makers on social inclusivity in managing POS: Practitioners in the field, Municipal Board members and stakeholders who are involved in decision making about the urban planning, design and management of POS in Bahrain should be encouraged to attend workshops to facilitate and familiarise themselves with the topic of social inclusion, integration and the management process in dealing with cultural differences. They should also become familiarised with the social values of POS across cultural differences to give each decision a social dimension. This research could facilitate this impact.

9.4 Scopes for embedding into policy and practice in other sectors

The findings of this research extend beyond academia. The research explicitly embedded the need to inform practice. A key recommendation is that scholars should have a more direct and active impact on professional practice in dealing with the complexity of POS dynamics. This work is a substantial piece of research with a clear potential to collaborate with professionals in the field of landscape architecture, and act as a springboard for other areas.

In line with the key research findings on shared responsibility to ensure long-term outcomes in transcultural cities, support social inclusivity and benefits in using POS, this research recommends working across different professional sectors. Consequently, since this research considers wellbeing, education and cultural heritage, it could be assumed that this research would have implications for different professional sectors on issues relevant to gender, migrant workers, public transportation, education, health and urban heritage. Such collaboration would either be through intersectional work with other sectors or working in partnership and joint research projects. The variation in the professional backgrounds of the experts interviewed also supports the need for consultation with different sectors.

9.4.1 Implications for the health sector

The scope of this research is to promote cooperation between academia, planning, design and management of POS and the health sector in Bahrain to endorse the use of POS as part of the mental wellbeing and health agenda. The key findings highlighted the role of formal greenspaces in Bahrain for health and addressed the role of planning, design and management for facilitating informal open spaces for diverse users, which also has implications for wellbeing. The health sector in Bahrain should play an important role in promoting the need for more greenspaces and facilitating the use of informal POS by increasing plants and using elements of landscape design. The research highlighted the role of POS in promoting wellbeing, particularly amongst women and migrant workers. Hence, inclusivity and maintaining public accessibility to POS should be integral to the health agenda in Bahrain, with particular emphasis on gender and migrants.

9.4.2 Implications for community capacity building

The research highlighted the role of POS in building a sense of belonging, emotional citizenship and attachment and supporting integration, adaptation and social cohesion of different cultures in Bahrain. This research could support the educational authority's role in the integration agenda in schools (Alexander et al., 2007). Conviviality and social encounters across differences in the framework of this research emphasise the social value of POS given the cultural differences in Bahrain. It has also highlighted the role of social interaction and encounters in POS for social support particularly among migrant women and male workers and the fundamental role of POS for building social capital in a society with diversity (Putnam, 2000). Hence, this research is also important for social development and supporting social work in Bahrain. Working with the Friends Groups of Khalifa Garden is one approach to

promote the role of community involvement and social work (Dunnett et al., 2002). The role of the Friends Groups to work as facilitators in POS can also be extended through training and workshops that introduce cultural literacy tools to help with understanding cultural differences and the reasoning of different practices and needs. In addition, the opportunity of the facilitators to make contact with people in POS would support social encounters.

9.4.3 Implications for the heritage sector

The concept of transcultural urbanism outlined in this research can support continuing different cultural practices post migration, whilst protecting the local culture. This research raises the opportunity for cooperation between heritage sectors in Bahrain and the planning, design and management of POS. Public open spaces and landscape character is an integral aspect of heritage; hence, landscape architectural practice can play a vital role in achieving the agenda of both conservation and social inclusivity. This research illustrates that heritage can be explicitly inclusive even during times of high population change and that heritage can provide a sense of belonging for everyone, including newcomers to the cities. The professional practice in the region needs to consider that the historical locations are important sites; not just as records of the past, but also to support the continuity of different cultural practices for migrant and non-migrant populations. Parks and gardens need to be specifically considered within the agenda of urban heritage policies, and landscape architecture can play an important role in reconnecting users to their urban heritage through implementing approaches of transcultural urbanism. Heritage locations in the region should be accessible to diverse populations and different patterns of use should be facilitated and legitimised whenever possible in these locations. To ensure social inclusivity and protect diverse heritage practices in transcultural urban spaces, landscape architecture planning, design and management need to recognise that outdoor leisure practices are culturally defined. Landscape theory and practice should recognise contemporary migrants' outdoor leisure practices in the conservation of heritage locations and should also consider different intangible urban heritage practices in planning, design and management of both formal and informal POS. Cultural competency could also be considered within open spaces and heritage professional practice to incorporate cultural differences and cultural changes through migration.

9.4.4 Implications for landscape architecture education

To prepare a competent and responsive new generation in the field of landscape architecture in dealing with challenges and reality in public life is an important scope for the long-term

outcomes of this research. The findings from this research can inform and improve a range of teaching modules and design studios within the landscape architecture education in Bahrain. Cultural differences and migration should not disappear from the development of the current curriculum. A transcultural urbanism framework with a social justice agenda (Low and Iveson, 2016) and cultural competency process (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012) could be embedded in the education for landscape architecture. The use of this framework can enhance the current landscape design education with new understandings of inclusivity, positive recognition and cultural differences in the use of POS. The findings of this research can also enrich such courses with grounded data about the patterns of use of POS in Bahrain and the importance of informal POS in Bahrain. This research can also have implication for design courses in introducing new methodologies for site inventory and analysis to investigate socio-spatial dimensions.

9.5 Scope for future academic research

One of the critical findings of this research is the importance of POS to provide social support for people commonly marginalised from formal leisure opportunities. Embedding the theory of conviviality and encounter within the socio-spatial approaches of transcultural urbanism provides another potential opportunity; there is the possibility to develop a deeper understanding of migrant workers and less mobile women in the use of POS in Bahrain. Investigating the experience of migrants in Bahrain would merit further research proposals to extend the depth through engagement with the more marginalised migrants in GCC countries (Gardner, 2010a; Gardner and Watts, 2012; Bolleter, 2015) and with the potential for using co-produced research. Considering the appropriate ethical and methodological approach, there is scope also to work with translators to understand better the hidden voices of these groups regarding their sense of wellbeing, inclusivity and how the cities are socially responsive to their perceptions, given the temporary status of these migrants. Given the gap in the findings between the recent decisions and the importance of POS for providing social support for women, there is a need for further research in these areas to support the social inclusivity of POS.

This research also provides an opportunity to extend the scope internationally with Silk Road cities, GCC countries or beyond. There are clearly shared characteristics between cities in Bahrain and other cities in both the Gulf region and around the Silk Routes regarding aspects of urban heritage (Elisseeff, 2000; Al-Rasheed, 2005; Olimat, 2013). In terms of the

implications of this research for urban heritage, there is a role for networking with the countries on the Silk Route (in the Middle East and Central Asia) and GCC countries, which provides an international remit for this research. As part of developing this research, I considered the current research directions of the international agenda and the potential for collaboration; research with Silk Cities has emerged as a key one. I presented a paper for the Second Silk Cities International Conference at the University College of London in July 2017 with the concept of changing population, protecting urban heritage and cultural connection.

The concept of the Silk Cities, which is an independent academic and professional initiative, is concerned with cities in the countries along the historic Silk Roads (Silk Cities, 2017). The initiative of Silk Cities uses the narrative of the Silk Roads and focuses on cross-cultural exchange and connectivity (ibid). Literature shows how Bahrain was historically a hub for cross-cultural exchanges through trade (Al-Rasheed, 2005; Al-Nabi, 2012). There are valid opportunities to develop this research within academia from other countries around the Silk Routes.

9.6 Reflections on (and limitations of) the scope of the research and the fieldwork process

> *"Our urban landscape needs the fantasy and imagination to transcend the understanding of place and enrich the depth of focus that the dialectic memory recalls in the space of the city. It requires an innovative integrative approach of mutual respect between peoples, their generations and their environment; a Kantian redefinition where new life-styles and experiences interact with their land and timescape".* (Turner, 2010, p.211)

During the fieldwork in Bahrain, I spent considerable lengths of time at the selected sites, sitting, walking, taking photos, listening to people and observing. Despite being alone during most of the ethnographic sessions, I did not feel that I was alone; I was part of the crowd in these POS. The walking experiences brought me closer to street life and I became familiar with the people and places, though walking was difficult in some areas. During the site visits, people, with visible differences, appeared equal in the POS; they all shared the patterns of joy of socialising or being outdoors. In the collected data, the importance of POS for diverse users appeared significant and that people have developed various forms of attachment to these spaces. Similarly, I felt attached to all my case study areas. My experiences of being outdoors in these spaces meant a great deal to me and the pictures I have taken hold pleasant memories of the people in these spaces. These spaces will continue to be in my schedule to

visit and enjoy. From my direct reflection during the fieldwork, POS in Bahrain are important sites for conviviality and transcultural practices and processes. From a professional perspective, I consider that the quality of social life in POS in Bahrain has the potential to be improved to support inclusive meaningful encounters.

9.6.1 Professional perspective

I worked as a practitioner in a private architectural firm before joining academia at the University of Bahrain and subsequently pursued my Master's programme in landscape design at the University of Sheffield in 2002. In the years since my March degree and prior to starting the PhD programme, I continued my work in academia in the architecture department in Bahrain teaching landscape modules and design studios in which I had the opportunity to develop the curriculum for landscape architecture. These experiences intensified my ambition to improve the quality of outdoor spaces in Bahrain for people's benefit and to further the understanding of the social aspects of landscape architecture in Bahrain. Throughout my Ph.D study in landscape architecture, my previous comprehension about design language, elements, tools, skills, and the importance of site analysis and visual presentation has shaped the research process. My previous professional experience has also supported my ability to conduct the research on-site in different case studies and in analysing the spatial, locational and physical qualities of these spaces in relation to the focus of the research. Conducting research within the disciplines of sociology and geography was the challenge I wanted to undertake so that I would gain skills and knowledge: firstly, in developing the qualitative social research methods and ethnography and understanding that people could be a source of knowledge, and secondly, addressing the importance of the socio-spatial dimension in the field of landscape architecture. By conducting this research, I have also developed an understanding of the fundamental aspects and importance of considering the social uses and benefits of POS with inclusivity and democracy with a wider implication for wellbeing. As a result of the cultural complexity in Bahrain, I recognise that this is not easy and a great deal of work needs to be done to maintain the egalitarian quality of POS and to understand cultural differences.

9.6.2 Engaging with notions of cultural literacy

The diversity and fluidity of the Bahraini and non-Bahraini populations along with their different migrant backgrounds and generations, other cultural differences and intersectionality present the challenge of understanding people's different perceptions. The selected methods, which developed from cultural literacy tools – storytelling, ethnography and intercultural

communication methods – helped me to overcome this challenge. Reflecting on the fieldwork, short on-site interviews and walking interviews indicated the feasibility of engaging with notions of cultural literacy in practice and research in Bahrain. As explained in the methodology chapter, I took the decision early during the fieldwork to clearly evaluate my position throughout the research and be reflexive to overcome the challenge of power relation in qualitative research. In the field, people feel comfortable to talk because of the clarity of my position. Being a Bahraini female researcher facilitated conducting the research with both women and men in POS. Conducting the research on-site and using open questions and participant led interviews reduced my power as a researcher, while the participants, including the migrants, were the insiders. My role as an outsider and/or insider was shifting throughout the research, outsider in understanding the perceptions and interpretations from the participants' perspective and insider when exploring communality with users, e.g. having an interest in the importance of POS or being a mother, parent, female, Bahraini or resident in Bahrain, as the diversity on a small island also provided similarity.

Conducting these on-site methods is time consuming and requires skills and training. Prior to and during the fieldwork, I attended many courses and workshops and learned from the experiences of my supervisor. In addition, I have also read topics on this subject. My skills have been further developed by practicing the methods and through self-evaluation.

Empathy, listening, observing, contextualising and being reflexive is important as it is not possible to be totally unbiased. Understanding different experiences within social and cultural dynamics and exploring areas of commonalities, conflicts and negotiations were possible through listening to participants in which different stories were elicited and interpreted. To achieve a wider consultation, in future research or in introducing cultural literacy tools into practice, recruiting strategies for community facilitators have to include members from diverse backgrounds to be able to interview temporary workers and newcomers, many of whom do not speak English or Arabic. The inclusion of members from diverse backgrounds as facilitators also increases the empathy in the process. I recommend that developing cross-cultural learning methods and tools could be an end, but not a means to an end. This is the start of a process that can turn into reality, which can provide an opportunity for development, creativity and further research.

9.6.3 Other methodological limitations

I was aware of the limitations and challenges in the qualitative research before conducting such research. A key challenge of the research process was one of complexity. Mason (2002) argues that the qualitative approach celebrates richness, depth and the multi-dimensionality of the research situation, and that it also involves understanding its complexity and diversity. Accordingly, this complexity shaped the selection of the data collection methods and I attempted to seek more detailed and in-depth understanding. For instance, through developing multiple methods, I could capture and recognise this complexity while also making it manageable and the process achievable. Another way to achieve the research aims was by balancing the broad scope interviews with the in-depth interviews. Selecting representatives and particular case studies, which were based on specific criteria and with manageable sizes, also made the research achievable, though inevitably I have not been able to reflect the experience of all the diverse groups that comprise the residents of Bahrain.

The broad scope ethnographic practice provided opportunities to interview more participants. Conducting the research in a number of formal and informal spaces and case studies also provided accessibility to a wider segment across the society; however, the research could not include the non-users, which is also a limitation. Although the interviews were conducted in dual languages (Arabic and English), there were some users who did not speak either of these languages, which can be seen as a limitation to the research scope.

The ethnography fieldwork and follow- up trips provided rich data and opportunities for reflection. I conducted intensive systematic site visits during the field trips to ensure I visited at different times, days, seasons and events. I also arranged follow up trips to cover various seasons and events whenever possible. The number of case studies I selected meant I was not able to visit all the case studies at the same time or on the same day, which was a further limitation in the scope of gathering data.

Power relation and confirmation bias are also challenges as described in Chapter Three. Participant-led interviews, being reflexive and understanding positionality were considered throughout the research to overcome these issues. Similarly, in Section 3.5.1.1 and Section 3.7, I described how the confirmation bias in using qualitative and ethnographic methods was addressed by a number of techniques, such as being reflexive through understanding my position, the context and the time. The repeated observations and the recorded field notes and reflections provided an opportunity to be reflexive during the observation and data

analysis. Focusing on the research aims, planning the site visits ahead, predetermining the ethnographic locations and preparing questions before going to the sites were further ways to overcome the challenge of bias. The innovative go-along is a systematic approach of ethnographic practice and added in-depth data to the research; however, it had some challenges such as climate in summer, walking inconvenience, being visible, cultural sensitivity, keeping the interview on topic and the number of interviews. The go-along method was designed with understanding of these challenges as described in Section 3.5.2. In the analysis, I also primarily relied on the collected data from the short and go-along interviews; however, the observations were fundamental for supporting the analysis and ensuring validity. Using multiple methods and having participants' interpretation and practitioners' perspectives were also important to validate the research findings.

Through the process of being in 'two places', Bahrain and UK, time was critical in arranging trips for the empirical data collection, flexibility in accessing data in Bahrain and having increased engagement with professional practice. Some decisions and changes have been made in the country after the fieldwork, but because of the timeline of the research, the consequence of these changes could not be evaluated under the research scope, for example, assigning fees for Khalifa Garden, providing new public transit, creating a formal hawking area in Hunainiyah Park for users and launching Little India in Bab Al-Bahrain Souq. In terms of practice, I could not test and evaluate the research impact on practice within the time scale of this research program.

Timeliness of the research was also considered. This research has been conducted post the 2011 political uprising in Bahrain. I was reflexive during the research in also considering how this could shape the research. Since these events, many political decisions in the country and in the Gulf have been shaped, and a disparity has emerged between the political, social and cultural dynamics and public spaces in which this research was developed. However, the collected data showed that people did not talk about the 2011 political uprising, except about the delays on the roads during demonstrations on certain days; the mundane cultural and social values and conflicts appeared more significant in the data. I am interested in how new decisions and current political changes may be reflected in the use of POS in Bahrain, and certainly there is scope for extending the approaches and framework explored in this PhD as part of a more longitudinal process.

In short, this research was designed to encompass both a breadth and depth with multiple case study sites and a wide range of participants to overcome the research challenges. The

decision had also been made to be reflexive and consider my position, context and time throughout the research process to address bias. There are clear limitations to the research in relation to its scope and in the ability to test relevance for practice. The research methodology would be improved if I had been able to conduct more go-along interviews, have more case study sites or recruit translators. Having a few stakeholders as an advisory board throughout the research would also improve the methodology and increase the engagement with professional practice. These were not possible to do given the timescale of the research, but would be beneficial to consider in further research.

9.7 Summary of the significant impact of the research

Below are the highlights of the positive impact of the research scope and findings.

Significance of scope:

1. The research establishes a strong base connecting theory and practice in considering the opportunities and addressing the challenges of diversity.

2. Conducting the research within the field of landscape architecture is significant in addressing the gap in understanding how social and cultural dynamics shape the use of public open spaces in Bahrain.

3. This research is a form of cultural literacy and is designed to inform professionals, stakeholders and practitioners in the field of planning, design and management of POS in Bahrain in understanding how population diversity shapes the experience of everyday life. There is scope for relevance and impact across the wider Gulf region.

4. Using approaches and methods grounded in the discipline of landscape architecture and supported by ethnographic tools have been shown to be useful for understanding socio-spatial process and dynamics in POS.

5. The research finds that landscape architecture can reflect on and respond to areas of theories (in transcultural cities, conviviality and social uses and values of public open spaces).

Significance of findings:

1. The research highlights the important role of landscape architecture in supporting conviviality across differences. This role is currently underestimated in professional practice.

2. Local heritage sites are important inclusive sites for supporting transcultural process and promoting a sense of belonging. Landscape architecture has a fundamental role in the management and conservation of historical urban spaces in contexts of diverse population.

3. Conflicts and aggravations played out at the micro-scale in POS can be indicative of mundane transcultural differences, with potential to escalate into other forms of exclusions and segregations. Landscape architecture (specifically management approaches) has vital role to be proactive in alleviating conflicts and generating productive spaces that support positive social encounters.

4. The research provides a recommendation for planning, design and management of greenspaces and outdoor recreational sites in Bahrain with the aim of supporting conviviality, inclusivity, integration and migrant wellbeing.

5. This research points to opportunities for further research on this subject in the Middle East or globally.

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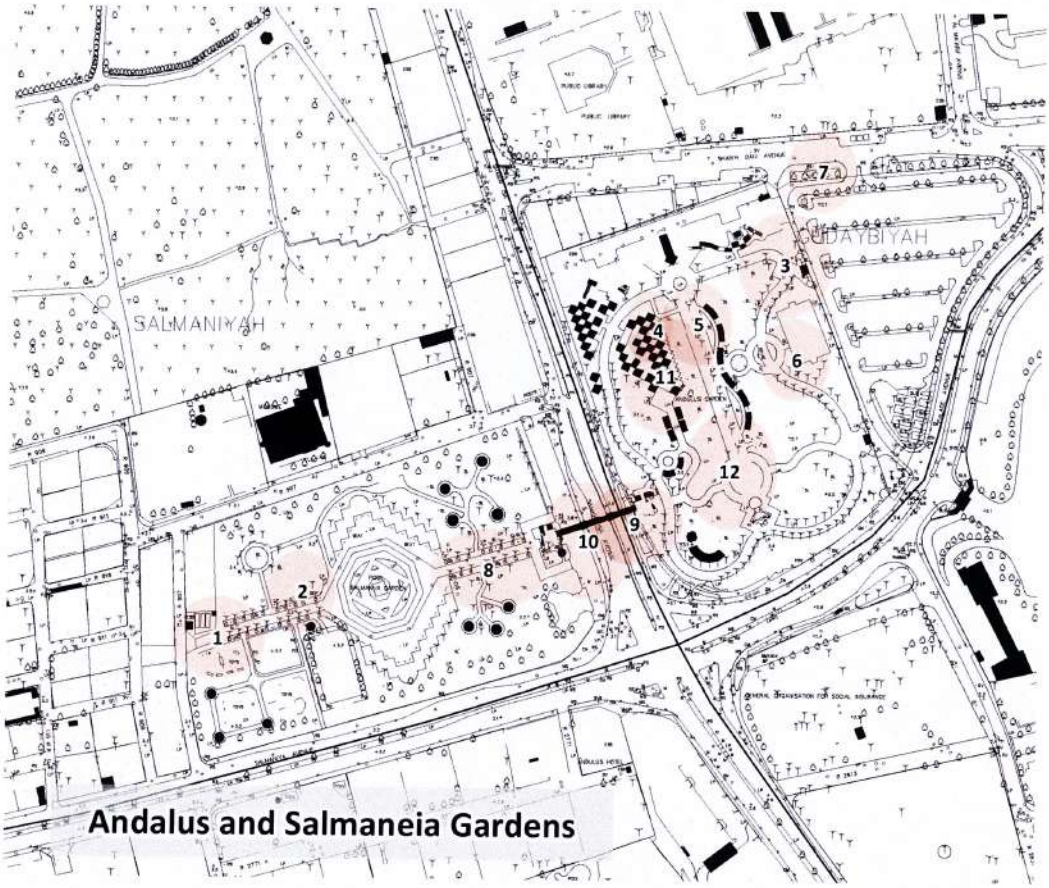
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Appendices

Appendix One
The ethnographic location points in the selected case study areas and their surrounding contexts

*** Note: The ethnographic practice includes my movement from one location to another, hence the time in each location is +-5 minutes used for walking in between the points in each different day.*



1 Near playground and sport court and gate way in Salmaneia Garden 5:30 – 7:00 pm on 3/9/2014

2 In a grassed picnic pod area in front of a shop 7 – 7:30 pm on 3/9/2014

3 In the gateway area near the sport court, lawn and walkway 5:30 – 6 pm on 4/9/2014

4 In the arcade seating area 6:00 – 6:30 pm on 4/9/2014

5 Along a main pathway near by benches 6:30-7 pm on 4/9/2014

6 In a walkway and front of the sport court 7 -7:30 pm on 4/9/2014

7 In the parking area in front of school 10 -11 am on 11/9/2014

8 In the plaza front of the gateway 11 am – 12 noon on 11/9/2014

9 In the walkway and the elevated walkway 7:30 – 8:30am on 18/9/2014

10 In the elevated walkway 9:30 – 10:30 am on 30/10/2014

11 Arcade Area 5:30 – 6:30 pm on 5/12/2014

12 Picnic pod 6:30 - 7 pm on 5/12/2014



1 The central part of the park near by the parking area and the plaza with the fountain 12am on 22/7/2017

2 Around the plaza near by the walkway along the sea 8 - 9 am on 11/11/2014

3 In the picnic pod near by the parking 9 – 10 am on 11/11/2014

4 Along the sea and the walkway nearby the plaza 10 – 11 am on 11/11/2014

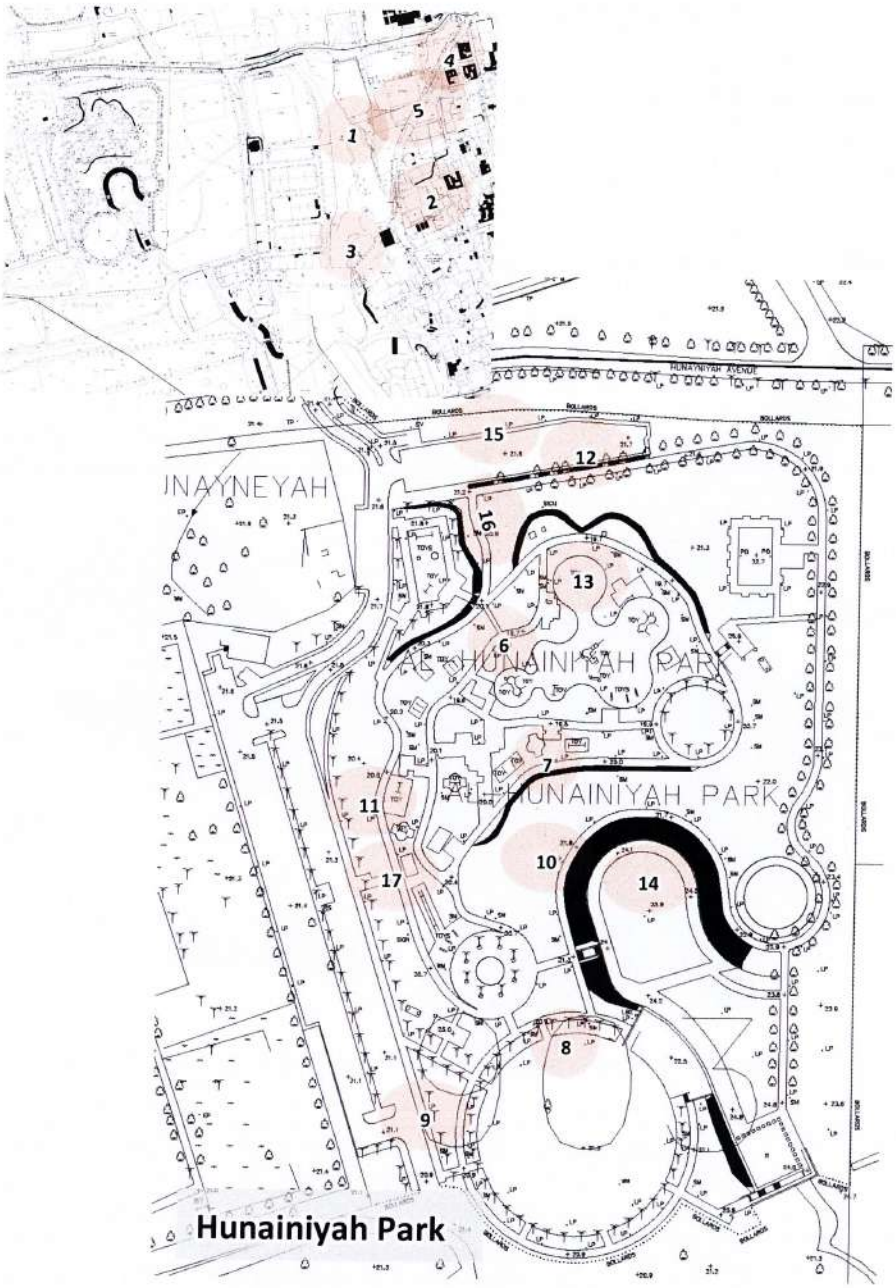
5 Around and through the pedestrian bridge 11 am-12 noon on 11/11/2014

6 At the street in front of homes in the neighborhood across the pedestrian bridge 12 am - 12:30 pm on 11/11/2014

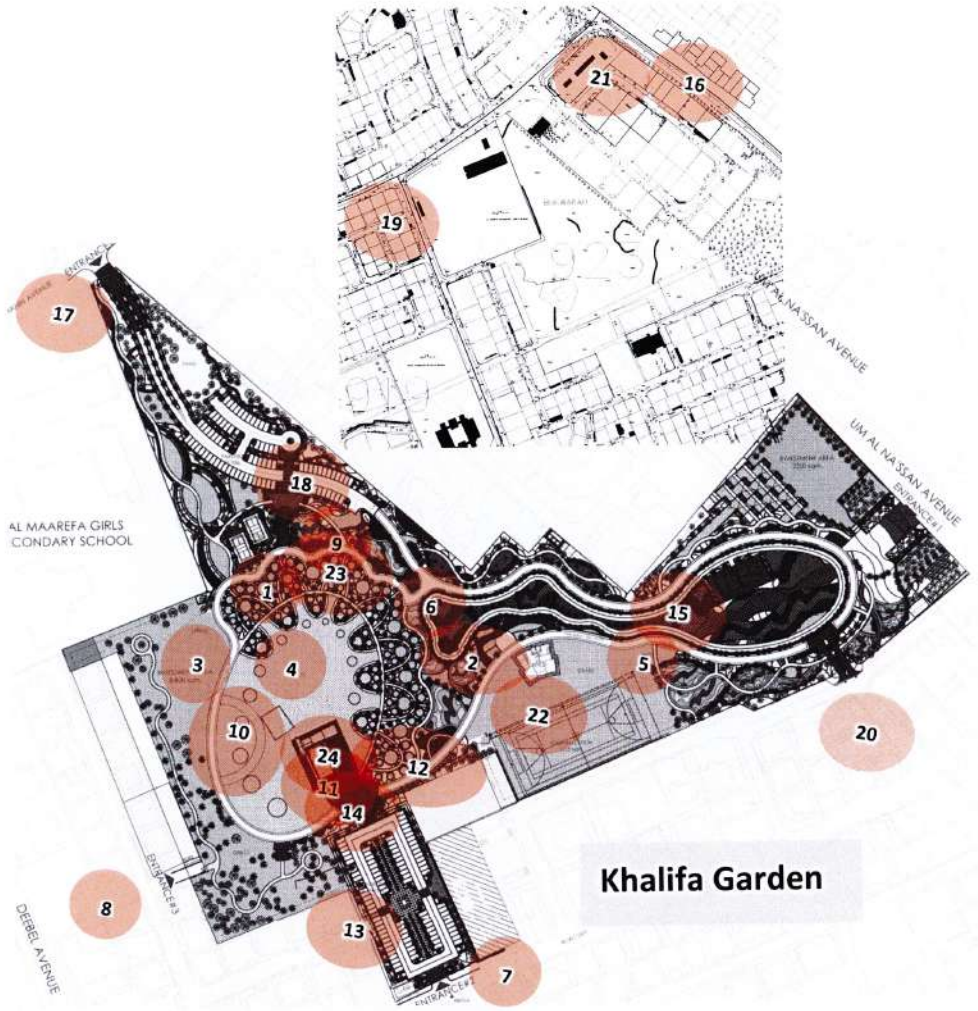
7 In a grassed picnic pod 4 – 4:30 pm on 5/12/2014

8 In a grassed picnic pod 4:30 – 5 pm on 5/12/2014

9 In the walkway along the sea 9 - 11 am on 12/12/2014



1	At the ridge in the park context 7-8 pm on 3/10/2014
2	In front of houses and mosque at the ridge area 2:15 – 3:15 pm on 10/10/2014
3	Near by the fort at the ridge in the surrounding context 10-11am 12/10/2014
4	Front of the school in the surrounding context 11am – 12 noon 12/10/2014
5	At the ridge side in front of houses and outdoor Eid Pray area 4 - 5 pm on 13/10/2014
6	In a playground nearby benches 5- 5:30 pm on 13/10/2014
7	In the grassed picnic pod nearby playground 5:30- 6pm on 13/10/2014
8	In the plaza along the walkway 7 – 8 am on 14/10/2014
9	In the parking area near the plaza and the edge of the park 3:30 - 4 pm on 18/10/2014
10	In a grassed picnic pod 4 - 4:30 pm on 18/10/2014
11	In the parking area near by benches 10 – 11 pm on 20/10/2014
12	In the parking area near by walkway 7:30 – 8:30 am on 27/10/2014
13	In the playground near by grassed area 4:30 – 5:30 pm on 30/10/2014
14	In a raised large open space 5:30 – 6:30 pm on 2/11/2014
15	The parking area 5 – 6 pm on 6/11/2014
16	In a pathway near by parking area and grassed space 8:30 – 9 am on 10/11/2014
17	Near by parking area, gateway and benches 10 – 10:30 am on 10/11/2014



1	Near volley ball court and the parking area in the gateway 11-11:30pm on 14/7/2014
2	Around swing playground 11:30pm -12 midnight on 14/7/2014
3	In the lawn picnic pod and walkway 6pm on 23/7/2014
4	At the lawn picnic pod area 9 – 10 pm on 8/8/2014
5	Along the walkway near by football court 6 – 7 pm on 9/8/2014
6	In a walkway junction near fitness area 7 – 8 pm on 9/8/2014
7	Front of the mosque and the parking area 2:30- 3:30 pm on 20/8/2014
8	Outside of the entrances in the surrounding neighborhood 3:30-4:30pm on 20/8/2014
9	In the playground near by the parking and entrance 6-7pm on 20/8/2014
10	In the lawn area 7 - 7:30 pm on 20/8/2014
11	In the raised plaza 7:30 – 8pm on 20/8/2014
12	Playground near gateway 8-8:30pm on 20/8/2014
13	In the surrounding neighborhood near the parking area 2:30-3:30pm on 21/8/2014
14	At the gateway 3:30-4:30pm on 21/8/2014
15	Near the basketball court 7-8am on 12/9/2014
16	Front of a café in the surrounding area at 5pmon 19/9/2014
17	At the main gate 9-10 pm on 18/10/2014
18	Near by parking area, benches and walkway 9:30-10 pm on 18/10/2014
19	In the surrounding neighborhood, in front of the school and houses 9-10 am on 20/11/2014
20	Outside of the entrances in the surrounding neighborhood 10-11am on 20/11/2014
21	Outside a café in the surrounding 10pm on 30/11/2014
22	Near football court 4- 4:30pm on 1/12/2014
23	At the gate way near playground and parking area 4:30- 5:30pm on 1/12/2014
24	Near by plaza 5-6pm on 10/12/2014



Bab Al-Bahrain context

1 Paved street corner in the square area front of the monument near by the roundabout 10 – 10:30am on 10/8/2014

2 Behind the monument in front of the Souq Avenue 10:30 -11 am on 10/8/2014

3 In the Atrium 11am-12noon on 10/8/2014

4 Along the souq pedesterianised alley outside the atrium 12noon - 12:30 pm on 10/8/2014

5 Paved street corner in the parking area in the square 10-11am on 29/8/2014

6 Alleys in the historical souq and residential area around the square 11am – 1pm on 29/8/2014

7 Paved street corner in the square area in front of the monument near by the roundabout 10am – 11:30am on 2/9/2014

8 In alleys in souq and residential area 11:30am – 1pm on 2/9/2014

9 Near by bus stop at the parking area in front of the square 8 - 8:30am on 5/9/2014

10 In the alley along a traditional café 8:30 – 9:00am on 5/9/2014

11 In alleys in front of the temple and Mattam 9 – 9:30am on 5/9/2014

12 In front of Yateem Commercial Centre along the walkway 9:30 – 10 am on 5/9/2014

13 Along the souq avenue 10 – 10:30am on 5/9/2014

14 Paved street corner in the parking area in the square 10:30 – 11am on 5/9/2014

15 In the alley along a traditional café 5:30– 6:30am on 11/10/2014

16 In the souq alley 10:30– 12:30 pm on 23/10/2014



1 Around a gateway of the space, parking area, benches, sidewalk and a focal element 11 am – 12 noon on 9/9/2014

2 Around and end of the road of parking area and green space 12 noon - 1 pm on 9/9/2014

3 Micro-Plaza at the end of a pedesterianised street and a junction 6 - 7 pm on 11/9/2014

4 Front of al fresco cafes and parking area 7 - 8 pm on 11/9/2014

5 Around benches in a pedesterianised street during an event 8 - 9 pm on 12/9/2014

6 In front of al fresco café and parking 9 - 10 pm on 12/9/2014

7 In a pedesterianised street in front of Al-Riwaq 5:30 – 6 pm on 20/10/2014

8 In an inner pedesterianised street in front of residential building and restaurants 6 - 6:30 pm on 20/10/2014

9 Side walk and green space 6:30 – 7 pm on 20/10/2014

10 In a pedesterianised street, in front of al fresco cafes 10 – 11 am on 30/10/2014

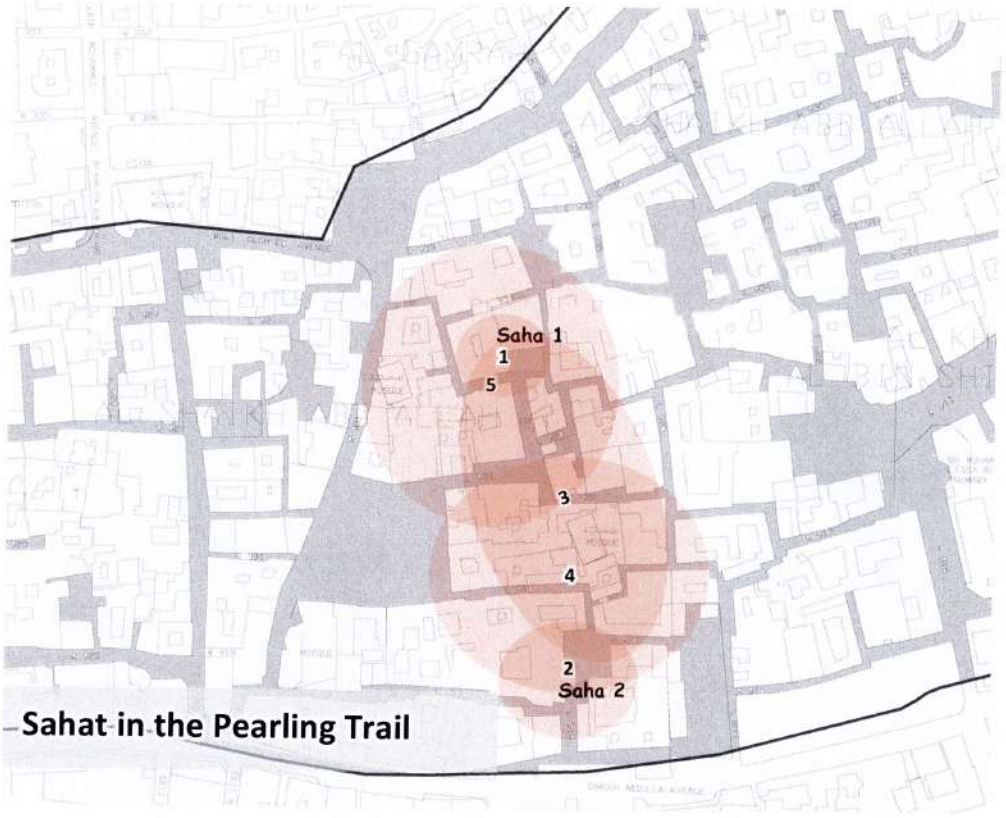
11 Parking area, benches and sidewalk 8 – 9 pm on 3/11/2014

12 Inner pedesterianised street near by a micro-plaza in front of residential building and restaurants 9 – 10 pm on 3/11/2014

13 In a parking area linked to micro-plaza and restaurants 10 – 11 pm on 3/11/2014

14 In front of al fresco cafes and parking area 10:30 am – 12:30 pm on 9/11/2014

15 In a pedesterianised street during a market at 9:30 on 14/11/2014



1 In micro-POS Saha 1 and along the surrounding alleys in front of houses and near by benches and cafes 8 – 9 pm on 30/12/2014
2 In micro-POS Saha 2 and along the surrounding alleys in front of houses 10– 11 pm on 2/1/2015
3 Along the alleys and in front of houses and near by benches and cafes around Saha 1 and Saha 2 1 – 2pm on 3/1/2015
4 Along the alleys and in front of houses and near parking areas around Saha 2 8 – 11am on 8/1/2015
5 Along the alleys and in front of houses around Saha 1 11am – 1 pm on 8/1/2015



Amwaj-lagoon context

1 In a large area with grand steps 11 pm – 12 am on 22/7/2014
2 In a harbor in the surrounding 31/10/2014 4:30 – 5pm
3 Along the pedesterianised walkway along the lagoon from of the alfresco cafes 5 – 8:30 pm on 31/10/2014
4 In the surrounding area in front of a school 2:30- 3:00pm on 5/11/2014
5 Near the benches along the lagoon 8 – 8:30 am on 6/11/2014
6 In front of a restaurant outdoor seating 8:30 – 9:30 am on 6/11/2014
7 In grassed area with circular benches 9:30 – 10:30 on 6/11/2014
8 Outdoor seating area in front of the restaurant and café 10:30 – 11:30 on 6/11/2014
9 Grassed area along the lagoon 11:30 am – 12 pm on 6/11/2014
10 In a surrounding area 9 – 10 am on 7/11/2014
11 At alfresco café 10 – 11 am on 7/11/2014
12 At a road junction near by a bridge 11am – 12 pm on 10/11/2014

Appendix Two

Cases	Fieldwork Process[1]							
	Site visits and broad scope observation and interviews							G.A. total 13
	Date	Time	Day		Occasion	S.I. Total 85		
Bab Al Bahrain context	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits						
	10/8/2014	10 am - 12:30 pm	Sunday			3	9	
	29/8/2014	10 am – 1 pm	Friday	WE				
	2/9/2014	10 am – 1 pm	Tuesday					
	5/9/2014	8 – 11 am	Friday	WE		5		
	11/10/2014	5:30 – 6:30 am	Saturday	WE				
	15/10/2014	9 am – 12 midday	Wednesday					Faiza
	23/10/2014	10:30 am - 12:30 pm	Thursday		Muharram preparing	1		
	24/10/2014	9 – 10 am	Friday	WE	Muharram preparing			Kyreem
	24/10/2014	9 – 10 pm	Friday	WE	Muharram			Irfan
Salmaneia Garden and Andalus Garden context	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits						
	3/9/2014	5:30 – 7:30 pm	Wednesday			2	13	
	4/9/2014	5:30 – 7:30 pm	Thursday			5		
	11/9/2014	10 am – 12 midday	Thursday			3		
	18/9/2014	7:30 – 8:30 am	Thursday			1		
	30/10/2014	9:30 am	Tuesday					
	5/12/2014	5:30 – 7:00 pm	Friday	WE		2		Shahrazad and her friends
Block 338	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits						
	9/9/2014	11 am – 1 pm	Tuesday				7	
	11/9/2014	6 – 8 pm	Thursday			2		
	12/9/2014	8 - 10 pm	Friday	WE				
	20/10/2014	5:30 – 7:00 pm	Monday			4		
	30/10/2014	10 – 11 am	Thursday					

[1] GA: Go-along Interviews, total 13 with 18 people, SI: Short interviews on site, WE: Weekend
Pilot site visits: broad observation, informal talks, taking photos and visiting different open spaces.

	3/11/2014	8 – 11 pm	Monday		Holiday Muharram			
	9/11/2014	10:30 am –12:30 pm	Sunday			1		
	14/11/2014	9:30 pm	Friday	WE	Market			
Khalifa Garden context	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits						
	00/5/2014	Pilot site visits						
	14/7/2014	11 pm – 12 am	Monday		Ramadan			
	23/7/2014	6pm	Wednesday		Ramadan Iftar time			
	8/8/2014	9 – 10 pm	Friday	WE		2		
	9/8/2014	6 – 8 pm	Saturday	WE		6		
	20/8/2014	2:30 - 4:30 pm	Wednesday					
	20/8/2014	6-8:30 pm	Wednesday			4		
	21/8/2014	2:30-4:30 pm	Thursday			1		
	12/9/2014	7 – 8 am	Friday	WE				
	19/9/2014	5 pm	Friday	WE		1		
	18/10/2014	9 - 10 pm	Saturday	WE			16	
	20/11/2014	9 - 11 am	Thursday					
	26/11/2014	8 - 9:30 am	Wednesday					Hala
	30/11/2014	10 pm	Sunday					
	1/12/2014	4:00 – 6:30 pm	Monday			2		Rashid and his wife
	4/12/2014	7 - 9 pm	Thursday					The Syrian sisters
	10/12/2014	5 - 6 pm	Wednesday		National day celebration			
Hunainiyah park context	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits						
	3/10/2014	7 - 8 pm	Friday	WE	Heia bela tradition/ Precceding Eid day			
	10/10/2014	2:15 – 3:15 pm	Friday	WE			11	
	12/10/2014	10 am - 12 midday	Sunday					
	13/10/2014	4 - 6 pm	Monday			4		
	14/10/2014	7 - 8 am	Tuesday					

	18/10/2014	3:30 - 4:30 pm	Saturday	WE		3		
	20/10/2014	10 - 11 pm	Monday					Rahman
	27/10/2014	7:30 – 8:30 am	Monday					
	27/10/2014	4:30 – 6:30 pm	Monday			2		
	30/10/2014	7 – 9 pm	Thursday					
	2/11/2014	9:30 am	Sunday		Holiday Muharaam			
	6/11/2014	5 – 6 pm	Thursday			1		
	10/11/2014	8:30 – 10:30 am	Monday			1		Nazir
Amwaj	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits						
	22/7/2014	11 pm – 12 am	Tuesday		Ramadan			
	31/10/2014	4:30 – 8:30 pm	Friday	WE		6		
	2/11/2014	9 pm – 12 midnight	Sunday		Holiday Muharaam	1		Samar
	5/11/2014	2:30 pm	Wednesday				11	
	6/11/2014	8 am – 12 midday	Thursday			4		
	7/11/2014	9 – 11 am	Friday	WE				
	10/11/2014	11 am – 12 pm	Monday					
Arad Bay	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits						
	23/7/2014	After midnight	Tuesday		Ramadan			
	11/11/2014	8:30 am-12:30 pm	Tuesday			7		Adam Leen Maysa
	5/12/2014	4 – 5 pm	Friday	WE		4	12	
	12/12/2014	9 - 11 am	Friday	WE				
	5/5/2015 Following-up	3:30 – 5:30 pm	Tuesday			1		
Sahat / Old Muharraq context	00/12/2013	Pilot site visits, walk and talk with some residents						
	30/12/2014	8 - 9 pm	Tues			2		
	2/1/2015	10 - 11 pm	Friday	WE	New year			
	3/1/2015	1 - 2 pm	Sat	WE		1	6	
	8/1/2015	8 am - 1 pm	Thursday			3		

Appendix Three

Short On-site Interview Question Sheet

Interview # _____



The University Of Sheffield.

Public Open Spaces in Bahrain: Social Uses and Values

Short on-site interview

You are being invited to take part in a research study entitled "Public Open Spaces in Bahrain" This research is being conducted by Wafa Hasan under the supervision of Clare Rishbeth from the Department of Landscape at the University of Sheffield, UK.

Interview number: ---------- **Gender:** ----------
Case Study: ---------- **Location in the case study:** ----------
Date: ---------- **Day:** ---------- **Time:** ----------
Weather condition: ---------- **Temperature:** ---------- **Humidity:** ------

Part 1: Now

1.1. What are you doing here today?

1.2. Are you with anybody? Are you meeting anyone?

1.3. How long do you think you will spend here today?

Part 2: Typical

2.1. Do you come here often?

2.2. How long it often takes you to come here? (By walk or ride, please specify)

2.3. What other things you might do if you come here in other time of day/ year or season?

2.4. What do you like about this place?

Interview # _____

2.5. What don't you like?

2.6. What other places in Bahrain you, your family or kids used to spend outdoor?

Part 3: Demographic and Personal information

3.1. Age category: 18 -25 ☐ 26 – 35 ☐ 36 – 45☐

46 – 55☐ 55-65☐ 66+☐

3.2. Do you have kids? Yes ☐ No ☐

3.3. Do you work? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, what do you work? ---

3.4. Are you student? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, what do you study? ---

3.5. In which area in Bahrain do you live? ---

3.6. How long have you been in Bahrain? ---

3.7. What other country did you live in? How long you lived in these countries?---

---

3.8. Nationality: ---

Interview # _____

Additional remarks (observations, explanations, specific notes... etc.)

Thank you for your participation

Appendix Four

List of the Short On-site Interviews [SI]: Field notes

[SI01] In Khalifa Garden - Indian man - Father - Age 26/35 - 5 years in Bahrain (worked also in other Gulf countries) - works in business - Live in East Riffa – Sitting on ground in the middle of the lawn without a mat with his wife, their child and a friend, gathering and watching others - 8/8/14 Friday 9:00 pm - Language: English

[SI02] In Khalifa Garden - Syrian woman - Mother - Age 26/35 - 11 and 19 years in Bahrain - Housewife - Live in East Riffa – Having a gathering and picnic in the middle of the lawn, near the foot pathway, with a group of five Syrian ladies, sitting in a circle with children around them going and coming from the playground - 8/8/14 Friday 9:30pm - Language: Arabic

[SI03] In Khalifa Garden - Yemini woman - Mother - Age 26/35 - 9 years in Bahrain - Housewife - Live in East Riffa – Sitting with her children on the lawn in front of the playground - 9/8/2014 6:00pm Saturday - Language: Arabic

[SI04] In Khalifa Garden - Pakistani woman - Mother - Age 26/35 - 7 months in Bahrain - Housewife - Lives in East Riffa – In the picnic area near football, playground and pathway- 9/8/14 Saturday 6:10pm - Language: English

[SI05] In Khalifa garden - Mother - Palestinian origin - Born in Bahrain - Age 36/45 - Family Physician - Live in Riffa – Walking exercise with her son in the provided walkway - 9/8/2014 6:30pm Saturday - Language: Arabic

[SI06] In Khalifa Garden - A young woman from Uganda - Age 20/ 25 - 2 years in Bahrain (Also worked in China) - Baby sitter - Lives Riffa - Kids playground in the south east with Friends in their week holiday - 9/8/14 Saturday 6:50pm - Language: English

[SI07] In Khalifa garden - Indian man - Age 46/55 - 3 years in Bahrain - Accountant in a company - Lives in Riffa - Jogging in the provided walkway - 9/8/ 2014 7pm Saturday - Language: English

[SI08] In Khalifa garden - Bahraini mother - Age 36/45 - Lives in East Riffa - Walking exercise in the provided walkway - 9/8/2014 7:30pm Saturday - Language: Arabic

[SI09] In Bab Al Bahrain - Bahraini Woman - Age 26/35 - Student - Lives in the northern of Bahrain - Sitting in the atrium in one of the cafés drinking juice looking at the mobile - 10/8/14 Sunday 11:00am

[SI10] In Bab Al Bahrain - Bahraini grandmother - Age 56/65 - Lives in Hamad Town - 10/8/2014 11:30am Sunday - Language: Arabic

[SI11] In Bab Al Bahrain - Bahraini mother - Housewife - Age 26/35 - Lives in Sand - 10/8/14 Sunday 12 noon

[SI12] In Khalifa garden - Grandfather - Jordanian origin - Age 56/65 - 40 years in Bahrain - Retired - Lives in Hamad Town - Sitting on a prayer mat with a bottle of water and tea watching his granddaughter in the playground - 20/08/2014 6:30pm Wednesday - Language: Arabic

[SI13] In Khalifa garden - Yemeni mother - Age 20/25 - 8 years in Bahrain - Housewife - Lives in East Riffa - Having a picnic with her friends and their kids were playing, using portable chair - 20/8/2014 7:20pm Wednesday - Language: Arabic

[SI14] In Khalifa garden - Indian Father - Age 36/45 - 6years in Bahrain - Mechanical Engineer - Lives in Riffa - Sitting on a lawn on a picnic mat in the stage area after walking exercise with his wife and their toddler daughter and school aged son - 20/08/2014 7:30pm Wednesday - Language: English

[SI15] In Khalifa garden - Bahraini mother - Age 26/35 - Born in Bahrain - Multimedia specialist - Live in Saar - in the playground with her daughters and housemaid - 20/8/32014 8:00 pm Wednesday - Language: Arabic

[SI16] In Khalifa garden - Bahraini Father - Age 26/35 - Lives in Riffa - I met him near the gate, coming for his children to play - 21/08/2014 Wednesday

[SI17] In Salmaneia Garden - Indian mother - Age 26/35 - 5.5 years in Bahrain - Nurse in a Governmental hospital - Live in Salmaneia - Playing with her children - 3/9/32015 6:45 pm Wednesday - Language: English

[SI18] In Salmaneia Garden - Pakistani woman - Age 26 - 25 years in Bahrain - fresh graduate - Live in Adlyia - gathering with her family on the lawn and kids are playing - not married and have little brothers and sisters - 3/9/32015 7:00 pm Wednesday - Language: English

[SI19] In Andalus garden - Filipino mother - Age 36/45 - 3 years in Bahrain - Technician - Lives in Arad - Jogging in Andalus - 4/9/2014 - 6pm Thursday - Language: English

[SI20] In Andalus garden - A Bahraini Father - Age 36/45 - Bahraini and born in Bahrain - Works in a Transportation company - Lives in Manama - Sitting in the Arcade opposite to the restaurants, on the dining chairs under the shaded area, with two men drinking tea and smoking and 2 - 3 children on bicycles playing around - their wives are from the Philippines - The wives gathering are in front of the shop - 4/9/14 - Thursday - 6:17pm

[SI21] In Andalus garden - Indian Woman - Age 26/ 35 - Housewife - Sitting with a friend on the bench in the shaded area looking toward the lawn side and the football court, just finished jogging - 4/9/14 Thursday 6:30pm - Language: English

[SI22] In Andalus garden - Indianan father - Age 56/65 - 37 years in Bahrain - hotel management and administration - Lives in Manama - just finish walking exercise - 4/9/2014 - 6:40 pm Thursday - Language: English

[SI23] In Andalus garden - Jordanian and Egyptian young women - Age 18/25 - 4 &15 years in Bahrain - Students- Live in Manama - Jogging - 4/9/2014 7:00pm Thursday - Language: Arabic

[SI24] In Bab Al-Bahrain - Bahraini mother - Age 26/ 35 - Employee in a ministry - Lives in Isa Town - In the traditional café in an alley waiting to be seated - 5/9/14 Friday 9:10am

[SI25] In Bab Al-Bahrain - Indian man - Age 46/55 - 13 years in Bahrain (Other countries: Dubai, Oman, Saudi, India) - Works in a private company - Lives in Jufair - Leisurely walking in the souq - 5/9/14 Friday 9:40am Language: English

[SI26] In Bab Al-Bahrain - Filipino Man - Age 26/35 - 2 years in Bahrain - Works in a private company - Lives in Muharraq - waiting for friends in front of Yateem Commercial Centre -5/9/14 Friday 9:50am Language: English

[SI27] In Bab Al-Bahrain - American male - Walking in Bab Al Bahrain Sooq - Frequently visits the space- 5/9/14 Friday 10:20am

[SI28] In Bab al Bahrain - Bahraini man - Age 70s - Retired teacher - Live in Mina Salman - Walking - 5/9/2014 10:30am Friday - Language: Arabic

[SI29] Andalus Garden - Indian Man - Bus driver - Outside the gate sitting in parking island on the ground (lawn) under the tree with two other drivers of the bus - 11/9/14 Thursday 11:00am - Language: English

[SI30] In Salmaneia Garden - Group of Indian and Pakistani workers - 11/9/14 Thursday 11:15am - Language: Mix English and Arabic

[SI31] In Salmaneia Garden - Bahraini male security - 1/9/14 Thursday 11:30am

[SI32] In Block-338 - British woman - Age 46/55 - 5 years Bahrain - Works in private school - Live in Hamad Town - Sitting outside on the steps - 11/9/2014 6:30pm Thursday - Language: English

[SI33] In Block 338 - Bahraini father - Age 26/35 - Works in the Ministry of Interior - Live in Ras Ruman (Manama) - Strolling outside and smoking with a friend - 11/9/2014 6:40pm Thursday - Language: Arabic

[SI34] In Andalus Garden - Bahraini Mother - Age 36/45 - Housewife - Live in North area of Bahrain - Jogging - 18/9/2014 8:00am Thursday - Language: Arabic

[SI35] In Khalifa Garden - Bahraini man - Age 20/25 - student - lives in Riffa, 19/09/2014 Friday 5:00pm - in Al fresco café next to the Garden

[SI36] In Hunainiyah Park - two men - Arab origin - Age 36/45 - 27 and 19 years in Bahrain - employee in the government - Live in East Riffa - Sitting on a bench watching their children playing - 13/10/2014 5pm Monday - Language: Arabic

[SI37] In Hunainiyah Park - Syrian woman - Age 18/25 - 15 years in Bahrain (Lived also in Jordan, Saudi and Syria) - Lives in West Riffa up the ridge - a - with her children in the lawn area without mat near the historical building - 13/10/2014 Monday 5:25pm

[SI38] In Hunainiyah Park - Group of Yemeni women - Age 36/45 - 2 years in Bahrain - Live in East Riffa - Sitting in the lawn area and I saw them praying in the garden- 13/10/2014 Monday 5:30pm

[SI39] In Hunainiyah Park - Yemeni grandmother - Age 36/45 - 10 years in Bahrain - Housewife - Live in East Riffa - Sitting with a group of 7 - 8 women (from Pakistan and Yemen) on the lawn - 13/10/2014 5:40pm Monday - Language: Arabic

[SI40] In Hunainiyah Park - Yemeni mother - Age 36/45 - Housewife and private business (selling) - Lives in East Riffa - 18/10/2014 Saturday 3:45pm - Language: Arabic

[SI41] In Hunainiyah Park - Yemeni woman - Age 26/35 - 9 years in Bahrain - Lives in Riffa near the park above the ridge - Sitting on the lawn with her husband and children - 18/10/2014 - Saturday - 16:05

[SI42] In Hunainiyah Park - Three Pakistanis men - Age 18/25 - 8 years in Bahrain, 4 years and 15 years - one born in Bahrain - Students - Live in Riffa and Muharraq - Sitting on the lawn studying - 18/10/2014 Saturday 4:30 pm - Language: English

[SI43] In Block338 - Bahraini female - Age 20/25 - Born in Bahrain - employee in the ministry and studying Masters - Live in Arad - Sitting in Al-Riwaq cafe outside and studying - 20/10/2014 5:40pm Monday - Language: Arabic

[SI44] In Block 338 - Bangladeshi man - Age 30/40s - 20 to 9 years in Bahrain - Unemployed currently was working in a restaurant - Lives in Block 338 - Sitting outside on provided benches with his friend and chatting and waiting for job - 20/10/2014 6pm Monday - Language: English

[SI45] In Block 338 - Filipino male - Age 36/45 - 7 years in Bahrain - Works in a restaurant - Live in Adlyia (the same area of 338) - Standing outside in the pedestrianized street with his friend and chatting 20/10/2014 6:20pm Monday - Language: English

[SI46] In Block 338 - Bangladeshi men Age 20s/30s - 4/3 years in Bahrain - Works in hotel and apartment - Standing outside with friend chatting and taking pictures in the street - 20/10/2014 6:40 pm Monday - Language: English

[SI47] In Bab Al Bahrain - Bahraini father - Age 46/55 - Employer in a private company - Lives in Riffa - walking - 23/10/2014 11:30am Thursday - Muharram preparation - Language: Arabic

[SI48] In Hunainiyah park - Pakistani father - Age 36/45 - 27 years in Bahrain - Police - Live in West Riffa - Sitting on a bench and his two boys are walking around, chatting and playing - 27/10/2014 5pm Monday - Language: Arabic

[SI49] In Hunainiyah Park - Syrian man - Age 36/45 - 20 years in Bahrain - working in a ministry - Lives in West Riffa - Playing with children - 27/10/2014 - Monday afternoon 5:30pm

[SI50] In Amwaj lagoon - Bahraini mother - Age 26/35 - Born in Bahrain - Physician - Live in Riffa - walking in the lagoon side with her husband and children - 31/10/2014 - 5pm - Friday - Language: Arabic

[SI51] In Amwaj lagoon - Indian mother - Age 20 /26 - Housewife - Live in Saudi - walking beside the lagoon with two other women - 31/10/2014 - 5:30pm - Friday - Language: English

[SI52] In Amwaj lagoon - Yemeni mother - Age 26/35 - lives in Bahrain since 2001 - Student - Lives in Riffa - Sitting on a bench with her daughter - 31/10/2014 Friday 5:45pm

[SI53] In Amwaj lagoon - Indian man - Father - Age 36/ 45 - 7 years in Bahrain - Works in a private company - Lives in Manama - Walking alongside the lagoon with his wife and a daughter in a baby stroller - 31/10/2014 Friday 6pm - Amwaj

[SI54] In Amwaj lagoon - Saudi male - Age 26 /35 - Engineer - Live in Saudi - walking beside the lagoon with two Filipinos girls - 31/10/2014 - 6:10pm - Friday - Language: Arabic

[SI55] In Amwaj – Bahraini woman - Age 26/45 - physician - Lives in Manama – Walking with another woman and their husbands and children - 31/10/2014 Friday 6:30pm

[SI56] In Amwaj lagoon - Syrian parents - Age 26 /35 - only the father works - Live in Qallalii (Muharraq) - sitting on a bench beside the lagoon having coffee and chatting - 6/11/2014 - 8:30pm - Sunday - Language: Arabic

[SI57] In Amwaj lagoon - Indian male - Age 26 /35 - 3 years in Bahrain - Works in a hotel - Live in Qallali (Muharraq) - sitting alone on a chair of one of the restaurants for breakfast and waiting for his friend - 6/11/14 - 9:00am - Thursday - Language: English

[SI58] In Amwaj lagoon - Three women from Serbia and Italy - Age 36/65 - 1 - 2.5 years In Bahrain - Housewives and One works as private Piano teacher – Live in Amwaj - Sitting outside on the chairs of the coffee shops looking towards the pathway and the lagoon and they come by walking - 6/11/14 Thursday 11:15am - Language: English

[SI59] In Amwaj lagoon - Bulgarian father - Age 46/55 - in Bahrain since 1998 - Supervisor in big company - Live in Amwaj - by himself walking along the lagoon side and sitting on the benches - 6/11/14 - 11:45am - Thursday - Language: English

[SI60] In Hunainiyah Park - A group of 3 females and one male from Italy, Pakistan, Russia, Sudan and Bahrain - Age 20/25 - Two of them work (teacher and in marketing) the rest are students - Live in A'li, Junaibeia, Adleia, Jufair - chatting and swinging - 6/11/14 Thursday 5:30pm

[SI61] In Block-338 - Bahraini woman - Age 55/65 yes - Retired - Lecturer in a university - Lives in Malekeia - outdoors in the café - 9/11/14 Sunday 11:30am

[SI62] In Hunainiyah park - Bahraini women - Mothers - Age 26/35 - Housewives - Live in Riffa and Zallaq - Sitting on a bench eating and chatting - 10/11/2014 10:00am Monday - Language: Arabic

[SI63] In Arad Bay Pak - Bahraini man - Age 26/ 35 - Works in the Ministry of Interior - Lives in Busaiteen – just finished jogging - 11/11/2014 - 8:30am Tuesday - Language: Arabic

[SI64] In Arad Bay Pak – Syrian woman - Age 26/35 - 4 years in Bahrain - Lives in Muharraq - Sitting on a bench in the middle of a circular area in the open plaza near the fountain - 11/11/14 Sunday 8:45am

[SI65] In Arad Bay Pak - A man from Malaysia - Age 36/45 - 7 years Malaysia – sitting on a bench on the lawn after preparing the picnic sitting - 11/11/14 Sunday 9:15 am - Language: English

[SI66] In Arad Bay Pak - Czech grandmother with 2 Friends - grandmothers from Cyprus and Greek - Age 50s /60s - 30 years in Bahrain - Lives in Saar and her friends in Jufair - walking to their car after jogging in Arad Bay Pak - 11/11/2014 - 9:45am Tuesday - Language: English

[SI67] In Arad Bay Pak – A man - not Bahraini - feeding fish on bridge - Language: English

[SI68] In Arad Bay Pak - Bahraini mother - Age 26/35 - Born in Bahrain - Private business - Live in Isa town – Having a small breakfast party with her husband on a bench, the mother took her husband from the airport and bring him here directly" - 11/11/2014 10:35am Tuesday - Language: Arabic

[SI69] In Arad Bay Pak – British man - Age 46/55 - Teacher in British Council – Lives Muharraq – On the pedestrian bridge walking home after walking exercise - 11/11/14 Sunday 11:30am

[SI70] In Khalifa Garden - Two Yemeni - Age 18/25 - 1month in Bahrain - Live in East Riffa – sitting on the lawn next to football court - 1/12/14 4:20pm

[SI71] In Khalifa Garden - Filipino woman and her husband is Bahraini - Age 36/45 - 12 years in Bahrain - Lives in East Riffa – On the bench near parking area and playground- 1/12/14 4:40pm

[SI72] In Arad Bay Pak – Egyptian man - Age 36/45 - works in special education - Live in Muharraq – Having picnic with wife and children - 5/12/2014 4pm Friday - Language: Arabic

[SI73] In Arad Bay Pak - Bahraini mother, born in Bahrain, origin Iran - Age 26/35 - Teacher - Lives in Muharraq - With her family sitting on the lawn next to the playground- 5/12/14 4:15 pm

[SI74] In Arad Bay Pak – Yemeni young woman - Age 18/25 - Born in Bahrain - student - Live in Muharraq - having picnic with relatives (all Yemeni origin) - 5/12/2014 4:30pm Friday - Language: Arabic

[SI75] In Arad Bay Pak – Yemeni woman - Age 26/35 - Live in Bahrain 24 years - Housewife - Live in Sand - having picnic with relatives from Muharraq in which met by chance in the park (all Yemeni origin some born in Bahrain) - 5/12/2014 4:45pm Friday - Language: Arabic

[SI76] In Andalus garden - Egyptian - Age 26/35 - Live in Bahrain for 10 years - teachers - Live in Manama - two sisters having picnic with husbands and kids at the dining area - 5/12/2014 6:10pm Friday - Language: Arabic

[SI77] In Andalus Garden - Five women mothers and grandmothers, Yemeni Origin - Age 20/55 - 20 years in Bahrain – Housewife - Lives in Manama near the Garden came by walking - Gathering on shaded area concrete pergola - 5/12/14 6:30 pm

[SI78] In the Pearling Trail site - Pakistani man - Age 26/30 - 5 years in Bahrain - Sitting outdoor with other men - Works in an office - 30/12/2014 8:15pm Sunday - Language English

[SI79] In Muharraq site - Jordanian father - Age 36/45 - 15 years in Bahrain - Teacher - Live in Muharraq - Passing by in the alley in Muharraq site - 30/12/2014 8:45pm Sunday - Language: Arabic

[SI80] In Muharraq site - Bahraini - Age 18/25 - Born in Bahrain - Lives in Muharraq - playing ball softly and quietly with his little brothers in the alley in front of house - 3/1/2015 1:15pm Saturday - Language: Arabic

[SI81] In Muharraq site - Bahraini mother - Age 46/55 - Housewife - Lives in the area of the site Muharraq - the front of her house is being prepared for car use 8/1/15 10:15am Sunday - Language: Arabic

[SI82] In Muharraq site - Indian father - Age 36/45 - 20 year in Bahrain - tailor - Lives in the area of the site Muharraq - In front of his house walking in the alley with his child 8/1/15 11:00am Sunday - Language: English

[SI83] In Muharraq site - Bahraini young man - Age 18 - 25 - Born in Bahrain - Yemeni origin – Student - walking through the open space - Lives in Muharraq - 8/1/2015 11:30am Sunday - Language: Arabic

[SI84] In Arad Bay Pak - Jordanian mother - Age 36 - 45 - 6 years in Bahrain - Her Husband is Bahraini - Housewife - Lives in Busaiteen - Picnicking in the lawn area with her little daughters in Arad Bay Pak - 5/5/2015 4:30pm - Tuesday - Language: Arabic

[SI85Ip] In Amwaj - Italian interviewee - Age 46/55 - 20 years in Bahrain - Lives in Amwaj - Sitting in front of his house with two Ethiopian women smoking shisha - 2/11/2014 - 9:30pm - Sunday Language: English

Appendix Five

Go-along Interview: Guideline Questions

Public Open Spaces in Bahrain: Social Uses and Values
(Topics covered in the go-along interview)

In the way
Do you come to this space from your house or work?
How long it takes you to come here?
Do you come by car or walk?
In your way to the space what happens? What do you see? Who do you see?
What difficulties do you face to come here?

In the space (stories, activities, like or don't like, memories)
How often you come here?
When you usually come and at what time? (Seasons, days, times, occasions)
Usually how long you stay?

What do you see in the space?
What usually happens?
Who do you see? (Families, individuals, groups, young, old, nationalities, gender)
What do they do?
You opinion about what you see and what happens?

What you usually do come here?
With whom do you come?

How the space is used at different times?

Do you like this place? Why? What do you like?
What don't you like about the space?

How do you feel in the space?
What is the best part for you? (The most closest part) Why?
How your children use of the space is similar or different than your child hood? How the open spaces now in Bahrain is similar or different than your childhood?
Any certain memories about this space or any other?

If you want to change something in the space, what you change?

Social role
Do you expect to see someone you know or someone you have seen before in the space?
Does the park have a social role? Can you explain?
What social interaction happens between people?
What conflicts happens in the space?

Do you see people from different origins in the space?
Who is more often using the space? (Nationality or origin- men or women – age groups)
How does this shape social interactions and functions? (Positive or negative)

Other spaces

Where other open spaces does people usually use? Why and when?

Do you know the following spaces: and what do you think about?
Bab Al Bahrain area and souq
Block 338 in Adleiyah
Khalifa Garden in Riffa
Salmaneia and Andalus Gardens
Dohat Arad
Amwaj lagoon
Hunainiyah Area fort and park
Old Muharraq

Demographic and Personal information

Age category:
Do you have kids?
Do you work? If yes, what do you work?
Are you student? If yes, what do you study?
In which area in Bahrain do you live?
Country of born:
How long have you been in Bahrain?
Nationality?

Appendix Six

List of the Go-along Interviews [GA]: Field Notes

[GA01] In Khalifa Garden context - Indian woman - Single mother - Worker - Age 30s - 16 years in Bahrain - Lives in West Riffa - 27/5/2014 - 5:00pm - Tuesday - Language: English

[GA02] In Bab Al - Bahrain Area - Indian Woman - Single mother - Worker - Age 30s - 16 years in Bahrain - Lives in West Riffa - 15/10/2014 - 9:00am - Wednesday - Language: English

[GA03] In Hunainiyah context - Bahraini man - Student - Age 20s - Lives in Riffa - 20/10/2014 - 10:00 pm - Monday - Language: Arabic

[GA04] In Bab al Bahrain Area - Bahraini man - Father - Employer in Private Company - Age 50s - Lives in Riffa - 24/10/2014 - 9:00 am - Friday - Language: Arabic

[GA05] In Bab al Bahrain Area - Indian man - Working in an office - Age 20s - 2.5 years in Bahrain - Lives in Riffa - 24/10/2014 - 10:00 pm - Friday - Language: English

[GA06] In Amwaj - Bahraini women - student - Age 20s - Lives in Amwaj - 2/11/2014 - 9:00pm - Sunday - Formal Holiday - Language: Arabic

[GA07] In Hunainiyah Park - Balochi man - Father - Worker - Age 40s - 10 years in Bahraini - Lives in east Riffa - 10/11/2014 - 9:00am - Monday - Language: Arabic (not affluent)

[GA08] In Arad Bay Park - Syrian Woman - Mother - Housewife - Age 28 - 4years in Bahrain - Lives in Busaiteen (Muharraq) - 11/11/2014 - 9:00am - Sunday - Language: Arabic

[GA09a] In Arad Bay Park - Indonesian Woman - Air hostess - Age 30s - 7 years in Bahraini - Lives in Manama (Jufair) - 11/11/2014 - Sunday - 9:30am - Language: English

[GA09b] In Arad Bay Park - Malaysian man - Chef on board - Age 40s - 7 years in Bahraini - 11/11/2014 - Lives in Manama - Sunday - 9:30am - Language: English

[GA10] In Khalifa Garden context - Palestinian/Syrian Woman - Mother - Teacher - Age 30s - 12 years in Bahrain - Lives in Riffa - 26/11/2014 - 9:00am - Wednesday - Language: Arabic

[GA11] In Khalifa Garden - Bahraini man - Father - Physician - Age 30s - Lives in Riffa - 30/11/2014 - 5:30pm - Sunday - Language: Arabic

[GA12] In Khalifa Garden - Two Syrian sisters - Mothers - Housewife and illiterate - Age 30s - 20 years in Bahrain - Live in East Riffa - 4/12/2014 - 7:00 pm - Thursday - Language: Arabic

[GA13] In Andalus Garden - Four Bahrainis young women friends - employees - Age 20s - Live in Manama - 5/12/2014 - 5:30pm - Friday - Language: Arabic