Public Participation in the Production of Public Space in Kuwait

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Masters of Urban and Environmental Planning

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Introduction

Public participation is key in planning for public space. Resident participation in the decision-making processes that take place on the local level in their neighborhoods can help create a more sustainable development and provide a higher quality urban life.

Although many lessons have been learned from earlier efforts to guide planning in Kuwait, the planning process continues to be implemented through a top-down approach. The Municipal Council governs the planning of each region with its members (10 elected and 6 appointed). Public participation in planning is entirely reactive; it takes place generally in the form of complaints on a specific issue that then leads to action from the governing Municipal Council. Decisions are therefore made at an administrative level. While complaints are sometimes met, they do not necessarily represent the needs of the whole community. In order to achieve a better quality of urban life, increase trust and social capital in the community more attention needs to be paid to community needs through participatory processes in neighborhood planning throughout Kuwait, especially in the planning of public space.

Even though planning in Kuwait happens on a more regional scale, and in a top down approach, neighborhood design is consistent. Each neighborhood design is centered on a "central neighborhood center" known as the "co-op". The idea behind establishing neighborhood centers in Kuwait was to provide a welfare system based on the Kindergarten Center Unit concept (KCU). The KCU concept is reflective of the Neighborhood Unit Center (NCU) that guided the planning of suburban neighborhoods in the United States between 1912 and 1968. Similar to the idea of centralizing the school in the NCU concept, the KCU is a system whereby each neighborhood would have its own schools, grocery store, mosque, post office, police department and other amenities to create a self-sufficient local services system. Assistant Professor in

planning, urban design and landscape architecture at Kansas State University, Jason Brody, refers to the "neighborhood unit concept" as the bridge between "planning, design, development and policy-making communities to improve standards in the construction of residential environments by shifting the scale of development to an area as a whole" (Brody, 2013). In Kuwait, a local consumer society board runs the central neighborhood co-op. Neighborhood centers are generally where local residents go to meet their everyday needs. They are made up of a main grocery store, mosque, bank, laundry, barbershop, pharmacy, stationary shop, printing services, sandwich shops and many other daily services and amenities. The neighborhood centers are run by the Kuwait Union of Consumer Co-operative Societies (KUCCS).

KUCCS was launched in 1971; the society provides the public with supermarket goods and maintains control to ensure uniform prices throughout all neighborhoods. Kuwaiti residents of each district have shares in their local co-op and are entitled to yearly profits. The concept being: "the Kuwaiti consumers are the owners".

Within each neighborhood a board, elected annually by the local shareholders, runs the co-op. KUCCS plays a major role in each locality both economically and socially. Along with dividend distribution among stakeholders, twenty-five percent of their profits are put towards social activities. They organize and supervise training courses, workshops, competitions and social activities such as organizing community trips to a resort for a weekend, as well as organizing religious pilgrimages to 'Mecca' with community members. These events help people get to know others that live within their district. The local co-op also organizes award ceremonies for school children as a means of encouragement.

Neighborhood centers, as their name implies, are generally located in the center of a neighborhood and surrounded by single-family residential plots. Therefore they act as the central community core within each suburb. As far as the physical layout of the centers, typically,

several small service and amenity shops flank one main grocery building. A mosque, library or clinic and other public facilities also lie within its surroundings. Since the neighborhood center hosts the main amenities needed by a family on a daily basis, it acts as a bonding agent that brings together residents of a community. Therefore, the design of public spaces within such centers influences people's everyday interaction with their community.

Once the co-op building within a community has become old or worn-down, profits earned through sales are used to either renovate and maintain the building or, in some cases, construct a completely new building, as it occurred in the case of Jabriya Co-op.

1.1 Research Site

To set a stage for analysis and critiques of current neighborhood centers in Kuwait, this thesis utilizes a case study research approach. As an exploratory study conducted in a set timeframe, the thesis focuses on a unique neighborhood in Kuwait; Jabriya. With 31% of its residents as Kuwaiti nationals, and the remaining 69% being non-Kuwaiti residents, Jabriya is reflective of the current overall population distribution pattern in Kuwait. The total population in Kuwait as of 2014 is 4.06 million; 2.8 million (69%) are Non-Kuwaiti residents, and 1.26 (31%) Kuwaiti nationals (PACI, 2014).

Jabriya is a large suburb with an area of about two square miles located 10km southeast of Kuwait City. It is zoned primarily residential and consists of three commercial, mixed-use blocks and the Kuwait University medical campus and teaching hospital. Compared to other predominantly residential suburbs in Kuwait, Jabriya, is considered unique. With a population of approximately 75,648 people living in both single-family houses and in apartment buildings it can be described as being "more diverse than suburbia, but less diverse than the city" (Jones, 2010).

The main grocery co-op in Jabriya was initially located in block 7, surrounded by single-family residential plots and public schools. Thirty years after the first co-op building was built, its repair costs were higher than the cost of new construction. Hence, in 2009, a new co-op was built. The new neighborhood center is now located in block 2; in the center of the three commercial and mixed-use blocks (Figure 1).

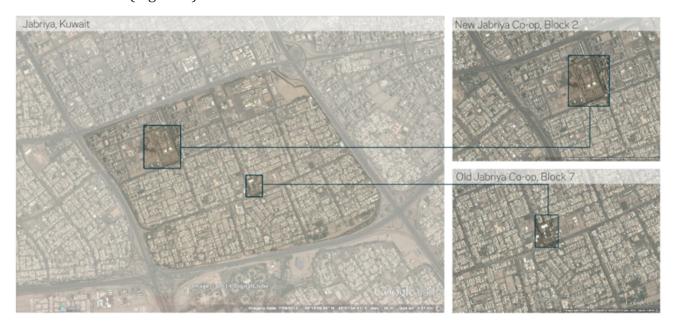


Figure 1: Locations of Old and New Co-op Centers in Jabriya District, Kuwait

1.2 Research Problem

Although the new location blends together the different socio-economic groups of Jabriya residents, due to its new location closer to apartment housing, it is subject to the utilization by outsider consumers who come to enjoy the many services in commercial blocks 1a, 1b, 3a and 3b (Figure 2). These services include outpatient clinics, fitness gyms, beauty salons, bakeries, chain restaurants, and coffee shops.

The new co-op building design includes a central court surrounded by the grocery store, library, mall and a mosque. It is also across the street from the public neighborhood park. These two public spaces, the outdoor court and public park, are under utilized. One reason is simply a

design issue regarding shading, seating and accessibility. A second reason is a connectivity issue; as the two public spaces are disconnected form each other. A third reason is that the technocratic planning process for such open space does not incorporate the public opinion of the users; however, it assumes user satisfaction.



Figure 2: Block Layout Jabriya District, Kuwait

1.3 Research Objectives

The following research has three objectives. The first objective is to document and understand the civic role of local consumer cooperative societies in Kuwait and their social

impacts on the neighborhood scale. Second, I intend to assess the built form and utilization of public space within neighborhood centers. Finally, I plan to evaluate community satisfaction with public spaces, desires for future intervention, and willingness to participate with their local coop in the planning of their community neighborhood centers and public spaces.

1.4 Research Methods

Research methods have been selected to gather data to address each of the objectives mentioned previously. As summarized in Table 1, to document and understand the role of local consumer cooperative societies in Kuwait and their social impacts on the neighborhood I have collected second hand data (i.e. annual report, news articles etc.) from the co-operative society. I also conducted interviews with administrative staff at Jabriya Co-op, as well as planners and engineers from the Municipal Council.

To assess the built environment I used existing maps of Jabriya neighborhood to map potential connectivity of the current public spaces to their surroundings. I also gathered first hand qualitative and quantitative field data by observing current activities on the site and interacting with users. Finally, to evaluate community satisfaction and needs I gathered qualitative and descriptive quantitative data by administering an intercept survey at the local grocery store (Table 1).

Table 1: Research Objectives and Methods

	Objective	Method	Data Source
1	Document role of Consumer Societies on the local level in Kuwait	Interviews and research	Data from KUCCS and Jabriya Co-op Administration News Articles Jabriya Co-op Annual Report Personal Interviews
2	Assessment of the built environment (central, communal, public space)	Map/Graphic Analysis Field pictures Field user observation	Maps from Kuwait Municipality Observational fieldwork
3	Evaluate community satisfaction and determine needs	Survey User interaction	Intercept surveys with local grocery shoppers (users of the space)

1.5 Expected Results and their Significance

Although top-down planning has its advantages in terms of more time-efficient development, without citizen participation at the beginning of the planning process municipal officials and elected board members will have to react to citizen needs and complaints in the long run.

After exploring recent youth-led movements to promote change in Kuwait, I trust that Kuwait's future society will be more likely to accept change and more willing to be part of this change. Through analyzing residents' needs and satisfaction levels with the current public space in Jabriya and understanding residents' willingness to participate in the planning of their neighborhoods, this study could serve as a base towards a new approach to planning for public space in Kuwait. This study could set a stage for bottom-up participatory planning efforts beginning with local neighborhood groups and expanding to inform countrywide planning efforts and decisions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purposes of this literature review are to first, understand the comprehensive rational method of planning and second, to understand the reasons behind the rise of participatory planning in the United States. The following literature review provides a brief overview of mid 20th century literature criticizing the comprehensive rational method and demanding more participation and citizen involvement in planning efforts. Participatory planning, its benefits, and difficulties are also addressed. The review then shifts to analysis of the public space literature and evaluation of why certain public spaces work better than others. It also integrates current literature regarding community participation in the design of parks and public spaces in the United States. An overview of best practices in public space design and organization is provided along with methods of citizen participation in community design in the United States. The review then looks at the role of participatory planning and people's attitudes towards it the non-democratic context of the Middle East. Finally, the review goes on to describe recent trends in Kuwait where, for the first time in Kuwait's history, a civil society group has come to advocate greater public participation in urban planning and development.

2.1 Urban Planning: From Expert Control to Citizen Participation

Introduction

Planning began as a means to formalize, rationalize and organize the future. In his book on the Rise and Fall of Strategic Planning, Henry Mintzbery suggests five formal definitions of planning: (1) planning is future thinking, (2) planning is controlling the future, (3) planning is decision making, (4) planning is integrated decision making, and (5) planning is a formalized procedure to produce an articulated result, in the form of an integrated system of decisions (Mintzberg, 1994). For Mintzberg there are three key components of planning formalization. The

first is to rationalize the processes by which decisions are made and integrated in organizations. Second is to decompose plans into strategies and substrategies, objectives and programs. Third is to articulate procedural results based on an integrated system of decisions (Mintzberg, 1994). Basically, the planning formalization begins by justifying the process, then decomposing what needs to be done in terms of objectives and programs and finally synthesizing and integrating the results to form a final series of decisions.

In the early 1960's in the United States, the process of rationalizing the decision-making process was criticized. This criticism occurred alongside with the rise of post World War II global social movements such as the Women's Rights and Civil Rights Movements. Critics like Charles Lindblom began to argue against the rational comprehensive method of planning. Paul Davidoff, in contrast, argued for more advocacy and public inclusion in issues of public interest. In the late 1960's people began to demand rights. Sherry Arnstein's formulation of the ideal Ladder of Citizen Participation in 1969 was a strong articulation of normative goals for citizen participation in planning processes. The following review will look at these theories and criticisms of planning processes chronologically from the mid to late 20th century to further understand how the planning field has shifted over time from technocratic decision-making processes towards more democratic citizen participation approaches, acknowledging that each approach had strengths and weaknesses.

Mid 20th Century Critics of the Rational Planning Method

Contemporary urban planning processes in the mid 20th century contributed to anti-democratic ends (Carr, 2012). Whether it was the planners' role in urban renewal programs in the United States in the mid 1950s and 1960s or the displacement of Kuwaiti neighborhoods beyond a newly imposed grid of the 1952 Master Plan; all actions were based

on the conceptualization of planning as an "expert-rational" profession that "sought to bring scientific methodology and objectivity to urban development and decision-making" (Carr, 2012). The rational planning process was based on program formulation, where one develops a series of interventions to achieve a set of objectives. It is a process that involves defining a problem, evaluating goals and criteria, and creating alternatives to solve the problem. Although this method may have been efficient, sometimes, planners are unable to determine the problems, goals, and objectives that need to be addressed in order to achieve the "optimal solution." Decisions made authoritatively through the comprehensive rational process do not necessarily reflect current citizen needs, hence, this anti-democratic means of planning, seen in the development of Kuwait's first master plan for example, has led to a large amount of public resources spent in unnecessary directions.

In the mid 20th century theorists of planning, such as Charles Lindblom, criticized the traditional model of comprehensive rational planning, particularly its process. Lindblom first observed that defining goals and objectives is very difficult. He described the decision-making process as a means-end relationship, criticizing the rational method for having means and ends that are not simultaneously chosen. He argues that policy recommendations (means) should not be separated from their objectives (ends). Lindblom asserted that it would be difficult to assess "good" policy based on abstract principles; there should be an agreement on the policy itself. Lindblom argued that with limited time and money, rather than following the rational decision making process, the concept of "muddling through" and building on existing policy branches would, in fact, be more efficient. He suggested an alternative to the rational-comprehensive method (root method), that is, the successive limited comparisons approach (branch method). He advocated for incrementalism in the decision-making process where policy makers would be able to solve complex problems incrementally by responding to goals and objectives

simultaneously rather than relying on the broad rational process that includes the roots (Lindbolm, 1959).

Mid 20th Century Demand for Citizen Participation

While Lindblom criticized the centrality of rationality in planning, he did not question the idea that planning was technocratic and analytical. His views were later challenged by the emergence of participatory planning theories in the mid-20th century. A desire for democratic forms of planning was linked to post World War II global movements of the 1960's such as the Women's Rights and Civil Rights Movements. One particular influence was the rise of the Environmental Movement that began to recognize the benefit of citizen participation in solving larger environmental issues such as air pollution, water quality and wildlife conservation. The movement also encouraged grass-root environmental activism through activist groups such as the civil rights and feminist groups (Rome, 2003). Since the movement was organized around human health and the environment, it required citizen participation in issues that affect humans and their surrounding environments.

In 1965, Paul Davidoff's call for a new type of planner challenged the planning profession. Davidoff states that planners should be advocates of both government and the public, making them responsible for establishing an "effective urban democracy" (Davidoff, 1965). There must be a balance between central control and public interest, hence he advocates for "inclusion of citizens", plural planning, and advocacy in planning. Davidoff points out that this planning method is not to minimize the importance of the public planning agency, however public agencies suffer from incomplete and shallow analysis. Davidoff declares that it is the planner's role as an advocate to "express his clients' [public] views" (Davidoff, 1965). Davidoff also explicates that as an advocate the planner's job would be "educational", to inform clients of

their rights, and help promote a democratic citizen participation process. Davidoff's concern was mainly towards the poor, therefore he presented the planner as an advocate who actively represented and ensured equity for the disadvantaged and impoverished. His alternative to the "unitary plan" that discouraged citizen participation in plan making was the "plural plan" that involves the public to "improve the level of rationality in the process of preparing the public plan". Pluralism in planning would serve three benefits (1) it would better inform the public of alternative choices, (2) it would force public agencies to compete with other planning organizations (including NGOs and community groups), thereby increasing the quality of work, and (3) it would force those who criticize the government's plans to create alternative and higher quality plans (Davidoff, 1965).

In 1969, increased dissatisfaction with planners' efforts in the mid 20th century led to the demand for a shift from authoritative planning towards a more democratic citizen participation approach. Sherry Arnstein, Director of Community Development Studies at a non-profit research institute named The Commons, argued, "participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy". She argues for an ideal ladder of citizen participation that redistributes power such that citizens, including the "have-nots", can slowly begin to become involved and help determine the desired end result (Arnstein, 1969). Arnstein's end goal of citizen empowerment runs in parallel to Davidoff's demand for equality especially for the disadvantaged as a means towards "equal opportunity to all citizens" (Davidoff, 1965).

Not every critique of the rational comprehensive process, however, resulted in successful application of alternative methods. In 1986 Linda Dalton explained why the rational paradigm persists in her article on "The Resistance of Professional Education and Practice to Alternative Forms of Planning". Dalton is concerned with why the planning profession continues to follow the traditional comprehensive rational model in spite of thirty years of criticism. In the rational

paradigm, planning is a process of selecting the best means to achieve a predefined end. This rational choice depends on people's ability to determine their preferences and choices and is therefore often criticized. Dalton asserts that as a model that has led the development of the planning field and kept planners in the field, it should be deified rather than rejected. Dalton suggests that in order to overcome obstacles of the rational model, educators must first work towards making practitioners aware of their works' implications and second to provide students as well as practicing planners effective and successful examples of alternative models. Dalton suggests that educators should change their teaching approaches in order to successfully introduce alternative models to students and practitioners. Dalton asserts that only if educators and professors are able to change their teaching methods, and relationships with students, practitioners and administrators, will they then be able to push forward theories and practice of alternative models to the rational paradigm (Dalton, 1986).

Mid-Late 20th Century Critics of Citizen Participation in Planning

With citizen involvement and participatory planning, one may easily assume that the benefits of involving the public in the planning of their constructed environment are self-evident. This seems obvious because elected officials who usually make decisions only play temporary roles whereas, local citizens have permanent attachment to their communities, homes and source of capital therefore their involvement in decision making processes will ensure long-term satisfaction with their community. Critics of the rational methods of top-down planning feel that citizen needs are not addressed effectively in this process and that citizen participation can help fill such gaps. However, with every planning method there must be some shortcomings. Crosby, Kelly and Schaefer identify four common shortcomings in citizen centered planning processes. First, there is a lack of fair representation among different ethnic, minority and socioeconomic groups. Second, the most successful citizen inputs are found in programs that seem to require

the least expertise. Third, the impact of citizen groups has been limited to certain represented groups, and finally, most participatory programs are oriented towards local administrative interventions leaving broader agenda-settings untouched (Crosby, Kelly and Schaefer, 1986).

Like Crosby, Kelly and Schaefer, Roberts discusses the arguments against citizen participation, but first identifies the benefits of direct citizen participation. In her article, "Public Deliberation in an Age of Direct Citizen Participation", Nancy Roberts indicates the sources of ambivalence in citizen participation and democratic theory. First, Roberts identifies arguments in support of direct citizen participation. These arguments describe direct citizen participation as a developmental strategy, where people exercise citizenship and realize their potential. Direct citizen participation is also an educational scheme, since it teaches people to make collective decisions in democracy. As a therapeutic and integrative process, it allows citizens to have a sense of freedom and shared control while achieving a sense of community at the same time. It is a legitimating process that produces stability. Direct citizen participation is also protective of one's freedom of choice as well as instrumental, by giving those without power a voice. Lastly, it is realistic; simply because the governed need to be included in decisions that affect them (Roberts, 2004).

Roberts also describes arguments against citizen participation. These arguments describe direct citizen participation as being (1) based on a false notion, namely that humans are rational and can be trusted, (2) inefficient, because governmental responsibility is too big and it is impossible to rely on participation, expert decision making is needed, (3) politically naïve, because only a small portion of elites participate, (4) unrealistic, because it is a luxury that cannot be afforded, and citizens are too busy with life to become involved, also those who do not participate will raise concern for inequality of participation, (5) disruptive, disagreement and debate can cause "noise" in the system, and lastly, it is (6) dangerous, because it could lead to

extremism and totalitarianism (Roberts, 2004).

Finally, Roberts summarizes the dilemmas of direct citizen participation. She mentions size, and inclusion of larger groups as an initial difficulty. Next, the notion of including excluded and oppressed groups is also challenging. Dealing with technological risks, and technological expertise, provides the question of how to allow citizens to become involved regardless of their lack of expertise. Time and crises may require quick decisions that can be hard to address with direct citizen participation. Lastly, there is the issue of how to ensure citizen participation reflects the common good (Roberts, 2004).

2.2 Analyzing Public Space

In the 1970's urbanist William H. Whyte, formed a research group to work on the "The Street Life Project" which analyzed the utilization of public spaces and how some spaces meet public needs while others do not. Whyte presented his finding on human behavior in urban public space in his 1980 book "The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces." His observations showed which public spaces were functional and encouraged the most user interaction. In 1988, William Whyte's book "City: Rediscovering the Center" was published. For sixteen years Whyte had been walking streets and public spaces within the city and observing how people use and interact with them. Some of his observations included realizing how some spaces were simply awkwardly designed and not functional; for example, ledges too high or too low, steps too steep, and doors that were hard to open. Whyte's research team was able to assess public spaces over several years, they were able to see an increase of usage which meant "supply was creating demand". Their observation, however, was completely based on deciphering the basic needs of the users. Whyte compares the street to a stage on which people are conscious that an audience is watching. He comes across the variety of street people that make up what urban activist Jane Jacobs would describe as the "street ballet." (Whyte, 1988).

The development of successful public spaces requires a design that caters to people's needs. It requires a planning method that includes active community engagement. Although the two paradigms of rational planning and participatory planning may be hard to combine, a mixture of public input and the rational-expert method could transform neighborhoods and public spaces from provided commodities that assume user satisfaction to elements of place, personal experiences and creators of social capital.

Community involvement is key in the redevelopment of smaller scale public spaces.

A non-profit organization founded in 1975 named The Project for Public Spaces (PPS) helps citizens "transform their public spaces into vital places that highlight local assets, spur rejuvenation and serve common needs." Their organization is dedicated to helping people create, sustain and build stronger communities and public spaces (pps.org).

Public spaces such as parks and plazas can act as the "glue" of the community; they bring together residents of a neighborhood to enjoy a shared community. Through their experience with public spaces and existing literature, Project for Public Space officials were able to identify four key features that make a successful park. These features include: (1) activities and uses, (2) access and linkages, (3) comfort and image, and (4) sociability. First, activities and uses vary in different neighborhoods. Since parks are unique to each neighborhood, their surrounding physical and social assets can be incorporated in the design. Rather than designing typical activities such as tennis courts and expecting people to use them, the first step would be to analyze what the users would like. Small groups of people with special interests can find a place in the park to conduct activities of their choice. Second, access and linkage are very important traffic generators. Being able to see a place encourages people to want to get to it. Visibility and connectivity also make parks safer for children and more inviting for people passing by. Third, comfort and image suggest that the place is continuously cared for to ensure user comfort; it

is well maintained, clean, safe and attractive hence encouraging people to use the space and become involved in sustaining its image and appearance. Finally, sociability is the last key to a successful park. Users of different ages, backgrounds, and socio-economic incomes should be able to sit and enjoy the view of strangers passing by, this goes back to the notion that people attract more people just by being present in public spaces (Wiley-Schwartz, 2003).

Best Practices for Public Space Design

In a book on "People Places, Design Guidelines for Urban Open Spaces", editors Marcus and Francis propose design recommendations for urban plazas as well as neighborhood parks. The purposes of their recommendations are to provide designed spaces that meet users' needs. Physical and functional characteristics of public spaces encourage people to use such space. Well-utilized spaces that meet user needs serve to promote social and physical interaction between users, which in turn increase social capital within a neighborhood (Marcus & Francis, 1998). Recommendations for both urban plazas and neighborhood parks are discussed in the following two paragraphs.

First, urban plazas have a role of drawing "people together for passive enjoyment" (Jackson, 1985 in Marcus & Francis, 1998). Plazas are the heart of an urban area where activities are focused. People interact with a plaza both passively and actively. Passively by using it as a route to a destination; actively they sit and utilize the space and its amenities. Based on late 20th century literature on urban plazas, the editors combined multiple design recommendations to describe basic design considerations that need to be made in the design of public plazas. These include location, visual complexity, uses and activities, and potential service areas to be well designed. Boundaries and transitions must make the public space visible and accessible to its users. Microclimate, subspaces, circulation, seating, planting, and level change (in terms of raised

or sunken plazas) are also very important in creating a dynamic, exciting and user-friendly space. Other minor details that can make a plaza usable and inviting include public art, paving, food, programs, vending, as well as information and signs. Lastly, maintenance and amenities are critical to the activation of public plazas. In order for plazas to be used effectively, the abovementioned features of plazas need to be carefully designed.

Second, neighborhood parks represent public spaces that bring together people of different sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Therefore, they must be able to serve different parts of the population. For people to use parks, there are two reasons; "a desire to be in a natural setting" and "a need for human contact" (Jackson, 1985 in Marcus & Francis, 1998). People come to parks to socialize overtly and covertly. Since there is a wide range of people using parks, design recommendations must address the different user groups. These include retired and elderly users, disabled park users, preschool users, users aged six to twelve, and teenage users. In societies where gender also creates subgroups within each age category, such as in parts of the Middle East, male and female users could also attribute to separate user groups that need to be addressed. When designing parks, typical activities, both conventional (such as children's play areas) and unconventional (such as stretching and exercising benches) must be designed to address different user needs. Neighborhood density also plays an important role in park design, in low-density areas, parks provide additional open space availability for residents, where as in high-density areas, they offer a retreat center with equipment and activities that are not provided in the family home or small apartment.

2.3 CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DESIGN: THE CASE OF THE USA

In his book on "Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning" Henry Sanoff states that within the past few decades in America and around the world, innovative development projects have been able to demonstrate that through principles of community

design it is possible to "build housing that people want to live in." He proposes that the strength of community participation lies in its success to overcome traditional and professional limitations. He admits, however, that although participation is key to the redirection of the spaces it creates, it is not a solution for all social change.

Sanoff suggests that purposes of participation in community building and planning can be traced all the way to preliterate societies. This is true in the Islamic religion, where a consensus-building participatory concept exists. Shura, meaning "consultation" is a principle which emphasizes that decision-makers create consent to earn legitimacy for their decisions. The concept dates back to the 7th Century C.E. as it was mentioned throughout a whole chapter in the Holy Qur'an. A group of three students from Alhosn University, UAE claim that the concept of Shura, creates a bridge between planning theory and the concepts of representation and consultation in Islamic principles (Chakravarty et. Al, 2013).

Main Purposes of Participation

Participation has positive outcomes; it allows individuals to feel that they are able to actively participate in management and administrative decisions that affect them. Sanoff describes three main purposes of participation. (1) "to involve people in design decision-making processes" which will in turn "increase their trust and confidence in organizations, making it more likely that they will accept decisions" (2) "to provide people with a voice in design and decision making in order to improve plans, decisions and service delivery" and (3) "to promote a sense of community by bringing people who share common goals together" (Sanoff, 2000). Sannof suggests, there is a sense that with participation, there will be a "better-maintained physical environment, greater public spirit, more user satisfaction, and significant financial savings" (Sanoff, 2000). For example, activities that are not commonly used in a neighborhood park maybe subject to vandalism and deterioration, whereas activities proposed by park users maybe

better appreciated and therefore more taken care of to remain functional.

Consequences of Participation

Participation in community design has several barriers; Sanoff lists seven common barriers. First, there is the professional's argument that eventual users do not have the necessary expertise to participate. Second, with many people having different opinions, there is the fear that "you will get as many answers as the number of people you ask" (Sanoff, 2000, pg. 22). Third, some professionals may see participation as a threat to their professions as it challenges their role as experts. Fourth, the process of involving users is more extensive and expensive; it requires more time and money. Fifth, the lack of adequate and experienced officials to guide participatory processes can limit the value of participation. Sixth, there is the fear that the people who participate do not necessarily represent the majority; rather they represent people who have special interest. Lastly, there is the risk of everything ending up as a compromise where people change their opinions depending on the information presented to them (Sanoff, 2000).

Methods of Participation in Community Design

As a movement, community design emerged with the "realization that mismanagement of the physical environment is a major factor contributing to the social and economic ills of the world and that there are better ways of going about design and planning" (Sanoff, 2000). Realizing that experts have not been successful in designing public housing and spaces for people to live in that have a sense of identity and community, the community design movement comes to fill the gap in areas of housing, public parks, social facilities, neighborhoods and districts. Methods of participation in community design include strategic planning, visioning, charrettes, community action planning, and participatory action research

(Sanoff, 2000). Participation tools require that one knows the community well in order to be able to involve people fairly. The Local Government Commission in California provides a list of principles towards successful community planning. The principles focus on inclusiveness of all stakeholders, respect, relevance to stakeholder values, having a clear purpose and scope, accurate background knowledge, strong relationships, trust, sustained engagement throughout the process and evidence of tangible results. In an ideal world, all citizens would participate, however this is seldom the case. Citizens only participate in matters that affect or threaten them in a way. Therefore, even where public participation rates are low, the public needs to be informed about the issue at stake, and should be informed of the consequences of not participating in order to decide if they wish to participate. Youth and other vulnerable groups such as the elderly, women, and the disabled also need to be consulted in the design of their communities. Since youth societies today exist in isolated environments such as schools, and single family homes, a focus on involving the youth in community participation is necessary to develop a sense of responsibility, cooperation and creativity in building their community.

2.4 Ecological Democracy

While Henry Sanoff advocates for participation in community design, landscape architect, professor and sociologist, Randolph Hester is a strong advocate of a similar concept that is ecological democracy. A concept that represents the best possible life we can achieve through enabling community participation and identifying the needs of a local community to shape spaces in which we live. Together a democracy of government by the people and an ecology that enhances the relationship between the environment and the people allow us to live a sustainable future and happier lives (Hester, 2006). Hester lists fifteen design principles that must be improved throughout a design of an ecologically democratic place. Neighborhood design is considered under Hester's design principles. One important design principle

when it comes to neighborhood center design is: centerness. Centerness is a means to build what Hester calls socio-spatial capital. Through civic engagement, shared experiences and activities, a neighborhood achieves a healthy place-centered life. With modern technology and communication, this place-centered life is threatened, a loss of centeredness, local attachment and local identity are at risk. Therefore Hester presents ten principles of good neighborhood centers. In these principles, design, location, arrangement and detail all matter in providing a successful central community space. Places for community rituals to take place are essential for building socio-spatial capital. Creating places that enhance chances for eye contact such as the local post office in proximity to the grocery store are also essential and could stimulate more casual social interaction among community residents and users of the space (Hester, 2006). Since the space intends to be shared by community members, Hester suggests a "civic-minded architect" is needed to create this public place for residents of a community to gather. The table below lists Hester's 10 Principles of Good Neighborhood Centers, along with Project for Public Spaces' (PPS) five key features that make a successful park as well as design guidelines for urban open spaces, namely urban plazas and neighborhood parks. Since all principles focus on physical and functional characteristics of public spaces to encourage people to use such spaces, the first column represents a synthesized list of themes that are common across the different public space design literature offered by Hester, PPS, and Marcus & Francis (Table 2).

Table 2: Insights of Public Design

	ı			
	Common Theme	10 Principles of Good Neighborhood Centers (Hester)	5 key features that make a successful park (PPS)	Design Guidelines for Urban Open Spaces – urban plazas & neighborhood parks (People Places)
1	Concentration and Diversity of Uses	Must encourage concentration of different uses and diversity of facilities	Activities and uses: must be unique to each neighborhood's needs	Plazas are the heart of an urban area where activities and amenities are focused (ie. food, programs, vending)
2	Accessibility	Must be easily accessible (by car, foot or public transit, to people of different socio-economic backgrounds)	Access and linkage: must be well designed to generate traffic	Plazas as a route to a destination, as well center of activity
3	All day use	Must encourage frequent daily use (day/evening)		
4	Socio-spatial connectivity	Must provide places for formal and less formal community interaction such as private/public and shared activities (socio-spatial connectivity)	Sociability: the space must encourage people to become social with the notion that people in a space attract more people	Must be suitable for different populations (the need for human contact)
5	Encourage local knowledge	Must provide a setting for local knowledge to incubate and spread		Areas of passive enjoyment that draw people together (ie. community public art)
6	Comprehensively designed	Must be designed to accommodate shared interests and mutual concerns of the local community (comprehensively designed)	Visibility and connectivity: the space must be safe and inviting for children as well as people passing by	
7	Sense of orientation	Must provide a sense of orientation for entering and leaving the space (way finding)		Importance of location
8	Respect ecological context	Must reflect the ecological context (ie. topography) in the built form		Microclimate management
9	Building form	Must create a consistency in the building form, a sense of wholeness even if there are multiple separated yet adjacent buildings	Comfort and image: the space must	Consistency, with visual complexity, level change (ie. raised or sunken plazas)
10	Inviting for community commitment	Centers must be designed to invite community commitment, both voluntary and through economic investment (where people could be encouraged to care about improving centers by having economic ties to the place, ie. by having shares)		Seating, planting, paving, maintenance & amenities

2.5 Participatory Planning in the Non-democratic Context of the Middle East

In an article on "The Use of Participatory Planning to Reinforce Urban Geographies", John Carr (2012) describes the expert-rational method as the "planner-knows-best" approach, where planners get to decide how spaces should be used and regulated in poor neighborhoods. This approach is seen in planning efforts in the non-democratic context of the Middle East.

While public participation is a "necessary part of due process in planning exercises in the United States and most liberal-democratic" countries, it has only recently become a strategy in local urban development in the United Arab Emirates (Chakravarty et. Al, 2013). In 2013 the Urban Planning Council (UPC) of Abu Dhabi, one of the seven Emirates within the United Arab Emirates, had a sudden interest in integrating participation workshops as a means of transparency in planning. A group of three students from Alhosn University, UAE examined the theory as it related to Abu Dhabi. They were commissioned by the Strategic Planning division of Abu Dhabi Municipality to propose a public participation based study for the redevelopment of a park in an old neighborhood. Their work involved conducting user needs surveys and workshops to examine people's attitudes towards participation and the way it is structured in a non-democratic setting. The group researched three main questions to understand the role of public participation in Abu Dhabi, "(1) What is the nature and role of public participation in Abu Dhabi? (2) How is the idea of participation is framed within a non-democratic political context? And (3) What can be done to improve the effectiveness of public participation in Abu Dhabi?" (Chakravarty et. Al, 2013).

To understand the nature and role of public participation in Abu Dhabi, the group looked at the intial effort the planning council had taken to gather public opinion regarding planning. Similar to Kuwait, the Abu Dhabi Urban Planning Council created a "Majlis", the word denotes a place where people gather to socialize and discuss issues of the day, in this case; a council. The

Majlis provides a place for people to interact with leaders, that way citizens are able to inform leaders of their needs and requests. This form of representative democracy ensures individuals needs are met through decisions made by the planning and development leaders. Hence, there is a form of representative democracy, where citizens elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf. However, the recent effort by the Municipality of Abu Dhabi to embrace the idea of participation in planning deserves credit in shaping the future role of public participation in Abu Dhabi (Chakravarty et. Al, 2013).

Second, to structure the idea of public participation in the non-democratic context of Abu Dhabi the idea of participation is framed within the Islamic concept of Shura (meaning consultation) as a means for "government to make better decisions" through community consultation efforts (Chakravarty et. Al, 2013). Shura represents an Islamic perspective on socio-political organization (Sulaiman, 1999). The Holy Quran presents shura as a principle of governance, however it is represented as "discretionary, non-binding consultation". In one example "Prophet Muhammad is asked to consult with his companions, but, ultimately, to decide on his own" (Sulaiman, 1999).

Third, to improve the effectiveness of public participation in Abu Dhabi the students suggest the elimination of the current complicated process, which includes a series of approvals and permissions. Working in the field with different users of the Baniyas park, a park in an old neighborhood in Abu Dhabi that was selected as a case study, the students were able to conclude that there was an interest among city residents, both locals and expatriates, to participate and have their voices heard in the redevelopment of their neighborhood park. They conclude that by enabling legislation to allow different relevant agencies such as the Urban Planning Council and the Department of Transportation, among others, to guide participation processes, there is a possibility for the planning process to become proactive, where communities become more

engaged and encouraged to imagine the future of their surrounding physical environment. They suggest a larger level decree that enables all urban planning agencies to implement participatory procedures and expand to include all residents of Abu Dhabi. The students also suggested that a report be returned to the community after the participation process is completed to encourage communities to continue, "to envision their parks, streets, markets etc" as they go forward with local level planning in the future (Chakravarty et. Al, 2013).

2.6 Towards Public Participation in Kuwait

After the launch of Kuwait's oil industry in 1946, Kuwait "underwent a rapid, state-led modernization process that resulted in the complete transformation of its urban landscape" (Al-Nakib, 2013). In 1951, Abdullah AlSalim, Sheikh of Kuwait at the time, commissioned a British firm, Minoprio, Spencely and McFarlane to produce the first master plan of Kuwait City and its suburbs. The master plan's general objectives were to modernize the road system, create a zoning plan to redistribute residential areas, dedicate open space for schools and public parks and plant trees along main roads (AlJassar, 2009). The 1952 Master Plan resembled the first nation-wide planning effort. With new wealth in the country due to the oil industry, a plan to redistribute the wealth was put in action. The government through eminent domain acquired houses closer to the city and homeowners were compensated with land in newly designated suburbs. Although this was an effective strategy to redistribute wealth, it displaced residents and destroyed vernacular and historic neighborhoods within the city.

The 1952 Master Plan ruined locals' relationship to the city. Assistant Professor of History at the American University of Kuwait, Farah Al-Nakib, describes the outcomes of this process as inhabitants' loss of their 'right to the city' (based on the terms used by French urban theorist Henri Lefebvre). Al-Nakib claims that forced suburbanization of the Kuwaiti population in the post-oil era, and the increase of state planning efforts, caused the citizens' loss of "their right"

to participation in the production of a city based on their particular needs and desires". In 1968, Kuwait hired an English firm, Colin Buchanan and Partners, to design a new master plan following the outgrowth of the 1952 master plan; the firm suggested a public participation program be introduced to obtain feedback on their design process from the public. The Kuwait Municipality however, rejected this suggestion; they preferred a process in which an "informed opinion" by selected government, industrial and commercial departments or officials be obtained to guide decision making (Al-Nakib, 2013).

Desire to participate and shape the built environment is latent on Kuwaiti society as illustrated in the paper "Towards an Urban Alternative for Kuwait: Protests and Public Participation". Al-Nakib focuses on two recent and parallel movements in Kuwait that show citizens' demands for a "right in the city". First, the public protests began in opposition of delays in "mega-projects" such as Kuwait Metro, and frustration with political corruption that led to delays in the country's development plans. Once the leading country in cultural, economic, and urban development, in recent times, such political corruption has kept Kuwait behind its neighboring Gulf countries, such as the United Arab Emirates and Qatar. Therefore, in 2005 protests began in Irada (meaning "Will" Square (a public park located in front of Kuwait's Parliament building), as people demanded a right to help shape the city and play a role in the urban planning of Kuwait. Second, Al-Nakib identifies a civic group, named Arabana (meaning cart, or in concept "a vehicle or mechanism to allow people to become more active participants in the making of their environments") that was established in 2010 by two young Kuwaitis, Abdulatif Al-Mishari and Ali Abulhassan. Arabana, provides a warehouse and mixed-use space located in Kuwait's industrial district, Shuwaikh, for artists, designers, architects and creative individuals to share ideas and come together. As the group faced challenges in licensing the renovated warehouse as an exhibition and workspace, they realized a need for change in urban planning and development processes to support innovative ideas in Kuwait (Al-Nakib, 2013).

Therefore, one of Arabana's missions became to enable and encourage people "to become active participants in the production of their environments and in increasing their stakes and involvement in their localities" (www.arabana.com, Al-Nakib, 2013). As young architects who worked in governmental planning agencies, used Arabana space for their own work, a cofounder of Arabana Project, Al-Mishari began to gain access to state planning and development agencies. He proposed that the Municipality and planning consultants that were hired to design a new development plan for Subbiya (a new district in the north, located in the site of a proposed new city, (Silk City) organize focus groups to give Kuwaitis a chance share what they would like to see in the new city, especially in terms of housing preferences (Al-Nakib, 2013). The focus groups consisted of people from diverse sectors of the society, including non-Kuwiatis. They discussed issues of the new city, in particular housing options. For the first time since 1950, a planning project had sought public participation and involvement in the process! These two bottom-up movements, Irada and Arabana, have therefore paved the road for a future in public participation after decades of top-down processes that took place in Kuwait disengaging the public and assuming planning as the state's responsibility to its people.

CASE BUILDING

3.1 Background

Kuwait is a small country located in the Middle East at the tip of the Persian Gulf. It is 17,820 km2 with a population of about 4.06 million, only around 1.26 million (31%) of which are Kuwaiti nationals (PACI, 2014). Oil was discovered in Kuwait in 1938, but it was not until 1946 when the first oil was shipped from Kuwait.

After the discovery of oil, Kuwait entered an era of continuous development and construction. This new era was guided by the implementation of a new Master Plan in the early 1960's. The lack of local expertise and manpower at the time led the county to depend on foreign planners and designers to plan the development of the country (Abdo, 1988).

In 1952, while still under British colonial rule, Kuwait hired a British firm named Minoprio, Spencely and Macfarlane to create the first national Master Plan. The plan first sought to relocate people who lived in Kuwait City to newly planned neighborhoods beyond the traditional city wall. The wall was then to be replaced with a major ring road and a green belt inspired by Howard's Garden City Movement.

Little understanding of the Kuwaiti culture, life style and nature of the daily society influenced the master plan. This led to the design of modern residential neighborhood blocks outside the old wall that resulted in car dependency and sprawl; both of which are now hard to reverse. Today we live with the consequences that the first master plan has brought us. We rely heavily on cars for transportation, and prefer to live in single-family detached homes with private front yards. These modern neighborhood blocks are dysfunctional compared to our history of vernacular neighborhood settlements that had a close knit urban fabric and courtyard

houses that respected privacy, culture and climate (Mahgoub, 2003).

3.2 Political Structure of Kuwait

Kuwait's governmental structure is a constitutional monarchy. The country is ruled by Al-Sabah family who, in the mid 18th century, had helped in the founding of the State of Kuwait. Tribal groups who settled on Kuwait's shores at the time selected the Al-Sabah family to rule the country. Today, the Amir, or prince, rules the nation. The throne is passed on to the next ruler tied by family blood, who is chosen by the Al-Sabah family council. For a long time during the mid 18th century Kuwait relied on the British Empire for protection and security. However in 1961, upon independence from Great Britain, a new constitution was written to outline the nation's political structure (Cassey, 2007:11).

The Amir along with the crown prince and heir to the throne, supervise the executive government. The National Assembly, founded in 1963, is the elected legislative body, known as Majlis Al-Umma or Kuwait Parliament. Even though the Kuwaiti government is greatly centralized, five administrative governorates serve as subdivisions or county governments (Cassey, 2007:11). The fifty elected members of the National Assembly represent these five administrative governorates. Kuwait is also spatially divided into six governorates, which are then further subdivided into neighborhood districts.

As a socialist country, in the post-oil era Kuwait became a welfare state that provides general welfare exclusively to its citizens. Welfare is illustrated by the right to housing, free healthcare and education to public employment, all of which are highly dependent on the country's revenue from the oil industry. Due to its welfare system, Kuwait has no nationals living under the poverty line. However, this does not include domestic workers and the foreign workers and their families whose living conditions are not equivalent to that of Kuwaiti nationals (Cassey, 2007:10). In a paper on the "Income Distribution in Kuwait", the 1972-1973 Gini Coefficient for

Kuwaiti families was 0.483 and that of non-Kuwaiti families was 0.469. Although these numbers are relatively dated, they reflect the "distribution of income that developed in Kuwait 25 years after the first oil shipment was made in 1946" (Al-Qudsi, 1985). These numbers still reflect current income distribution patterns, as income levels have remained stable in the post-oil era. This economic status, however, does not ensure social and economic equality; there still exists a socioeconomic gap illustrated by Kuwaiti families at the peak of society. Kuwait is considered a leading country in terms of social and political modernization compared to its neighboring Arab nations, however, as a Muslim society, it continues to struggle with women's civil rights (Cassey, 2007:11). Although women in Kuwait had been fighting for their rights to vote in Parliament at the National Assembly since the early 1970s, it was not until May of 2005 that women were granted the right to vote. Four years later, in the 2009 National Assembly elections, four women were elected to serve in the fifty-seat parliament.

Kuwait Municipality

The Kuwait Municipality known as, Al-Baladiya, was established on April 13th of 1930. The idea of creating a municipality responsible for the advancement of the country in terms of health and social affairs was proposed to the Amir of Kuwait at the time after a leading activist; Sheikh Yousef Bin Essa Al-Qanaie, visited the neighboring gulf country of Bahrain, and saw that they had established a municipality since 1919. One year after the formation of the Municipality, a law was passed to establish an elected municipal council that will operate to fulfill the goals of the Municipality in respect to the interests of citizens. In 1954, a law was passed to provide the Municipality with an independent role as a financially independent entity that is to work on providing guidance and supervision to development, health, social and civic affairs. Today, the Municipal Council, under the Kuwait Municipality, governs the planning of each of the six governorates with its members; 10 elected and 6 appointed. Although appointed members are

generally engineers and professionals from the Municipality, both elected and appointment members have the same membership rights. The Municipal Council then elects a president from among its members (Kuwait Municipality, 2014) (Law No.5 Kuwaiti Municipality, 2005).

Kuwait Municipal Council

The Municipal Council, known as Al-Majles Al-Baladi, is an important and influential governing body that retains the authority to push forward public policy decisions on behalf of the Municipality. The Council plays a large role in managing urban development projects, city organization and beautification, safeguarding public health and safety as well as environmental protection. Subcommittees are formed within the four-year council to represent every governorate. The Municipal Council has the right to decide the location of projects in order to beautify cities, roads, streets and squares (Article no.12, Kuwaiti Municipality, 2005). They also have the power to decide the public interest when it comes to temporary expropriation and possession of private property for public interest (Law No.33/1964). While the Council has the right to decide plans to modernize and organize regions (commercial, industrial and residential) as they confirm to the general structure plan, they also are the entity that delineates the suggestions submitted by both government and citizens regarding recommendations and proposals. The Municipal Council meets in private at least biweekly. The president may also invite the board members for irregular sessions in-between scheduled meetings if situations that need to be taken care of arise. Unlike in the United States, there is no requirement for publicly open meetings and transparency. Meetings do not have a set time; they are dismissed once the full agenda is taken care of. Established in 1932, the Municipal Council is an important entity as it addresses issues that are beneath the National Assembly's view but beyond the reach of local Consumer Cooperative Societies (co-ops) (LeBaron, 2005).

Kuwait Union of Consumer Co-operative Societies

Even though planning in Kuwait happens on a more regional scale, and through a top down approach, its neighborhoods follow a shared design. Each neighborhood is designed around a "central neighborhood center" known as the "co-op" run by a local consumer society board. The neighborhood centers are generally where local residents go to get their daily needs. They are made up of a grocery store, mosque, bank, laundry, barbershop, pharmacy, stationary shop, printing services, sandwich shops and many other daily services and amenities. The neighborhood centers are run by the Kuwait Union of Consumer Co-operative Societies (KUCCS).

KUCCS was launched in 1971; the society provides people with supermarket goods and maintains control to ensure uniform sale prices throughout all neighborhoods. Kuwaiti residents of each district have shares in their local co-op and are entitled to yearly profits; the concept being, "the consumers are the owners".

Within each neighborhood a board, elected annually by the local shareholders, runs the co-op. Their efforts form and provide services and jobs in a given community (LeBaron, 2005). The KUCCS plays a major role in each locality both economically and socially. Twenty-five percent of their profits are put towards social activities. They organize and supervise training courses, workshops, competitions and social activities such as organizing community trips to a resort for a weekend, as well as organizing religious pilgrimages to 'Mecca' with community members (Figure 3). These events help people get to know others that live within their district. The local co-op also organizes award ceremonies with gift coupons for school children as a means of youth encouragement for education.



Figure 3: Annual Ramadan soccer tournament organized by Jabriya Co-op Society (2014)

Neighborhood centers, as their name implies, are generally located in the center of a neighborhood and surrounded by single-family residential plots. Therefore they act as the central community core within each suburb. As far as the physical layout of the centers, typically, several small service and amenity shops flank one main grocery building. A mosque, library or clinic and other public facilities also lay within its surroundings. Since the neighborhood center consists of the main amenities needed by a family on a daily basis, it brings together residents of a community; hence the design of public spaces within such centers influences people's everyday interaction with their community.

Once the co-op building within a community has become old, or worn-down profits earned through sales are used to either renovate and maintain the building or, in some cases, construct a completely new building, as it occurred in the case of Jabriya Co-op. The process of designing and locating new co-op buildings, however, is highly governmental since the government owns both the building and the land on which the centers are located and only

leaves management to the local KUCCS.

3.3 Neighborhood Centers Design and Approval Process

The Ministry of Public Works (MPW) was established in 1945 mainly to construct necessary public services. In the 1950's during Kuwait's post-oil construction and population boom, the ministry became more involved in the construction of infrastructure networks and public facilities. In the 1970's and 1980's with the suburbanization of residential neighborhoods, the MPW was involved in building highways, mosques, schools, hospitals, clinics, and parks as well as ministerial and governmental buildings. Before the formation of the Public Authority for Housing Welfare the MPW was also responsible for building low-income housing projects. The Ministry of Public Works also built and maintained many parks throughout Kuwait before the establishment of the Public Authority for Agriculture and Fisheries in 1983. This latter authority now controls public parks.

The Design Management Department within the MPW is responsible for the design of government projects. It works in close proximity with consultant engineering offices. Neighborhood cooperative store designs are executed by MPW engineers and architects or by contracted engineering firms under the Ministry's supervision. Members of a local consumer society may be consulted regarding design needs and desires. Once the design is final, it is reviewed and approved by the Municipal Council. Next the project is sent to the Central Tenders Committee (CTC), the government agency responsible for accepting bids and applications from public tenders, to complete contracting agreements for the construction phase of the project. Once built, the project is handed over to the Kuwait Union of Consumer Cooperative Societies (KUCCS) to manage and lease retail spaces.

State-led planning efforts follow the notion that planning and development are the state's

responsibility to its people, as are other welfare systems such as the right to housing, health care, education and employment. (Al-Nakib, 2014; 105). The fact that citizens have elected Municipal Council and Cooperative Society board members contributes to the missing public participation piece in planning for public space. It is assumed that citizens have elected the persons they want and trust to represent them in their community. Should there be any complaints or requests, citizens are able to contact board members in formal or informal "Dewaniyas" (generally men's gathering spaces) to voice their concerns to the elected official.

Each neighborhood district has its unique characteristics, while most are completely residential, some have municipal buildings, hospitals, public or private university buildings, religious centers or commercial buildings. Therefore the needs of each community are different when it comes to neighborhood centers and user preferences. The Ministry of Public Works, as the main entity responsible for executing public facilities, conceptualizes the design and planning processes as a top down, strictly governmental process. While it is unclear whether other design procedures would be more successful, a common outcome of the current procedure is underutilized central spaces in a neighborhood's most strategic sites. The new neighborhood center in Jabriya provides an example of underutilized spaces that could be potential neighborhood strengthening and bonding areas. As Jabriya's commercial blocks continue to develop, Jabriya district is becoming subject to utilization by outsiders who come to use the many facilities within the mixed-use neighborhood; hence it is hypothesized that efficient utilization of the neighborhood center could act as a community bonding area.

3.4 History of Jabriya's Development

In June of 1968, based on request from the Kuwait Municipality the Municipal Council (the entity that makes recommendations for municipal requests) decided to update service roads surrounding Jabriya district on the North, East and West. Service roads within Jabriya

were to be built parallel to Fourth Ring Road on the North, AlFahaiheel Road on the East, and AlMaghreb Road on the West to create a grid to subdivide blocks. In February of 1969, the Municipal Council secretary requested the Municipality to rearrange blocks 1, 2, and 5 on the Western edge of Jabriya and define their borders before allowing larger plot owners to subdivide and utilize their plots (Kuwait Municipality, official municipal letters, 1968).

In 1971, after completing a study by the Department of Special Projects the Municipality decided to create an updated plan of Jabriya defining the boundaries of the district by Fourth Ring Road on the North, Fifth Ring Road on the South, AlFahaiheel Road on the East, and AlMaghreb Road on the West. The previous plan did not include blocks 4, 8, 11, and 12 located on the Eastern edge of Jabriya, hence new subdivision plans for these blocks had to be created.

In 1972, the Municipal Council requested the Municipality to designate blocks 1, 2, and 3 as commercial/residential blocks, to allow apartment housing and provide a commercial center for the district. The rest of the blocks were designated as private residential subdivisions. Lots measuring less than 400m2 and not privately owned at the time were to be taken as part of state planning for public land to be sold or utilized by the government for public facilities. The organizing, subdivision, and designation of land that was open for public purchase in blocks 1, 2, and 3 in 1972 signified the beginning of commercialization in Jabriya's North Western corner. By 1977, the Municipal Council requested the Municipality's Chief Engineer to designate areas for water supply and electric facilities in the newly planned neighborhood of Jarbiya (Kuwait Municipality, 1974).

3.5 Case Study: Jabriya District, Kuwait

Jabriya is a large suburb with an area of about 2 square miles located 10km SE of Kuwait City. It located in the densest governorate of the six; Hawally (Table 3, Figure 4). Jabriya is zoned primarily residential and consists of three commercial, mixed-use blocks and the Kuwait University medical campus and training hospital (Figure 5).

Table 3: Population Density in the Governorates of Kuwait

Governorate	Population (2014)	Area (km2)	Density/km2
Al-Ahmadi	809,353	5,120 km2	158/ km2
Al-Farwaniya	1,077,377	204 km2	5281/ km2
Al-Jahra	491, 392	12,750 km2	39/ km2
Al-Asma (Kuwait)	534, 964	175 km2	3057/ km2
Hawalli	890,533	85 km2	10,477/ km2
Mubarak Al-Kabir	230,727	104 km2	2219/ km2

Source: http://www.citypopulation.de/php/kuwait-admin.php, http://www.statoids.com/ukw.html

Figure 4: Kuwait Governorates Household Distribution *Collective households refer to households that are occupied by more than one person, usually unrelated individuals.

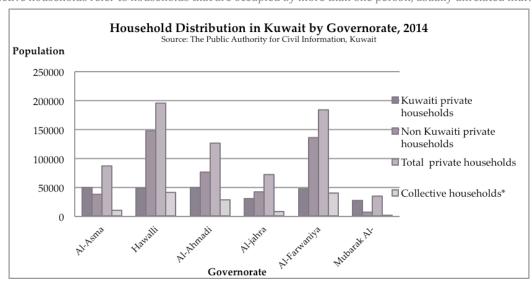


Figure 5: Block Layout of Jabriya District, Kuwait



Compared to other predominantly residential suburbs in Kuwait, Jabriya is unique. With a population of approximately 75,648 people living in both single-family houses and in apartment buildings, Jabriya's residents are predominantly Non-Kuwaitis. Of the 75,648 people living in Jabriya only 23,383 (31%) are Kuwaiti nationals, the remaining 52,265 (69%) residents are non-Kuwaitis (Figure 6). The surrounding suburbs have an average of 40,113 residents, with the higher percentage (60%) being Kuwaiti nationals.

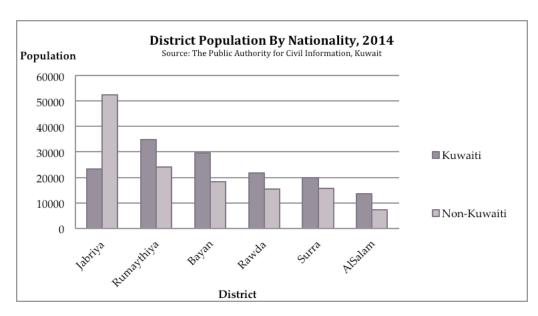


Figure 6: District Population By Nationality

Compared to its neighboring residential districts (Bayan to the South, Rumaithiya SE, AlSalam SW, Surra W, Rawda NW), Jabriya has the highest number of apartment units as well as vacant units, which indicates a potential for Jabriya to become denser in the future (Figures 7&8). (Note: Hawally on the North and Salmiya on the East are predominantly non-owner occupied, commercial and rental residential districts and therefore are disregarded in the statistics below).

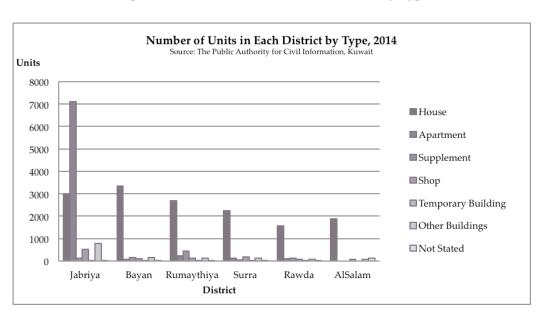


Figure 7: Number of Units in Each District by Type

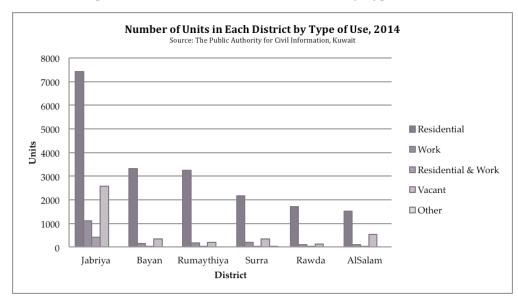


Figure 8: Number of Units in Each District by Type of Use

The number of collective households shown in the graph below (Figure 9) refers to households that are occupied by more than one person, usually unrelated individuals. These households do not have a head responsible for the family; rather, each member is responsible for his/her own affairs. In many cases these collective households are occupied by a group of migrant workers, many of which might work in the many commercial buildings in Jabriya or the surrounding commercial districts such as Hawally and Salmiya.

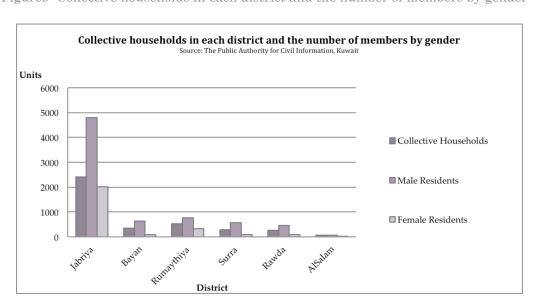


Figure 9: Collective households in each district and the number of members by gender

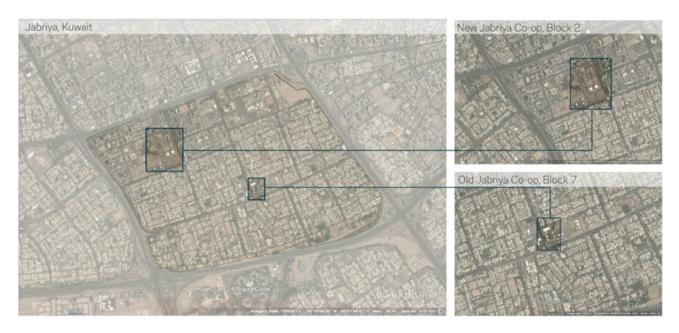
3.6 Neighborhood Centers of Jabriya

The main grocery co-op in Jabriya was initially located in block 7, surrounded by single-family residential plots and public schools. Because Jabriya was occupied by its residents before the Municipality officially subdivided it, the Ministry of Public works had still not provided public facilities such as the main neighborhood grocery store. Thus residents and volunteers built the first co-op building. Thirty years after it was built, its repair costs were higher than the cost of new construction. Therefore, in 2009, based on recommendations by the locally elected board, a new co-op was built by the Ministry of Public Works. The new neighborhood center is now located in block 2; in the center of the three commercial and mixed-use blocks (Figure 10).

While the old coop building had a clinic, mosque, two bank buildings, a pharmacy, bakery, shoe repair shop and other amenities, the aluminum temporary structure was getting old. There was no place for children to play except at the semi-private play area at back of a Burger King fast-food restaurant. The produce (green grocery) building was separate from the grocery store, located approximately fifty meters away from the grocery building's main entrance.

The new coop built in 2009 consists of all the amenities in the old neighborhood center, with the addition of a public plaza and fountain at the rear of the main grocery building and an adjacent mall to the east; both are also managed by the Jabriya branch of the Union of Cooperative Societies.

Figure 10: Co-op Centers in Jabriya District, Kuwait



Research Design and Methodology

The purposes of this chapter are (1) to describe the research objectives of this study, (2) to describe and justify the research methods to gather data, and (3) to describe the process of designing the research instruments.

4.1 Research Objectives

My research consists of four objectives. The first objective is to document and understand the civic role of local consumer cooperative societies in Kuwait and their social impacts on the neighborhood scale. Second, I aim to document and understand the process of designing and building new neighborhood centers in Kuwait. Third, the research assesses the built form and utilization of public space within the selected case study neighborhood center. Finally, I evaluate community satisfaction with public spaces, desires for future intervention, and willingness to participate with their local co-op in the planning of their community neighborhood centers and public spaces in the future.

4.2 Research Methods

The following study utilizes a case study approach, and focuses on a commercial and single-family residential suburb in Kuwait, Jabriya. The research utilized a mixed methods approach to prepare the case study. Research methods were selected to gather data to address each of the objectives mentioned previously. The first method was interviews, the second was observational fieldwork and the third method was a social survey. To document and understand the role of local consumer cooperative societies in Kuwait and their social impacts on the neighborhood, an interview with a member of the local co-op and administrative staff was conducted.

To document and understand the process of designing and building new neighborhood centers throughout neighborhoods in Kuwait, an interview with an elite member of the Ministry of Public Works (MPW) was conducted. The interview focused on the process in general then on the specific case of designing Jabriya's new co-op building.

To assess the built environment existing maps of Jabriya neighborhood and letters between the Municipality and Municipal Council (recommending body) were used to map current public spaces and their potential connectivity to their surroundings. First hand qualitative and quantitative field data was gathered through fieldwork. Observations of current activities on the site, notes, and photographs, as well as intercept surveys with users of the local co-op were conducted to help assess the built environment.

To evaluate community satisfaction and needs, qualitative and descriptive quantitative data was gathered in the form of intercept surveys conducted at the local grocery store. Onsite intercept surveys allowed me to gather user expectations at the studied location. Intercept surveys were chosen over online surveys to ensure different members of the population were interviewed at different times of the day and hence guaranteeing diversity of survey information.

4.3 Instrument Design

Survey Questionnaires

The three components of a survey include sampling, designing questions and data collection (Fowler, 2002). For the purpose of this study, intercept surveys were conducted onsite at Jabriya's new local grocery store building. Permission for conducting surveys at the local coop was obtained from the Jabriya Co-op administration. Due to time limitation a random sample of fifty users of the site were interviewed and data was later entered on a tablet via Google Forms. The sample was stratified to include both Kuwaiti and Non-Kuwaiti residents of Jabriya.

The questions were provided both in Arabic and in English. A pilot survey was conducted to test the questionnaire prior to its use.

Observation Fieldwork

Field notes, photographs and observations were taken at three places within Jabriya's neighborhood center at different times of day. First, it was hypothesized that the central court, surrounded by the mosque, grocery store, and mall is underutilized do to lack of understanding of user needs, therefore intercept surveys at the court were conducted to further understand user perceptions on the space. Second, surveys were conducted inside the mall, to capture some thoughts of what is needed in the mall from its users. Third, surveys at the rear entrance of the grocery store closer to the neighborhood park and at the neighborhood park were planned to capture users who park at the rear entrance or walk from the commercial blocks to capture their tendency and frequency of using of the neighborhood public park across the street.

To further understand the utilization of the space, observations were done on a weekday during the morning, during Dhuhr (noon) prayer, and afterschool hours. During the weekend, observations were done after Friday's noon prayer, and in the evenings. The spacing of surveys throughout the listed times was to ensure a diverse selection of Jabriya residents is captured (ie. younger adults, retired individuals, working parents etc).

Interviews with elites

Interviews were conducted with municipal and co-op elites to further understand their role in shaping the built neighborhood centers and providing citizen needs.

Since the study deals with understanding the design process of neighborhood centers in Kuwait, and looks specifically at a case study of Jabriya Co-op to describe the nature of such

spaces, interviews were conducted with three entities that influence the design.

First, the local co-op society and its members, are responsible to determine the need for renovation or rebuilding of a local co-op. Therefore an interview was conducted with a current local board administrative staff member at Jabriya co-op to further understand the process of determining such needs. Next, the Ministry of Public Works is the governmental entity responsible for designing or contracting with engineering firms to design public facilities on government land. Hence, an interview with officials and engineers at the Ministry of Public Works was conducted to document the process of designing neighborhood centers, and how the surrounding land uses, and demographics of a neighborhood are considered in the design process. Lastly, the Municipal Council is the entity that approves projects with its elected and appointed officials representing each governorate. An interview was conducted with a government official and engineer formerly representing Jabriya district, to understand the key issues taken into account in the approval process of public facilities and neighborhood centers. It is important to note that setting up interview timings before hand via email was not efficient in the context of Kuwait's government employees. Also working hours and vacations for government elites may sometimes be flexible, therefore availability of local and government officials for interviews in December were left to be scheduled upon arrival in Kuwait.

4.4 Shortcomings and Limitations

The following study is an exploratory study that utilizes field research to gather data from a selected case study neighborhood in Kuwait. Exploratory research often provides information and insight to researchers in preparation for larger research efforts. Due to limits of time and distance, a limited number of intercept surveys, observations and interviews were conducted, and therefore limitations and shortcomings of the research must be stated. Limited respondents may not represent the full neighborhood population, however, by focusing on conducting

intercept surveys onsite, a better feel of user preferences was expected. Each suburb in Kuwait has its own unique characteristics; therefore the same study conducted in a different suburb may yield different results based on socio-economic, spatial and surrounding context. Lastly, it is important to note that the study was conducted in December, while average winter temperatures range from $10-17~^{\circ}$ C ($50-63~^{\circ}$ F) as oppose to summer when average temperatures range from $42~^{\circ}$ to $48~^{\circ}$ C ($107.6~^{\circ}$ to $118.4~^{\circ}$ F), therefore more people were expected to be seen outdoors and walking from one facility to another within the neighborhood center.

Data Analysis and Findings

In this chapter the results of interviews, surveys and observational field research conducted in Kuwait are presented. The data analysis and findings are presented based on the four research objectives identified in the previous chapter.

Before presenting the interviews, surveys, and observations conducted in Kuwait during winter break, it is important to provide some background and contextual information. While December is considered a winter month in Kuwait, the outdoor temperatures range from an average of 10–17 °C (50–63 °F), making it a very mild period, with pleasant cold breezes under the warm winter sun. Public schools are in session, and have midterm exams and reading days from mid-December through January. Private schools have winter/Christmas break starting from the last two weeks of December and are back in session after New Year's Day. New Year's Day is considered a public holiday during which schools, banks, government and private offices close. It is also essential to note that the workweek in Kuwait starts on Sunday, and ends on Thursday. Making Friday and Saturday the official weekend days.

Research Objective #1: To Document the Civic Role of Local Consumer Co-operative Societies in Kuwait

To further understand the civic role of local consumer co-operative societies in a Kuwaiti suburb, I interviewed Mr. AlSaffar, Public Relations Manager at Jabriya Co-operative Society. We discussed the role of the co-op's local board in large scale decisions such as building design and execution, their role in providing social events and services to neighborhood residents, as well as their duties and efforts to provide services to the community as a whole. Mr.AlSaffar's office is located on the ground floor, between the main grocery building and Jabriya Mall, thus making the management accessible to customers. Mr. AlSaffar quickly indicated that the Kuwait Union

for Co-operative Consumer Societies (KUCCS) is not involved in the production of neighborhood centers. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor works with the Municipality and Ministry of Public Works to design and construct the project. Upon completion, the neighborhood center is handed over to the KUCCS, who then forms a local board from elected community residents to begin managing the center.

The case of Jabriya's first co-op building is unique, since the neighborhood was occupied before the Ministry of Public Works fully provided roads and services. Local residents and stakeholders with the help of the government designed the first co-op building. Therefore, unlike older co-ops in other neighborhoods, the building was a temporary aluminum structure, not built by the Ministry of Public Works. The temporary structure remained the main grocery store for Jabriya Neighborhood for over 30 years. During that time, the Ministry of Public Works had assigned Jabriya Co-op's new design project to an in-house architect to begin the design. It was not until 2009 that the new co-op and neighborhood center, designed and completed by the Ministry of Public Works was handed over to Jabriya's consumer society. During the interview Mr. AlSaffar identified the challenges that come with working in a large, diverse neighborhood, with both residential and commercial uses. He told me there are around 8,700 to 9,000 Kuwaiti stakeholders in Jabriya's Co-operative Society; however, many of their regular customers include non-Kuwaiti Jabriya residents who live in the commercial blocks surrounding the neighborhood center. These users do not have a voice in the local co-op.

Annual meetings for co-op stakeholders are generally held each year, one day before board elections. When I asked about the community's satisfaction with the overall design and layout of the buildings, Mr. AlSaffar first emphasized the co-op's lack of involvement with the design and construction process, he then added, that the new co-op is too small to serve the growing population in Jabriya. Also, Jabriya Mall is one of the first malls to be incorporated

within neighborhood center designs in Kuwait, therefore it carries many design errors when compared to newer malls that, unlike Jabriya Mall, are designed attached to the main grocery store for customer convenience.

Performance of Built Space: The Mall

From an administrative point of view, Mr. AlSaffar admits that the design has flaws. Throughout the rest of the interview, he went on to describe several attempts taken by the administration to deal with underutilized spaces in ways that would benefit the local users of the neighborhood center. The mall, for example, is used for seasonal exhibitions (i.e. back-to-school supplies, camping necessities, Ramadhan needs etc.)(Figure11). At other times, small tables are rented at reasonable prices to local women who sell homemade items and traditional wear. This is done to help support local craftsmanship.



Figure 11: Camping Necessities Seasonal Exhibition at Jabriya Mall (2015)

The administration realizes that stores within the mall are not attracting many customers; therefore, to utilize the mall more efficiently, the administration is suggesting that stores located inside the main grocery store that already have high consumer demand be moved into the mall to help generate consumer traffic. The idea was first proposed to Al-Ghanim Electronics store, currently located on the first floor of the main grocery building. Afraid to lose consumer traffic, Al-Ghanim refused to relocate. Next, the administration suggested that Al-Muzainee (Western Union Money Transfer Office) transfer from the ground floor of the main grocery building to a larger floor-area store in the mall without a rent increase. Al-Muzainee agreed, and therefore the administration senses there is some hope for better utilization of the mall in the future. One other strategy the administration attempted was to rent out space in the mall for coffee shops, not only to increase consumer traffic, but also to foster community interaction. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor (MSAL), which is responsible for registration and granting commercial licenses, however, rejected this idea. Mr. AlSaffar explained that the MSAL instead suggested that the local co-op provide and run a café self-reliantly. The MSAL claimed that any coffee shop in a neighborhood center must be a local effort by the administration and/or stakeholders rather than a franchise coffee shop. Even though there are no policies for this rule, and several co-ops around different neighborhoods rent out to franchise coffee shops, Jabriya co-op's administration did attempt to provide a café. However, it was costly and hard to manage and therefore failed to remain operating. In May of 2014 the space was repurposed to become a "Dewaniya" for elderly men of the community (a place where men gather to discuss issues of the day). However during my field visit in January of 2015 the seating benches were removed. A security guard indicated that the space is mostly unoccupied by older adults, and therefore children have been playing in the area and wrecking the seating benches. Therefore the administration decided to remove the seating area (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Left: Opening of the elderly Dewaniya in Jabriya Mall in May 2014. Source: Jabriya co-op annual report 2014. Right: current (2015) empty Dewaniya area in Jabriya Mall.





Mr. AlSaffar also criticized the MSAL for the lengthy process associated with commercial licensing in general. This process has affected the ability to get new retail into the mall in a timely fashion.

Figure 13: Panoramic view: Jabriya Neighborhood Center court; from mosque (left) to public library (right)



Performance of Open Space: The Outdoor Court

Next, we discussed the outdoor court that links the main grocery store, mall, mosque, amenity shops and library together. Mr. AlSaffar revealed their many efforts to utilize the space year-round. Other than annual events, such as Gergaian (an annual celebration that takes place on the fifteenth night of Ramadhan, where children wear traditional clothing, sing traditional songs and receive candy and nuts from family and neighbors), the administration utilizes this court to provide outdoor recreational activities. A few years back the administration tried

installing "go-karts" in the outdoor court for children to play as their parents shopped. However, go-karts caused noise and damaged the area. Since then, jumping castles have been favored (Figure 13). Usually, jumping castles are installed at the end of the summer as the weather cools down and are removed by the end of winter. A 'movie van' also currently rents a spot; it is parked in the court for children to ride and watch short 3D films. During the interview, I asked Mr. AlSaffar to comment on reasons behind removing the central fountain in the court, he replied that it failed as a decorative feature and was therefore removed due to maintenance and cleaning difficulty as dust would accumulate on it regularly.

Underutilized Surrounding Land Uses

To understand the relationship between the neighborhood center and surrounding land uses, I asked Mr. AlSaffar about his opinion on the neighboring park, and whether it was an underutilized public space. He responded that regarding the neighboring public park (Figures 14-16), Jabriya's Co-op Society Board had asked the Parks and Recreation Department at the Public Authority for Agricultural and Fisheries (PAAF), whether they can take up park maintenance from the PAAF and add new features such as a soccer field. However the board's proposal was rejected. Frustrated with the lack of collaboration from different governmental agencies, Mr. AlSaffar also shared an additional illustrative point that they had asked the Municipality for permission to provide a car repair shop as a much needed community service within the neighborhood center, and were also rejected. Mr. AlSaffar indicated that since many proposals by the co-op's administration to provide a better community space have been rejected by different governmental agencies, there has been less enthusiasm to collaborate with governmental agencies.

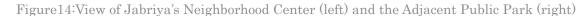




Figure 15: Panoramic view inside Jabriya Public Park



From the interview with the Public Relations Manager at Jabriya's Co-op Society, it was clear that while there were many efforts made by reaching out to the Municipality, the Public Authority for Agricultural and Fisheries, and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor to come up with "community enhancing" solutions to an impractical design delivered by the Ministry of Public Works, they were largely ineffective.

Figure 16: Views of Jabriya Public Park located across from Jabriya's Neighborhood Center









Research Objective #2: To Document the Process of Designing and Building New Neighborhood Centers in Kuwait

A second objective of my research was to understand the process of designing and building new neighborhood centers in Kuwait. To do this, I requested an interview with chief architect of Jabriya's new co-op building. I learned that Jabriya's new co-op and neighborhood center was designed "in-house" by an architect at the Ministry of Public Works (MPW) rather than by an engineering consulting firm. Knowing that, I believed it would be easy to gain access to the architect at the Ministry. However, at the MPW Design and Development Department I discovered that it would be difficult to reach the chief architect, as he had designed the center in the late-1980s and has already retired from his job at the MPW. Due to lengthy municipal procedures and processes as well as political tensions that might arise, some projects take an

extremely long time to be implemented. In the case of Jabriya Co-op, even though it was designed in the 1980s, the MPW did not begin constructing the project until late 2003-2004 and handed it over in 2009 (almost 30 years later).

At the Ministry of Public Works, I was able to schedule an interview with Architect Bader Bousakar, a University of Houston architecture graduate, who has been involved in the process of designing and implementing neighborhood centers in recently developed suburban neighborhoods in Kuwait. The main purpose of the interview was to further understand the process of designing and building new neighborhood centers and the public spaces they create throughout Kuwait's residential suburbs. We met at the Design and Development Department at the MPW on a Tuesday morning in Architect Bader Bousakar's work cubical. I introduced myself and my research before being asked to take a seat on one of the two available visitors' chairs in his cubical. Archiect Bousakar was familiar with my research intentions, as I had sent my interview questions to an employee at the MPW in order to be connected to an architect involved in local co-op projects.

Design and Project Delivery Process

First, we discussed the general process of designing a new neighborhood center in any suburb in Kuwait. Architect Bousakar began by stating that the process starts at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor (MSAL). For a newly developed suburb, a list of the required buildings and services is determined by the MSAL and forwarded to the Municipality where the site selection processes follows. If the local co-operative society board for the neighborhood is already established and would like to make programmatic suggestions, officials from the co-operative society must contact the MSAL and inform them of any requests before further communication between ministries takes place. That way, the MSAL could include the local

consumer board's suggestions in the letter to the MPW. Although the board could designate one person as a liaison to government agencies, Architect Bousakar believes this communication does not happen very often due to a lack of awareness and knowledge in regards to the process from the consumer society's part. Also, elections and changing board members make it hard to keep track of the ongoing project at the different governmental offices especially since they may take a long time to be implemented. Next, the Municipality finds a site in the given neighborhood that matches physical requirements for the facility and the services it will contain. If more than one suitable site is proposed, they are presented to the Municipal Council, who then recommend the best site based on surrounding land uses and available shared parking opportunities. The site area for each local co-op is calculated based on the current number of neighborhood residents. Finally, employees at the Design and Development Department in the Ministry of Public Works (MPW), like Architect Bousakar, receive an official letter from the Municipality of Kuwait that states the finalized required program for the new co-op. The letter includes each of the needed facilities and their specified square footage (ie. grocery store, mosque, library, theater, social space for community workshops etc.) as well as the selected site and its boundaries. The MPW's job is to translate the needs into a buildable project either by commissioning an "in-house" architect or by hiring an engineering consulting firm. The awarding of the commission depends upon staff and resource availability at the given time. The architect commissioned by the MPW may work independently or can choose to consult with colleagues if needed. No advisory design team of ministerial staff is formed to weigh in on the design. While post-occupancy surveys are not required, sometimes, an architect commissioned to design a new co-op might visit several existing co-op centers to evaluate mistakes in existing buildings and hence minimize future design problems. One example of a noticed design error was the miscalculation of floor to ceiling heights; it was too low in one co-op and therefore caused difficulty in transporting goods and products within the main grocery store building.

The MPW is required to provide three design alternatives to a committee formed by the MSAL, which then selects the best design. Regarding adjacent land uses, the Municipality takes them into consideration in the site selection process, while the MPW considers access, main roads and traffic while designing entrances to and exists from the center.

Perspectives on Public Participation in the Design Process

While Architect Bousakar noted that the concept of public participation always sounds good, he focused on portraying the challenges associated with involving the public from his own experience. He shared a recent experience in which plans for Abdullah AlMubarak AlSabah neighborhood center, a newly developed suburb 10 miles south of Kuwait City, leaked from the MPW and gotten into the hands of some residents. While the MPW was accustomed to comments from the local consumer board regarding design issues, they were surprised to receive several complaints directly from the neighborhood residents. People who lived close to the proposed location of a new police station reached out to the Minister (highest on the 'chain of command'), because they did not want the police station near their homes. This resembled a clear "Not in My Back Yard" (NIMBY) attitude in which residents opposed the positioning of a new, and arguably needed development, because it will be located closer to them (figure 17).



Figure 17: Abdullah AlMubarak AlSabah neighborhood police station location

Although public participation efforts in communal space production is difficult and may complicate and lengthen the process even further, Architect Bousakar did not deny that, as architects, they would be interested in learning about user preferences and perhaps "considering" (اخذ في عين الاعتبار) some comments and incorporating them as seen necessary and appropriate.

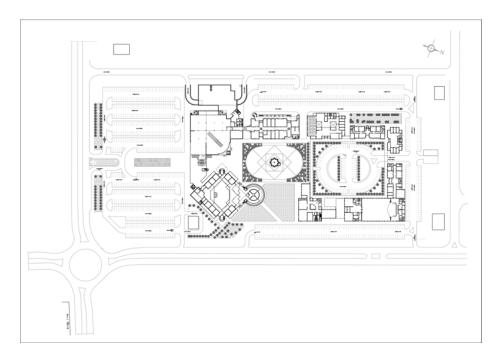
5.1 Jabriya's New Neighborhood Center

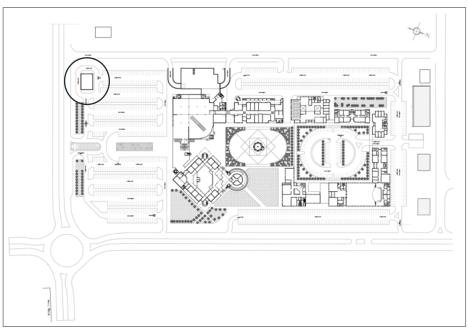
In the case of Jabriya's new neighborhood center, few obstacles were encountered in the design process. One reason for this is that the project was designed in-house. The in-house architect should generally be familiar with building codes and less communication with other partners would be required. Architect Bousakar clarified that the buildings in Jabriya's new neighborhood center were designed in the late 1980's, implemented between 2003-2004, and completed and ready to be occupied in 2009.

In implementing the project, the Ministry of Public Works encountered one obstacle to their original plan. Due to a lack of communication and collaboration with other government agencies such as the Municipality and Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor, the MPW was surprised when they learned that the National Bank of Kuwait had owned a plot within the area designated for Jabriya's new co-op (Figure 18). Therefore the design needed to include the bank. To achieve this, the parking lot had to be slightly redesigned, resulting in a loss of several parking spaces. Luckily, the MPW's Design and Development Department learned this before construction, since, to minimize cost and construction time, there is a general rule that there can be no variations to any parts of the design while it is being implemented. This strict rule also prevents construction workers from fixing any design errors during construction- any errors found in the design need to be fixed post-construction. A two-year maintenance period begins post construction, with the local co-operative society responsible for future maintenance and

building upkeep.

Figure 18:Site Plan of Jabriya Neighborhood Center- Initial site plan, revised version 2003 (below) which includes the National bank of Kuwait (NBK) in the top left





Design Element: The Outdoor Court

My research was concerned with understanding a specific design element, that is the outdoor court located in the center of Jabriya's neighborhood center. Upon asking about the original intent of providing a large central court, Architect Bousakar referred to it simply as a design element that has never served much purpose. He went on to explain that after the buildings were complete, the "public square" or outdoor court in Jabriya seemed to have little use. Therefore, newer designs of co-op buildings are beginning to include indoor and shaded areas rather than open-outdoor courts. In fact, Heteen neighborhood, a single-family residential suburb located 2.5 miles SW of Jabriya, was rapidly built-up and its residents occupied their homes quickly, therefore the MPW was pressured into providing a quick design for a co-op. With little-to-no time, the Ministry decided to reuse the layout plan for Jabriya's new co-op and work on some alterations to fit the given site in Heteen Neighborhood. The outdoor court was removed and replaced with an interior enclosed atrium that links the co-op to the mall building. This provided a shaded and enclosed atrium where community events could take place, while also capturing users of the main grocery store (left) and the attached mall (right)(Figure 19).

Figure 19: Heteen neighborhood central atrium connecting main grocery store and mall





Design Element: The Mall, Jabriya vs. Heteen

Since my research was concerned with how the Mall in Jabriya's Neighborhood Center was utilized, I visited Heteen Mall to look at the design modifications made and how it is utilized. The new Heteen Mall plan added entrances to first floor stores from the building's outer edge (Figure 20). Franchise coffee and sandwich shops lined the outer perimeter with their outdoor seating tables and plants. Unlike Jabriya's Mall, Heteen Mall was a busy place where many people interacted as they wait in line to get coffee, ice cream or a snack before finding a place to take a seat with friends and family. On the site visit to Heteen Mall, at three o'clock in the afternoon on a weekday, the tables surrounding the mall were well occupied by groups of all ages, some people were out for recreational purposes while others were working in groups or on a casual business meeting (Figure 21). While Jabriya Mall had the potential to open up to a safer central plaza, where coffee shops could overlook a potential central children's recreational area, Heteen Mall was seen to be more successful at creating a place for local residents to gather even though it overlooks a large parking lot (Figure 22). The Public Relations and Training Departments for Heteen Neighborhood Center are located at the entrance of the Mall with open doors and a complaints and suggestions box next to the inviting reception desk (Figure 23). Architect Busakar attributed the better use of space in Heteen to a more active and capable local consumer society board.



Figure 20: Site Plan of Heteen Neighborhood Center built in 2008

Figure 21:: Heteen Mall coffee shops and seating





Figure 22: Jabriya Mall pictured from outdoor court (top), Heteen Mall pictured from parking lot (bottom)





Figure 23:: Heteen Mall coffee shops and seating





Figure 24: Jabriya Mall Interior Atrium (left), Heteen Mall Interior Atrium (right) where the central escalators from the original design have been removed to provide an uninterrupted





Figure 25:: Heteen shaded walkway to main grocery store (left), Heteen grocery store entrance (right)





Figure 26: Heteen co-op administration offices (upper level) overlooking the main grocery building



Research Objective #3: To assess the built form and utilization of public space within neighborhood centers

The core objective of my research was to assess the built form and utilization of public space within Jabriya's Neighborhood Center. I was interested in measuring user satisfaction and willingness to participate in the production and upkeep of neighborhood centers and communal public spaces. To gather this data I conducted fifty intercept surveys with users of Jabriya coop and the neighboring park. Intercept surveys allowed me to strategically communicate with an equal number of male and female users as well as a combination of both Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti Jabriya residents (a full version of the survey used is available in the appendix).

Before each intercept survey, I explained the purposes of my research to the participant, and asked that he/she read the following consent before agreeing or disagreeing to participate:

"This study will help inform government and local officials of user preferences in Jabriya co-op, it can be used as a head start to future preference surveys throughout neighborhood centers in Kuwait that will enable local residents to voice their concerns regarding their neighborhood public spaces. I would like to inform you that your participation is completely voluntary. Your participation will help researchers learn more about public participation in community design.

All data collected will be completely confidential, and will be reported as group data. You will not be asked to provide any personal identification information. You have the right to withdraw at anytime, or refuse to participate."

Upon agreeing to participate the respondents were given a series of questions to answer. Demographic data was placed at the end of the survey form to avoid sensitivity or discomfort. For data presentation purposes, however, demographic data is presented first below (Table, 4).

Demographics

Table 4: Survey Demographics

Gender	Male	Female			
	50%	50%			
Nationality	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti			
	60%	40%			

Age	18-24	25-34	35-54	55+	
	18%	22%	54%	6%	
Housing Type	Single-family detached	Single- family multi- generational	Rental Apartment	Owner- Occupied Apartment	
	42%	6%	46%	6%	
Highest Level of Formal Education *	High School	College Graduate (2yr degree)	University Degree (4 yr degree)	Graduate/ Post-Graduate	
	12%	20%	50%	18%	
Average length of residency in Jabriya	< 5 years	6 – 10 years	6 – 10 years	21 – 30 years+	
	18%	22%	52%	8%	

^{*} There were no respondents with elementary or middle school education as the highest level of formal education

Discussion of Survey Results and Observations

Conducting intercept surveys with users and observing the use of different spaces at different times of the day and times of the week revealed the presence of several themes in

terms of user preferences and satisfaction. Themes that arose during the study include: (1) lack of connectivity to the park across the street, (2) lack of necessary shops that suit customer needs in the mall, (3) lack of seating areas in the outdoor court, (4) lack of coffee shops and community gathering places, and (5) confusion regarding the concept of public participation in the production of neighborhood centers and public spaces. The following section first discusses the research overview before conveying each arising theme and observations made in further qualitative detail. Finally a list of the research limitations and modifications made along the way are presented.

Research Overview

To further understand the utilization of the space, surveys and observations were done at different times of the day and week. The following table lists the number of surveys and interviews completed based on day, time, date and location (Table 5).

Table 5: Research Overview

Day	Date	Time	Time Location	
Monday	12/22/2014	Interview 11:00am	Jabriya co-op administration bldg	-
Tuesday	12/23/2014	Weekday, Morning	Jabriya Park	4 (on tablet)
Tuesday	12/23/2014	Interview 1:00pm	AAP Architects	-
Wednesday	12/24/2014	Weekday, Afternoon	Jabriya Park, Mall	7
Saturday	12/27/2014	Interview 1:00pm	Ms. Boushehri Office	1
Monday	12/29/2014	Weekday, Evening	Outdoor Court	8

Tuesday	12/30/2014	Weekday, Evening Jabriya Park		5
Thursday	01/01/2015	Weekend/Holiday, Morning- Afternoon-Evening	Jabriya Park, Mall, Court	12
Friday	01/02/2015	Weekend Morning	Outdoor Court	1
Tuesday	01/06/2015	Interview 11:00am	Ministry of Public Works, Kuwait	-
Wednesday	01/07/2015	Weekday, Evening	Outdoor Court	2
Thursday	01/08/2015	Weekend Morning-Afternoon	Jabriya Park, Mall, Court	10

Observations were made to understand and evaluate the current use of different outdoor and indoor spaces that I believe have the potential to foster more community interaction. The spaces observed include: the children's outdoor playground, the outdoor court, Jabriya Mall, and the neighboring public park. The following qualitative analysis describes the five themes that rose as a result of the intercept surveys and observational fieldwork conducted in the abovementioned spaces. Finally, I present some details about my interaction with the users of the space and outline survey results by theme.

In regards to the time of week my surveys were conducted, the Public Relations Manager at Jabriya's Co-operative Society Administration told me that the best times to conduct surveys would be towards the end of the week, that is, on Wednesdays and Thursdays. On Wednesdays he said, the produce section is on sale, therefore the store is busy and packed with customers due to good deals on fresh produce. On Thursdays new produce is brought in, and many families shop to get ready for the weekend Yama'a (a Kuwaiti word meaning 'gathering', where families visit their parents, cousins and grandparents in the weekend for lunch or dinner, usually one day at the mother's side of the family, and another at the father's side of the family). Wednesdays and Thursdays, however, were the hardest days to conduct any surveys. People were limited on time

and seemed rushed and frustrated by the overcrowded co-op. Weekends, and weekday evenings served as the best times to conduct surveys.

Theme 1: Lack of connectivity to the park across the street

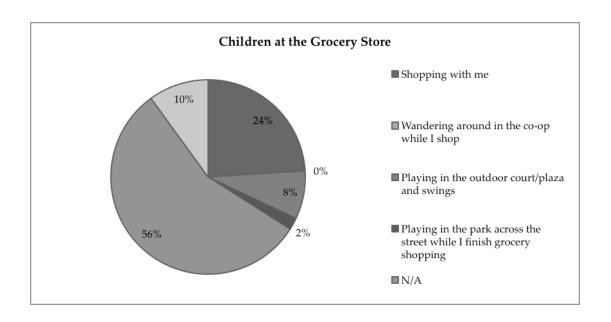
The first theme that arose during both my observations and throughout several conversations with users of the park and neighborhood center was the lack of connectivity between the neighborhood center and the neighboring public park. The park's side entry gate (located across from the neighborhood center) was closed at half past ten in the morning on a weekday. The main entrance is located on the other end of the park, and requires a threeminute walk around the park's gate from the neighborhood center. I conducted a survey with an Egyptian mother-of-three in the park as we walked around while the children played (12/23/14 02). She indicated that there was no safe connection to the park, and therefore she preferred to accompany her children at the park whenever they came to play. In terms of allowing them to utilize the park while she shopped at the grocery store, the lady mentioned that she prefers her children accompany her when she shops at the grocery store. This was not only because of safety concerns, but also because of the benefits of teaching children to learn to shop and become more responsible. Towards the end of our conversation a young lady with her two kids were trying to enter the park through the side gate. The gate was still closed. To avoid having to walk around the block to reach the main entrance, the two children and their mother climbed into the park by squeezing themselves underneath the park's gate.

In my observations in relation to the park, I saw that it was well utilized during the weekend. Although weekends were extremely busy, I was able to conduct more surveys then. The park was filled with families picnicking on the grass and watching their children play in the very convenient "winter" weather (the average daily winter temperatures in Kuwait during winter are around 55-60 degrees Fahrenheit). People at the park were the best target. The

weather was nice, and they were not in a hurry to get somewhere. On weekdays however, the park was relatively quiet, but since I was there during reading days and exam period, some high school students came by after their exams to meet up with friends. A few elderly men were seen walking around, and a couple of non-Kuwaiti mothers with their toddlers met there as well.

Of the twenty parents who completed the surveys, only one parent claimed that he allows his children to play in the park across the street while he shopped at the grocery store (Figure 27). However, he specified that they were only to play in the park while being accompanied by their nanny due to safety concerns related to crossing the street (12/29/14_03).

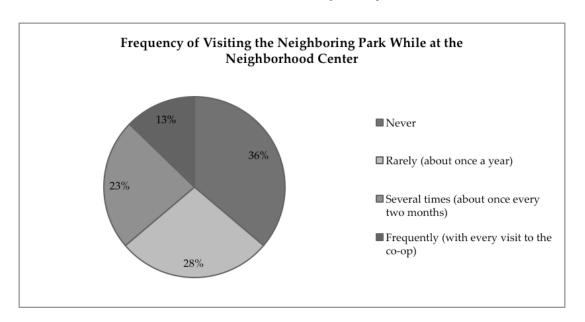
Figure 27:Q8: Do you take your children with you while grocery shopping? If Yes, how do they usually spend their time in the co-op?



When asked about the frequency of visiting the park while visiting the neighborhood center, the majority (36%) never visit the park while visiting the neighborhood center, 28% rarely visit, 23% have visited several times, and only 13% visit frequently or at least walk through the park on their way to the neighborhood center (Figure 28). Remarkably, 68% agree

or strongly agree that if Jabriya Park was physically linked to the co-op, they would utilize it while shopping at the co-op.

Figure 28:Q16: While visiting the neighborhood center, how often do you visit the Park located near the rear entrance of Jabriya Co-op?



Theme 2: Lack of necessary shops that suit user needs in Jabriya Mall

The second theme that arose was the lack of necessary shops that suit customer needs in Jabriya Mall. One female respondent said the mall does not have shops that cater to the needs of parents with children. "The mall has a flower shop, photography studio, perfume shop, but what we really need are stores with practical children's clothing" she demanded $(12/23/14_02)$. One lady proposed the mall be used for even more exhibitions and fairs, such as a book fair, and seasonal clothing fair $(12/30/14_01)$.

Only two respondents (4%) were very satisfied with the mall (Figure 29). When asked what facilities they would like to see in the mall, twelve percent said social gathering space, fourteen percent said children's indoor play area, twenty-four percent said coffee shops, and the

majority (48%) said all of the above, or mentioned other facilities needed (i.e. children's clothing store etc.) (Figure 30).

Figure 29: Q9: In general, how satisfied are you with Jabriya Mall and the shops within it?

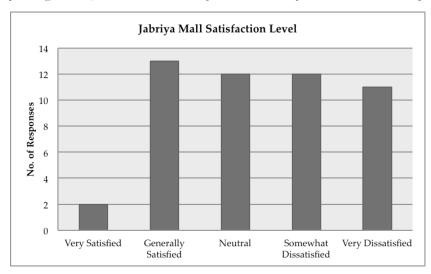
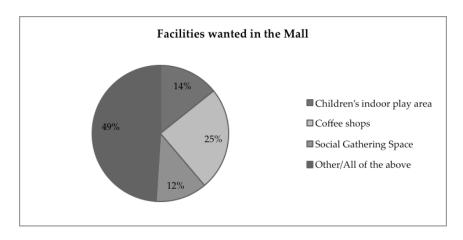


Figure 30: Q9a: What facilities or shops would you like to see in the Mall?



Theme 3: Lack of seating areas and utilization of the outdoor court

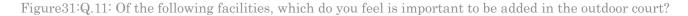
The third and most noticeable theme that arose was dissatisfaction with the lack of seating areas and underutilization of the outdoor court. To further explore the reasons behind the underutilized outdoor court, I asked interviewees about their opinion regarding the space and what they would like to see in it. One female respondent first noted a positive aspect regarding the space, that one sandwich shop has a rear door that opens onto the outdoor court, which is a good start to bringing people to the court. Regarding the negative aspect she mentioned; "I have been there many times during weekends, and have seen families sitting on the floor. It is a very uncivilized and embarrassing scene" (شكل غير حضاري). She imagines the space becoming a more inviting communal space by simply adding some picnic tables for families and friends to gather and enjoy their time (12/23/14_02). While the court is conveniently located next to many pastry bakeries and the grocery store, families have nowhere to sit.

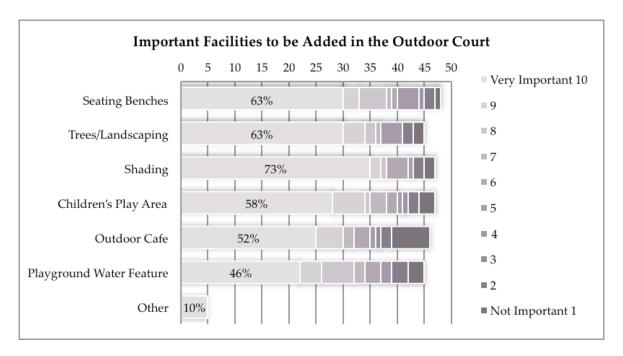
There were three steel benches across from the jumping castle with parents sitting and watching their children play. During my time there, a few people refused to participate in the survey and pointed to their phones saying they have to take an important call, or are waiting for an important text message. Others were happy to share their opinions and voice their concerns as their children played. The three benches were arranged next to each other in a linear fashion. This simple seating arrangement did not stimulate much interaction. Parents were busy with their phones, or talking to their nanny while they waited for the childrens' fifteen or thirty minute playtime to end. When sitting next to a few parents to implement the survey, I did not feel comfortable as it was hard to have eye contact with a person-sitting close by on the same bench. One parent explained how she and her family come here often, but only when the weather is convenient. We imagined how hot these benches must be on a summer afternoon and how abandoned the space must be $(01/01/2015_05)$. When asked about which facilities are most

important to be added to the outdoor court, seating benches were among the most important (Figure 31). Sixty percent indicated that seating benches were very important, seventy percent believe shading is very important, fifty-six percent indicate the need for a children's play area, fifty percent feel an outdoor café is important and only forty-four percent thought adding a playground water feature is very important. Five respondents mentioned other important features to be added, such as solar panel shading devices, picnic tables, enclosed children's playground, fresh juice booths, restrooms, bike racks, coffee shops, and fast food restaurants.

In my observations in relation to the use of Jabriya neighborhood center's outdoor space I saw that on weekdays, older adults strolled around the main grocery store as they calmly shopped for household needs. Children played in the swings located near the main grocery building's entrance accompanied by their nannies. The jumping castles in the outdoor court were deflated in the mornings, and the court was an empty field where the sun poured in generously. Towards noon, people rushed in and out of the grocery store during their lunch break, however the inactivated court was empty. Usually, noon is Dhuhor (noon) prayer time, and many shopkeepers would close their shops, go to the neighborhood mosque to pray, and reopen afterwards. However my assumption that it would be much calmer in terms of consumer traffic because of prayer time and the fact that it was a weekday was proven wrong. It was clear that since Jabriya is both a commercial and residential suburb, Jabriya's neighborhood center, remains busy regardless of the time of day. There were retired local residents, non-Kuwaiti employees, and many non-resident customers who only work in Jabriya and therefore shop and run errands there on weekdays during their work break. This shows that more gathering areas, seating areas and an activated outdoor court could be viable even during the weekdays. Weekday evenings on the other hand were relatively quiet at the grocery store. People stopped at the phone repair store, print shop, and stationary store to get school supplies and print school projects. Others stopped at the Persian flatbread bakery and other conventional samosa and

pastry restaurants to get dinner. With the convenient weather, however, the jumping castles in the outdoor court were well utilized, activating one corner of the large outdoor court. These observations showed that the neighborhood center had both morning and evening uses, and therefore has the potential to become active all day.



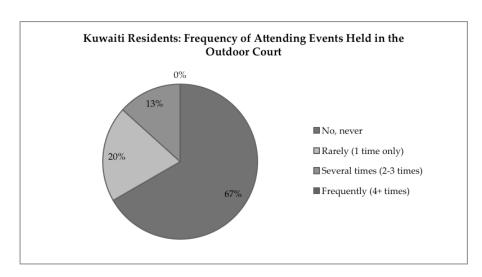


I also observed that in the outdoor court, next to the grocery's rear exit, there were a few black and yellow metal barriers that block the grocery trolleys from entering the court. Throughout the day, several groups of two or three male employees gathered next to them. They would either sit or lean on them while they chat or have a snack during their work break. In an interview with one employee he told me that he was waiting on his friend (the security guard at the neighboring public library) to come for his break. This is where they met everyday during breaks and between shifts. However since there were no seating spaces they sat on the barriers, on the concrete planters, or on produce boxes and plastic containers (12/29/2014 05).

Therefore seating could benefit customers and employees alike.

Talking to long-time Jabriya residents was interesting. Having been there the longest, they had a lot to say about their needs and preferences. One retired long-time Jabriya resident believed that comparing Jabriya's neighborhood center to other neighborhood centers "would not be in its favor" (مو من صالحهم). She said that unlike many other co-op buildings the outdoor spaces between the mall, library and mosque are not well maintained and need cleaning. She noted that there are not any coffee shops or cafes in the court to make it more inviting during times when no events are taking place. She later added that Jabriya's local co-op administration does a good job in providing services and is well organized during events $(01/01/2015_05)$. When asked if they had attended an event held at the outdoor court in Jabriya co-op, more than half of the respondents (twenty-nine of the forty-seven) indicated that they had never attended an event and only one person indicated that he/she attended frequently (Figure 32). Those who indicated having attended one or more events were asked to list the events. The responses included an event for measuring blood sugar (diabetes) and blood pressure, an annual heart check-up event, National Day celebration, annual co-op board elections, outdoor jumping castles, a marathon/race event, a blood drive, Gergaian celebration event, and sport competitions during Ramadhan. Many people referred to the seasonal jumping castles installed as an annual "event" they attend at the outdoor court. Therefore when comparing the results of Figure 32 and Figure 33 (shown below), 75% indicated that they have never attended a social event organized by the local co-op whereas only 62% said they never attended an event held in the outdoor court. Of the 47 people who responded to question 3 (How often do you attend social events at your local coop?), 75% indicated that they have never attended a social event held in the outdoor court. One respondent explained how he had never known about such events and thus did not want to answer the question. Another man indicated that these events are only for (Kuwaiti) local co-op stakeholders and thus he and his family do not feel welcome. He also preferred not to answer the question $(01/08/2015_5)$. One woman explained how she never attended any events because flyers that advertise such events were always distributed too late $(01/08/2015_8)$.

Figure 32:Q10: Have you attended an event held at the outdoor court/plaza in Jabriya Co-op?



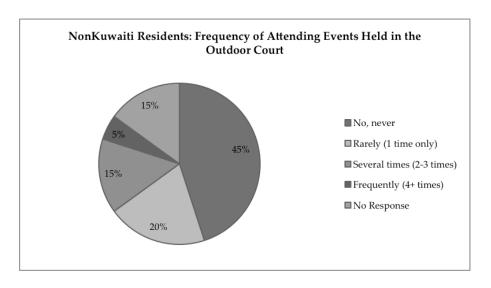
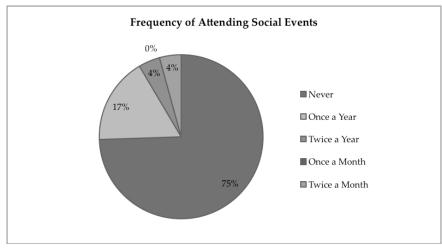
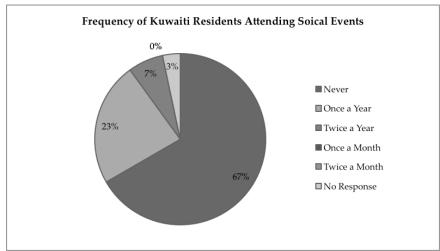
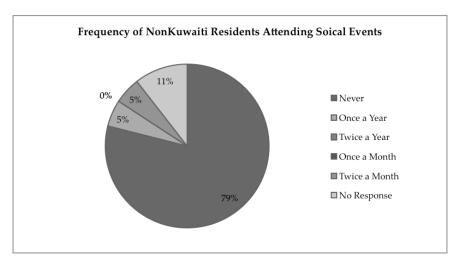


Figure 33:Q3: How often do you participate in social events organized by your local coop? (ex. Gergaian celebration, student award ceremonies, trips to Haj or Omrah etc.)







Theme 4: Lack of coffee shops and gathering places

Jabriya is considered a mixed-use suburb with both commercial and residential blocks. Unlike its adjacent residential neighborhoods it consists of many coffee shops and restaurants within its commercial blocks, making it an active and busy community with high consumer traffic. When asked to identify three words that describe their community in the survey, Jabriya residents used the words 'active' and 'busy' most frequently (Figure 34). Other words people added to the list included: "**ienjoyable and "whole".

The existence of many coffee shops in the commercial blocks of Jabriya did not discourage residents from raising the issue of lack of coffee shops and gathering spaces in both the mall and the outdoor court located within their neighborhood center. Therefore the lack of coffee shops and gathering places in the neighborhood center was the fourth theme found throughout survey responses and in talking to residents of the community, and users of the space.

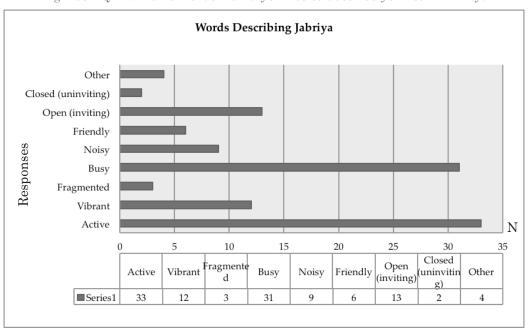


Figure 34:Q2: Which 3 words would you use to describe your community?

Many of the neighborhood center users stressed the need for more social gathering spaces within their community center. It was interesting to see that local residents are attached to their neighborhood center and would like to see it more vibrant. Participants were asked to estimate how often they visit their local co-op. The responses varied from daily, once or twice a week, to once or twice a month. They were also asked to estimate the average amount of time they spend shopping at the grocery store in general. The responses varied from fifteen minutes to three hours. Based on the survey results, in general people visit the neighborhood center an average of 2-3 times a week or around 10 times a month and spend an average of 52 minutes shopping in the neighborhood center per visit. Therefore a significant amount of time each month is spent within this convenient center of amenities. However, because my sample was a convenience sample, this data should only be considered indicative and not necessarily statistically valid.

Many of the interviews conducted at the park triggered residents to stress their concerns regarding the neighborhood park as well. There was an empty octagonal structure, where children liked to run around, and hide inside (Figure 35). The structure had windows with shattered glass and doors to what looked like an abandoned restroom. A sign at the park's main entrance reading "Cultural Hall and Cafeteria" pointed to an empty building. The two services of most concern to the park users were restrooms and cafeterias. Many park users blamed the local cooperative society for not maintaining these areas. Most residents lacked the understanding that parks were the responsibility of the Public Authority of Agriculture and Fisheries (PAAF) and not of the co-operative societies. Therefore they stressed that the co-op administration needs to better utilize the park and its surroundings by adding a cafeteria and coffee shops inside the park as well (01/08/2015_03).

Figure 35: Abandoned octagonal structure inside Jabriya's Public Park







Theme 5: Public participation in the production of neighborhood centers and public spaces

The fifth and final theme that arose while conducting intercept surveys and observational fieldwork was the lack of understanding of and comfort with the idea of public participation. Survey participants were asked to indicate how satisfied they are with the layout of their neighborhood center. Fifty-two percent were either very satisfied or generally satisfied, twenty-two percent were neutral, and twenty-four percent were very dissatisfied or somewhat dissatisfied (Figure 36).

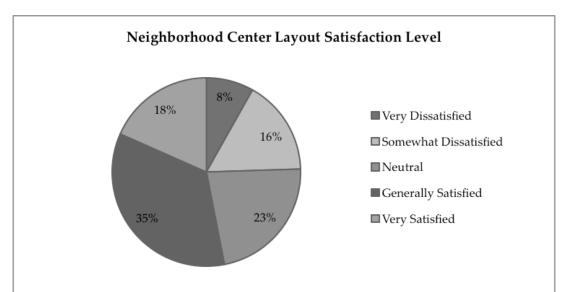


Figure 36: AQ6: In general, how satisfied are you with the layout of your neighborhood center?

In terms of their satisfaction levels with Jabriya Mall and the shops within it, thirty percent were either very satisfied or generally satisfied, twenty-four percent were neutral, and forty-six percent were very dissatisfied or somewhat dissatisfied (Figure 37).

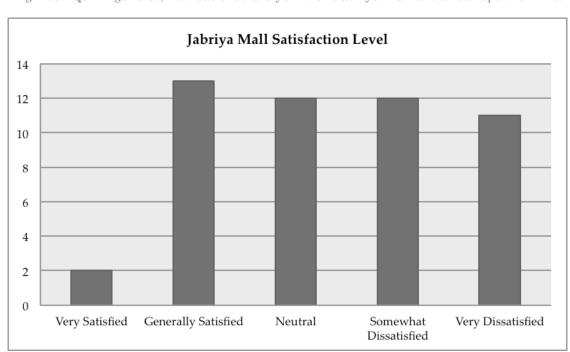


Figure 37: Q9: In general, how satisfied are you with Jabriya Mall and the shops within it?

I asked participants to agree or disagree to a series of statements (shown on Table 6). The last two statements: (1) local residents should have a say in the design of their neighborhood center and (2) if given a chance, I would be interested in participating in the design and upkeep of Jabriya neighborhood center, were key to my research. I found that 48% agree or strongly agree that local residents should have a say in the design and upkeep of their neighborhood center. A remarkable 72% would be interested in participating in the design and upkeep of Jabriya's neighborhood center, if given a chance.

Table 6: Q12: To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly D	Disagree	Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly	Agree
Jabriya Co-op is well laid out for children's use	1	2%	10	20%	13	26%	19	38%	5	10%
Shops in Jabriya Mall cater well to my needs	9	18%	15	26%	13	26%	11	22%	2	4%
The court/plaza behind the co-op is well utilized	11	22%	13	30%	9	18%	11	22%	2	4%
If Jabriya Park was linked to the co-op, I would utilize it while shopping at the co-op	3	6%	4	8%	7	14%	17	34%	17	34%
The overall design of the new co-op promotes community interaction	3	6%	7	14%	14	28%	18	36%	5	10%
The overall design of Jabriya's new co-op is well laid out, such that I am able to run my errands efficiently	5	10%	7	14%	11	22%	19	38%	5	12%
Local residents should have a say in the design of their neighborhood center	2	4%	3	6%	10	20%	19	38%	14	10%
If given a chance, I would be interested in participating in the design and upkeep of Jabriya neighborhood center	1	2%	2	4%	10	20%	25	50%	11	22%

While many respondents indicated their interest in participating in the design and upkeep of Jabriya's neighborhood center, many were uncertain about the concept and process of public participation. One female respondent felt intimidated by the idea (12/24/2014_03). She felt that as a resident who was simply not trained to critique a design, she would prefer if she were given choices to choose from, or better even, simply given the chance to express her needs which could inform officials of user preference.

My research raises an interesting issue of equity and representation in the Kuwaiti context. Users of the park were predominantly non-Kuwaiti families and their children. Most of these families lived in apartment buildings in the northern commercial blocks of Jabriya. These apartment buildings do not have open space or yards as found in the single-family residences. When asked whether having attended any events held at the local co-op, one non-Kuwaiti participant responded that such events were only for stakeholders (stakeholders must be Kuwaiti) (01/07/2015_01). Many non-Kuwaiti respondents were neutral as to whether or not they wish to participate in the process of public space production in their neighborhood.

Kuwaiti citizens, on the other hand, were eager to share their ideas with the local board management to improve their experience at the neighborhood center. At the mall I surveyed several co-op stakeholders who came to receive their dividend from an office on the second floor. One female respondent claimed that it is important to participate however there needs to be new technological improvements in the way the co-op advertises such events and reaches out to the community. She said, "many times, I have received flyers for scheduled events on the day of the event, or even past the event date" (12/24/2014_04). The lady proposed the idea of offering a smart phone application that can allow local residents to keep up with new events, special offers and opportunities to voice their concerns.

Finally, I asked the survey participants to fill in the blank for three statements:

- Q13: If given a chance, I would add.....to Jabriya's
 Neighborhood Center
- 2.Q14: If given a chance, I would improve.....in Jabriya's

 Neighborhood Center
- 3.Q15: If given a chance, I would remove......from Jabriya's

 Neighborhood Center

The responses to what people would like to add to Jabriya's neighborhood center included a pharmacy (mentioned over 5 times), a coffee shop inside the mall, new departments for children or sports equipment, more diverse stores, sport fields, social and recreational spaces for neighborhood residents, green spaces around the co-op, air-conditioned areas for children, solar panels, coffee shops, healthier products, day care or nursery school, new companies and new shopping carts, children's play area, more stores, sport center, recreation spaces, as well as new and unique stores, cafes and restaurants.

The responses to what people would like to improve to Jabriya's neighborhood center were mainly geared towards the goods and products sold in the co-op. Some mentioned that they would work on providing more trips and different workshops for the neighborhood residents. Other improvements included organizational efforts like the shelving of products, the distribution of shelves and fridges, the display, the prices, offers and placement of goods. In terms of spatial improvements, respondents mentioned, the need to improve the connection from the co-op rear parking lot to the neighboring park, the provision of additional seating near the children's play areas and to make the outdoor court for inviting. Other spatial

improvements included maintaining buildings and installing better lighting as well as organizing the "arrangement" (layout) of surrounding amenities such as the sandwich shops and their connectivity to the outdoor court. Others suggested working with the "existing unorganized spaces", developing the commercial mall and children's play areas and reorganizing the car parking. It was clear that survey respondents had many ideas to improve their neighborhood center and make it more user-friendly.

The responses to what people would like to remove from Jabriya's neighborhood center ranged from "nothing" to the whole mall. Very specific suggestions included removing the produce section from the main co-op (in the old Jabriya co-op the produce or green groceries were located in a separate building), removing the pavement that blocks the co-op entrance, cleaning up the trash and construction waste from around the co-op building, as well as removing the excessive advertisements, broken playground toys, and empty concrete planters. One very conservative respondent felt the co-op should be segregated (women/men). Two respondents thought small dessert shops and businesses should be removed from inside the co-op because "they take too much space, and make it hard to shop for groceries" (01/07/2015_2.) In fact in Heteen Co-op, the small businesses and dessert shops, bakeries, coffee brewery and nut stores are all lined at the entrance, and the produce section is pushed towards the grocery store's exit notably illustrating some of the principles survey respondents in Jabriya had talked about in terms of spatial arrangements within the grocery store (Figure 38).



Figure 38: Heteen Co-op small businesses lined at the main entrance.

Research Limitations

It is important to present my findings with the following limitations in mind. Even though my findings were consistent and formed a total of five themes, I faced several challenges while conducting intercept surveys at Jabriya's neighborhood center. These were: inadequate location for survey distribution, technological limitations of conducting surveys on tablet devices, and gender-related communication challenges. A brief description of the shortcomings and the adjustments made for each is described below.

Survey Location

Jabriya is a very lively, fast-paced, neighborhood. People shopping at the local grocery store were always in a hurry to finish shopping and running errands. In general, shoppers were barely willing to stop and hear about the research before quickly choosing not to participate.

To give a few examples, one young lady pushing a shopping trolley at the main entrance refused to stop for a survey, she pointed to an old lady wearing an Abaya (a black floor-length cloak traditionally worn by Muslim women), walking slowly into the grocery store and said "I'm sorry, I'm helping my mother with her shopping today." Another woman I approached was a kindergarten teacher with her son (who goes to the same kindergarten she teaches in). She refused to stop for a survey and claimed she was in a hurry to get some lunch snacks for her son and return back to the kindergarten before the end of lunch break.

To overcome this issue I changed my location from the main grocery building where people were rushing to finish their errands to calmer spaces such as the mall, outdoor court and public park. People at these places were more inclined to participate in a survey while spending their free time in their community center accompanied by family and friends.

Technological Inadequacies

The first four surveys (12/23/14_01-04) were completed via Google forms on a tablet device. Each survey took around ten to fifteen minutes to complete. Stable Internet connectivity was one factor that affected the efficiency of tablet-based data entry. Another factor was the interviewees' lack of ability to follow along and read the different choices they could choose from. I determined it would be more efficient to have the surveys printed out and left with the participants to mark on at their own pace and time. Upon returning to pick up the completed survey ten minutes later, I had a more casual conversation with the participant regarding their thoughts and concerns. After completing the surveys on paper, I entered all the data into Google Forms to be complied for analysis.

Gender and Interaction Discomfort

Although I had not anticipated interaction discomfort due my gender, I found it difficult to get a response from men. For this reason, my husband who is particularly familiar with my research initiated conversations and conducted surveys with male participants at Jabriya's neighborhood center. In many cases I was able to stay along and join conversations.

Research Objective #4: Evaluation of community satisfaction with public spaces, desires for future intervention, and willingness to participate in the planning of their community neighborhood centers and public spaces in the future

The results of the community's public space satisfaction surveys and resident's desire and willingness to participate in future production of public spaces were presented in the previous section both quantitatively and qualitatively. However, to understand how local officials view public participation and its strengths and weaknesses in the non-democratic context of Kuwait's political system, two interviews with government officials were conducted. These interviews are presented in the following section. The first interview was with chemical engineer Jenan Boushehri, former employee at the Kuwait Municipality and one of the first females to be elected as a Kuwait Municipal Council board member. Currently Ms. Boushehri works for the Kuwaiti Parliament as a committee advisor. The second interview was conducted with a Planning Council member and the founder of Arabana Project (Arabana meaning cart, or in concept "a vehicle or mechanism to allow people to become more active participants in the making of their environments"). Arabana is the first non-governmental organization to propose and arrange public participation workshops in collaboration with the Public Housing and Welfare Authority. Through the two interviews I intended to further understand the perspectives of government officials who deal with the production of public space in Kuwait on the idea of initiating more

public participation processes.

5.2 Interview with Engineer Jenan Boushehri

Due to her very busy schedule, I was only able to get a hold of Ms. Boushehri for one hour on a Saturday afternoon, before she left to the airport for a weeklong business trip. Since Ms. Boushehri had the opportunity to serve on the Municipal Council board, the entity that approves of public and private commercial projects, I took the opportunity to discuss the purpose and structure of Municipal Council meetings, how often are they held, and who is able to attend. Ms. Boushehri noted that the bi-weekly meetings are private, she used the Arabic term (سریه) literally meaning "secretive". This means that only board members, those invited and those presenting projects, are able to attend. She went on to talk more about the Municipal Council's structure and job. There are 10 officials; they are both elected by the public and appointed by the Municipality. They stay in contact with the public through 'Dewaniyas' (an Arabic traditional term describing a place where people would gather to discuss pertinent issues of the day) or any self-established social gathering place. The current system does not allow for direct public participation in space production. People can only propose recommendations for the naming of streets Ms. Boushehri asserted. The Municipal Council is responsible for the location of electricity boxes, streetlights, religious buildings (mosques), zoning, designation of land for specific purposes, as well as specific analyses and land surveys. In the case of building new co-op buildings, after the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor contacts the Municipality of Kuwait to specify available and suitable sites in a specific neighborhood, the site choices are brought before the Municipal Council to select from. The Council, which is generally made up of a group of engineers, considers entrances, exits, traffic and the availability of surrounding parking lots for shared parking opportunities before recommending the best site. During the interview the Master Plan and Zoning Ordinance was not mentioned as a means to evaluate a site or guide a decision. Ms.

Boushehri stressed that the Municipality of Kuwait is the entity responsible for execution, where as the Municipal Council has an advisory role only and simply proposes recommendations.

Since the Municipal Council is intended to be the middle body between the public and the Municipality of Kuwait, I asked how the Municipal Council reflects local residents' complaints and concerns regarding the built environment. Ms. Boushehri explained that complaints must be addressed to the Head of the Municipal Council; however, some complaints are addressed directly to the different governorates committees. She clarified that there are 6 committees, each serving a governorate. There are other specialized committees such as the Environmental Committee and the Arts Committee that focus on national level issues. While on the topic of public concerns and complaints I took the opportunity to ask Ms. Bousehri which entity would be the best entity for the public to voice their community concerns in order for their voice to reach public officials. Ms. Boushehri indicated that many neighborhoods are currently establishing "Majales Hay", meaning local municipalities. In the Yarmouk neighborhood for example, a very successful local council has been making significant efforts in upkeep of the neighborhood's public spaces (i.e. streets, sidewalks, cross walks, public park etc.). They have focused on maintaining streets and curb paint, especially those closer to public schools where children walk to school. They have also worked on maintaining and designing the local park by using recycled materials. By providing well-designed facilities and neighborhood amenities that serve residents of all ages, Yarmouk has become an exemplar neighborhood. Just recently, in May of 2014, the World Health Organization (WHO) recognized Yarmouk as the first neighborhood in Kuwait to fulfill their "Healthy City" model requirements. Ms. Boushehri observed that she feels the neighborhood Mayors, who are local employees; have only a ceremonial role "دورهم غایب" (when literally translated meaning "absent role"). Ms. Boushehri indicated that local Mayors have more potential to ensure resident and community satisfaction due to their position on the

local level. Therefore the Mayor's position should be taken advantage of to ensure resident and community satisfaction. Ms. Boushehri clarified that this figurehead role was due to their limited authority and budget.

In regards to public participation in the governmental context of Kuwait, Ms. Boushehri shared some of her current efforts to foster more public participation in the establishment of new policies of importance to the public. As a committee advisor in the Kuwaiti Parliament, Ms. Boushehri is currently commissioned to work on revising the Municipality Laws and Codes. She mentions that the voice of the public will be key to this process because this is a document that people deal with on a daily basis, or have at least dealt with several times relative to household construction, renovation or adding an extension. She describes how the Municipality codes have the most impact on the public, because the Municipality is the planning entity that deals with house renovations and business expansions etc. For this reason, Ms. Boushehri feels the public's participation in this matter is very important. She claims that for the first time, these codes will include a public touch "Luck Plank".

Ms. Boushehri is working on establishing several focused discussion groups, each having a specific topic (economic, environmental etc.). The idea is to bring people with previous experience or interest in a specific topic (for example, environmentalists) to help guide new policy decisions. Ms. Boushehri is also organizing a link on the official Kuwaiti Parliament website, that leads to the current Municipality Code. The idea being that any member of the public can open the current document, and provide feedback under each code (www.kna.kw). As a side note, Ms. Boushehri tells me that The Kuwait National Assembly (Parliament) also has a complaints committee to hear from the public. While looking through the National Assembley's website I found a link to another interesting new service. A new campaign called (ساهم في النشريع) "participate in legislation". It includes a very informative video on how to select any current

committee agenda for legislation changes and send your comments along with any attached files or documents you wish to share. The campaign's motto is "participate in the laws that affect your life" (Figure 39).

Figure 39: The Kuwait National Assembly website and link to the new campaign: "Participate in Legislation". Source: www.kna.kw





Finally we discussed current efforts by the public to voice their concerns. Ms. Boushehri indicated that many non-profit and volunteer groups have been popping up in Kuwait. Each group focuses on solving an outstanding issue. She says that there is now more public awareness regarding different issues that matter to the public than there ever was in Kuwait. She listed some examples like a new non-profit group established in 2013 called "AlNowair – People Spreading Positivity" to spread positive attitudes in Kuwait leading to a better quality of life in Kuwait with fulfillment and happiness. AlNowair Group has set out to identify beautiful areas in Kuwait and install yellow benches for the public to enjoy the neglected beauty of Kuwait (Figure 40). Among their most recent events is the "Think, Work, Live Positive (TWL)" conference which is intended to be the largest conference on positivity among the Gulf Cooperation Council countries (GCC: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates). It is scheduled for April of 2015 (Al-Nowair Group, 2015).



Another example of a volunteer group that aims to make a difference in Kuwait's built environment is a group called "Q8NeedsYou" (Q8 – short for Kuwait). The group promotes civic participation by encouraging the general public to report areas of low maintenance, construction waste hazards, sidewalk wear and tear and other issues that have been neglected by the municipality and other governmental agencies. The group has used an online mobile photosharing and social networking application named "Instagram" to reach out to the public asking people to post pictures of flaws and lack of basic infrastructure maintenance in the streets and public spaces of Kuwait. As soon as a member of the public uploads an image, the group works to make sure the responsible governmental office is notified and works on fixing the issue. After an issue is taken care of, the group posts a before and after photo, thanking the photograph provider for identifying a potential hazard, and thanking the responsible governmental office for their response and effort to maintain the public infrastructure (Figure 41-42). The Ministry of Public Works (MPW), Kuwait Municipality, local co-op administrations, the Public Authority for Agricultural and Fisheries (PAAF) as well as the Kuwait Public Transport Company (KPTC) and Ministry of Electricity and Water are all examples of governmental agencies that have responded

to claims made by the public through the Q8NeedsYou group (Q8NeedsYou, 2015).

Figure 41: Posts on the Q8Needs You
Left: Bricks laying on sidewalk close to AlKhaldiya neighborhood Co-op.
Right: Unfinished sidewalk in Kuwait City.
(both after photos thank the Ministry of Public Works for their response).





Figure 42: Posts on the Q8Needs You Left: An abandoned bus stop provided by Jabriya Co-op Society. Thanks to Jabriya Co-op Administration for their response.

Right: Unmaintained landscape and holes with trash. Thanks to PAAF for their response.



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On the larger scale, Ms.Boushehri indicated that each governorate official could work towards providing public needs within his/her governorate. Ms. Boushehri mentioned Mr. Faisal Malek Al-Sabah, a Governorate Official for AlFarwaniya Governorate as a respectable example of a governor working towards pleasing the public.

5.3 Interview with Architect Abdullatif Almeshari

The purpose of my interview with Architect Abdullatif Al-Meshari, Principal Architect at Associated Architects Partnership (AAP), cofounder of the Arabana Project, and an advisor to several governmental agencies and task forces in Kuwait was to further explore recent public participation efforts taking place in Kuwait. Architect Al-Meshari obtained his bachelor's in Architecture from the University of Southern California and attended the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University for his Master's degree. I had met Architect Al-Meshari at several design reviews, lecture series, and events while acquiring my degree in architecture from the College of Architecture at Kuwait University. I was inspired by his work in Arabana Project, his involvement with youth organizations in Kuwait, and his desire to promote the work of civic organizations in order for them to become more involved with governmental agencies. Al-Meshari tells me that the main idea behind the Arabana Project was not only to bring together architects, designers and the creative class but the public as well, to help inform governmental decisions regarding the construction of our built environment. I interviewed Architect Al-Meshari one afternoon in his office at Injazzat Tower in Kuwait City. We sat at an oval meeting table in an open-studio environment with large windows overlooking Kuwait City. In order to understand the concept of public participation from the perspective of a design professional with experience with governmental agencies I asked Architect Al-Meshari to talk about his experience with the public participation process in the "non-democratic" context of Kuwait. Architect Al-Meshari began by asserting that one should always know that the "system [government system] can be shaped". He recognized the success of the co-operative societies welfare system that was based on the Kindergarten Center Unit concept (KCU), whereby each suburban neighborhood would have schools, a grocery store, mosque, post office, police department and other amenities within the center of the neighborhood. Architect Al-Meshari also described the Kuwait Union Cooperative Consumer Society (KUCCS) system as an "octopus" with a central grocery store and

smaller branches throughout the residential blocks. The system began in the reign of Sheikh Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah who also started public participation. It has been working very well, but "what we need to do now is to decentralize the Baladiya (Municipality)". In his point of view, the process of decentralization of the Municipality has four parts; (1) welfare, (2) diversity, (3) participation and (4) thrive. Welfare and diversity are linked in a "sea of sameness", however we need to thrive to implement our ideas. There is a need for civic participation, however participation needs awareness, and it should start at much smaller scale events.

In Kuwait, the word participation is governed by "entitlement", the public feels their needs must be met based on a standard that cannot be changed by time. To further clarify his point Architect Al-Meshari shared an example of how participation and needs in Kuwait come with a sense of "entitlement". A new movement established in February of 2009, "ناطربيت" literally translated into "Waiting for a House Campaign" was started by a group of young Kuwaiti families who still have not received their piece of land or house from the government's Public Authority for Housing Welfare (PAHW)(Figure 43). This is due to a lag in welfare distribution as a result of the lack of available and ready land. Led by Mr. Eid AlShehri, the group focuses on land size, and expects to receive as much land as their grandfathers and fathers received from the government decades before. There is little consideration of the growing population and the need to reserve land for future generations. Also, the Ministry of Public Housing's proposal to provide apartment housing rather than single-family detached homes for each family, was strongly rejected due to inequality concerns. This sense of a "right" to housing is what needs to be discussed and challenged before we allow for further public participation efforts.

Figure 43: Waiting for a Home Twitter Campaign



Next, Architect Al-Meshari brought up an example of the first time Kuwait has experienced a differentiation in the welfare system based on need. This has happened with the passing of a new "electrical bill policy" that divides the electrical bill based on the size of the land parcel owned. For example, a 500m2 and 1000m2 plot would be charged different electricity bills based on their land area rather than their use. This system may not be fair, because people who own 1000m2 houses may resemble a multigenerational low-income family whose younger families are unable to live independently and own homes. On the other hand, the owner of a 500m2 house may be an upper-class young family, whose siblings have each afforded to live independent from their parents in 500m2 plots. Al-Meshari emphasized, that while we are thinking about public participation, these are the types of entitlement and inequality concerns we will be facing.

Architect Al-Meshari stressed that "we need to find the new champions of the plan, not the Ministry of Public Works". In an effort to revisit the 2005 Municipality Development Plan a group of officials have been selected to form a committee. There needs to be consensus between officials from several backgrounds. The idea is to base the new plan on quantitative rather than qualitative models. The idea is to base the new plan on economic models, and work on implementation strategies, to provide a sense of "how to do things" not just "what needs to be done" as was in the previous Master Plan. We need to work on planning, statistics (numbers), and policies through the Central Tenders Committee (CTC) and Civil Service Commission (CSC), then the Municipality can implement. Projects are judged at the National Accounting Bureau by how much you spend, therefore these financial foundations are essential.

To further explore recent public participation efforts that took place in Kuwait, we discussed a public participation effort led by the Arabana group. Al-Meshari mentioned the plan for "Madinat Al-Hareer" or "Silk City", a large mixed-use project proposed across the sea from Kuwait City and linked by Jaber AlAhmad Bridge. It is intended to accommodate commercial

and residential uses upon its completion in 2023. He mentioned that the master plan for the mega-project was created by Municipality– but a public authority will be put in place to govern it, and guide the private partners who will lead development (like model used in Dubai). In November of 2012, Al-Meshari had proposed that the Municipality and planning consultants hired to design the new development plan for Subbiya (a new district in the north, located in the site of the proposed new city, Silk City) should organize focus groups to give Kuwaitis a chance share what they would like to see in the new city, especially in terms of housing preferences (Al-Nakib, 2013). The focus groups consisted of people from diverse sectors of the society, including non-Kuwaitis; they discussed issues of the new city, in particular housing options. For the first time since 1950, a planning project had sought for public participation and involvement in the process. To end our conversation Architect AlMeshari shared his thoughts on the continual public participation dilemma. He described how there are two opposing forces: the private sector and the public sector. In the middle of these two forces are the people. In general the general public tries to come up with ways to address the private sector and the public sector, but continues to be lost in the middle of the two forces. Al-Meshari questions, "why can't the people lead?"

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter summarizes my research purpose, methods, and briefly identifies the results before listing recommendations to help guide future planning for public space efforts in Kuwait.

6.1 Research Overview

My research set out to explore resident satisfaction and willingness to participate in the production of neighborhood public spaces in Kuwait. The research used a case study approach and is focused on one unique neighborhood in Kuwait: Jabriya.

Neighborhood centers in Kuwait, as their name implies, are generally located in the heart of residential suburbs. They include the main grocery store, bakery, conventional food restaurants, mosque, public library and other small convenience shops such as a barber, carpenter, small hardware store, printing services and stationary store etc. The idea behind establishing neighborhood centers in Kuwait was to provide a welfare system based on the Kindergarten Center Unit concept (KCU) whereby each neighborhood would have its own schools, grocery store, mosque, post office, police department and other amenities to create a self-sufficient local services system. The neighborhood centers are constructed by the Ministry of Public Works and then run by the Kuwait Union for Cooperative Consumer Societies (KUCCS).

KUCCS is a society established in 1971 that provides people with supermarket goods and maintains control to ensure uniform sale prices throughout all neighborhoods. In the KUCCS system, residents who are Kuwaiti nationals in the district have shares in their local co-op and are entitled to yearly profits. The concept being, "the Kuwaiti consumers are the owners". As a manager of the neighborhood center, KUCCS also plays a civic role in providing neighborhood residents with social events and activities to increase community interaction. Twenty-five

percent of their yearly profits are put towards social and educational activities such as training courses, workshops, competitions, recreational trips, as well as religious pilgrimages to 'Mecca' with community members. These events help people get to know others that live within their district. Therefore, neighborhood centers are meant to act as a bonding agent between neighborhood residents to increase social capital, trust and provide a better quality of life within Kuwait's suburbs. For these reasons, the KUCCS plays an important role in my research; public participation in public space production is essential to ensure that residents' needs are met within their physical environment to promote social interaction and public harmony.

To evaluate the current neighborhood center production system, my research was made up of four main objectives: (1) to document and understand the civic role of the local KUCCS, (2) to understand the process associated with building new neighborhood centers in Kuwait, (3) to assess the built environment and utilization of public spaces in Jabriya's new neighborhood center, and finally (4) to evaluate community satisfaction and needs through interacting with users of the space (Jabriya's neighborhood center).

6.2 Summary Of Findings

The findings of my study are based on research, personal interviews with government elites, intercept surveys with users of the space, conversations with the users, as well as observations and fieldwork conducted in Kuwait over winter break. I found that neighborhood centers in Kuwait are built and owned by the government, but run by the KUCCS. The process of building a new neighborhood center is completely technocratic. The ministries involved in the built environment communicate to ensure the neighborhood center consists of the assumed needs of the community. The public is not involved in the process, publicly elected members of the Municipal Council who guide development by making recommendations are meant to represent the public and make sure their concerns are met. Two years after the completion of a

neighborhood center project, the KUCCS becomes responsible for its maintenance and upkeep. In the case of Jabriya's neighborhood center, I learned that the Jabriya Co-op administration has made several efforts to improve the neighborhood co-op and its surrounding amenities, however there seems to be a disconnect between the KUCCS and governmental agencies that has led to the lack of collaboration. My field observations of Jabriya Co-op and intercept surveys with users of the space revealed 5 themes:

- 1.Lack of connectivity to the park across the street
- 2.Lack of necessary shops that suit user needs in Jabriya Mall
- 3.Lack of seating areas and utilization of the outdoor court
- 4.Lack of coffee shops and gathering places
- 5. Public participation in the production of neighborhood centers and public spaces

Regarding public participation and the public's willingness to participation in the construction of their neighborhood public spaces I learned that in general the public is willing to participate and voice their concerns regarding their satisfaction with public spaces. However, many respondents felt intimidated by the idea of public participation due to their lack of expertise and preferred to simply make recommendations. A major finding was that since non-Kuwaiti residents are not stakeholders within their neighborhood coop they felt less invited to social events organized by the co-op, and less tempted to voice their concerns and participate in the production of public space. With these findings in mind, in the following section, I present recommendations towards a more transparent, citizen involvement system in the future.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on my research and findings discussed in the previous chapter, the following section lists recommendations to governmental planning organizations, the KUCCS, and local neighborhood elites in Kuwait in order to involve the public in the production of their neighborhood shared public space.

- 1. Set more rigorous criteria for those running for the local consumer board to ensure diversity and dynamism in community leadership. Include non-Kuwaiti and minority group representatives as well as women.
- 2. Rather than only targeting stakeholders, local consumer board members need to be trained to become more culturally sensitive and involve both Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti residents in social events organized by the co-op.
- 3. Develop an interactive technology (i.e. smartphone application, email list, social media campaign) to advertise social events organized by the co-op more efficiently, and to communicate with the users of the space more effectively.
- 4. Make the neighborhood center design process at the Ministry of Public Works more transparent by involving local consumer board members and residents in workshops and design charrettes at the beginning of the design process.
- 5. Make Municipal Council meetings more transparent and the meeting minutes public such that the public is aware of future changes to their neighborhood's built environment.
- 6. Require post-occupancy surveys to be completed by the Ministry of Public Works or the local consumer board after a new neighborhood center is completed and operating to avoid future design errors and to ensure user needs are fulfilled.

- 7. Create an informative packet on the neighborhood centers design process outlining responsibilities and roles of each entity involved in the process.
- 8. Create an organized process timetable to ensure projects are delivered in a more efficient and time effective manner.
- 9. Enable cooperation and information sharing between different public ministries, such as the Ministry of Public Works (MPW) Design and Development Department, the Municipality, the Public Authority for Agricultural and Fisheries (PAAF) Parks and Recreation Department and the Kuwait Union of Cooperative Consumer Society by setting up a collaborative team structure.
- 10. Empower the local KUCCS board to manage, maintain and activate surrounding public spaces such as neighborhood parks in collaboration with other public entities such as the Public Authority for Agricultural and Fisheries (PAAF) Parks and Recreation Department or the Ministry of Islamic Affairs in the case of neighboring mosques within the surrounding blocks.
- 11. Encourage more flexibility by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor in granting commercial licenses to businesses opening in neighborhood center malls based on local consumer needs and demands.
- 12. Encourage user and local residents and volunteer groups to assist the local consumer board and become involved in the upkeep and activation of public spaces within neighborhood centers. Rewarding community commitment and encouraging volunteers can increase trust, confidence, and sense of responsibility in community residents.
- 13. Expand the current constrained and ceremonial role of local mayors by giving more power from the governorate Municipal Council board member to local mayors as seen in AlFarwaniya Governorate. These actors can play an instrumental role in facilitating community engagement

and local development actions.

14. Train Architects, Engineers and Designers of the built environment at public educational institutes in community participatory techniques to democratize the design and development system in practice.

The above listed recommendations are based on my research findings about the potential of consumer cooperative societies, the design process through which neighborhood centers are built, and user satisfaction levels within a unique neighborhood center in Kuwait. Since the study was an exploratory study conducted within a limited timeframe, it was constrained to one neighborhood in Kuwait. As American urbanist, organizational analyst, journalist and people-watcher, William H. Whyte, would suggest, we need to assess public spaces over several years before we are able to make conclusions. Hence, more detailed and comparative research should be done on different neighborhood centers in Kuwait to further analyze neighborhood context, local consumer board efforts, and user satisfaction levels. Further research needs to be conducted regarding the practicality of more public involvement in the design process in the non-democratic context of Kuwait's government sectors. Based on my review and synthesis of the literature on public space design, the next section lists design recommendations for future neighborhood centers and their surrounding public spaces (Annex 1). In his book on "Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning" Henry Sanoff mentions that the strength of community participation lies in its success to overcome traditional and professional limitations. This thesis intends to overcome traditional planning practice methods in Kuwait by encouraging more public involvement in the production of the public spaces they occupy.

APPENDICES

Annex 1: Specific Design Related Recommendations

		10 Principles of Good	5 key features that make a successful park (PPS)	Design Guidelines for	Design Recommendations for Jabriya neighborhood center
1		concentration of different		Plazas are the heart of an urban area where activities and amenities are focused (ie. food, programs, vending)	Make plazas a route, not a destination
2	1	Must be easily accessible (by car, foot or public transit, to people of different socio- economic backgrounds)		Plazas as a route to a destination, as well center of activity	Public spaces must be able to serve different portions of the population (children, non-Kuwaitis, elderly and disabled)
3	I -	Must encourage frequent daily use (day/evening)			Introduce level change, seating areas, public art, food and vending to create a more dynamic center in the court
4	connectivity	formal and less formal community interaction such as private/public and shared		different populations (the need for human contact)	Ensure that neighborhood centers and public spaces capture the uniqueness and character of the given neighborhood. Physical and social assets should be incorporated in the design. For example in Jabriya it is possible to connect to social areas like the commercial area and neighborhoods as well as physical assets like the public park. It is also essential to cater to the needs of students and users of the Kuwait University Medical Campus and training hospital
5	knowledge	Must provide a setting for local knowledge to incubate and spread		Areas of passive enjoyment that draw people together (ie. community public art)	Encourage volunteer groups such as "friends of the co-op" to join maintenance and upkeep efforts

6	designed	to accommodate shared interests and mutual concerns of	Visibility and connectivity: the space must be safe and inviting for children as well as people passing by		Design with respect to surrounding public features such as the neighborhood park, and commercial district
7	orientation	Must provide a sense of orientation for entering and leaving the space (way finding)		_ ·	Have clear entrances, exits, and connection points to surrounding uses
8	context	Must reflect the ecological context (ie. topography) in the built form		Microclimate management	Manage the microclimate of outdoor spaces using shading devices and landscape features
9		Must create a consistency in the building form, a sense of wholeness even if there are multiple separated yet adjacent buildings		complexity, level change	Make sure the Mall, outdoor court, and other surrounding uses are coherent by ensuring consistency is the level of activities throughout all spaces
10	community commitment	Centers must be designed to invite community commitment, both voluntary and through economic investment (where people could be encouraged to care about improving centers by having economic ties to the place, ie. by having shares)			Encourage non-Kuwaiti users (majority uses in the case of Jabriya) to also attend events and be committed and invested in their local neighborhood community center

Annex 2: Interview Questions

Jabriya Coop Questions Regarding the new coop building:

- 1. What is the purpose and structure of the local coop board meetings? How often are they held? (Weekly/monthly?)
- 2. Who is able to attend?
- 3. Would you support stakeholder participation during your regular meetings?
- 4. Did the local consumer board have a say in the design concept of the new building or was it completely designed by the government authority responsible for public projects?
- 5. The new co-op was built in 2009 to replace the old and worn-down local co-op building in block 7. What was the process of designing a new building?
- 6. What was the biggest challenge? Were there any obstacles the board encountered in the process of selecting the appropriate design? Any struggles and limitations?
- 7. What inspired the concept of providing a public square in the new building? What was its main purpose? How would you expect the space to be utilized?
- 8. Were surrounding land uses considered in your design? Which uses were considered and how?
- 9. Are you satisfied with the new co-op and the use of its public space? What is the best feature? What is the worst feature? How might the space be improved?

General questions about the administration:

- 10. In general, what type of complaints do you receive from community members?
- 11. After the opening of the new coop, have you been receiving any complaints regarding the design? If so, what is the nature of such complaints?
- 12. Would you be interested in learning more about user preferences for your public spaces through a user preference survey conducted in your coop? What type of questions would you like to ask of users?

Annex 2: Interview Questions Continued

Ministry of Public Works

- 1. What is the process of designing a new neighborhood co-op center?
- 2. Are specific neighborhood characteristics taken into account in the design?
- 3. Who has a say in the design selection process? (Government officials, local co-op members, neighborhood residents?)
- 4. Would you support resident participation in the design process of their neighborhood center?

In relation to Jabriya New Neighborhood Center

- 5. Did the local consumer board have a say in the design concept of the new building or was it completely designed by the government authority responsible for public projects?
- 6. The new co-op was built in 2009 to replace the old and worn-down local co-op building in block 7. What was the process of designing a new building?
- 7. What was the biggest challenge? Were there any obstacles the board encountered in the process of selecting the appropriate design? Any struggles and limitations?
- 8. What inspired the concept of providing a public square in the new building? What was its main purpose? How would you expect the space to be utilized?
- 9. Were surrounding land uses considered in the design? Which uses were considered and how?
- 10. Is there any collaboration with other government agencies such as the Public Authority for Agricultural and Fisheries (parks & recreation departments).
- 11. Are you satisfied with the new co-op and the use of its public space? What is the best feature? What is the worst feature? How might the space be improved?
- 12. Are there any post-occupancy surveys conducted to analyze the success of the design?

General questions about the administration:

13. Throughout the design process would you be interested in learning more about user preferences for in the design of public spaces in different neighborhoods? What type of questions would you like to ask of users?

Annex 2: Interview Questions Continued

Interview: Ms. Jenan Boushehri

Chemical Engineer at Kuwait Municipality

Former Elected **Kuwait Municipal Council** member and current Parliament committee advisor.

- 1. What is the purpose and structure of Municipal Council meetings? How often are they held? (weekly/monthly)?
- 2. Who is able to attend?
- 3. The municipal council is responsible for approving projects within each of the governmental districts. What is the process involved with approval of neighborhood co-op designs?
- 4. How involved is the Union of Cooperative Societies, in the design and approval of new co-op centers?
- 5. Does the Municipal Council focus on the design's consideration of surrounding land uses?
- 6. How does the Municipal Council reflect local residents complaints and concerns regarding the built environment?
- 7. Would the Municipal Council be willing to learn more about user preferences through neighborhood satisfaction surveys? What types of resident concerns would the Municipal Council be interested in learning more about?

Annex 2: Interview Questions Continued

Interview: Mr. Abullatif Al-Mishari

Planning Council Member & Founder of Arabana Project

- 1. Could you talk a little about Arabana project and how you became interested as a civic group to encourage individuals to become "active participants in the production of their environment".
- 2. In 2012, the first public participation attempt was organized in Kuwait, where you had proposed that the Municipality and the hired planning consultant (the Canadian firm Malone Given Parsons) organize focus groups with diverse sectors of the society to determine what people would like to see created in the new district of Subbiya, Silk City.

What was it like to organize such an event with the Municipality? Any challenges and limitations? Any obstacles that you had to overcome?

- 3. How was the turnout of the event? Who attended?
- 4. Did you sense a form of acceptance of the public participation process and willingness to participate?
- 5. What were the outcomes of the workshops held?
- 6. How has the feedback shaped the design process? Were there any attempts to integrate people's ideas and concerns?
- 7. What is your take on the future of public participation in the urban development of Kuwait?
- 8. Moving forward, what does Arabana project have for the future of public participation in the building of Kuwait's urban environment?

Annex 3: Permission Letter for Conducting Surveys at Jabriya Co-op// Arabic

التاريخ: 21 ديسمبر 2014

إلى رئيس مجلس إدارة جمعية الجابرية التعاونية

بعد التحيه والمزيد من الاحترام

الموضوع: الابحاث العلميه المكملة للمواد الدراسية لطلبة الماجستير في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية

المحتدم

طالبة ماجستير في جامعة فير جينيا في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية،

فاطمة محمود بهبهاني

إنني مطالبة بالقيام و إتمام در اسة ذات أهمية في أحد ميادين تخطيط المدن و تقديم تقرير دقيق يحتوي على معلوسات إحصائية، و ستتناول موضوع:

" مشاركة أفر اد المجتمع بالرأي في بناء الأماكن العامة في الكويت "

Public Participation in Neighborhood Public Space Production in Kuwait

وتتضمن الدراسة استيفاء استبيانا بواسطة عينه عشوانية من زبانن جمعية الجابرية التعاونية. وذلك لمدة اسبوعين من تاريخ موافقتكم الكريمه على هذه الرساله وفي أوقات عمل الجمعيات المذكوره.

علما بأن الدكتوره "ايلين باست" من قسم العمارة في جامعة فيرجينيا – بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية - سوف تقوم بالاشراف على هذه الدراسه ونؤكد لسيادتكم أن جميع المعلومات الخاصه بهذه الدراسه ستحاط بخصوصية كامله وسوف تستخدم في أغراض البحث العلمي فقط.

لذا يرجى التكرم بالسماح لي بأن أقوم بالدر اسة في جمعية الجابرية التعاونية.

فاطمة محمود بهبهاني

طالبة ماجستير

جامعة فيرجينيا - الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية

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00965-66987997

Jabriya Co-op User Satisfaction and Preference Survey

Interview Number
mm/dd/yyyy,: Example: 03/05/2013 11:30 AM
This study will help inform government and local officials of user preferences in Jabriya co-op, is can be a head start to future preference surveys throughout neighborhood centers in Kuwait that will enable local residents to voice their concerns regarding their neighborhood public space. I would like to inform you that your participation is completely voluntary. Your participation will help researchers learn more about public participation in community design. All data collected we completely confidential, and will be reported as group data. You will not be asked to provide any personal identification information. You have the right to withdraw at anytime, or refuse to participate.
I agree to participate
I refuse to participate
How long have you lived in Jabriya?
○ < 5 years
6 − 10 years
○ 11 - 20 years
21 – 30 years
Over 31 years
Which 3 words would you use to describe your community?
☐ Active
□ Vibrant
☐ Fragmented
■ Busy
□ Noisy
☐ Friendly
Open (inviting)
□ Closed
Other:
How often do you attend social events at your local coop? (ex. Gergaian celebration, student award ceremonies, trips to Haj or Omrah etc.)
Never
Once a Year
Twice a Year
Once a Month
Twice a Month

How often do you visit your local co-op?
times a week,times a month
On average, how much time do you spend shopping at the grocery store?
minutes, hours
In general, how satisfied are you with the layout of your neighborhood center
Very dissatisfied
Somewhat dissatisfied
O Neutral
Generally satisfied
 Very satisfied
How did you arrive at the co-op today?
O Drive
○ Walk
○ Bike
Bus
Dropped off by driver
Do you take your children with you while grocery shopping?
○ Yes
○ No
○ N/A
Market beautiful and the second state of the second
If Yes, how do they usually spend their time in the co-op?
Shopping with me
Wandering around in the co-op while I shop
Playing in the outdoor court/plaza and swings
Playing in the park across the street while I finish grocery shopping
○ N/A
Other:
In general, how extletied are you with Jahring Mall and the chang within it?
In general, how satisfied are you with Jabriya Mall and the shops within it?
Very dissatisfied Somewhat dissatisfied
Neutral
Generally satisfied
Very satisfied
- rely suitalled
What facilities or shops would you like to see in the Mall?
Kids indoor play area
Coffee shops
Social gathering space
Other:

Have you attended an event held at the outdoor court/plaza in Jabriya Co-op?

- No, never
- Rarely (1 time only)
- Several times (2-3 times)
- Frequently (4 + times)

What were the events?

Of the following facilities, which do you feel is important to be added in the plaza?

	1 Not Important	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Important
Seating benches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trees/Landscaping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shading	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kids play area	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Outdoor Café	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Playground water feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other:	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Jabriya Co-op is well laid out for children's use	0	0	0	0	0
Shops in Jabriya Mall cater well to my needs	0	0	0	•	⊖
The court/plaza behind the co-op is well utilized	0	0	0	0	0
If the Jabriya Park was linked to the co-op, I would utilize it while shopping at the co- op	•	•	•	0	•
The overall design of the new co-op promotes community interaction	0	0	0	0	•
The overall design of Jabriya's new co-op is well laid out, such that I am able to run my errands efficiently	•	•	•	0	0
Local residents should have a say in the design of their neighborhood center	0	0	0	•	0
If given a chance, I would be interested in participating in the design and upkeep of Jabriya neighborhood center	•	•	•	•	•

ir given a chance, i would addto Jabriya's Neighborhood Center
If given a chance, I would improvein Jabriya's Neighborhood Center
If given a chance, I would removefrom Jabriya's Neighborhood Center
While visiting the neighborhood center, how often do you visit the Park located near the rear entrance of Jabriya Co-op?
O Never
Rarely (about once a year)
Sometimes (about once every two months)
Frequently (with every visit to the co-op)
Age Group:
© 18-24
© 25·34
© 35·54
© 55+
Gender:
Male
Female
Nationality:
Kuwaiti
Non-Kuwaiti
Housing Type:
Single-family detached
 Single-family multi-generational (with grandparents/or with parents and own children)
Rental Apartment
Owner-Occupied Apartment
Other

Highest Level of Formal Education:	
 Elementary 	
 Middle School 	
High School	
 College Graduate (2yr degree) 	
 University Degree (4 yr degree) 	
 Graduate/Post-Graduate 	
Other:	
Notes:	
Submit	
Never submit passwords through Google Forms.	100%: You made it.
Powered by	This content is neither created nor endorsed by Google.
■ Google Forms	Report Abuse - Terms of Service - Additional Terms

استبانة قياس الرضا لمستخدمين جمعية الجابرية التعاونية ومرافقها

terview Number
nm/dd/yyyy,: cample: 03/05/2013 11:30 AM
هذا الإستبيان سوف يقدم للحكومة و وجهاء المنطقة لمعرفة مدى الإرتياح و الرضا من قبل المساهمين و مرتادي جمعية الجابرية، و نتمنى بان يكون شعلة البداية لمختلف الإستبيانات بشتى مناطق الكويت مما يساعد على إيصال صوت ابناء المنطقة للمسؤولين، اود ان احيطكم علماً بان المشاركة تعد تطوعية تماماً، و تعد مشاركتكم إضافة فيمة للباحثين لمعرفة مدى تطلعكم للمشاركة في تصميم و تطوير المجتمع، جميع المعلومات و الإجابات تعد سرية تامة و سوف يتم استخدام المعلومات كشكل جماعي لا شخصي، و الإستبيان لا يتطلب ان تدلي اية معلومات شخصية، و لك الحرية التامة برفض إتمام الإستبيان او عدم الب
 أوافق على المشاركة
 لا أوافق على المشاركة
منذ متى و انت من سكان الجابرية؟
◎ أقل من 5 سنوات
□ 6-10 سنوات
0 20-11 ₪
0 21 € 30-21 سنة
○ أكثر من 31 سنة
ما هي ثلاث كلمات تستخدمها لوصف منطقتك و الحياة العامة المحيطة بها؟
🗆 نشطة
النالة ا
🗆 متفرقة
🗆 مزدحمة
🗆 كثيرة الإزماج
🗆 حميم و ودي
🗎 مفتوحة
منلقة 🗀
:Other 🗎
كل متى تحضر فعاليات الإجتماعية المقامة من قبل إدارة الجمعية التعاونية (مثلا: حفلات القرقيعان، حفلات تكريم المتفوفين، رحلات الحج و العمرة الخ)؟
○ لم أحظر لأي الفعاليات
○ مرة بالسنة
○ مرتان بالسنة
○ مرة بالشهر
◎ مرتان بالشهر

كم مره بالأسبوع / بالشهر تقوم بالذهاب إلى الجمعية التعاونية؟
اسبوعيالشهر
بالمتوسط الحسابي كم من الوقت تقضي خلال وجودك في الجمعية التعاونية و مرافقها؟
ساعة
1.71 5 1. A 63 12.11.1234 12.12.12.12.12.12.12.14.14.17.
بشكل عام، ما مدى أرتياحك للتوزيع الفعلي للجمعية التعاونية و مرافقها الخارجية؟ (من حيث إتمام الإعمال الخاصة و التجول بين مرافق الجمعية)؟
ن غير راض إطلاقاً
⊜ غير راض
⊕ معاید
⊕ راض میرین
○ راض جداً
ما هي وسيلة التنقل التي استخدمتها اليوم للوصول للجمعية التعاونية؟
○ السيارة
⊕ مشيأ
 بالدراجة الهواثية
⊕ باص
□ سائق
بالمعتاد هل تصطحب ابنائك معك خلال تسوقك في الجمعية التعاونية؟
© نم
¥ ()
○ لاينطبق
إذا نعم، فكيف يقضون وفتهم خلال فترة التسوق؟
🔘 يتسوقون معي
🕕 يتجواون داخل مبنى الجمعية
 يلعبون بالساحة الخارجية و العاب الأطفال
○ يلعبون في الحديقة المباورة
○ لا يطبق
:Other
بشكل عام، ما مدى أرتياحك لجابرية مول و المحلات الموجودة فيه؟
 غير راض إطلاقاً
⊜ غیر راض
○ محاید
⊕ راض
⊙ راض جداً
ما هي المحلات أو المرافق التي تود أن تراها بالجابرية مول؟
 ألعاب أطفال داخلية
 محلات القهوى
○ مكان للتجمع الإجتماعي
Other

هل سبق لك الحضور ا الا أبداً الدراً - مرة واحدة فقط احياناً - مرتان إلى ثلاث 4+ غالباً و ما كانت هذه الفعالي	د مرات		التي أقي	مت بالس	عادة الذ	للجية لل	جمعية ال	تعاونية؟	,	
اي من المرافق التالية تـ	عتقد بان ا	لها أهم	ية من حا	يث الإض	افة للسا	حة الخار	جية للج	معية الت	ماونية؟	
ŕ	غیر مهم 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	هام جداً 10
مقاعد لمرتادي الساحة الخارجية	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
أشجار و تخضير و تنظيم معماري	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
مظلات	0	0	0	0		0	0		0	0
ألعاب إضافية للأطفال	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
مقاهي خارجية	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
نوافير ترفيهية للأطفال	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
اخرى:										

Annex 4: Survey Questionaires// Arabic

إلى أي حدرٍ تعارض أو تتفق مع العبارات التالية:

		-0			
أوافق بشدة	أوافق	محايد	أعارض	أعارض بشدة	
0	0	0	0	0	طريقة تخطيط و وضعية جمعية الجابرية مناسبة للإستجدام الأطفال و المحافظة على سلامتهم
0	0	•	0	0	المحلات الموجودة في مول الجابرية تناسب إحتياجاتي
•	0	0	0	0	الساحة الخارجية للجمعية التعاونية مستخدمة بطريقة مناسبة
0	0	0	0	0	الساحة الخارجية للجمعية التعاونية مؤمنة لإستخدام الأطفال
0	0	0	0	0	إذا كان هناك حلقة وصل أكثر فاعلية ما بين المجمعية التعاونية و المجمعية العامة المجاورة لاستخدمت الحديقة العامة بشكل دوري أثناء زيارتي للجمعية التعاونية
0	0	0	0	0	الشكل العام و المخطط الخاص بالجمعية الجديدة يحفز من التفاعل و التواصل ما بين أفراد المجتمع و أبناء منطقة الجابرية بالخصوص
0	0	0	0	0	الشكل العام و المضطط الخاص بالجمعية الجديدة يساعد على التنقل بسهولة لإتمام حاجاتي
0	0	۰	0	0	سكان المنطقة يجب أن يكون لهم يد في طريقة تخطيط و اختيار التصميم المناسب لركز التسوق الخاص بمنطقهم
0	0	0	0	0	إذا أعطيت الفرصة للمشاركة في تصميم و تخطيط مركز التسوق لشاركت في تقديم الرأي و الإقتراحات للجهة المختصة
		إذا أعطيت الفرصة لأضف			
		إذا أعطيت الفرصة لطورة			
		إذا أعطيت الفرصة لأزّلت			

هل تقوم بزيارة الحديقة العامة أو تمر بها عند زيارتك للجمعية التعاونية؟

🔘 نادراً - مرة كل سنة أشهر
 أحياناً - مرة كل شهرين
⊜ دائماً
بشكل عام، اي من المرافق التالية تستخدمها خلال زيارتك للجمعية:
 اللون الأحمر - يستخدم بشكل دائم
 النون الأصغر - يستخدم أحياناً
agai, passag Sussi Obs.
ما هو خط السير لرحلتك بين الجمعية و مرافقها بشكل عام (رسماً)؟
🗆 تم
الفئة العمرية:
18-24 ①
25-34 ①
35-54 ◎
+55 ○
الجنس:
⊕ ټکر
□ انٹی □ انٹی
الجنسية:
⊕ كويتي
🔘 غير كويتي
السكن:
🔘 منزل خاص
© منزلخاص © منزلخاص (أكثر من جيل)
© منزلخاص © منزلخاص (اکثر من جیل) © شقة إیجار
 منزل خاص منزل خاص (اکثر من جیل) شقة إیجار شقة تملیك
© منزلخاص © منزلخاص (اکثر من جیل) © شقة إیجار
 منزل خاص منزل خاص (اکثر من جیل) شقة ایجار شقة تملیك Other المؤهل:
 منزلخاص منزلخاص (اکثر من جبل) شقة إيجار شقة تعليك Other المؤهل: ابتدائي
 منزلخاص منزلخاص (اکثر من جبل) شقة إيجار شقة تمليك Other المؤهل: ابتدائي مترسط
 منزل خاص منزل خاص (اکثر من جبل) شقة ایجار شقة تملیك Other ابتدائي ابتدائي مترسط شناوي
 منزل خاص (اکثر من جبل) منقة إيجار شقة تمليك Other ابتدائي متوسط متوسط نانوي دبلوم
ا منزل خاص (اکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبچار شقة تملیك Other : المؤهل: ابتدائي متوسط ثانوي دیلوم
ا منزل خاص (اکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبچار شقة تملیك Other المؤهل: ابتدائي متوسط تانوي دیلوم دیلوم دیلوم
ا منزل خاص (اکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبچار شقة تملیك Other : المؤهل: ابتدائي متوسط ثانوي دیلوم
ا منزل خاص (اکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبچار شقة تملیك Other المؤهل: ابتدائي متوسط تانوي دیلوم دیلوم دیلوم
ا منزل خاص (آکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبار ا شقة تملیك ا کاره ا الله الله الله الله الله الله الله
ا منزل خاص (آکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبار ا شقة تملیك ا کاره ا الله الله الله الله الله الله الله
ا منزل خاص (آکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبار ا شقة تملیك ا کاره ا الله الله الله الله الله الله الله
ا منزل خاص (آکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبار ا شقة تملیك ا کاره ا الله الله الله الله الله الله الله
ا منزل خاص (آکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبار ا شقة تملیك ا کاره ا الله الله الله الله الله الله الله
ا منزل خاص (آکثر من جیل) ا شقة ایبار ا شقة تملیك ا کاره ا الله الله الله الله الله الله الله

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