

HOUSING

Research Group



How are housing developments contributing to the formation and reproduction of social classes of existing communities in Dubai?

An investigation of the impacts of housing on social infrastructure and informal networks.

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School of Architecture
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BA (Hons) Interior Architecture & Design
Stage 3 Research Thesis
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Abstract

How are housing developments contributing to the formation and reproduction of social classes of existing communities in Dubai? This question was formed as a result of developed neighbourhoods and housing structures that provide different sets of opportunities for different social classes. Urban housing developments not only create different neighbourhoods based on class, but solidify it through its impacts on ways of living, and social groups and classes' capacities to build up networks, connections and social infrastructures. I set out to research this question as it affects me on a personal level due to my personal experience. Being an expat in Dubai - means that my stay is not always guaranteed - I will eventually have to return to my country of origin compared to the indigenous locals who hold Emirati citizenship. From my experience, many gated neighbourhoods in Dubai have access to more and better family orientated facilities compared to open space neighbourhoods. This goes deeper into the housing conditions for the lower class, repetitive housing structures for middle classes and individualistic mansions for the upper class and how they are able to coexist in such a small city. My curiosity on how housing development has created these social classes is what prompted me to pursue this question.

While it starts with personal experience and observation, it connects to important questions in the field of architecture and design particularly with how practitioners prioritise the wider context of their work in hopes of different groups of people gaining access to the same necessities that shape up their living life. I will begin to use an array of research methods to ensure that I am able to answer this question properly. The research will aim to begin from personal experience and networks and will take a qualitative approach in gathering experiences from those experiences in the city of Dubai.

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Introduction

Dubai has truly lived up to its reputation. Large swathes of the city is decked with modernist architectural structures, specifically the Sheikh Zayed road that has been decorated with multi-use glass skyscrapers structures, a view that many residents are familiar with. With a current population of 3.3 million (DSC, 2019) stemming from forty different nationalities (Hills and Atkins, 2013) and 16.73 million visitors in 2019 (Dubai Tourism, 2019) it is evident that the city is lively and rich in diversity.

With its multicultural diversity being the city's best selling point and a gateway for increasing migration comes a pondering question; how do these different communities coexist with each other? And more importantly, how has the city's urban development catered towards these communities through housing?

This thesis will begin to answer the importance of these questions through a selection of qualitative research. Using insights from sociology and related architectural theories has been the main focus point of this thesis to create an investigation on social experiences of an array of communities within housing developments. Information has been accumulated through secondary data that provide a wider socio-cultural context and primary data to explore lived experiences. The primary resources include photographs and observation with the case study neighbourhoods and semi open question interviews with those living in the neighbourhoods. Visual data has also been obtained such as photography, historical maps of the city and current maps which are presented through drawings to locate different sections of neighbourhoods.

Through secondary resources I draw on Fran Tonkiss' "economies of infrastructure" in relation to access to infrastructure based on social classes and spatial injustice that breeds and maintains social classes. The topic of social class is often mentioned in relation to housing in Dubai. The three social classes are categorised based on financial income taken from the Dubai Statistics Centre (fig 1.).

Social class	Lower class (labour workers)	Middle class (expats)	Upper class (expats and Emiratis)
Annual income (in AED)	29,215	337,392	866,890
Annual income (in £)	5,802	67,010	172,174

Fig 1. A table illustrating the three different social classes in Dubai based on income.

Chapter 1: The Rapid Urbanism of Dubai and Housing Development

The city of Dubai has gone through an extensive transformation within a short fifty years (Pacione, 2015:255) although there is no question that the city, or rather the country started from humble beginnings. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) valued their economy through its use of the Dubai creek (fig 2.), a favoured connection for trade and pearl fishing (Kanna, 2013:21) until its discovery of oil in 1966 which brought forward the turning point to Dubai's economy (Pacione, 2015:256). The city's exploitation of petroleum brought opportunities of major infrastructural and industrial developments (Pacione, 2015:256) that would boost the economy. The achievements of Dubai's rapid urbanisation (fig 3.) began with ruler Sheikh Zayed who reigned from 1971-2004. He was a key figure in the unification of the seven Emirates that formed the country of UAE and "a visionary leader" that contributed to the prosperity of the country to what it is today (Haziq, 2018). Sheikh Zayed's vision managed to increase the population to "961,000 by 2002." (Pacione,2015:257). Part of the increase belonged to the demand of labour workers that came abroad to satisfy the demand created by the oil industry (Pacione, 2015:257). This developed the first three residential areas - Deira, Al Shindagha and Dubai (Pacione, 2015:259) to accommodate the expats immigrating to the city. Overtime, the financial incentive of tax free earnings attracted expats all over the world (Redvers, 2018) thus creating a demand for housing developments.

During the early stages of its urbanisation, the government began to delegate their control of their urban planning to private entities that were free to demolish and create modernistic structures (see fig 4.) with the goal "profit generation and investment return" and encouraging increasing expat population for the Government (Alawadi, 2014: 361) which lead to its exploitation of its construction workers (Piller, 2017: 7) who come into the country on a work visa through the hopes of using remittances for higher conversion rates to their homeland.

Within Dubai, the involvement of actors such as the Government and private developers such as 'Emaar properties' on their neighbourhood housing has segregated communities into separate neighbourhood housing. Emaar were the catalysts of luxury gated neighbourhoods for expats such as Arabian Ranches and Emirates Hills. Emaar has also contributed to building the Dubai Mall as a commercial project - allowing international brands to enter the market (Ali, 2010:9) which helps citizens feel included within the expat population circle. On the other hand, the government subsidises land or houses to their Emirati population. Each Emirati household is provided minimum size 10,000 sq ft houses in neighbourhoods that are "designed as low-density, single-use residential zones" (Alawadi and Benkraouda, 2019).

The developers drive and focus on building luxurious high-rise buildings (see fig 5.) and neighbourhood areas have created a "cities within cities" formation where every part of Dubai has city-like structures condensed into smaller areas which limits the movements of dwellers (Fouad, S.A). This has contributed to sustaining social classes which segregates expats - those who reside in the country through a residence visa and locals - the Emirati citizens who are closely protected by the government. The government created a power structure that places the Emirati's in higher social class standing through stakes in Migrant companies to receive financial benefits to elevate their lifestyle in the country (Qadri,2020).



Fig 2. Dubai Creek in the 1960s.



Fig 3. Dubai street life photography.



Fig. 4 Luxury villa located in Dubai Hills - the imitation of Beverly Hills developed by Emaar.



Fig 5. The Burj Khalifa is the tallest building that includes residences by Armani - a luxury brand.

Any Dubai resident would be aware of the preferential treatment towards the UAE nationals which make up about less than 19% of the total population (Hills and Atkins, 2013). The desire to protect the locals stems to their living conditions which separates locals and expats from each other where the expatriate living is controlled by its private sectors of private developers mostly owned by the locals and the locals have the luxury of receiving subsidized housing by the government (Alawadi and Benkraouda, 2019). The clear divide between expats and locals has created a "consumer culture" where expats act as the producers of bringing in economic value to the city through commercialising basic necessities through private education and healthcare. The result is locals being able to consume these efforts through free benefits from the government. With the line of division being clear, the expats pay no mind to this unfair divide because they either forfeit their right to exercise their disapproval or risk returning back to their country that has less living opportunities that Dubai has to offer.

This often brings up the concept of transnationalism migration - the idea that a person "belongs to two different communities at the same time" (Elsheshtawy, 2009:21). This becomes a widely accepted system in Dubai's migration community. Transnational migration is heavily associated with the concepts of "nation, state, citizenship, identity, and language," (Duany, 2011:1). The age of a modernistic world has opened up a variety of opportunities of jobs that would benefit those living in other countries. Micheal Kearney expands on this concept implying that transnational migration causes a "blurring, or perhaps better said, a reordering of the binary cultural, social, and epistemological distinctions of the modern period." (Duany, 2011:1). In other words, transnationalism can be seen as borders - the integration of cultural and geographical zones of migration between nationals and boundaries - are the "legal spatial delimitations of states" (Duany, 2011:1). Elsheshtawy, (2009:21) excellently identifies that individuals bear belongings to two communities at the same time; their host country and country of origin - causing a loss of identity of some sort.

Although, expats will still hold a distinctive attachment to their country of origin as it holds their cultural values that has traveled across the borders with them (Duany, 2011:1). The idea of transnational migration bears a resemblance to Dubai's population structure as the city bears its recent label of "migrant city" due 90% of their population is dominated by expats (Elsheshtawy, 2009:18) which causes the imbalance ratio between locals and expat population. The mostly transient population (Elsheshtawy, 2009:4) enters a concept of 'them' and 'us' by creating a divide in social groups due to the migration status of dwellers.

This is preceptible in the urban fabric of Dubai's housing sector as housing policies are deeply rooted to the segregation of locals and expats that go into a deeper level considering "ethnicities and socioeconomic groups" as well as relationship status determines ones belonging in a shelter (Alawadi, 2011:253). For instance, the government of Dubai is determined to categorise their working class sectors into separate housing zones, away from family-orientated neighbourhoods (Alawadi, 2011:254). Dubai has gated neighbourhoods that are often facilitated with shops, restaurants, gyms, schools and nurseries but are extremely pricey to come by such as the Emirates Hills - an exclusive neighbourhood for the wealthy. The socio-economic class determines how life proceeds. This situation falls in line with its deterministic urban theory

of segregating family expats into similar housing communities and banishing working class communities interacting with the neighbourhoods. The careless investments that are made to 'high-grade neighbourhoods' ensure that they have sufficient amounts of facilities while leaving the work-class community to venture for themselves with the insufficiency of proper housing for working-class and single expats (Alawadi, 2014:363).

But, this is not the case for the locals. While the expats needs are taken care of through private sectors, the locals needs are met with a government response. The government subsidizes their local housing into "family units" in zones (see fig 6.) that are catered to locals only (Alawadi, 2011:253), meaning that the options of expat and local communities coexisting together are slim and frankly not approved by the local community due to cultural differences (Alawadi, 2011:253) thus affecting the urban outcome of the city's fabric structure.

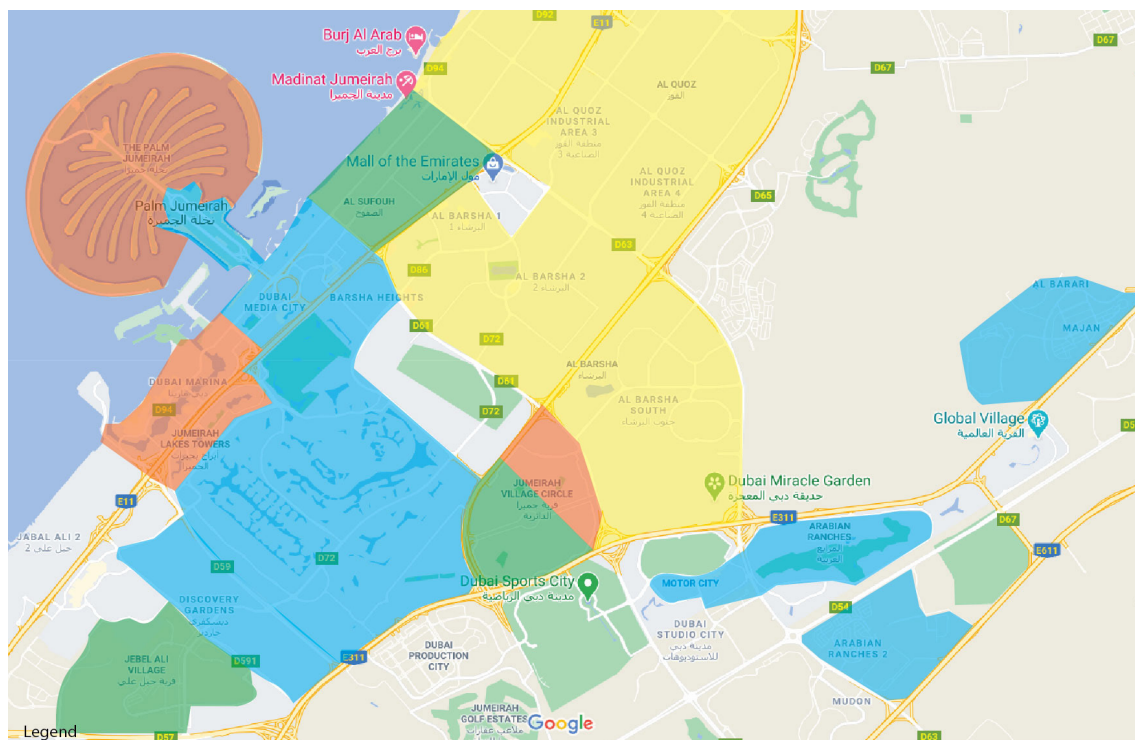


Fig. 6 A drawing of the map of Dubai showcasing the classification of neighbourhoods based on different social classes.

Chapter 2: The Kafala System and its consequences

The concept of segregation housing in Dubai lies within their visa system known as the Kafala system. Sara Hamza wrote (2015:82):

“The kafala system, best described as a sponsorship system, has played a central role in the rapid economic development in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states – Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates.”

The idea of imported labour was put into place to begin the migration of labour workers (Geilsdorf et al, 2016:163) due to the transition from rural to cities (WBYA?, 2017) to seek jobs for remittances back home and filling in construction demands. The sponsorship system can only be allowed by companies or institutions and Emiratis who are willing to sponsor workers or expats to live and work in Dubai. Interestingly enough, many of these construction workers are ethnically South Asians (Piller, 2017:7) who are exploited as cheaper manpower. Despite building the golden icons that make Dubai, the workers are forced to leave once their contract expires leaving them no place of belonging (Sudjic, 2016:17).

However, the Kafala system uncovers deeper aspects that can be perceived through an architectural lens - precisely how this system separates labour workers into social classes through exploitation of rights and living structures.

It is shared that 96% of the city's working-class come from “India, the Philippines, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan” (Geilsdorf et al, 2016:164) which upholds the city's economy by providing their services to further elevate the city's pristine image of the perfection of customer service. However, the on-going demand of labour to keep the city-afloat does not comply with its housing sector and its conditions, especially for its construction workers who reside in poor conditions.

In fact, much of the tourism infrastructure and upper class infrastructure is situated in the centre of the city, leaving little room for affordable housing for the working sector due to developers prioritising demands of building stylish high-rise apartments and villas for the upper class and increasing the density levels to an all time high - only to cater to those who can afford it (Fouad, N.A.). The lack of willingness to build affordable housing for construction workers led to sponsors opening up labour camps on the outskirts of the city - and sometimes in neighbouring cities (see fig 7.). This also served as a purpose of masking the dreadful living conditions from other social classes through ignorance (Hamza, 2015:90). This has been proven to be quite successful as no “respectable European or local Arab person would venture” into foreign territories that don't live up to their social class (Kanna, 2011:69).

Furthermore, the spatial design of these labour camps are not given much thought (see fig 8.) as up to twenty labour workers are cramped into a single room (Kathiravelu, 2012:110) (see fig 9.) that restricts much of the physical movement and the use of personal space as intimacy is quite common in these labour camp structures.

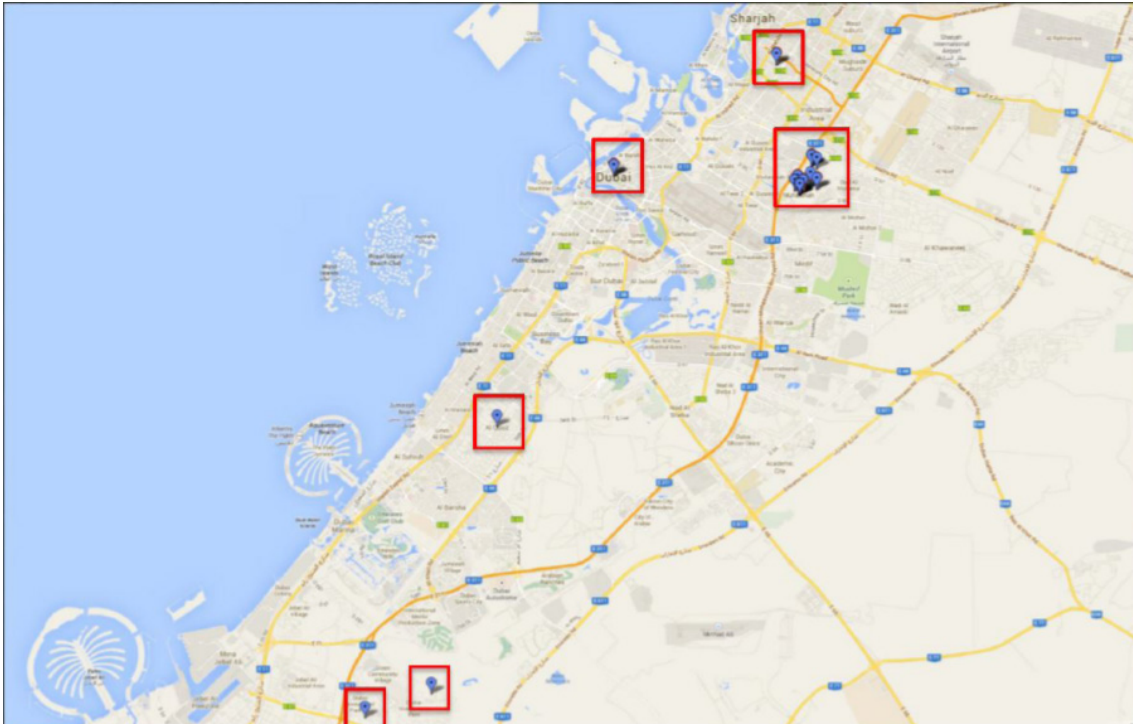


Fig 7. Map of the locations of labour camps in Dubai



Fig 8. Saadiyat Construction Village is set to open in July.



Fig 9. Labour workers are cramped into a tiny room.

There are no government interventions to protect the labour workers from these living conditions. One of the worst cases was identified in 2009, when Arabtec, one of Dubai's largest construction firms was exposed to the inhumane living conditions of their workers. The normalisation of the overcrowded camp was just one of the issues as the camps were littered with raw sewage requiring workers to carefully navigate around their living quarters and the lack of water their toilets had which accumulated piles of raw faeces (Hamza, 2015:90). The BBC coverage instantly gained international headlines of the firm's treatment of their workers meaning that the government had to intervene for the sake of their image to use their labour laws which they rarely enforced within the labour community. The aftermath of the Arabtec resulted in a mere fine of £2064 (Hamza, 2015:90) and no reparations to the workers. This suggests that the government simply doesn't give it enough importance to deal with issues surrounding the mistreatment of labour workers, as if they are forgotten members of Dubai's society and only remembered when needed for their financial purposes.

Being able to live in the heart of the city as a member of the working-class can be a privilege but this comes at the cost of the Kafala system's identification of their visas. Furthermore, a company's desire to place their staff in better housing in the middle of the city is often dismissed by the Government (Hamza, 2015:90) as the crackdown on single south Asian men that belong in the working class are usually driven away from family-use neighbourhoods for the sake of 'safety'. A clear example of this is when a local Emirati woman called a radio programme to complain about the density of bachelor workers living in their neighbourhoods. The government's immediate response was to evict 3,936 workers from 185 housings and failure to do so would mean utilities being cut off swiftly (Ali, 2020). This further implies the favouritism of social classes based on ethnicities. Since the government is solely responsible for their local population, they acted on the demands without any regards to the now displaced workers who will actively have to seek out shelter.

Moreover, workers who are unable to seek out shelter are either sent or deported back to their respective country of origin. The Coronavirus pandemic has impacted many job losses and Dubai is not an exception. Many workers have been made redundant due to the lack of costs catering towards them. One occurrence was a Dubai charity organisation famously known as Dar Al Ber Society discovered that 44 workers with Ghanaian ethnicity have been homeless due to their loss of jobs. The charity made the initiative to offer their full support to send the workers back to their national homeland (Gupta, 2020). This further implies that the city of Dubai lacks the appropriate infrastructure to provide workers with liveable standard housing (see fig 9.) and funding to be able to stay in Dubai because the nature of the Kafala system only labels these workers as a temporary imported asset to the country that can be sent back after its use.



Fig 10. The unsanitary conditions of a kitchen in the Sonapur camp taken by taken by Farhad Berahman

Chapter 3: Theories of social infrastructure, exclusion and class

Housing - in many ways has shaped how residents experience their environment. The core belief of houses being just a 'shelter' has evolved into the inclusion of different amenities to benefit the occupants. The urban context of any housing development therefore needs to be considered in terms of its impacts on occupants everyday life. Louis Wirth - a former member of the Chicago school of Urban sociology finalised the basic interpretations of Urbanism. He provided the following explanation for Urbanism:

"A sociologically significant definition of the city" looks beyond the mere physical structure of the city, or its economic product, or its characteristic cultural institutions – however important all these may be – to discover those underlying "elements of urbanism which mark it as a distinctive mode of human group life." (Legates & Staout, 2015:24)

The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture has also provided an architectural and socially determined view of Urbanism which is:

"People should live in cities, use them, and walk in them, not clutter and pollute them with cars and other vehicles. Urbanism in this sense implies recapturing quality, beauty, pleasure, and civilized living in cities" (Curl & Wilson, 2015).

Both of these definitions interlink between each other as they both focus on the impacts of human life with its built environment. However, many cities have impacted from social class in an Urban setting. A dweller's demographic characteristic may as well contribute to their urban experience. This, in turn can lead to the creation and preservation of networks and belonging in different communities based on the dweller themselves. These networks will be significant into the categorisation of social groups based on ethnicity,

age, financial state and race. The social classes in Dubai are highly based on financial and ethnicity factors.

The accessibility to infrastructure of a city or rather a neighbourhood can maintain these social classes. Anthropologist Brian Larkin's insight into infrastructure is described as "built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people or ideas and allow for their exchange over space" (2013:328). The idea of infrastructure follows a physical form. It builds a network structure that directs movements and accessibility for people (Larkin, 2013:328). Its anthropology insight ties infrastructures as an "apparatus of governmentality" (Larkin, 2013:328) that organises the population into territories based on their characteristics.

Fran Tonkiss' "economies of infrastructure" is a useful lens to consider the relation of infrastructure to social and class based segregation in Dubai (Tonkiss, 2015:384). Her work theorizes three categories of economies of infrastructure, namely, moral, political. I focus especially on the dimension of political economy here. The concept focuses on the "processes and effects of privatization" in infrastructure through "patterns of investment, regulation and delivery" (Tonkiss, 2015:386). The act of privatization on an infrastructure may bring ownership and control with little regulation of the government which begins to show the unfair distributions of "infrastructural hardware, resources and services" (Tonkiss, 2015:387). This perhaps begins to cause architectural exclusion for specific social classes as they are unable to gain access to infrastructure that may benefit them. This is an acknowledgement to social class privilege as a political factor. Labour camps in Dubai are placed in the outskirts of the city deprive workers from social amenities and embassies.

Their only mode of transportation is via the company bus which makes it harder to travel (WBYA?, 2017). The middle to upper class that may have the most benefits in their lifestyle may have other uses for a basic necessity. One example could be the consumption of water that is a luxury for the working class through uses of cleaning and drinking but may be overused in filling swimming pools and tending to golf courses (Tonkiss, 2015:387). The political economies of infrastructure also brings forward a certain characterisation of infrastructure elites which are privileged who have access to better quality infrastructure than their lower class counterparts. Therefore the privatisation of such infrastructures causes different social groups to be relatable and exclude those who do not hold characteristics relevant to the group which creates a sense of social injustice (Tonkiss, 2015:390). The economies of social infrastructure can also be summarised by holding "forms of social life together at the same time as they work to set people, places and objects apart" (Tonkiss, 2015:390).

The theory of spatial injustice is the idea of social reproduction. This theory supports the notion that social classes can be maintained through certain conditions after their establishment. Cities have long been the product of inequalities through "spatial structuring of labour and property markets, the uneven impact of urban investment and location decisions" (Tonkiss, 2011:85). The socio-economic imbalances breeds an opportunity for the reproduction of social classes that will likely have permanent consequences for dwellers. The favour of certain geographical locations and care over other locations bring the issue of inequality and lack of opportunity into sight (Tonkiss, 2011:85) that makes it harder for certain people of social classes such as the working or lower class to find oppor-

tunity beyond their area of shelter (Tonkiss, 2011:85). Theories of spatial injustice stem from theories of social justice - which is "concerned with the fair distribution of economic and social goods" (Tonkiss, 2008:592) and valuing social rights above civil and political rights. But cities that swear on the access of "collective consumption" (Tonkiss, 2011:86) of open green spaces such as parks or transport modes along with other infrastructure are a tool that is provided to the privileged that reside in areas which benefit from locational incentives (Tonkiss, 2011:86). Following Tonkiss, I will explore the lack of locational incentives for labour oriented neighbourhoods and the incentives that expat families receive despite both communities being labelled as expats.

Peter Marcuse provides his insight into spatial injustice being relative to social injustice which depend on "social, political, and economic" factors that have been historically in place many decades ago (Iveson, 2011:252). However, Edward Soja believes that spatial injustices are a result of "locational discrimination, the political organisation of space and the unequal distributive outcomes of capitalist urbanisation" (Iveson, 2011:253). Furthermore, Soja is keen that spatial injustice also focuses on the process of social, economic and other forms of injustices as well as the outcome (Iveson, 2011:253). Marcuse also argues that spatial injustices such as segregation and the disparate distribution of resources contribute to the "broader processes of injustice" (Iveson, 2011:254). Marcuse further supports his point of broader injustices through the segregation and social injustices of African-Americans in Harlem, New York (see fig.11). The occupation of African-Americans in one area has always been labelled as a Ghetto as a way of discrimination and history of slavery that had long lasting repercussions due to the long systems of oppression



Fig 11. "The Voice of the Ghetto" Harlem 1985.

in place (Iveson, 2011:254). While Soja believes in some aspects of Marcuse's claims, he strongly believes that the root of 'Ghettoism' could have been linked to its spatial aspects instead (Iveson, 2011:254) that preserves the social class system.

Chapter 4: Case study on Al-Bada'a VS Al-Satwa

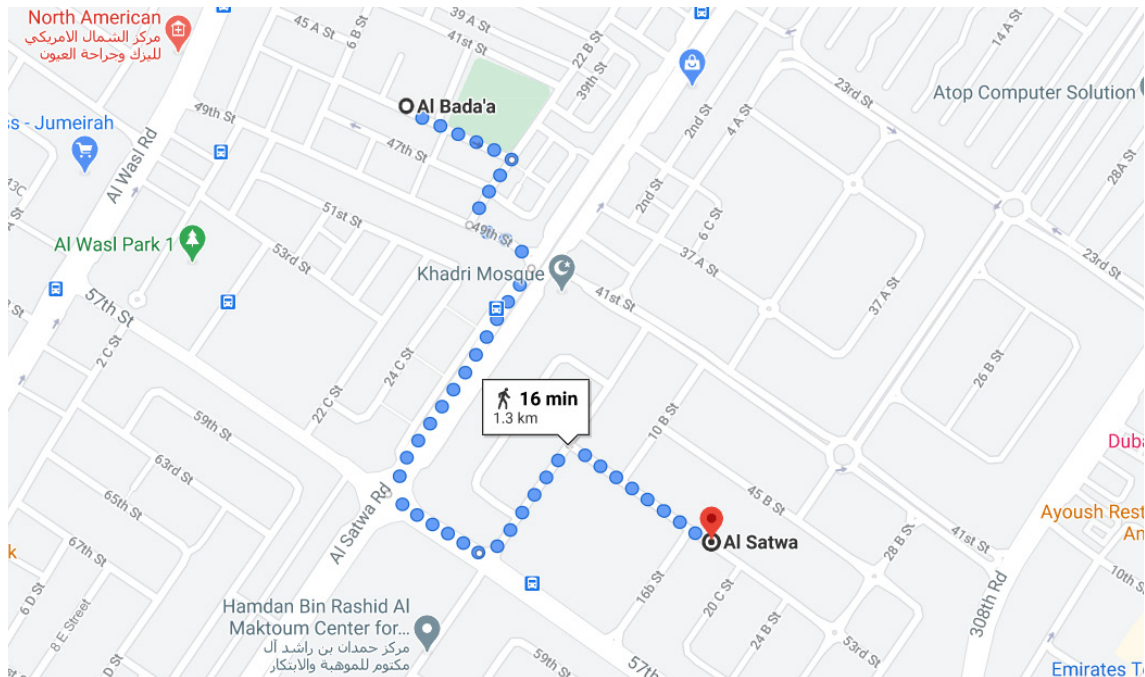


Fig 12. Neighbourhoods of Al-Satwa and Al-Bada'a which is a four minute drive away from each other.

The production and preservation of social classes in Dubai is the result of capitalisation on housing developments that create infrastructures which can only be accessed by a specific number of people. The two main neighbourhoods of focus, Al-Satwa and Al-Bada'a are geographically close to each other (fig.12) but their vastly different characteristics and qualities creates a class system of inequality over one another.

Al-Bada'a is a family oriented neighbourhood - where I have been living in for over ten years. The neighbourhood has a mixture of large expat households and a very small number of Emirati dwellers. Their difference in living style is portrayed in the type of housing both communities live in. Expats live in similar structured attached villas produced by 'Al Wasl properties', (fig.13) a private developer that produces housing for expats while

Emirati housing is mostly personalised and built on a bigger plot to accommodate their large households (fig 14.). Similar to many villa occupied neighbourhoods, social interaction of Al-Bada'a is heavily restricted through the use of fencing and gates around each villa (fig 15.) as privacy is a valued characteristic of each neighbourhood in Dubai (Alawadi and Benkraouda, 2017). The mode of transport in this neighbourhood is limited to private vehicles with no signs of bus stops therefore each villa is provided with a garage that occupies two car spaces (fig 16.).

Al-Bada'a closeness to Dubai Mall (fig 17.) made the area susceptible to developing infrastructure that would benefit the middle class expat families who want to live near the city centre. Infrastructures such as a nursery (fig 18.) accompanied by parks (fig 19.) catered towards children and a supermarket



Fig 13. The attached villas in Al-Bada'a have the same structures.



Fig 14. A typical Emirati housing structure in Al-Bada'a that is usually design as per the dwellers preferences.



Fig 15. Each villa in Al-Bada'a are protected through the use of walls and gates.



Fig 16. Each villa in Al-Bada'a is provided with a garage that occupies two cars.

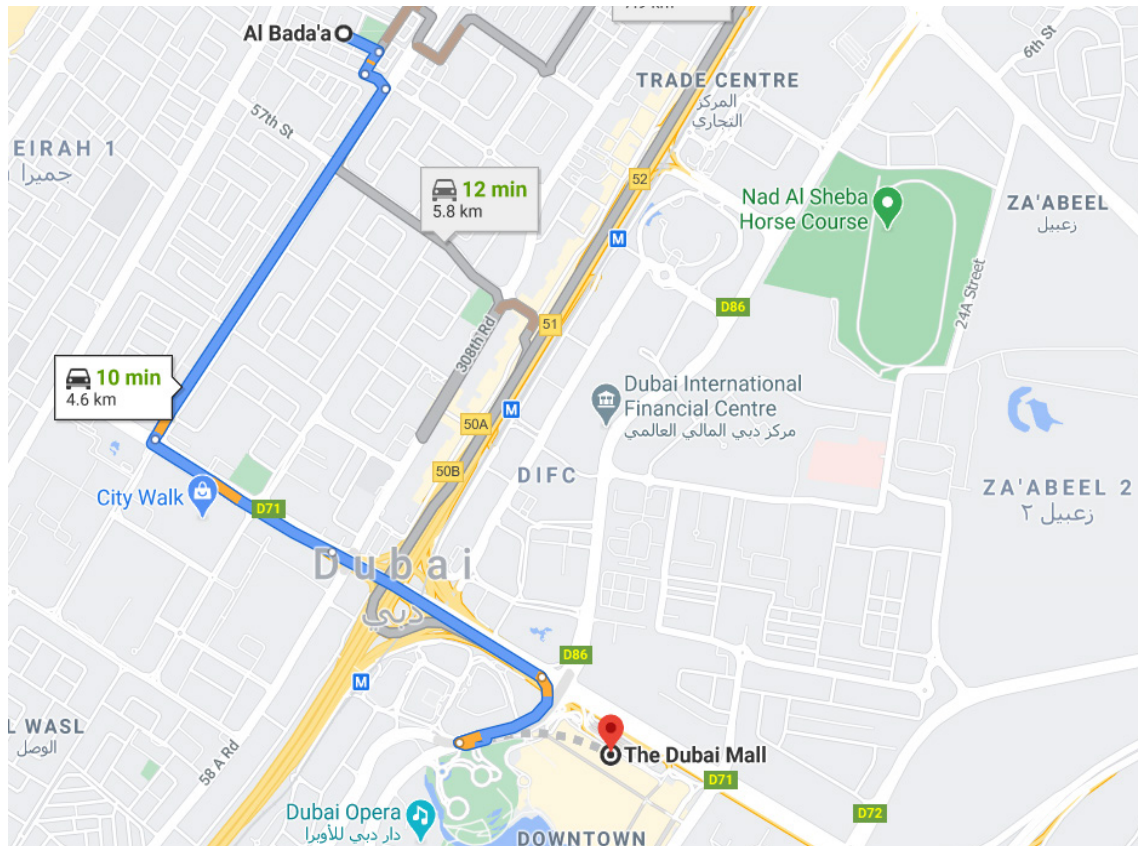


Fig 17. Map illustrating the distance between Al-Bada'a to Dubai Mall - the world's biggest mall.



Fig 18. The Sandcastle nursery is located in Al-Bada'a, close to Wasl 51.



Fig 19. Al Wasl park catered for families in Al-Bada'a.



Fig 20. The Wasl 51 strip in Al Bada'a. It includes various restaurants, cafés and a gym.

children and a supermarket with a compound, allowing residents to benefit from a pool and gym further implies that the area is mainly occupied by families. In fact, I have never witnessed a bachelor living in the area as strict laws segregate families and bachelors (Ali, 2020). The neighbourhood had recent developments for leisure to those living in the area. 'Wasl 51' (fig 20.) is a recently built retail space filled with restaurants, cafés and shops that is accessed by the middle and upper class due to pricing being catered towards those classes. Constant development within the area has made me realise that Al-Bada'a has been accommodating the upper and middle class through housing and these social classes through leisure and entertainment. Exclusionary amenities is a very common feature in Dubai as many areas in Dubai are expensive and set a social ground in terms of how they are constructed. Workers that are categorized in the lower class are more likely to go to live-work areas such as Al-Satwa to spend their leisure time.

"Al-satwa is a slice of Dubai's heritage" (Alawadi, 2014:360) and home to the poorest district in Dubai. It was developed in the 1960s to initially provide housing for the Emiratis (Elscheshtawy, 2009:225) but the area was soon leased to low income workers (Alawadi, 2014:363) from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Philippines (Alawadi, 2014:363) when the government subsidised 10,000 sq ft of land as families became bigger (Alawadi and Benkraouda, 2017).

Al-Satwa gives an interesting insight into a neighbourhood that was once family oriented and ascends to a dense population of single workers (Alawadi, 2014:362). It's located within the centre of the city, despite the government isolating the working class from the middle and upper class makes it an interesting area to investigate. The demand for labour workers in the 1990s brought an influx of migrant workers to Dubai. However, the lack of appropriate shelters for the workers to occupy the 60 by 60 sq ft rooms to be able to stay within the city

(Alawadi, 2014:363). Al-Satwa's "urban morphology" (Alawadi, 2014:363) is formed by its traditional courtyard housing (fig 21.) forms tucked away in the alleyways with live-work (fig 22.) low rise buildings (Alawadi, 2014:363). Live-work is known for "the cessation of commuting" (Thomas, 2012:1) where buildings "eliminate the separation between the most important parts of our lives" (Dolan, 2012:1). Live-working is evident in Al-Satwa because business operators live quite close to their area of work. Its affordable housing options, variety of resources meeting their daily needs and the use of public transportation (fig 23.) has made the area convenient with its low-income occupants (Alawadi, 2014:367). However, much of these workers live in cramped houses (fig 24.). For instance, a 2500 square foot house in Al-Satwa houses up to 50 workers and as much as four to eight workers occupy each room with bunk beds which limits them from movement (Alawadi, 2014:363).

"In a small, undifferentiated population, where people know each other, perform the same sort of work, and have the same interests – where they look, act, and think alike – it is relatively easy to maintain a consensus on proper values and appropriate behavior" (Mele et al, 2012:44). The characteristics of both neighbourhoods are developed by the amenities it offers that shapes its inhabitants' experience in their neighbourhood. The inhabitants of Al-Bada'a and Al-Satwa provide an in depth analysis to how they live and what this means in accordance to Fran Tonkiss' economies of infrastructure and the theory of spatial injustice through social reproduction.



Fig 21. The alleyways of Al-Satwa includes poorly maintained courtyard housing.



Fig 22. Live-work structures are found everywhere in Al-Satwa.



Fig 23. Al-Satwa's Masjid two bus stop is one of the many bus stops in Al-Satwa.



Fig 24. Dwellers in Al-Satwa often live in camped conditions.

Chapter 5: Application of theories in case study and Interviews

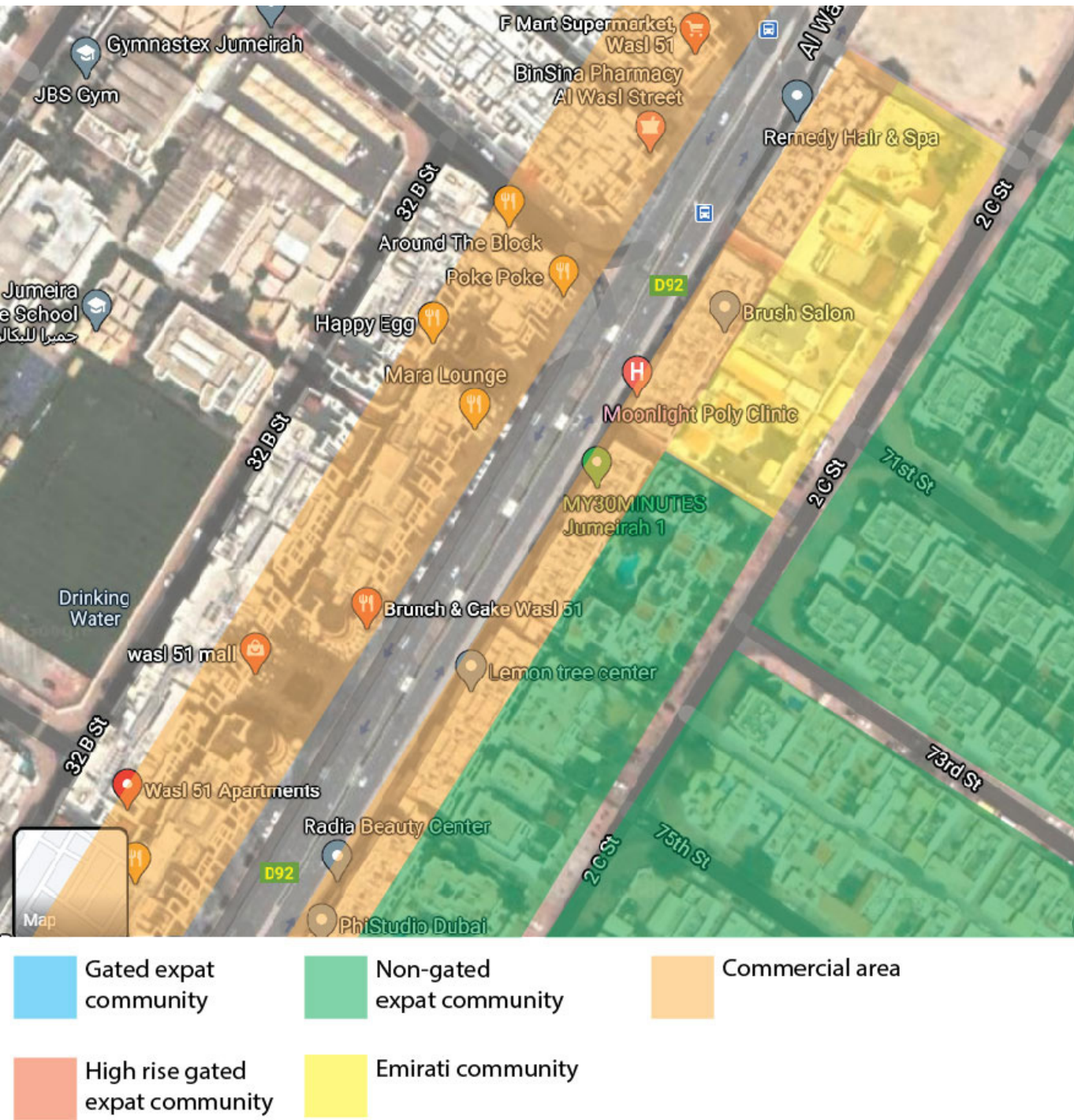




Fig 25. Map illustrating the expat, Emirati and commercial areas in Al-Bada'a.

Two interviews (appendix A) have been conducted to inquire about experiences in living in Al-Bada'a and Al-Satwa. The participants, who both are under the Kafala system, were asked semi-open questions about the community of their neighbourhoods. Sana Pirmohamed is an expat who lives with her family in Al-Bada'a for over ten years and Karen. M is an Filipino expat worker that resides in Al-Satwa with her relatives for three years. Both of their conversations allowed an insight to how their knowledge in Al-Satwa and Al-Bada'a shows similarities and differences in their living styles. What is intriguing is that both expats believe that they would not be able to stay in Dubai in the long run. However, Pirmohamed is keen to start a family in Dubai because she wants to grasp the opportunities she was offered when she was younger while Karen would ultimately return back to the Philippines to start her own family.

Pirmohamed, in particular, (appendix B) agrees that Al-Bada'a is family oriented and is considered "generally very safe" because she categorises the area as middle to upper class. Alternatively, both Karen (appendix C) and Pirmohamed believe Al-Satwa is a lower class neighbourhood in relation to the geographical locations of the infrastructure and level of income. Karen mentions that dwellers in Al-Satwa earn approximately 20,000 dirhams (£3,982.71) that classifies them to the lower class sector according to figure. The issue of overcrowding is because there are 40,228 workers residing in Al-Satwa (Dubai Statistics Centre, 2017). However, Al-Satwa wouldn't be considered a labour camp due to its structure being catered to Emirati families. Marcuse's broader injustices that focus on segregation and contrasting distribution of resources (Iveson, 2011:254) exhibits how Al-Satwa deteriorated (fig 26.) when the migration of workers to Al-Satwa began and Emirati "families moved out because they lost their sense of privacy, safety, pride, appreciation, and attachment to the area" (Alawadi, 2011:259). Therefore the lack of care and maintenance to Al-Satwa overturned the once-family oriented neighbourhood into a 'Ghetto' that introduced "violence concretized in urban space" (Wacquant, 2004:155) through a high crime rate (Elsheshtawy, 2009:225).

The accessibility of public transportation is an issue in Al-Bada. Pirmohamed states that she has to travel by taxi or private vehicle to reach the closest Dubai metro station. Furthermore, she proposes public transport such as bus stops should be installed for convenience. Yet this is no issue in Al-Satwa. Karen, like other working expats, travels to her workplace by using the available bus stops that lead to the metros. This is an interesting insight as architectural exclusion, which is part of economies of infrastructure (Tonkiss, 2015:384), affects the middle to upper class who wish to use public transport as a way of commuting. The lower class in Al-Satwa identifies with social class privilege by having public transport such as bus stops being strategically placed in low class areas where the working class have access to. This creates an intriguing dynamic that public transport in the city of Dubai is mostly catered to the working class. The conception that the upper class have access to most infrastructure in the city isn't too apparent in neighbourhoods such as Al-Bada'a.

Both neighbourhoods boast different infrastructures that contribute to maintaining their existing social classes. Al Wasl park in Al-Bada'a is an example of apparatus of an governmentality (Larkin, 2013:328). The park is a family friendly park that Pirmohamed takes younger children to. The features of a playground area (fig 27.) and a security guard depicts that the lower class



Fig 26. The housing structures in Al-Satwa are deteriorating due to lack of maintenance.

will not have access to the area because many of the lower class are unmarried and it is legally forbidden for them to access infrastructures that belong to family-orientated neighbourhoods such as Al-Bada'a (Hamza, 2015:90). Therefore, the low class community built a community for themselves as the government was not responsible for them which created the live-work systems in Al-Satwa. A large concentration of Filipinos reside in Al-Satwa due to its relatively affordable housing prices (Elsheshatawy, 2008:983). Karen feels particularly content as she is able to share a community with her 'kabayans' also known as compatriots (Elsheshatawy, 2008:982). The building where she lives is just opposite Al Maya (fig 28.) grocery store that sells a range of Filipino products along with restaurants that have licenses to sell pork. The Manila building (fig 29.) - a well known shopping area in Al-Satwa is the reason why Karen spends much of her time in the neighbourhood which offers imported products from the Philippines. However, this spatial structuring of creating a neighbourhood that



Fig 27. The Al-Wasl park in Al-Bada'a has a playground area for children to play in.

clusters infrastructures tightly together results in permanent consequences for dwellers. The fact that Al-Satwa is established as a micro-city makes it difficult for the lower class to explore the rest of the city (Tonkiss, 2011:85) beyond Al-Satwa. Perhaps, this unintentional creation of a densely packed neighbourhood causes spatial injustice because of the inability of its inhabitants interacting with other classes that leads to the idea of the social reproduction of classes.

Al-Bada'a and Al-Satwa support the value that social classes are maintained through certain conditions. The appearance of an upper class community exists on a small scale in Al-Bada'a. The Emiratis, who are considered upper class are closely managed and protected by their state government. Their preferences with detached single family units (Alawadi, 2011:254) is evident as the visibly larger plots are custom designed to accommodate large Emirati families. The three separate Emirati plots (fig 30.) are directly opposite the uniformed expat housing showcases the Emirati's preferences



Fig 28. Al Maya supermarket in Al-Satwa.



Fig 29. Manila building in Al-Satwa.



Fig 30. Three Emirati houses are on the same street in Al-Bada'a.

in living closely together to maintain their cultural heritage (Alawadi and Benkraouda, 2017) even if it means segregating to a specific section in Al-Bada'a. The spatial structure of these Emirati houses offers larger plot housing - something that is only exclusive to Emiratis within the city centre of Dubai. Pirmohamed also explains that she and her family never had the opportunity to interact with their Emirati neighbours. "I think obviously the divide between Emirati and non Emirati is a massive thing," Pirmohamed said. She believes that the expat community (the upper class) and the expat community (middle to upper class) can co-exist in the same place, but they can only co-exist separately. This can also relate to the ownership of housing developments within the neighbourhoods as subsidised housing offers free housing plots for the Emirati's (Alawadi and Benkraouda, 2017) as opposed to Al-Satwa, which was going to be replaced by an upscaled neighbourhood known as 'Jumeirah Garden City' (fig 31.) which was abandoned due to the recession that hit the country (Elsheshatawy, 2008:982). This supports the spatial theory that certain geographical locations such as the Emirati housing strip in Al-Bada'a is cared more than Al-Satwa which was at risk of being replaced. The political economy is apparent as the privatisation of Al-Satwa by Meraas, a private developer company (Elsheshatawy, 2008:982), in turning the neighbour into an upper class area proves that there is a lack of regulation from the government. Mainly in the issue that the dissolved project would displace their lower class minority to the outskirts of the city.



Fig 31. Development plans for Jumeirah Garden city that would have been situated in Al-Satwa.

Conclusion

By reaching to the conclusion, it is imperative to reflect on these questions: How do these different communities coexist with each other? And how has the city's urban development catered towards these communities through housing? The three social classes are capable of existing within the centre of Dubai but its geographical location is taken into consideration through the uses of segregation to prevent interaction with the upper-middle class to the lower class in a social setting. I have now comprehended that housing to expats are completed through a privatised form to fuel the economy of the state while Emiratis have access to free housing provided by their Government. Their indigenous characteristics allow them to be eligible for the many benefits their state offers them. The expats are considered a temporary component that can be replaced by newer expats entering the country. It is as if we are the producers and the Emiratis are the consumers.

The richness of their diversity is always separated into social classes, each neighbourhood is filled with people that are alike through the same characteristics and financial lifestyle. It is almost impossible for the lower class to mix within middle to upper class neighbourhoods in a social setting other than for the sake of commercial interactions. I strongly believe that actors such as the Dubai government, Emiratis are the perpetrators of the formation of social classes through the Emirati's strong value of privacy from unmarried expats in their neighbourhoods and the government's willingness to follow these values. Private developers are also considered the actors that maintained these social classes through the privatisation of expat housing. The theories have provided an insight into how much of Dubai is segregated into social classes and that spatial injustice and lack of care is mostly evident in neighbourhoods such as Al-Satwa while housing sectors such as Al-Bada'a is heavily capitalised through political economies by delegation of power to private developers to build infrastructure that is only suitable to the middle to upper class sector. The journey through researching secondary resources and exploring the two neighbourhoods in Dubai has given me the affirmation that the growing divide between the three social classes is likely permanent as long as the actors are present.

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Abstract

Appendix A

Interview questions

This interview is a part of Armita Vajdi's thesis titled How are housing developments contributing to the formation and reproduction of social classes of existing communities in Dubai?

Tell me about where you live?

What's the best thing about where you live?

What do you think about the community in where you live?

Do you live with anyone? Are they your friends? Family?

Do you have the chance to interact with other people in your community?

Do you have close access to infrastructures that you use?

Would you be able to categorise your neighbourhood into a social class?

Do you believe that the people in your community lead the same lifestyle as you?

What kind of transport do you use? Is it convenient?

Do you see yourself living in Dubai for the next 10 years or will you eventually return to your country of origin?

Abstract

Appendix B

Interview with Sana Pirmohamed (transcribed)

Interviewer:

So this is an interview, to answer the thesis question of how are housing developments contributing to the formation and reproduction of social classes of existing communities in Dubai. This interview is done with someone who lives in Bada'a. So tell me about where you live and this interview is quite open, so you can talk for as long as you want.

Interviewee:

Sure. So, yeah, I live in Bada'a. I live in a rented house at the moment, and that's an area that's relatively wide established. So I would say there's a lot of other houses in my area that we share were considered a residential area. And we share a lot of the same. So we tend to have the same types of buildings and floor plan layouts and we tend to also share joint facilities like pools and gyms et cetera between us. I know there's a couple of other buildings in our area as well, owned by the local Emirati's as well. So they're separate to our establishment and yeah, it's a relatively built up commercial and residential area.

Interviewer:

And what's the best thing about where you live?

Speaker 2:

I think the best thing would be the access to everything is pretty easy. I think the fact that there are some commercial areas makes it quite easy for us to access a lot of whether it's like supermarkets or whether it's just general shops, whether there's places to meet with other people, it's quite a social area and they're always quite accessible to other major establishments in Dubai, like city walk, Wasl 51 and La Mer those kinds of areas. And it makes it quite easy for us to then meet with people without having to go too far on. And whenever we need to get any daily like food or any specific from this as well, there were certain bigger supermarkets that we can go to that we can get a lot of our things from. So we don't have to travel very far, even for unusual sort of irregular items.

Interviewer:

And what do you think about the community you live in? Is it very safe for you? Talk about like what kind of people you see, do you see families? Do you see bachelors there? Talk a little bit about that.

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Interviewee:

Sure. So I think the area in particular that I live in is more family oriented in that there's a mixture of expat families and then Emirati families. And so it's generally very safe. But then obviously access points to the commercial side. Cause you know, it's not a closed compound as you could get there, isn't that kind of security available. So whilst it's not a hundred percent 24, seven security because the area is quite residential in the families and quite some oriented essentially is still a very safe place to be up until quite late at night.

Interviewer:

And you spoke about like having Emirati families there as well. Have you ever interacted with any Emirati families or, um, possibly visited their houses or anything?

Interviewee:

No, actually I feel like we're quite separate in the, they kind of, we coexist, but we co-exist separately in the sense that I tend to know my neighbours at the maximum, but really don't go much further than that. We will see each other of course, driving by and coming out of the houses, et cetera, but there is very little to no interaction between us.

Interviewer:

And well going on from that, do you have the chance to interact with other people in your community?

Interviewee:

Community? I think it would be, it would be more likely for us to have a chance interactions I think if there were like sessions organized between the residents, but I think that's something that doesn't unfortunately happen here mainly because it's quite an open residential area. In the sense that you live there, you share communal facilities, but that's really all it is. And generally people don't know their neighbours a lot. I might know, like one or two of my neighbours, some people have had to interact with them. You know for whatever reason, but aside from that, I don't know anybody very well. And I think that's just because that's just the nature of the area that I live in is that it's not, it's not a very tight area per say between families, it's kind of everyone to themselves.

Interviewer:

So going on from that, do you think that you interact with other people well outside of your community? I guess not people who necessarily live in your area?

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Interviewee:

Yeah, I definitely think so. I think because there are a lot of other people within Dubai who share similar cultural there are cultural similarities and there were a lot of different sort of reasons we would be able to socialize together. Like for example the fact that we've shared in education or share a religion or share certain cultural similarities. I mean, it makes it very easy for us to then socialize probably because of where I live, but also because generally that's just the kind of a family that we are. I think we do like to socialize and go out and Dubai has a lot to explore.

Interviewer:

I see. And do you have access to close public infrastructure that you use? This could be transportation, this could be schools. Do you use them as often or how do you interact with those?

Interviewee:

Yeah, so I have a couple of schools nearby. One of my close friends actually goes to as well, so it's quite convenient cause we live quite close together as well. So in that way that's a good interaction. I also have a Metro station. It's not very close, so that hasn't - that it makes it quite difficult because I'm going have to take a cab to get to the Metro station. So I didn't use that facility as much. I am mainly close to a main road called Jumeirah Beach road so that helps me a lot in terms of getting to places. But other public facilities...I didn't think so. I think really it's mainly, it's mainly schools. There's a couple of, there's a playground, near the street area that where my cousin comes over, we often take her to that. So that's quite convenient as well. So it's quite good because it's like, all age friendly the fact that we live, where we live.

Interviewer:

And do you feel like the area can be benefited more off having, uh, let's say public transportation services quite close to you? Because I'm sure it must be easier to use public transport than private transport, which is commonly used in Dubai.

Interviewee:

Yeah, they're definitely, I think if we had a Metro or we had a more common bus system or something nearby, it would, that would definitely benefit from it because taking taxis everywhere is not very economically friendly, but also very environmentally friendly. So metros would definitely be a good way to go.

Interviewer:

And do you think you would be able to categorize your neighbourhood into a social class? So this could be a lower class neighbourhood or an upper or a middle or an upper. And why do you think that is categorized the way it is?

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Interviewee:

I think that question would be very - I think it's subjective to the location in the sense that if I was to compare them our area to the rest of Dubai then I can think of some middle class areas and some much high class areas. Therefore I would fit this area into more like a middle to upper class area. So it kinds of fits into both because it's not an extreme upper end, but it's, I wouldn't to it just middle class. I think there are other places that I have in mind that I can class as middle. So I think that's how I would define it just relative into to the places I know that are lower and upper. And I'd say middle to high also because of the commercial areas around it, then not they're relatively expensive areas, but they're not incredibly expensive, so they're affordable, but upper end, the kinds of restaurants and commercial sort of shopping centres as well, and quite high quality supermarkets.

Interviewer:

And you said that there are other areas that will be considered middle-class or lower-class. Could you possibly give some name of these areas?

Interviewee:

That's a very good question. I think I would say certain parts of Satwa would be considered lower class. I think its some place I would go to run errands for cheaper prices but there are a few middle class areas like Jafaliya I think. Other the middle class areas, I think maybe like Mirdiff area for example, would be categorized as middle class. I think...where else? I think, yeah, quite out towards Silicon Oasis and those kinds of areas, there are certain portions of it, which I would say would be more middle-class than high class, I think. But I think it's also very difficult to define which one you go into. Yeah, I think it depends.

Interviewer:

And do you believe that the people in your community lead the same kind of lifestyle as you? This could be in terms of like financial lifestyle or I guess in terms of where you come from, if you come from the same country or like have the same origins?

Interviewee:

Well I think the fact that I don't know a lot of them would probably tell you that I probably didn't know how well - similar we are. I think obviously the divide between Emirati and non-Emirati is a massive thing. Right. So they are completely culturally different to us. But the there's probably, it's probably very multicultural. I would say the place that I live in it's not like specifically my cultural specifically sort of, you know, where I'm from. It's very multicultural. I think financially we're probably all relatively similar because I think that the types of houses or similar that the rent prices are probably very similar as well in that therefore, you know, the financial stability of everyone's probably be quite

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similar. But I think that's about it in terms of where meet some of them.

Interviewer:

And last question is that, do you ever see yourself living here for possibly the next 10, 20 or 30 years? Or do you think you will eventually have to go back to your country of origin because you're an expat?

Interviewee:

Yeah, that's a good question. I think that's a question that everybody would want to say they want to live here as long as they can, but unfortunately the hard reality of it is we probably can't unless, you know, you know, life is very fortunate to us. So, I would say yes, I want to live here, but whether that's probably realistic is I'd say, no, I think I'd end up going back once - let's say home is always my backup plan. If anything ever goes wrong here, so I'd always have to go back to, you know, where I come from. But I would like to stay here as long as I can and then potentially retire here, but if that's not an option and it most likely isn't, then I would go back to my home country to retire.

Interviewer:

Just one more question if that's fine.

Interviewee:

Yeah that's alright.

Interviewer:

Do you think, like, in terms of like starting a family or I guess working here, like, do you prefer working in Dubai or starting a family here or is it that you want to do all of that in your country of origin?

Interviewee:

Oh, no, I definitely think here. I think it's much safer. It's more sheltered for, to bring up children in. Whilst it can be slightly more expensive, I think it's worth it for the - for the, the experiences they get as well, the children would get here. It's quite multicultural and it's - they will most likely go back to the UK or, you know, to wherever they come from. Generally children here, expats here for university or for their studies. So as much an opportunity as they can get here before they go back. I think the better.

Interviewer:

Okay. That was a good, thank you so much for an interview. And that concludes the interview.

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Interviewer:

This interview is a part of Armita Vajdi's thesis titled how are housing developments contributing to the formation and reproduction of social classes of existing communities in Dubai? So first of all, I would like to ask about where you live.

Interviewee:

Yeah. I'm living currently here in Satwa.

Interviewer:

And what's the best thing about where you live?

Interviewee:

The best thing is for me, it's very accessible. Yeah, if you want to go to the other place, which one we can just take bus if want to go to Metro and then just take bus and any bus there. Yeah. And any bus and then it's just 15 minutes to 10 minutes. You can reach in the metro.

Interviewer:

And is your workplace in Satwa or is it outside of Satwa?

Interviewee:

Its outside of Satwa. Yeah. I was working in a [inaudible] company in near Noor Bank station.

Interviewer:

I see. And how long has it been since you lived in Al-Satwa? How do you feel about it?

Interviewee:

I lived there since three years, you know, because since I came here in UAE and I lived there.

Interviewer:

I see, so what do you think about the community where you live? Do you have similar people with you or do you have any friends with you?

Interviewee:

Yes, I have some friends also in Satwa and I'm living also with my cousins and my sister. And...Yeah that's it.

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Interviewer:

Okay. And do you have the chance to interact with other people in Al-Satwa?

Interviewee:

Yes. Yes. Like even, I didn't know personally, go to the grocery is a lot, sometimes I interact with other people sometimes. Also Kabayans also Filipinos.

Interviewer:

Ah, I see. I see. And is it - do you think it's a very friendly place to you? Do you think it's better elsewhere with the interactions or do you think this is a much friendlier place?

Interviewee:

Yeah, it's a friendly place and it's quite crowded, but yeah, it's a friendly place and - but...yeah, I don't think its a safe place sometimes. Because during night time when I try to go home I feel unsafe so I be careful but otherwise its friendly. Yeah.

Interviewer:

And do you have access to infrastructures that you use? This could be, you know - are there any schools nearby or any supermarkets where do you usually, I guess get your daily necessities? Is it in Al-Satwa or do you have to go elsewhere?

Interviewee:

The thing is in Satwa is there's a lot of groceries stores and yeah. And actually when you in my building where I live it's just opposite side, Al Maya supermarket, so, yeah, so there is an Al Maya supermarket there is restaurants, there is a mini stores, like a convenience stores, so it's very like very accessible and yeah. Yeah. And also, there's lots of cafeterias if you want to buy food outside.

Interviewer:

Yeah, and you spoke about where you live do you live in an apartment or how is, how does it work? Cause you said you live with your cousins and your friends and your sisters, I think.

Interviewee:

Yeah. I live in a one flat and then in one flat there is 3 bedroom. So in one bedroom we are, five Like my two cousins, there are couple that are married and me, and then in the other bedroom they are three and then the other bedroom, the other one is the owner. And then, sorry, the landlord because he's just alone there. So yeah.

Interviewer:

I see. And can I ask where the landlord is from?

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Interviewee:

He's from Bangladesh yeah.

Interviewer:

Oh, I see. I see. So he's the landlord of the area. I see. And do you often have access to maintenance such as clean water or for example, if something breaks down does the landlord fix it for you or do you have to call someone externally to come in?

Interviewee:

Yeah, I, sometimes my brothers just do that if they can fix it by themselves, but if they not the landlord call outside on the maintenance.

Interviewer:

Okay. Okay. And would you be able to categorize your neighborhood into a social class? Do you think it's a lower class neighborhood or a middle class or upper class? Do you think that you would be better off going into another neighborhood to live if you could?

Interviewee:

Its more like a lower class area. Yeah. My cousins said that they want to move to Burjuman because they want to have baby. So yeah I think lower class.

Interviewer:

I see. I see. And do you believe that the people in your community have the same lifestyle as you, and this could be in terms of financial lifestyle?

Interviewee:

I think so. Yes, because mostly for the Filipinos, are here to earn moneys and it's not like they haven't salary for 10,000, or 30,000 so they live in Satwa.

Interviewer:

I see. And you mentioned that you use a lot of public transport and it's very convenient. Are there instances that you have to use private transport or do you own any private transport such as cars?

Interviewee:

For me no I'm using the public transport. So every day I use bus to the Metro and then Metro to my workplace.

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Interviewer:

Okay. And you mentioned that you've been in Dubai for three years. Do you think you could see yourself living here for the next 10 years? Or do you think you'll go back to the country of your origin?

Interviewee:

I don't have yet any plans, but don't have any plans to stay here for long time. I prefer what you stay there in the Philippines. So yeah maybe five months and let's see what happens.

Interviewer:

You mentioned the word Kabayans. Could you explain that word and what it means to you in this community of Satwa?

Interviewee:

Okay. Okay. Kabayans is it's like...means you have the same nationality. Yeah. So let's its like Filipino we are we are Kabayans.

Interviewer:

I see, I see. And I think you mentioned that there is a large I'm guessing there might be a large Kabayan community. Are there any other infrastructures such as, you know, supermarkets or restaurants that are Filipino?

Interviewee:

Yeah. lots of supermarkets in Satwa that sells Filipino stuff. And they also sell - sorry to mention - they serve pork which we eat in restaurants also. They all have licenses to sell pork. And we also have a building called Manila building that sells things they bring from the Philippines so its very convenient.

Interviewer:

I see and its okay don't worry about it. I also wanted to ask, what do you usually do on the weekends? Do you usually spend time in Satwa or do you like to go to other neighborhoods or other places?

Interviewee:

For me, I guess just walk around the Satwa. In the Satwa and that's it to just buy something and yeah that's it. Because there is a in Satwa there is a street which is there's a lot of restaurants a lot of like pizza hut is there, KFC is there big brands for us is there. So yeah sometimes I just go in that area.

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Interviewer:

I see. And that concludes our interview.

HOUSING

Research Group

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