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Housing Conditions and Aspirations of Popular Housing Tenants in Kuwait

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March 1990.

© *A. Al-Zaher*

*To the memory of
my father*

Abstract

Since the middle of this century, many cities in the Developing World have experienced rapid growth and fundamental transformation in their socio-economic structure. Rapid population growth due to massive migration created an acute shortage in housing stock which resulted in squatter settlements and problems of insufficient urban services. Proposals for solving the problems of housing shortages and urban growth in the Third World Countries have always been based at first on Western ideas. However, due to financial constraints many have resorted to more innovative responses, mainly supported and sponsored by the World Bank.

Judging from many studies of the failures and successes of housing schemes in Third World Countries, it appears that the main difficulties they have to contend with are a lack of finance coupled with a large influx of poor people. Yet, despite being a wealthy country with a small population size, Kuwait had to pass through the same housing problems. Kuwait's unique situation arises from a political system discriminating between citizens and non-citizens in housing choices and supply. Catering only for the citizens, yet requiring the labour of many others, resulted in great housing inequalities, because more than 71 per cent of the population are non-citizens.

This thesis was set up to investigate the housing conditions and aspirations of popular housing tenants in Kuwait. Popular housing emerged as a solution for squatter settlement problems in Kuwait. However, it created a great housing disparity within the Kuwaiti housing system.

The study begins with a review of the literature on low income housing in the cities of rapidly developing countries, and particularly the emergence of squatting with its implications, and the nature and degree of government intervention.

Subsequent to a discussion of Kuwait's physical, economic, political and demographic trends, the study reviews housing and urban development in Kuwait with special reference to the government's efforts in housing its citizens. These chapters highlight the disparity between citizens and non-citizens in housing cost and design, location and access to public services.

The field work undertaken for this study critically examined the relationship between popular housing tenants, their dwellings and the surrounding environment. This provided a basis for evaluating the living environment by measuring the tenants' degree of satisfaction, and exploring their aspirations and expectations regarding their future housing. The impact of housing disparity on the occupants' social and physical performance is then examined to throw further light on the types of problems they are

facing. Finally each major component of this evaluation is separately analysed in order to determine its effect on present and future housing policy.

This study, being the first documentation of the housing conditions of the popular housing tenants in Kuwait, had the main objective of presenting recommendations both for immediate action and for long term policy to solve their problems.

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INTRODUCTION

The image of the living conditions of a people, from the passing impression of a tourist to the serious evaluation by experts, depends to a great extent on housing conditions. The types of houses in towns, the materials of which they are built, the relative amount of space and overcrowding, maintenance and deterioration, form some of the most visible aspects of people's lives. Programmes designed to bring about social and economic change frequently include policies intended to make a direct impact on housing. Furthermore, housing conditions are bound to change as a result even of those programmes which are not focussed directly upon them.

People often see the house as an outer shell of the self. Where a person lives and how he lives determine the view which he has of his place in the community, his role, his status, and his style of life. Consequently, a major change in housing conditions implies a major adjustment of a person's self-concept. Although, he may not be ready to accept this change, even if objectively it could be only for the better.

Substandard housing is seen by public policy makers as a source of disease, crime and other hazards, as well as an intrinsically undesirable social phenomenon. In fact much research indicates a strong correlation between substandard housing and social problems (*Jorgensen, 1977*). Theo-

retically, therefore, the removal of bad housing should automatically lead to an eradication of many of these social ills which are associated with deteriorating environments and the net result of such amelioration would be a marked improvement in health, social and economic conditions. As Fisher pointed out:

"if unsafe and unsanitary housing could be eliminated, the social disorders associated with it would also disappear. Society would benefit from better housing and better citizens " (Fisher, 1959).

However, in studying the changes in the state of health, productivity, education and general mental satisfaction through improved housing, Burns and his colleagues found that the results and conclusion of their findings were inconsistent and often contradictory.

"The consistency indicates that the contact includes the ways that medical services are delivered, whether the rehoused population viewed the housing change as an improvement, the character of the residential environment prior to rehousing, occupancy arrangements, management of the project, climate initial levels of productivity and health, and perhaps most importantly, the nature of the improvement itself. Thus our findings do not permit that large-scale improvement in the quality of physical shelter inevitably leads to large-scale change in social and physical health"

(Burns, et al, 1970).

Nevertheless, there is a strong indication of the positive effects of housing improvement in some cases where measures were possible.

Moreover, policy makers see housing as a fulcrum around which desirable changes in people's lives can be initiated. But just because this is the point at which public policy can affect directly their way of life, the people involved may respond to the recommended changes in housing in a way which seems incongruous. For example, the events which the administrator calls "squatter clearance" and "rehousing" may be seen by the people as loss of home, identity, and exposure to the hazards of an uncertain new way of life.

The concept of rehousing or relocation contains a basic ambiguity which corresponds to its delicate place in a development scheme. At first glance it refers to the authority's relocating a basically passive crowd of people from an undesirable location to a desirable one. However, people cannot be moved this way with any hope of success in attaining the basic goals of such a policy. Thus relocation becomes an activity of the people involved, which is not always in line with the aims of the decision-maker. In other words, the eventual success of the programme lies essentially not with the administrator or the planner but in the strengthening and acceptance of the community's values and aims by the overall planning process (*Back, 1962*).

i Background to the study

For some considerable time housing conditions in Kuwait, as in many other rich Arab States, have been improving. This trend, however, is more related to the rising level of income and standards of living than to systematic organized housing policies. In fact, families in Kuwait have experienced a steady improvement in their quality and quantity of housing and associated services. By today's standards most of the country's population were inadequately housed at the beginning of the second half of this century (*U.N.*, 1965).

During the past two decades, significant changes in housing conditions, policies and programmes have occurred throughout the Gulf States. These developments and changes have reorganized a large portion of the housing market and have substantially modified the prevalent issues and concerns, especially in terms of common problems arising from urbanization. The most significant step was the large increase in government subsidies, resulting from the rapid growth of oil revenues in the region. These subsidies were brought to bear, either through developing large scale residential neighbourhoods, or by providing interest free loans to citizens so they could construct their own houses, as well as providing investment loans to individuals and corporate enterprises for commercial and residential exploitation. Housing finance in Middle Eastern countries is a major form of wealth redistribution in kind (*Grimes*,

1976; Al-Jardawy, 1988; Haywood, 1989). Such positive changes would suggest that the country's housing problems are rapidly diminishing.

However, this is not the case for the non-Kuwaiti citizens, simply because they are not entitled to the aforementioned privileges. Evidence also indicates that the upward trends in housing improvement has not effected the non-citizen population. In fact, their housing conditions have leveled off and in some cases have been reversed. Moreover, the problem concerning low income housing has worsened both in terms of the quality of individual dwelling units, and in the deteriorating character of their living environment.

Housing is provided by individual and corporate systems (including private institutions), commercial enterprises, and the state. However, the price of houses provided by commercial enterprises may be too high for the urban poor (Lowder, 1986). Government may thus intervene to increase the supply of houses in order to alleviate the housing shortage. State houses are usually built to a standard plan aiming to provide housing at a reasonable cost to every socio-economic level of the society. However, this type of housing is beyond the reach of the urban poor not only because of cost considerations, but also because planners do not represent their interests. They adopt models and standards which are irrelevant to Third World urban conditions (Gilbert & Gugler, 1982).

Without access to increased income, conventional housing is largely of illusory benefit to the urban poor (*Rimmer et al, 1978*). In addition, the ability of self-building to produce adequate housing is determined by the political economy and, by implication, the state which structures the formal housing and land markets (*Burgess, 1985*). It is the state that eradicates or tolerates squatter settlements, that hounds or acknowledges their inhabitants, that replies to neighbourhood demands for services and shapes land and housing markets by planning mechanisms. It is also evident that the state generally chooses to react in favour of particular groups, and that its behaviour is tailored to each group type (*Ekpenyong, 1989*).

ii Statement of problem

The problem of squatter settlements arose in Kuwait because of the rapid economic developments which attracted foreign experts and workers, as well as migrants from rural areas (see Chapter Three). The housing industry could not cope with the tremendous growth in the population. Hence, a severe housing shortage has resulted, along with a sharp increase in rents. Since state housing policies were directed only towards Kuwaiti citizens, the housing needs of the non-citizens were left to be fulfilled by the private sector.

To cope with their housing problem, many of the urban poor resort to squatting. This has led to the development

of shanty towns. By the early sixties, shanties had expanded and mushroomed rapidly to cover more than twenty locations. At this time remedial measures were started. A series of plans and proposals were initiated by different bodies to deal with the squatting problem which was perceived as an urban pathology spoiling the image of the wealthy state. None of these schemes were put into practice until 1969 when the Master Plan of that year presented a solution which would put an end to the shanty areas problem in Kuwait (see Chapter Five). The government in response has implemented the first and the second squatter rehousing projects, aiming to clear the land needed for more extensive development and to improve the housing conditions of the shanty dwellers.

Although these projects have achieved their physical goals (from the government's point of view) by eradicating the shanty areas, the lack of an efficient system within these projects to measure their total impact on the residential environments and other related issues could aggravate the housing situation and hence waste the resources allocated for such programmes.

Efforts to improve housing conditions for squatters through the rehousing projects should be enlightened by the following facts: first, there are important social, cultural and economic differences between those who make decisions and direct housing policies, and those who are the targets for these policies (Troy, 1971; Cooper, 1975).

Consequently, important needs of recipients may not be adequately met. Rossi and Freeman illustrated this:

"What appears as a human or social problem to one group may not be perceived as such by another. Thus, the planners of a program concerned with improving the quality of housing available to poor persons may have a professional understanding of housing quality that stresses criteria different from those of people who will live in that housing"
(Rossi & Freeman, 1982).

Taking the user's perspective into consideration will help to build a better understanding of what will be welcomed and what is not, so that changes can be made to improve the quality of the residential environment. Moreover, some writers have relied upon subjective measures as a sign of success or failure. Although this concept has been widely disputed and criticized, Canter and Ress suggested that housing satisfaction can be constructed as "a reflection of the degree to which the residents feel their accommodation is helping them to achieve their goals". This implies that measuring residential satisfaction is one way to assess the overall performance of the housing system. High levels of satisfaction have been considered as an indication of the success of specific policies, programmes or designs (Canter and Ress, 1982). Secondly, one of the most important attributes of housing is security of tenure, which means protection from being forced to move involuntarily. This will encourage low income households to maintain and improve their shelter. Renters with no

security of tenure rarely make significant improvements to their housing (Yeh, 1984). Thirdly, housing is more than construction of houses. It has been stated by many that housing should not be seen merely as physical objects located in a space, but rather as a totality of consequences for individual human beings (Turner, 1968; Marcus, 1971; Smith, 1972). Moreover, this concept was declared at the U.N. Interregional Seminar on the Social Aspects of Housing where it was said that

"Housing encompasses all the ancillary services and community facilities which are necessary to human well-being"
(U.N., 1979)

Accordingly, a housing policy should be able to deliver various mixes of investment in location, shelter and services in order to meet the different needs of all socio-economic groups. Turner indicated in his basic typology of low income housing in the third world that in making residential choices, all individuals are influenced by three major groups of factors. First is the location; secondly security of tenure; and thirdly the quest for modern standards of amenity (Turner, 1968). Finally, and most importantly, housing quality should be emphasized and given higher priority. The people's perception of their living environment (subjective measures) combined with the actual conditions of the environment (objective measures) need to be balanced. Several studies have mentioned that neither of these measures can be interpreted in the absence

of the other (Craik & Zube, 1975; Hample & Tucker, 1979). These data should be used as guide lines for providing adequate housing for all different groups in the country.

As far as users' satisfaction is concern, it is the belief of the investigator that the ideal housing programme is the one that can perfectly meet all the users' needs and values, and provides them with the most physical comfort. In practice, however, the development of such a housing programme is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Therefore, the most acceptable housing programme is the one that can potentially satisfy the most sensitive and essential requirements best.

iii Justification for research

This research comes at a time when a considerable proportion of the population in the wealthy state of Kuwait are living in deteriorating conditions. Several factors made such an investigation necessary. First, no previous research has been devoted to describing and evaluating the housing conditions of these projects. Secondly, my research will point out and make clear that the living conditions of the tenants of popular housing are worsening, and the problem requires more attention from the authorities. Thirdly, comes the importance of time. The longer the problem is neglected the higher the cost of solving it. Therefore, if the government does not react at the proper time, housing conditions will continue to deteriorate and

other social problems will develop, leading ultimately to political ones. This study is also motivated by an affection for the people living in popular housing who play an important role in determining the social, economic and political stability of the country. Furthermore, they spend all of their life in this land and are willing to do so.

Therefore, research is an important aspect of the rehousing programme, and should be seen as a long-term vital objective for mutual understanding between those who make policy and those whom the project is intended to serve. The importance of providing essential information and avoiding the pitfalls of preconceived notions must be emphasized. This involves close and continuing concern, and collaboration with the affected targets of the programmes (Al-Saati, 1987).

The prime objectives of this work are: first, to describe the historical development of the housing situation in Kuwait; and secondly, to ascertain the physical and social conditions of the squatters' rehousing projects, in light of the tenants' perception and assessment of their housing needs. The latter goal was undertaken in the belief that, given a more reliable base of information for decision making, those in charge of housing policy can become more effective in achieving a more responsive residential environment that lives up to the desire and expectation of the occupants.

In order to achieve this goal, several questions have been set up. The first such questions are, Although the government certainly achieved its goals by eradicating the squatters, was the rehousing project for the welfare of the squatters themselves? Was it for their own benefit? Did they opt for such a move or were they forced to do so? Does their housing status create problems or social dislocation for them? Was this the best way of dealing with such a problem? Do they improve their homes and take care of the surrounding environment? And if not, is that because they have no security of tenure? What is their perception of their house? Finally, what are their aspirations and future expectations about housing and the accompanying services?

iv Organization of the study

The first chapter focuses on the problem of low income housing as a result of rapid urbanization, drawing on evidence about government intervention in dealing with squatter settlements in various developing countries.

Chapter Two presents a brief history of Kuwait. This includes the physical environment, economic growth, from trading and pearl fishing to the development of one of the world's great oil-fields, and the political and administrative structure. In addition, public services and their distribution amongst different social groups will also be discussed.

The growth of Kuwait's population, from a pre-oil society to the present day society and the effect of migration will be investigated in Chapter Three. The labour force and its role in the country's social, economic and political evolution will be explored, and the problem of citizenship will be raised.

Chapter Four deals with the tremendous urban development generated from the oil revenues. Also the changes in the housing situation are reviewed, and organizations and government agencies concerned with housing are discussed. Changing policies for tackling the housing problem are traced and different types of housing are illustrated.

Chapter Five is devoted to examining the starting point of the squatting problem in Kuwait. Reasons for the spreading of shanties are also discussed. Furthermore, the methods that the government has followed in dealing with the squatter problem, the attitude of the government agencies in dealing with it, and the steps which have been taken to tackle the problem are all described and questioned.

Methods of collecting the data needed for the empirical part of this study are presented in Chapter Six. The following three Chapters are based mainly on information obtained through the writer's field work. Chapter Seven describes the living conditions of the popular housing tenants. It is divided into three major sections, the first

one examining family structure and socio-economic status, the second section dealing with housing conditions, while the third section discusses neighbourhood characteristics and evidence of deterioration.

Chapter Eight is also divided into three sections. The respondents' perception of problems in their living environment (both dwelling and neighbourhood) is considered in the first section. The second investigates the respondents' attitudes to, and evaluation of, their dwellings. Features most liked and disliked about their dwellings are presented. In addition, degree of satisfaction with housing conditions and attributes will be measured. The last section of this Chapter is focussed on the respondents' attitude to, and evaluation of, the immediate characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which they live.

Respondents' aspirations and future expectations about their residential environment are discussed in Chapter Nine. Also residential mobility and intention to move from present dwelling are discussed. Finally, the conclusion, summarizes the major findings and issues raised in the preceding chapters, and the investigator sums up his assessment of the current situation, from the evidence presented, and suggests recommendations for the solution of the problem.

CHAPTER ONE

Low income housing in the cities of rapidly Developing Countries: a literature review

Rapid urbanization is one of the most significant processes of this century. It was triggered off by the Industrial Revolution, but today urbanization is more universal than industrialization. No country, developed or undeveloped, irrespective of its political ideology and socio-cultural background, is immune from the good as well as the bad influences of urbanization.

Although modern urbanization is a universal phenomenon, its character and speed differ from region to region, depending on factors such as population growth, the level of development, the socio-economic structure of the society and its pattern of development. But the assumption that urbanization has common characteristics, no matter where it occurs, is increasingly being questioned (Berry, 1973).

The rapid urbanization involving the world is particularly interesting, as the world urban population during 1950-1979 increased by about 98.1 per cent, with the majority of this increase taking place in the newly developing countries. For instance, in 1950 almost 17 per cent of the Third World's population lived in towns and cities, while by 1980, 30.7 per cent did so, and by the year 2000 it is

estimated that 43.7 per cent of people in the Third World will live in urban areas (Kitay, 1985).

This chapter investigates the problem of uncontrolled urban settlements, or squatting, in Developing Countries and the causes which have triggered it. However, in order to clarify the picture, the attitude of governments towards squatter settlements will be considered. It is hoped that the study will show whether Kuwait could learn from other countries' experiences in solving the squatter problem, or whether Kuwait's situation is so different, due to the nature of the problem, that it needs a peculiar attention and care. Due to the fact that the squatter problem is a consequence of rapid urbanization, we thought it might be helpful first to high-light the urbanization process and its implication.

1.1 Urbanization and its Implications

Urbanization involving massive population shifts started in the nineteenth century in Europe and North America. The Industrial Revolution created work possibilities in the cities and these, combined with agricultural changes, encouraged people to leave the rural areas to seek urban jobs. The widely accepted measure of urbanization is the proportion that the urban population comprises of the total population of a given region at any given time. Although the level of urbanization in the world has increased rapidly (for instance, the proportion of the

world's population living in cities increased from 29 per cent in 1950 to 41.3 per cent in 1980), major differences exist between major regions and individual countries (Conzen, 1986).

The urbanization process has been generated by a number of factors, operating with various emphases, in different parts of the world, so that it would be impossible, as well as unwise, to try to generalize about the process in any meaningful way (Jones, 1975). Nevertheless, there is a considerable body of literature dealing with theories and causal factors that needs to be selectively acknowledged.

It is argued that technology and social structure are two main factors instrumental in providing the basis for urbanization (Northam, 1975; Hodge and Whitby, 1981). Advancement in technology has made it possible for agriculture to produce enough food to support a non-agricultural population. Technological progress has also promoted the rapid development of industry, which in turn, has expanded the ability of urban areas to absorb and support people (Sjoberg, 1960; Robson, 1973; Jones, 1975 and Pred, 1977). Therefore, most urban geographers put the emphasis on the industrial revolution which has served to accelerate the rate of global urbanization.

Although this may be true, yet the pull-push hypothesis of urbanization provides a possible explanation of the dynamics of urbanization (Jones, 1975; Breese, 1966).

Agricultural improvements provide the push force whilst economic activity centred in towns, is considered the pull factor, both forces serve to stimulate rural-urban migration. Short (1984) has identified additional reasons for the shift in population. These include propelling factors such as rural unemployment, poor social life, inadequate social services and lack of individual freedom, and reciprocal attracting factors such as employment opportunities, good social services and the promise of freedom provided in the city.

Meanwhile, there is also some opinion that the recent migration is motivated more by the 'push' from the rural areas than by 'pull' factors to the cities (McGee 1976), though some studies still point to the positive attractions of the cities for incoming migrants (Ulak, 1976; Pandey 1976). Moreover, it was considered that the urbanization process represented 'consumer innovation' rather than economic growth (Mabogunje, 1980).

However, since the middle of this century, a wide range of technological development, especially in the field of transport and communications, has to some extent reversed the basic trends within some urban systems, mainly in the developed countries. Spatial concentrations and centralization are now, in certain regions of the world, being followed by "decentralization" and "deconcentration", by urban sprawl and by the creation of a more extensive and complex urban structure, increasingly being referred to as

'megapolis'. Such a structure was first identified in the North-Eastern United States (*Gottman, 1986*) but others have since been identified as far afield as Japan (*Williams, 1983*). In the more Developed Countries the highest rates of population growth are now in new cities, smaller towns and rural areas (*Harris, 1989*).

In most advanced capitalist societies, large cities have, over the last two decades, become a net loser in the migration process, as more and more people have moved into smaller towns or cities (sub-urbanization) or decentralized to the country-side (*Johnston, 1986*). Berry (1976) has identified three types of counter-urbanization:

- (i) the decentralization of individuals opting for a more rural life style;
- (ii) planned decentralization to new towns;
- (iii) the Marxist search for an entirely new form of settlement in which the traditional antagonism between the city and country are no more apparent.

This recent counter-urbanization phenomenon has been further analysed by Johnston (1986). He viewed it as a component of the general process of industrial restructuring, relocating plants from the large cities to smaller centres, as part of the protracted period of economic recession. On the other hand, it is also seen as a consequence of people's changing preferences for life styles, in that the popular preferences, in the developed world, are increasingly for small urban places, lower residential

densities and better environmental amenities (*Sundquist, 1975; Berry, 1976 ; Kitay, 1985*).

These patterns show that the urbanization trends of the Developed World are very different from those of the Third World. In the latter, rural-urban migration remains the principal fuel of rapid urbanization (*Singh, 1983*). Because of the importance of rural to urban migration in the process of urbanization in the developing nations, much of the current literature has focussed on this issue (*Haywood, 1986; Macoloo, 1988*). However, in doing this, the predominantly Western economists, demographers and sociologists concerned with the analysis of the impact of migration on urbanization have systematically adopted a critical simplifying assumption that the analysis deals with a closed system (*Birks and Sinclair, 1979*). This was attributed to the existence of very rigid immigration and emigration laws or policies; a viable assumption in some cases (*Byerlee, 1974*). However, in spite of these policies, which assume there will be political barriers to the free movement of labour, the assumption of the "closed population" must be questioned on two grounds. Firstly, political barriers are permeable. Significant levels of illegal migration do persist in some Middle Eastern nations to some extent. Secondly, the explosive demand for manpower in certain labour deficient nations of the world must be considered. This prevails particularly in the oil producing nations of the Middle East, and has resulted in mas-

sive recruitment of expatriate labour by a number of countries as well as the development of explicit programmes of labour export amongst several countries with labour surpluses such as Egypt, India and Pakistan; hence both legal and illegal migration have a significant impact on the development of world urbanization (*Ibrahim, 1982; Weiner, 1982 ; Bean, 1983 and Al-Hammad, 1988*). It is dangerous to generalise, however, even the component of urban growth related to migration has been questioned. Harris (1989), pointed that the components of urban growth in the low-income countries, are now dominated by the natural increase of the urban dwellers (providing some 60 per cent of population growth). Another 8 to 15 per cent of population growth is due to the redrawing of urban boundaries, and between 25 to 32 per cent caused by net migration, and thus control of migration is not an effective means of controlling the rate of urban growth.

Western urbanization experience was in a combined association with industrialization, economic growth and modernization, and hence some argue that industrialization accelerates the process by boosting the growth of older cities and encouraging the emergence of totally new industrial towns with their wider opportunities (*Hodder, 1980*). However, this is not the case in Third World urbanization in general, or in the urbanization of the Arab world in the Middle East in particular.

This is because, in the first place, there is a marked difference between developed and developing countries. Of special note is the fact that urbanization in many developed countries has reached a peak and now there is a trend towards an urban-rural migration of people as well as industries. As against this, most developing countries, with less than 50 per cent of their population in urban centres, are still experiencing a rapid rural-urban migration.

Secondly, while Third World cities grow the dispersal pattern is also taking place, although this may be masked because existing cities retain relatively high rates of growth. However, in many Third World Countries there is already a suggestion of a relative stagnation of population growth in the largest cities, while in smaller ones growth accelerates (*Harris, 1984*). Yet, although there is dispersal of skill-intensive non-agricultural activities, the more modern informal sector activities depend upon urban areas for components and spares, skilled labour and the specialized markets which can coincide with continued growth of existing big cities (*Harris, 1989*).

Thirdly, urbanization in the developing countries, as it is accompanied by industrialization and commercialization, has generated unprecedented regional disparities in income, earning capacity and social segregation. Regions with large urban centres have most of the industries, while rural regions have remained backward.

Finally, the speed of urbanization in developing countries is so rapid and uncontrollable that it is generating socio-economic and political tensions of an order beyond the means of most of these countries to manage. Even if the economic means are there, the social implications are so sudden and unpredictable that the countries are often unable to cope with them.

This rapid rural-urban migration has been boosted by several factors (especially in the Arab Middle East). The relative absence of feudalism made it possible for rural inhabitants to move to cities where they found a greater degree of social equality and freedom (*Abu-Lughod, 1983*). Economic conditions in rural areas worsened because farm land continued to be subdivided making it difficult to introduce improved methods of cultivation. The introduction of mechanization into agricultural operations has forced many agricultural labourers to seek other means of livelihood. The poor employment opportunities, together with the low income prevailing in rural areas, as push factors, have helped to swell the volume of rural-urban migration (*Okpala 1978; Adepoju, 1982 and Dutt, 1983*). Conversely, the fact that the cities tend to provide better medical care, education and recreational facilities, and hence better prospects for a better quality of life, acts as a pull factor. Qutub (1983) mentioned that urbanization in the Middle East particularly in the Gulf States has been so sudden that it is difficult to make any comparisons with

the urbanization process of other undeveloped or developed nations where urbanization was slow and associated with industrialization and sound economic development.

Also, quite new economic opportunities have emerged in the cities through the expansion of the oil industry. While direct employment in the oil industry has been limited, oil revenues have made possible large public expenditure in public services and construction. Independence and political development created the need for large bureaucracies in the major cities which are intended to promote social and economic well-being. Perhaps government service has been the fastest growing employment sector of all (*Issawi, 1969; Ragheb, 1969; Abu-Lughod, 1972; Mason, 1978*). This is particularly true in the Arab Middle Eastern Countries, where the economic, social, political and cultural activities are concentrated in large cities. The capital cities have become service centres where people of various social and economic classes congregate.

1.2 Consequences of rapid urbanization

As a result of the rapid urbanization in the developing world as a whole and in the Arab countries in particular, the following problems have emerged. The human settlement policies of these countries are facing these significant problems and will have to address them sooner or later, not just in terms of housing and urban planning

but, more significantly, in terms of a logical implementation of policies in many other fields.

Firstly, rural-urban migration at this speed is causing rapid urban population growth with its implications, not only for the urban centres, where jobs and the provision for low-skilled labour and other civic amenities have to be created, but also for the rural areas which are the main source of food. Agricultural production in most developing countries has been steadily declining (*Macoloo, 1988; Haywood, 1986*).

Furthermore, in a few states, most of which were economically peripheral in the past, oil production has recently brought them into positions of international political and strategic importance and also into a condition of "sudden wealth", which many of them have resolved to use to achieve long term economic viability. However, many of these states were really no more than small desert principalities, although a few had more diversified economies before the oil boom. In all these cases, ambitious development schemes were hastily created, schemes so ambitious that the relatively small and as yet insufficiently trained local labour forces were inadequate to carry them out. As a result, these countries have become large importers of population and have been the recipients of an international migration of labour. Because of the original low population base, many of the smaller states now contain populations in which foreign temporary

migrants, who are not granted citizenship or permanent residence, have come to constitute a numerical majority (*Abu-Lughod, 1983*). Moreover, this rapid rate of population growth has occurred with the relative absence of any economic base other than oil extraction, which is particularly capital intensive and found in sites unsuitable for habitation, forcing the expanding population to gather in the most important cities.

To explore the problem of migration closely, Findlay (1980), attempted to rank selected numbers of Arab cities by the proportions of their residents who are foreign migrants, and he found that a significant number of these cities were located in either Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain or the United Arab Emirates. In the last of these, the proportion of migrants was as high as 85-90 per cent. Furthermore, the prevalence of migrants has given rise to some characteristics of these cities, namely their spatial patterns of ethnic segregation. First of all, local citizens have increasingly gathered in certain parts of the cities, in part because they have been given preferential locations, building loans and rental subsidies, especially earmarked for nationals. Secondly, there are the migrant workers with their families, mostly from Arab countries. They occupy multi-family housing for which they compete on the open private housing market, unable to qualify for housing in the subsidized quarters occupied by nationals. They are segregated at least by nationality, but often

according to even finer breakdowns such as life style, income, class, etc. The final group are the single male workers on temporary contracts, who will be housed in the camps on the outskirts of the city with little or no social or physical contact with the indigenous population (Abu-Lughod, 1983).

A second consequence of this rapid urbanization is that cities in developing countries serve as sites for consumption rather than as centres of production. They are the places where the politically determined distribution of the benefits of wealth and state revenue takes place in the form of housing, utilities, schools, and health care. Cities therefore exert an irresistible attraction for citizens. Nomads become sedentary there and even agriculturalists abandon their poor-yielding farms to resettle there.

A third problem is that there is a high degree of primacy. The urban population is increasing rapidly, much of it being concentrated in the capital city, leading to a variety of economic and social problems. This over-dominance of a single city is to be found in most developing countries, especially in Arab Countries. These Arab primate cities have similar structures consisting of the old city, the modern core, suburbs and squatters on the periphery. These areas house different socio-economic groups and enjoy extremely different urban standards (Elkabir, 1983). Again primate cities have proved to be

the magnet persistently attractive for rural-urban migration which is now causing a whole range of problems of increasing severity. Of these problems perhaps the most obvious is overcrowding and competition for a few jobs, houses and over-burdened services (*Hall, 1984*).

Fourthly excessive city size, in terms of population, of geographical area occupied and of the concentration of economic activity, is a phenomenon now encountered world-wide, but it poses the greatest problem in developing countries. For instance, just under half of all urban dwellers in the Less Developed Countries will live in larger cities of a million or more by the year 2000 (*Kitay, 1985*). In 1950 there were 31 cities of this size in L.D.Cs (five of them had a population of four million or more). By 1985, there were 146 cities, and projected for the year 2025, there will be 480 L.D.C. cities of one million or more (and 114 of four million or more). Already the world's largest cities are becoming a feature of L.D.Cs. rather than of the more Developed Countries (*Harris, 1989*).

Fifthly, regional imbalance in terms of primacy creates two problems. It makes the primate city too congested for decent living and very prone to social and political tensions. In most primate cities there are extensive slums and squatter settlements which house the urban poor (*Juppenlatz, 1970*). Also it generates regional disparities in development as more and more economic and social activities tend to get concentrated in the primate

city. There is a suggestion that the increasing disparities in regional development largely result from the existing pattern of urbanization in the Third World. Not only do primate cities suffer from endemic internal problems, they also create problems in the wider context of the spatial economy. They emerge as "cores" creating peripheral conditions elsewhere, by draining other areas of population and resources (*Friedmann, 1979*).

Harris, however, views large cities as a beneficial sign. He argues that the poorer a country, the greater the potential for raising national productivity by centralizing resources in cities. He views urbanization as a form of territorial specialization which parallels the other measures of economic development. Moreover, for too long governments have regarded large cities as pathological symptoms of economic break-down, rather than the inevitable result of economic development. He also argued that despite assertions to the contrary, there is no evidence that there are limits to the increase in productivity with increasing the size of population. Furthermore, the private sector of urban activity is often of decisive significance for national growth. However, he accepts that a failure to ensure that the cities work efficiently, to maintain, improve and extend the infrastructure to support economic growth as the cities grow, to provide the financial and institutional basis to cope with rapid population growth, can be economically disastrous, and this is often

what happens in the Third World Countries. Nevertheless the larger cities today are often the main source of national saving, of the revenue of governments, and indeed of the resources to develop agriculture (*Tolley, 1987*). Nearly 60 per cent of the Gross National Product and 80 per cent of the increase in national output of L.D.Cs. is now produced in urban areas by about one-third of the labour force (*Harris, 1989*).

A sixth problem of rapid urbanization is that of traffic congestion, produced in part by the appearance of the automobile society, which is typical, not just of primate cities but indeed of most large cities of the world today. It is an obvious manifestation of overcrowding. Traffic is consequently choking many cities to a standstill in terms of the movement of people and goods, which results in serious wastage of time and energy and deleterious effects on the productivity of the city's economic base (*Brunn and Williams, 1983*).

A seventh problem is the vulnerability of the economy. Because of their constant rural-urban migration, with the resulting reduction in agricultural productivity, the developing countries are getting more dependent on the outside world for food and other basic amenities. While no country should try to be self-sufficient in every respect, countries should not pursue a policy which makes them extremely vulnerable in matters of the basic necessities of life.

Eighth, for the last two decades urban unemployment became an alarming problem in the inner-city areas of the developed countries, being mostly experienced by the poor and unskilled. It is partly the product of the present global recession, but it is also exacerbated by industrial restructuring and by the relocating of employment. In the cities of the developing world, unemployment and underemployment are possibly even more acute (*Pacione, 1981; Macoloo, 1988*). However, Harris argues that the problem is not related to unemployment but mainly to the fact that much of the work force is paid very little for extra-ordinarily long hours of hard work in marginal economic activity; i.e the problem is one of skills, training etc, rather than simple job creation (*Harris, 1989*).

Environmental degradation presents a ninth problem, particularly the pollution of the air and water, excessive noise levels, the disfigurement of the landscape through inadequate planning and urban poverty, which are obvious malfunctions of urbanization. Such problems tend to be more severe today in developing countries than in developed countries (*Brunn and Williams, 1983*). This is because developing countries, by and large, regard such concerns as trivial in the face of more immediate life and death issues of employment, housing, control of infectious diseases, etc. (*Pacione, 1981*).

Finally, the sprawl of large cities, as they have acquired their low density suburban areas, has resulted in

a huge loss of agricultural land. For example, El-Sioufi (1981), mentioned that the informal settlements were sprouting all-over Cairo particularly in agricultural land. Between 1973 and 1978 about 76 per cent of all construction around Cairo was built informally in agricultural land.

1.3 The emergence of the squatter problem in the Third World

There has been a series of failures in responding effectively to housing needs and problems, especially of the low income group, in the Developing Countries in general. The problem is not just a reflection of the existence of squatter settlements in Third World cities, but rather reflects the difficulty of the government in handling them, or its inability to tackle the overall housing situation. The Third World housing problem has really emerged since the early 1940s. However, the scale of the problem has increased in the 1970s and 1980s (Drakakis-Smith, 1981). The most characteristic effect of the rapid urbanization of the Third World is the growth of squatter settlements. It also represents and reflects the inability to cope with excess housing demand over the limited supply. To highlight the fact that the urban authorities refuse to consider squatter houses as "homes", Atman (1975), describes the squatter housing (kampung in Indonesia) as *"the slum dwellings of homeless people"*. Moreover, Abrams identifies three groups of the poor urban dwellers in developing cities; the homeless and street sleepers, the

slum tenants, and finally the squatters and occupants of shanty towns (*Abrams, 1964*). Although the rapid urbanization spreading throughout the developing countries has resulted in the emergence and mushrooming of squatter settlements, the squatter phenomenon is not peculiar to the Third World nor to the post-1945 era. In fact, such self help squatter responses have occurred in developed countries, for example, the United States, Germany and France, in times of economic hardship. This was particularly true before the development of the capitalist mode of production, when self help represented the main form of housing provision (*Harms, 1982*).

Although squatter settlements are present in most developing countries under local names, it has proved very hard to agree upon a single definition or judicial criterion to define squatting. Such terms, moreover, do not necessarily ensure that a precise general identification for this condition can be achieved world-wide. Therefore, much nomenclature and descriptive terms such as "uncontrolled", "spontaneous", etc. have been put forward as alternative to squatter settlements or shanty towns, which terms have been criticized for being disparaging and potentially misleading (*Drakakis-Smith, 1981*). However the general definition of squatter settlement as illegal occupation of land, or alternatively erecting houses without planning permission, has its drawbacks and inconsistencies. It is apparent that with the weak enforcement of

legislation, the status of a squatter settlement is likely to differ substantially from its appearance, the nature of which is the product of the interaction of social, economic and political factors. This is further illustrated by the fact that in some countries the squatter land is rented (such rent-yards are common in many Caribbean countries and Mexico City) (Potter, 1985). Johnstone (1978), has shown that in Malaysia the official definition of squatting relates only to the illegal occupation of land, while much of the "makeshift" and "low quality" housing, although legal, has not satisfied legislation related to material and mode of construction. It is evident, therefore, that no comprehensive and completely satisfactory set of criteria can be drawn up to define squatter settlements.

It is generally acknowledged that the ability of the city to absorb migrants has varied depending on the economic status of the cities themselves and their surrounding rural areas. Of course, when there was great disparity between the two, the migration was heavy, regardless of the economic or physical utility of the city to cope with the influx. This argument is further substantiated by the observation made by urban historians, that in late medieval Europe trading activities attracted large numbers to the cities, resulting in the subdivision of houses, suburban squatting and high rents (Smith, 1967; Koenigsberger and Mosse, 1968; Russell, 1972).

It is assumed that the Industrial Revolution did not provoke squatter settlements in spite of increased urbanization, because new and cheap methods of construction ensured that most migrants were legally housed. Later developments in urban transport, e.g. roadways, public transport etc., all helped and encouraged the middle-class dispersal to suburbia. However, there is plenty of evidence to contradict this assumption, and to show that there had been temporary squatter districts in the United States (*Harms, 1982*), in Athens, (*Papagiourgiou, 1968*) and in Belgrade (*Simic, 1973*). Power (1976), describes one of the miserable squatter settlements in France where the Algerian immigrant workers can be found in "bidonvilles" adjacent to the massive construction sites on which they are employed. These miserable conditions are as bad as any in the Third World.

Rapid urban growth in the Third World has exerted a tremendous pressure upon existing housing resources, which consequently has forced many urban poor families into the illegal occupation of land or shelter. Manila faces severe urban problems created by the centrally located squatter 'Tondo' (*Laquian, 1969; Wang, 1976*). The same problem is seen in Hong Kong and Ankara (*Drakakis-Smith and Fisher, 1975*).

1.4.1 The implications of squatter settlements

To understand the developmental process of these squatter settlements and their fate in the Third World, it is important to know the practical and ideological implications of such settlements. Hence there are several questions to be asked in order to illustrate such implications. Are squatters a bad or a good sign for urbanization? Do squatter settlements improve or deteriorate over time? Are squatter settlements only reflecting a physical sign of poverty or do they constitute a dynamic force with a desire for change and improvement? In addition, if these settlements are left to themselves, will they improve and become a beneficial part of the urban process? Finally, if squatter settlements persist in most cities over the years, then how have, and how should, governments, both local and national, react to such spontaneous settlements? It is really very difficult to answer these questions directly, because there has always been an argument about squatter settlements which has been further complicated by the changing understanding of and attitude towards squatters over the years by academic writers as well as by government officials (*Lloyd, 1979*).

However, turning to the first question, attitudes have changed considerably since the 1950s, and can be largely contradictory, possibly reflecting the depth and severity of the urban housing problem. In fact, many of the early views dominated by Lewis were negative and projective.

Lewis (1959), introduced the concept of the culture of poverty, in which he argued that the poor are locked into an inescapable cycle of poverty and hence come to form a culturally separate group within society. This opinion is reinforced by Matos Mar (1961), who viewed the squatter population as "families at the bottom of the urban scale". Moreover, Lerner (1967), described the squatters as those living in "tin-can cities that infest the metropolitan centres of every developing country, from Cairo to Manila". More recently, Barbara Ward summarized this view in saying:

"the unskilled poor ... exchange the squalor of rural poverty for the even deeper miseries of shanty towns". (quoted from Potter, 1985)

As can be seen, squatters have been portrayed as posing political, social, economic and physical problems to the efficient operation of the urban system and hence hindering economic development. Also, it is argued by Drakakis-Smith that the recent views of squatters as socially and economically marginal groups participating only in the informal sector of the economy represent, at least partially, a concept of poverty. However, these pathological views were attacked as being essentially negative and projective with a lack of rigour (Lloyd 1979; Drakakis-Smith, 1981).

Gilbert and Gugler (1982), refute this assumption of poverty and argue that such views are convenient for the wealthy and powerful, insofar as they suggest that "Poverty

is the poor's own fault". Indeed, because of such dominating views, the squatter settlements have been described as "urban cancers" and "urban fungi". On the contrary, many liberal theories explain low income settlements as a temporary phenomenon, mainly due to national poverty during the inevitable transition period before economic development policies take effect and lead to a "trickle down" of benefits to the population at large (*Millikan and Blackman, 1961; Inkeles, 1969*). Indeed the continued existence of low income settlements is explained by their compatibility with the continuation of the urban system (*Gilbert and Ward, 1982*). Hence, some might argue that squatter settlements are in fact a positive response on the part of low income urban populations to inadequate low income housing provision, and indeed from about the mid-1960s large numbers of writers began to reject and refute this "problem" viewpoint of squatter settlements (*Weiner 1967; Nelson, 1969; Cornelius 1969; Laquian, 1969; Levine 1973; Cohen and Michael 1973; Correa, 1976*). In fact, it was the pioneer work of Mangin and Turner over the last two decades which gave way to a more positive assessment of squatter settlements. They showed that squatter settlements were not centres of political unrest, deviations from the law, disease and crime, but instead were recognized as a major contributor to the city as a whole. Furthermore, they add labour resources, consuming some of the city's production, whilst at the same time housing themselves with their own effort with little cost to the city government (*Mangin*

1967, Turner 1968, 1969). In fact, it is claimed that squatter settlements do not represent a blockage to economic development but a solution which utilizes real endeavour and material (Frankenhoff 1967, Turner 1968, 1969). In addition, Gerry (1977), observed the "recuperative production", the recycling of material discarded by the formal sector and creating individual industrial and commercial enterprise in the squatter settlements.

This changing understanding led to the realization of the positive attributes of squatting, and the recognition that squatting, on the whole, is a manifestation of "normal" urban growth process in the Third World. This view leads to requests for policies of assistance and improvement rather than demolition. This latter position has become part of a much broader thrust of development strategies designed to encourage and promote activities among low income populations, particularly those engaged in what has been labelled the "informal" sector. In conclusion, to answer the first question posed above, recent views suggest that squatter settlements are a positive response of the urban poor to solve their housing deficiency problems.

The second question was whether squatter settlements improve or deteriorate over time, and consequently whether they merely reflect poverty or constitute a dynamic force and desire for change and improvement. On this point

Stokes, as early as 1962, presented one of the earliest and most influential classifications of the physical variation which occurs both in space and time. Although he dealt with slums, his work seems applicable for squatters. He differentiated between successful and unsuccessful communities, in Stokes's own terminology, those of "hope" and "despair" (Stokes, 1962). However, such assessment is criticized as failing to recognize the multitude of mobility incentives existing in all squatter communities (Drakakis-Smith, 1981). In a supporting hypothesis Ward (1976), distinguishes between the generally consolidating "colonial paracañistas", and the usually static and stagnating "ciudades perdidas". He further attributes the difference in auto-improvement to the position of the households within the capitalist landlord system, in which factors like relatively high rents and risk of default and eviction in turn decrease the savings potential and hence prevent auto-improvement. Also the cohesion of the group and the emergence of political leaders is extremely important in determining the pace and direction of change in squatter settlements, although the extent of their influence is dependent on the prevailing attitude among local and national government officials (Rw 1977, Hollnsteiner, 1977). Despite all of the above Turner has put the most important positive message, that such settlements improve progressively over time. Thus, houses that were originally constructed from straw matting later acquire walls, services and paved streets in the process of housing

improvement and upward social mobility (Turner, 1969, 1972). Turner's overall attitude is clearly summarized in one concise quotation;

"like the people themselves, we saw their settlements not as slums but as building sites. We shared their hopes and found the pity and despair of the occasional visit from elitist professionals and politicians quite comic and wholly absurd"

(Turner, 1982).

To sum up all the above, the Third World urban poor cannot afford either to rent or to buy a house; hence, squatters find a solution to their housing problem and squatting itself is not essentially a problem. Indeed it might be a solution, and there is considerable evidence suggesting that the consolidation of spontaneous houses does occur if circumstances are right, and the houses do progress over time and establish a comfortable standard for the occupant. On the other hand Drakakis-Smith, criticized the Turner typologies as lacking an explanation of the squatting process, saying that it is not enough to note that improvements do occur and convert such description into a theory of development. He further argues that it is essential to discover how and why changes occur and why they do not (Drakakis-Smith, 1981).

To answer the question of whether squatters reflect a physical sign of poverty and hence need only alleviation, or whether they constitute a dynamic force and desire for change and improvement, the issue of squatter marginality

must be clarified. It originates in the work of Stockes (1962), and Lewis (1966), who created the associated concepts of "slum of despair" and "culture of poverty", indicating that the urban poor are locked in an inescapable cycle of poverty. As a result of this inescapable cycle, the urban poor form a culturally separate group living in physical, social, economic and political margins. These margins were described as people excluded from most of the main stream functions of the society, lacking paid or productive work, adequate diets, health care or education, speaking their own language, not voting or participating in politics (Nelson, 1969; Dowse and Hughes, 1972; Peattie, 1974). Such opinions were further reinforced by the emergence of broader theories on dualism in developing countries which separate the urban population into easily defined "formal" sectors and labelling the remainder "informal", assuming a degree of homogeneity which does not exist.

Because of these theories the informal marginal populations were seen as excluded from the socio-economic and political heart of the city. The informal sector is marginal to, and in transition to, the modern capitalist economy on which urban development and prosperity ultimately depend (Inkeles, 1969). The typologies of Turner challenge this assumption, an idea supported by Berry (1973), who argued that squatter communities are best called "transitional urban settlements". However, and on

the contrary, this transition is not occurring in many Third World countries, and hence the concept of marginality is increasingly being questioned. Gilbert and Ward argue that the poor are disadvantaged in their political participation and some systematic efforts are made to fragment, channel and control their views (Gilbert and Ward, 1982). Gerry (1977), argued that the marginalisation process should be analysed to identify the mechanisms by which exploitation and deprivation take place. Perlman (1976), refutes this "*myth of marginality*" totally. Squatters, in her opinion, "are not economically marginal but exploited, not socially marginal, but rejected, not culturally marginal but stigmatized, and not politically marginal but manipulated and repressed".

Accordingly, it is unfair and misleading to say that squatters are marginal or peripheral, or to accept their isolation from the economic, political and social scene. They do constitute a dynamic force and desire change and improvement and although the phenomenon of squatters is provoked by poverty it does not confirm the hypothesis of the "culture of poverty".

1.5 Government attitude towards squatters

The final question in section 1.4.3. was the extent to which governments, at both local and national level, have reacted and should react to squatter settlements. Increasing numbers of politicians and decision makers now realize

the relative importance of squatters. Roberts (1978), stresses the importance of the poor for capital accumulation. In that sense some planning authorities have in fact accepted the inevitability of squatting and have favoured, where possible, upgrading them or even allocating land for squatters, provided it was not needed for other necessary land use. This stands as a paradox to the earlier attitude where many states, especially those adopting the functionalist explanation of poverty, marginality and peripherality, have developed policies aimed at "integrating" the poor and educating them to adopt the "modern" pattern of behaviour; more importantly, in housing, they have eradicated their low-income settlement to clear away the 'myth' of the poor and relocate them in state-sponsored housing projects. However, these policies, usually based on a misunderstanding of the fundamental causes of squatter settlements, usually fail (Eckstien, 1977). Official attitudes have been fluctuating over the years from neglect to outright hostility, according to the prevailing political and economic views (Dwyer, 1974). Nevertheless, the attitudes of governments fall into four broad categories: indifferent, reactionary, westernized and innovative. This classification is based primarily on policy motivation and programmes towards the provision of low cost housing as a solution to the housing problems of the urban poor. This does not include the policies of planned integration of urban immigrants to guard against housing problems which will be discussed separately.

1.5.1 Indifferent Attitudes

Dwyer (1975), has described this situation as one of simple apathy, in which the urban authorities adopt a policy of inaction in the hope that the migrants causing the housing problem will return to their rural areas. However, this government apathy needs closer examination. It is noticed that at particular times and in particular places, the state permits the illegal occupation of public land which is at least clear from accounts of Lima (Collier, 1976; Dietz, 1977), of Valencia (Gilbert, 1981), of Rio de Janeiro (Leeds and Leeds, 1976) and of Santiago (Cleaves, 1974; Kusnetzoff, 1975). To explain this is the theory that industrial interest may press politically to maintain the low-income settlement for its large pool of cheap labour, and thereby contribute to the reduction of the production cost and consequently create a surplus value (Bromley and Gerry, 1977). This view was also supported by Anibal (1974), who argues that these marginal populations are functional to an increasingly capital-intensive and technological industrialization process, requiring a skilled labour force. Burgess (1978), supported this view, seeing peripheral housing areas as an inevitable feature of dependent capitalist development. It could be, therefore, that economic need pushes governments to tolerate squatters. Another assumption to explain the government's indifferent attitude is the fear of the squatters' latent political power, but as Turner (1969), observed, most

squatters are basically conservative. Contributing to the policy of indifference is the lack of information and reliable statistics; even when they are available, effective use is lacking. Seltz (1970), describes the planning system in Saigon as being characterized by a total shortage of knowledge about demographic, occupational structure and land use.

It is also not uncommon to recognize squatter settlement tenure just before elections for vote-catching. In support of this view is the argument produced by Valladares (1978), that extensive demolition policies can only occur when "favela" populations lose the bargaining power represented by their vote. Finally, the most important factor is the predominance of administrative and planning problems created by changing politics. These problems facing planning are further and extensively explored by Dwyer (1975), who showed that physical planning has become a plaything for politicians who keep on changing administrations, departments, personnel, regulations and so on.

In short, the lack of data, administrative conflict and delay, the isolation of planners from policy-makers, the lack of special synchronization between the real and official extent of urban areas and operational confusion all combine to convert enthusiasm and efficiency into apathetic indifference in developing countries.

1.5.2 Reactionary Attitudes

Although the attitude of indifference towards the housing problem has been common in the Third World, several urban authorities have implemented more vigorous policies. These policies were described by Mangin (1967), as "*the festering sore hard nosed view*". This reactionary approach seeks the eradication of this housing problem, because they disfigure and cause an economic drag on the city, yet they pay no attention to the fate of the people actually involved. This reactionary measure has been 'preventative' or "remedial" in nature.

Preventative measures focused on migration control to decrease the inflow of migrants into cities. During the 1950s Turkey was leading in this approach. It was faced with a major inflow of rural migrants, pushed by an agricultural system that was inefficient, over-reliant on climatic conditions and characterized by considerable seasonal unemployment. The migrants flooded into Turkish towns and cities which had not yet commenced substantial commercial or industrial growth and had limited employment opportunities. The Government actively encouraged out-migration to Western Europe as a palliative measure. However, this resulted in the loss of skilled young labour, who, in the long term if they returned, would settle in the cities, whatever their original birth place (*Drakakis-Smith and Fisher, 1975*).

On the other hand, the internal control of urban growth restricting access to cities to people who have guaranteed jobs or residence has proved to be very difficult, very confusing administratively and liable to widespread corruption. Jakarta, which has been described as the largest village in the world, is one of the poorest and most chaotic cities composed of interlinked "Kampongs", where 80 per cent of the population are immigrants (Papanek, 1975). To implement restricted access policy they introduced the residency card "Kartu", as a permit to stay in the cities, and this requires a job, accommodation, permission to leave from the previous neighbourhood council, and a deposit equal to a return fare to the place of origin. However, in operation, the system was highly corrupt and the "Kartu" sold for 3,000-6,000 Rp (equal to \$7-14). Moreover, in many cases the risk of being caught without a card was not great. Still, this system encouraged migrants to seek the sponsorship of known persons who offered both jobs and accommodation. The net result was a decreased inflow to Jakarta, but this was mainly due to economic uncertainties, within the informal sector of employment.

The other reactionary attitude produces remedial measures which involve forcible relocation of the population into rural areas. The main argument behind this attitude is that squatters disfigure the city and cause a drag on the urban economy. More accurately, the main reason is to

clear land needed for progressive and profitable developmental projects. This eviction takes place through the implementation of "vagrancy laws" under which people without formal employment may be deported from the city. In Port Moresby, the capital of New Guinea, eviction operates as a substitute for immigration control, which cannot be implemented. Oram (1976), observed that the majority of those deported quickly return to the city. In like manner in Rio de Janeiro since 1964, invasion has been vigorously opposed with a wholesale demolition of squatter houses with no provision for rehousing or employment (*Portes, 1979; Valladares, 1985*). In Santiago since 1973 and in Bogota the state has acted more firmly to remove settlers from invaded land. Perhaps the most prominent disastrous relocation project was that of Sapang Palay in Manila, Philippines (*Juppenlatz, 1970, Poethig, 1972*). The new scheme was aimed to relocate squatters from Manila to agricultural co-operatives with some housing provided in demarcated plots, in Sapang Palay, but, due to a lack of funding and lack of administrative machinery, which caused a cumbersome combination of departments and overlapping of functions, this aspect of the project was abandoned. Nevertheless, because of the pressure of the authorities on the government to take advantage of the brief period in which they could legally obliterate squatter settlements and acquire the land, some 15,000 families, were forcibly evicted with only one-quarter moved to Sapang Palay. And the people were simply dumped on the site and expected to

build their own barong-barongs (Dwyer, 1974). This process was criticized as being disorganized, lacking planning and having its main interest as the land, thereby displacing the people to agrarian life, while they were deeply committed to urban life. However, it is known that building interests or the developers of land may press for demolitions on high value commercial land (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982). Nevertheless, the main drawback of eviction is that displaced families usually re-establish themselves on other vacant land as squatters, but suffer from social and employment dislocation. However, generally energetic squatter policies of this kind are not characteristic of urban authorities in the Third World (Dwyer, 1975).

1.5.2.1 Integration of the Urban Immigrant

In this case the authorities do not discourage immigration by either the preventative or the remedial measures discussed above, but in fact, encourage planned in-migration. Indeed, as Koenigsberger pointed out:

"where the moral and social philosophy of the established authority provides three basic needs for the in-migrants on a programmed basis, namely, work, shelter and a welcome into the community, the in-migrant can become a blessing to the community as a whole, and not a liability".

(quoted from Juppenlatz, 1970)

Israel is a leading country with this perspective, in which the government has been accommodating a yearly inflow

of about 100,000 migrants. According to the preference of the individual migrant, they are distributed either to agrarian or urban life. The government plans the reception, location, housing and early integration of the arrivals into their local society, whether urban or rural. If they opt for urban life, they are provided with training, loans, a house or apartment with essential facilities and an urban job. They are expected to share in the taxation system and to pay back the loan within six months. The immigrant who opts for an agrarian life is provided with an agricultural job, a farm, accommodation, a loan, and was not expected to pay back the loan for eighteen months. These programmes have the advantages of a very high standard of comprehensive organization and planning, early assimilation of the newcomers, early usage of resources, early share in taxation and early repayment. All this results in a positive investment programme, and rapid transition of the immigrant to one of the measurable productivity factors, accumulating wealth for the nation and elevating living standards.

This programme of assimilation of the new arrival is unique and deserves further study because it is not only concerned with housing but is part of a more general policy of urban development. Israel's construction rate is 16 dwellings per 1,000 population per annum, which is amongst the highest in the world (Ash, 1974; Shlomo, 1983). The housing effort is coupled with a planned investment by the

Central Bank to create extra employment each year to sustain productivity and produce viable economic expansion. The success of this policy can be attributed to the following factors; first, the tremendous funds granted to Israel by the USA and other countries. Secondly, the high level of education which prevails in managing and implementing this strategy. Finally, and most importantly that Israel needs to consolidate its claim to disputed territory by settling people on it.

1.5.3 Westernized Responses

In many developed countries, the government is an important source of housing for the urban poor, but this is true of very few countries in the Third World. Only in relatively wealthy cities with controlled population growth, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, does the public sector provide houses for substantial proportions of the population (*Dwyer, 1975; Drakakis-Smith, 1981*), although both writers argue that the main motive of the government rehousing projects was to clear the land occupied by squatters for more intensive development.

Generally, government investment in housing is limited and has been invariably wasted in expensive projects of western concepts of planning and design. These projects are mainly designed to impress electorates rather than to meet any real needs of the urban poor themselves. Perhaps the case of Caracas, as *Drakakis-Smith (1981)*, observed, is

the most infamous example of an ill-planned and mis-directed public housing programme in the Third World, built only to impress the voters. However, the western concepts in housing planning are mainly the result of previous colonial legislation relating to building standards, design and materials retained after independence. Also, the western professional training, received by architects, planners and overseas experts maintains the predominance of inappropriate western planning concepts, which results in most public housing tending to be of conventional western type. This, in turn, results in a high cost of construction and hence is beyond the reach of the poor. Large subsidies are, therefore, needed before the housing falls within the reach of the urban poor, and as few governments are prepared to provide these subsidies, there is a middle income invasion of low-cost housing.

"Tokenism" is one manifestation of public housing in the Third World. It means that the housing projects are intended to be visible to symbolize the government's concern for the poor, to win votes or to impress overseas visitors. Thus the real goals are political rather than social, and a show piece rather than a housing project. Kessler argued that the cost is of secondary importance to government,

"the product orientation of the housing programmes satisfied the government's needs for visibility just as the standard unit orientation worked for administrative efficiency" (Kessler, 1977).

Also, the allocation of housing in such programmes is biased. Laquian (1969), reported the example of allocation priorities being given to the employees of City Hall as ordered by the Mayor of Manila. Moreover, high-rise western architecture is indeed expensive and is not socially accepted. In Bangkok, several squatter surveys have indicated that only about one per cent of the inhabitants would like to live in such high-rise blocks (Morell and Morell, 1972; Dutt, 1983).

However, despite all the drawbacks of western type public housing, the first response of all governments to the housing shortage seems to be of this type. Large scale public housing is of three major types, large-scale estate, separate "new town" developments and urban renewal projects.

1.5.3.1 Large-Scale Estate Public Housing

To apply the concept of large estate public housing, land assembly is a problem. Hong Kong and Singapore have such estate housing projects which have been facilitated by extensive government ownership of land. However, because, in most instances, urban land is complicated by private ownership and complicated legislation to acquire land, the alternative is to use peripheral, underdeveloped land, which is less expensive and relatively easy to acquire. Yet such locations have the disadvantage of dislocating the intended resident socially and economically from the inner

city, and burdening him with commuting expenses, which decreases the proportion of the household's income available for rent and other purposes and causes difficulties with payment. Perlman (1976), observed this in her studies of problems faced by the relocated "favela" residents in Rio de Janeiro. These projects also create cultural difficulties, particularly for recent arrivals (Walter, 1978). Even among the most adaptable Chinese communities in South East Asia, there was preference for medium size apartments of four to eight storeys (Hassan, 1977). It is political and economic views that lead to high rise buildings rather than cultural preference. Moreover the problem of maintenance has proved very important because it is one of the continuing expenses of the public housing projects and is indeed liable to be affected by rental defaults. Rental defaults are mostly induced by additional payments for water, electricity and maintenance. Eventually, to avoid this, the government tends to train a management committee from the tenants to look after the services and maintenance of the project.

1.5.3.1.1 Hong Kong Large-scale Public Housing Programme

The example of successful large estate public housing comes from Hong Kong, which responded to the housing shortage problem by an extensive building programme. The government, in a most praiseworthy fashion, aimed to house the poor in order to gain benefits such as the release of

land for development, a tight control of metropolitan expansion insofar as it affected economic growth, and finally, a politically stable population. Clearance of squatters and their replacement by areas of low-cost housing and multiple-use factory buildings has dominated the last twenty-five years of urban planning in Hong Kong. Given the dimensions of the programme, many families appear to have received substantial benefits. But the overall impression remains that these welfare gains are largely secondary to the achievement of other government goals (*Drakakis-Smith, 1981*).

Many writers argue that the individual characteristics of Hong Kong such as fortunate economic, political and demographic features facilitate this type of extensive building programme. Meanwhile it is not feasible for the more populous and poorer cities to copy it (*Bishop, 1971; Pryor, 1977; Agnes, 1981*). This is particularly true, because imitations of these massive high-rise projects might not be economically feasible, except when cheap labour or low-cost technology is available, and it appears that even in technologically advanced Hong Kong construction depends mainly on the use of local cheap labour resources to the full to keep costs down.

The government embarked on a large-scale programme of high-rise resettlement housing in 1954, which resulted in the Mark I and Mark II estates in the first ten years, which housed almost half a million people. Although

achieving a good quantity of dwellings, the quality was criticized both for its high density for unsatisfactory ventilation and amenities. Given the economic uncertainties of that time, this approach was understandable, but it is difficult to justify its persistence. Another criticism is that priority in these rehousing projects was given to squatters and those people whose houses were cleared for redevelopment, where other needy crowded slum dwellers were neither considered nor catered for.

In the second phase, from 1964 to 1973, the construction programme was both extended and upgraded. Consequently, the social and welfare objective of public housing became more prominent in time, and the programme was also seen as a path towards political stability. The new blocks were 16 storeys high, with an increase in the size of the estates, and with increased space allocation to overcome the high density, low ventilation problem in the earlier estates. These blocks housed 100,000 residents and included low income people living in overcrowded or sub-standard accommodation of any kind, including slums. However, they tended to be peripheral in location which led to a delay in occupancy, but steady improvement in employment opportunities and transportation solved the problem in time.

These difficulties in the peripheral location changed the policy towards "New Towns". With this objective "Tsuenwan" and "Kwun Tong", both new towns, were developed.

However, these towns were distinctive from the British experience as regards two features. The first is the predominance of government low-cost housing, accounting for 70 per cent of the residential units. The second is the proximity of the new towns to the existing metropolitan core; thus under these circumstances the term 'new town' is a definite paradox.

The number of people housed in public and quasi-public housing rose from 0.8 million in 1964 to 2.2 million in 1973. Although in terms of quantity it was a great success, nevertheless, at the same time Pryor estimated that some 750,000 were living in substandard accommodation in 1974 (Pryor, 1977). Also, from 1973 onward, a major administrative reform was undertaken, amalgamating all housing agencies and departments into one co-ordinated housing authority responsible for the planning, clearance, construction and management of all public housing. The first project undertaken by the housing authority was to improve the early resettlement estates (Mark I and II) and although it was expensive, complicated and time consuming, the government proceeded with the improvement.

Other achievements included the "new territories planning", creating two major new towns, one at "Sha Tin" and the other at "Tuen Mun". Both are expected to house half a million people. To attract tenants the government reduced rents for an initial period, there were more generous space standards per capita, and higher income eligibility crite-

ria and subsidized transport have been proposed. Also under this phase there has been improvement in flats and estate design which in turn will benefit the family in achieving a better quality of life and the government in receiving higher rents. This is particularly true from the commercial facilities which have been introduced, encouraging the private sector to move in.

In fact, the first project achieved in this period, "Oi Man in Ho Man Tin", an estate with twelve blocks varying from 7 to 24 storeys, was a show-piece. The average residential density is 5,200 per hectare and the estate has commercial facilities, fresh fruit and vegetable markets, cooked-food stalls, schools and other amenities. All flats are self-contained with piped gas and communal television antennae. Because such buildings need good maintenance and management for long term benefit, a considerable effort has been made to establish a well-trained staff of high moral caliber. Management were responsible for maintenance, refuse collection, the collection of rent, car parking, the organization of the use of communal spaces and solving domestic problems (*Drakakis-Smith, 1981*). Moreover, home ownership was introduced to release the restriction to public housing which was pushing the middle income earners to the private sector.

In conclusion, the administrative co-ordination under a single authority produced considerable savings, a more productive use of resources and greater comprehensive plan-

ning throughout the administrative hierarchy. Although the success or failure of any housing programme must be measured by the satisfaction of its residents, which mainly depend on the "after sales service" as evidenced in maintenance and management, it appears that management has achieved its goals through the improvement of tenant-landlord relationships and also in the protection of the environment of the estates themselves.

To sum up, although the success of Hong Kong is admirable, however, their conventional housing (especially high rise) is unlikely to be low-cost and it is only because the Hong Kong government subsidized public housing that costs were maintained at levels within reach of the urban poor. Moreover, the unique situation of land in Hong Kong also plays a role in reducing the cost of public housing because all the land belongs to the government, which allowed the allocation of land for public houses at low prices, and also helped finance projects by raising funds through auctioning off leases on portions of cleared land to private developers at considerable profit (Teo, 1986; Wang and Yeh, 1987).

However, public housing in Hong Kong has reached an impressive scale. Dwelling units are low-cost, the standards are within the income levels of tenants and hence the houses are affordable. Given the heterogeneity of the poor which results in considerable variation in housing demand in terms of affordability and desirability, the government

has succeeded in producing a comprehensive range of units for rent and purchase at a steadily increasing volume to effectively meet demands, which have benefited low income as well as the middle-income population.

1.5.3.2 Urban Renewal

Urban renewal is very limited in the Third World and it seems that coping with the existing shortage of housing is far too great a task to permit the further reduction of the housing stock by slum clearance. Hong Kong and Singapore have also limited experience of this. However, whenever an urban renewal project is undertaken, it is apparent that the motivation is not only social and welfare goals but also economic factors. People who live in slums, usually at the city centre, are often reluctant to break their established economic and social ties in order to relocate in a peripheral estate or new town for better housing conditions. The solution is to rehouse some portion of the affected slum population within the renewal district. However, most urban renewal schemes have commercial redevelopment as their main objectives for the cleared area, and this leads to condemnation from both social and welfare stand-points. Consequently, an alternative approach which offers a method of improving slum districts at reasonable cost for the benefit of the residents, i.e. rehabilitation, is favoured. Rehabilitation, which is the physical improvement of existing properties capable of useful life for a reasonable time, has the advantage of being

cheap and involves less demolition of existing properties. Moreover it retains areas of a particular cultural, economic and architectural character which is attractive to tourists and also it develops areas suitable for renewal but which the city is not yet ready to handle. On the other hand, rehabilitation involves subsidies to property-owners, which might not be politically or financially feasible.

1.5.4 Innovative Responses

In the last fifteen years there has certainly been a major change in housing theory and practice in many of the Third World cities. The lead has been taken from the central arguments put forward by Mangin and Turner, that the vast majority of the low-income residents in less developed countries are resourceful and responsible and that, if given the opportunity, they will build and subsequently improve their own homes through self help. Hence the new wisdom in the Third World has become the promotion of aided self help, with the main argument, that if government supplies basic public facilities and infrastructure the people will build their own homes. Hence Turner has recently emphasized that

"if government is to improve a low income majority's housing condition, then it must not build houses".
(Turner, 1983, p. 207)

Various programmes, distinguished by the size and the nature of government involvement, have been developed from the original co-operative concept. These programmes are of three types: aided-upgrading, site and services and core housing.

1.5.4.1 Aided upgrading

Upgrading is the simplest, most effective form of aided self help. It is intended to minimize housing cost and to avoid the residential, social and job dislocation which will inevitably result from any other resettlement scheme. It basically involves the improvement of the dwellings themselves and relies on the provision of a section of basic infrastructure services such as sewerage connection or water stand-pipes. Laquian (1983), estimated that almost 100 countries were pursuing community upgrading and site and services programmes. However, it is not a straightforward operation and Turner (1980), stresses the vital need for the full and effective participation of the public concerning the new layout and the facilities needed. If there is no public participation, then there is little chance of successful upgrading. This is shown to be particularly true in Tondo squatter settlement in Manila, where mutual aid was widespread and the Tondo Community was well organized around traditional barriers (*Laquian, 1969, Hollinsteiner, 1977*). Less has been written on the favela upgrading experience in Brazil. However, the classic research case is that of Bras de Pinos in Rio de Janeiro

where, after 8 years of upgrading, 75 per cent of the dwellings were converted into brick houses, although the upgrading faced difficulties over the residents' demand for land ownership (Valladares, 1985).

1.5.4.1.1 The Philippines, Tondo upgrading in Manila

The Philippines began to address the housing problem in 1970 when its severity became apparent. The initial policy response was conventional public housing and the clearance of slum and squatter settlements. However, these housing construction programmes were largely unsuccessful because the output was limited, and some directly benefited the middle-income group. Also the location was usually unsuitable, far from employment and social services, and, with high costs due to the high standards adopted, resulted in expensive rents and high defaults in payment. Meanwhile, squatter settlements were often cleared without providing other accommodation. In 1972, the large-scale site and service project in Sapang Palay was provided to resettle Manila squatters. This also failed because the location was far from employment and city centre, very few services were provided and there was a total absence of job opportunities and social services in the project. Consequently most people relocated moved back to Manila and squatted again (Dwyer, 1975; Yeh and Tan soo lee, 1975).

A major step taken in 1975 was the creation of National Housing Authorities, integrating 13 government departments and agencies and hence decreasing the administrative difficulties. In 1974 the Tondo Redevelopment Project marked a drastic change in policy from eradication to improvement. Tondo squatter settlements housed 180,000 people, in generally poor living conditions. The World Bank granted assistance, aiming to upgrade the social and economic as well as the physical living conditions of the community, through on-site improvement coupled with a nearby site and services project to accommodate the population displaced by the development schemes. In addition, since 1975 more than 20 slum squatter improvement projects inside and outside Manila have been undertaken, mostly with World Bank support (Rew, 1977; Yeh, 1984).

Tondo upgrading involved the participation of community representatives concerning levels of services provided and an alternative layout which was contrary to the Indonesian experience. Improvement included land tenure for structure owners, which is again very important in consolidation. There was also the provision of roads, drainage, a piped water supply to each house and individual sewerage connections, schools, clinics, playgrounds, loans for building materials to improve dwelling structures and assistance to small-scale businesses. The cost of services and land were to be recovered through mortgage payment and a charge to users for water, which was discussed and agreed

by the community. The mortgage payment was about \$13 per month which was affordable by 80 per cent of the Tondo population.

By 1982 the Tondo project was largely completed and successful, although overdue because of a high degree of community participation which slowed the process and delayed upgrading in other areas. Security of tenure has encouraged most households to put enormous effort into improving their structures. The fears that owners would sell out to higher income groups was false and loans have been repaid. The residents' personal saving was greatly underestimated, which indicates that income is not the main criterion by which to assess people's spending capacity. Furthermore, Tondo settlements demonstrated that the poor are willing and able to mobilize considerable effort to improve their environment and individual plots, if their own priorities for land tenure and services are respected and they are consulted in making the development plans. However, site and service projects are superior in the sense that they do create new housing stock, a better and cheaper infrastructure and also accommodate new migrants and thus reduce new squatter settlement or overcrowding in existing squatter settlements. On the other hand, the availability of such land around the city is usually limited (*Laquian, 1983; Yeh, 1984*).

In conclusion, the upgrading of Tondo was, although successful, very slow. Meanwhile the slum and squatter

population was growing in Manila, reaching approximately half a million, and outfacing the government's ability to generate housing supply to catch up with demand. This is further complicated by the poverty of the country and the heavy reliance on World Bank loans.

Since 1970, aided upgrading has been spreading in the Third World largely because of the funds which are being made available by organizations such as the World Bank and United Nations, specifically for such projects. The central argument behind self-help is taken from Turner and others, that the vast majority of low income residents in less developed countries are resourceful and responsible, and that if given the opportunity they will build and subsequently improve their own homes via self help. Gilbert and Ward (1982), attributed the continued existence of low income settlements to the compatibility of these areas to the continuance of the urban system, and hence the squatter is viewed as a normal transition in urbanization and normal response by the poor to their housing needs. However, it is unmerited to accept the unequal distribution of economic and social resources, and aided self help should not simply maintain this inequality. Oliveira , highlighted this, arguing that there is a double exploitation of labour at work and at home (*quoted in Gilbert & Ward, 1982*). These opinions support the argument put forward by Burgess (1982), that aided self help enables governments to deny people decent housing and indeed reinforces social

inequality. It is also argued that the energies of the squatters are being exploited in order to provide shelter at low cost to the capitalist sector, which in turn enforces and maintains the capitalist economy and rationalizes mass poverty (Burgess, 1981 & 1982; Harms, 1982; McGee, 1984; Schuman, 1986). However, given the fact that most Third World governments cannot afford a conventional housing response to their housing problem, due to their scarce resources, there is much sense in adopting a combination of housing strategies, including aided self help.

Dwyer (1975), also argues that Turner's idea about a popular system of housing development had seldom been put into the framework of overall urban development. Although this may be true, aided self help must not be regarded as the universal solution for low income housing problems, nor must we consider all public housing as necessarily bad. Turner himself suggested a balanced housing strategy for low income housing consisting of a number of closely linked policies including the upgrading of existing slums, ensuring adequate land supply for site and service settlements, providing security of tenure and access to finance, along with establishing a wider socio-economic development and the use of appropriate technology. As a result of relying on aided self help as a universal treatment before investigating the wider problems involved, some attempts have unfortunately been unsuccessful.

Security of tenure is a central issue upon which any successful aided self help scheme is dependent. Turner (1980), stresses that it is not only a question which simply involves housing, it is essential to make it possible for individuals to improve their overall life capacity. Thus improvement in employment, transport, infrastructure and social facilities must accompany housing. Without these wider changes, particularly security of tenure, people will not participate actively in the improvement of their homes. Moreover, Gilbert and Ward (1982), emphasized that consolidation is unlikely if lots are scarce or expensive, if tenure is scarce and if the state is hostile to low-income settlements. However, by definition, most squatters are illegally occupying the land on which their houses are built and improved, and hence upgrading schemes contain the implicit recognition of right of tenure.

Government reaction varies towards security of tenure and, while in Port Moresby or Lusaka granting land rights forms an essential part of the improvement package, on the contrary most squatters gain only limited rights to land and buildings. The government usually sells these rights at a price which is beyond the means of the poor (Rew, 1977).

Although it is argued that the basic removal of threats of eviction and adding some missing infrastructure will enhance consolidation (Skinner, 1983), we see that most upgrading is concerned with the dwelling itself and

not with the services. Rosser (1972), in his examination of Calcutta's "bustees", has strongly argued in favour of the improvement of infrastructure and the squatter community as a whole. He stresses that the cheapest acceptable form of shelter already exists in the huts themselves and that government should provide basic environmental standards such as sewage disposal and water supplies, which promote community well-being. However, because these services are expensive and need special labour to install, the government is reluctant to implement them.

Finally, the universal application of aided self help programmes to all the urban squatters before an adequate assessment is made denies them the chance to discover their alternative aspirations, especially for the 'status seekers' who represent the upper end of the low income group. An aided self help scheme is best applied after careful reconsideration of other alternatives and as part of general comprehensive urban policies.

1.5.4.2 Site and Services

Skinner and Rodell, attribute policies based on a broad concept of land and utilities to the practical work of Abrams and Koenigsberger between 1955 and 1963. They claim that in theory this is the best way to create housing stock for the urban poor and to accommodate those displaced by upgrading and the new migrants arriving in the city. It is different from upgrading and often involves entirely new

development on vacant land usually on the urban periphery. The land is prepared and supplied with infrastructure. Plots are either sold or leased and the new resident takes responsibility for building his house (*Skinner and Rodell, 1983*). However, government subsidies may extend to building materials and cash loans. The site and service approach enables a separation of the land, utilities and housing provision, thus giving considerable flexibility (*Macoloo, 1988*) .

Gilbert and Gugler (1982), stress that the benefit of site and service schemes is in offering a family a plot of land, in which they can build at their own pace with gradual servicing. However, there is strong government control over the planning, choice of site, size of the plots and house design. On the other hand, security of tenure is very attractive for residents, together with adequate infrastructure. Nevertheless, this is masked by the peripheral location which makes them far from employment. Modavo and Haldane (1974), noted that the government tend to reserve the central location for higher incomes who are capable of commuting. Yet in both upgrading and site and services schemes there is a tendency for middle-income infiltration, by buying the low income rights. Abrams (1977), discovered in Jakarta that this promoted speculation in many improvement schemes. This was encouraged by regular payment pressure on the partially employed residents. Moreover the pressure to construct a basic core

house within specific periods demands resources which the family may not have.

To overcome the problem of rental default the government tends to screen the resettled families in favour of those in regular employment. Families in real need of help, therefore, are ignored. This is mainly because of the lack of suitably qualified local personnel to plan and manage the self help scheme, which leads, as Modavo and Haldane , pointed out, to two-stage projects. The preparatory planning, dominated by expatriates with little understanding of the real and complex problems of the urban poor; the execution stage dominated by indigenous officials aware of the scheme's defects, but avoiding responsibilities (*Modavo and Haldane, 1974; Peattie, 1982*).

1.5.4.3 Core Housing

Despite the administrative and organizational problems facing site and service schemes, they do offer some definite advantages; for example, there is a chance to compare the technological development with simple self help. This leads to the further development of a 'core' house scheme. The "core" house is a minimum shelter unit which can be occupied immediately and extended later on at the occupier's own pace when he can afford it. Yet the main requirement for the success of such a project is "ownership", which will stimulate investment from personal savings, and also the availability of loans to cover the

construction cost, which will need trained labour. Also the local market for building material should be stimulated to meet the expected increase in demands. The core housing scheme, which is linked to site and services and takes up to twenty years for the complete development of the units, is dependent upon local on-site production facilities, although it is doubtful whether these production facilities could exist so long. In a pilot project at Siliguri in North Bengal, it was found that the building cost could be reduced by over 30 per cent using on-site production methods rather than the conventional methods (*Banerji, 1972*). Also, Zelinsky (1971), discovered construction systems employing intermediate on-site technology, to produce standardized concrete panels, easily assembled by unskilled workers to create a variety of house designs.

1.6 Conclusion

From the previous discussion and examples, it is apparent that rapid urbanization has involved all the Third World countries since the 1940s. It is quite different from the post-industrial rapid urbanization era encountered in the developed countries. The difference lies not only in the causes behind the process itself, but also in the effects of the process. Understandably, all the urban pathology resulting from rapid urbanization is encountered by developing countries with restricted resources. These include overcrowding, city sprawl, transport-jams, and over-strained facilities, so that it seems that most cities

are reaching a crisis stage. However, the most prominent problem is the housing shortage, which is further aggravated by a lack of comprehensive planning, policy and finance. The housing shortage is manifested by squatter settlements, a problem facing all Third World countries.

Attitudes towards squatter settlements have changed considerably over the years and governments indeed give different emphases to urban low-income housing. There are no simple and universal answers to urban problems in the Third World. Nevertheless, in recent times there is a greater awareness of the structural factors underlying these problems. Our main intention was to focus on methods of approach to squatter problems, i.e. the provision of low-income housing. The attitudes of governments to the provision of low-cost housing have varied but could be summarized into four categories: indifferent, reactionary, westernized and innovative. Indifference is characterized by government apathy due to a lack of information, administrative difficulties, planning failure and vote-catching attitudes. The more reactionary attitude is expressed in the form of "preventative measures" which seek to control the inflow of immigrants but which have proved to be difficult, impractical and highly corrupt, or more often "remedial" in the form of forcing eviction and relocation. However, there are more decision makers now who subscribe to the view that eviction only destroys the housing stock and causes harmful social and employment dislocation; hence they view squatter settlements more as a temporary phe-

nomenon, a dysfunction brought about by rapid growth of population. These views have led to a more tolerant attitude towards mushrooming squatter settlements.

Meanwhile westernized views and policies to solve the problems of the urban poor in the Third World are inappropriate and unsuccessful, except in the cases of Hong Kong, Singapore and China. Most Third World countries cannot afford large-scale public housing, especially in the form of high rise buildings. It is expensive, unsuitable environmentally and socially, needs high technology, and is mainly a product of colonial western high standards of planning, material, construction and regularity. In the cases where conventional high-rise large-scale low-income houses have been constructed, they are often characterized by Tokenism, failure, and the tendency of the housing to filter through to middle income groups.

Eventually, the work of Turner and Mangin put forward the central argument that the vast majority of the low-income squatters in developing countries are responsible and inventive, and will build their own homes and subsequently improve them via self help, if they are given the chance. Due to the fact that the main obstacle to providing low income housing is the lack of economic resources, self help has alleviated some economic burdens. This argument introduced a new outlook for squatter settlements and at present almost all of the innovative responses depend upon aided self help, ranging from site and services, to

in-situ upgrading and core housing. However, there is a considerable argument against the self help policy introduced by Marxist authors who criticize the government for denying the rights of the poor for decent homes, and say that this type of housing reinforces social inequality, mass poverty and capitalism. Although most of these opinions may be true, nevertheless, this might be the only feasible solution for the urban poor because of the poverty of the country in question.

Another criticism is that aided self-help cannot be generalized as the solution for all the housing problems of the urban poor. Again this is true, and there is much sense in the argument that aided self help must not be regarded as the universal solution for the low income housing problem, nor must we consider all public housing necessarily bad. Each solution should be tailored to the country's own ability and resources. Turner himself suggested a balanced housing strategy for low income housing, consisting of a number of closely linked policies. However, the ultimate crucial importance of security of tenure and its major role in any consolidation throughout the Third World is stressed by many writers, especially Turner, and Skinner and Rodell.

In conclusion, it is not only a question of satisfying the housing need of the urban poor, it is essential to make it possible for the individuals to improve their overall life capacity. Thus improvement in employment, transport,

infrastructure and social facilities must accompany development in housing. Without these wider changes, particularly security of tenure, people will not participate actively in the developmental process. This argument has major implications in any policy formulation. Emerging from these issues is the need to consider and assess the perceptions and aspirations of those being planned for, and to increase their effective involvement in the planning process. The assessment should not be restricted to the fiscal or physical aspect of the dwelling itself, for example, its design, standards or rent, but should also examine the way in which the houses satisfy the needs and aspirations of the urban poor and the goals of the government.

With these general considerations (based on empirical research, literature review and evidence from many countries), it appears that the major problem affecting the provision of low income housing is limited financial resources. To this must be added, however, the compounded problems that arise from the high rate of urbanization, and the concomitant rural-urban migration that affects all Third World countries. With this background in mind, this study attempts to evaluate the squatter rehousing projects, "popular housing", in Kuwait. In theory, the Kuwaiti level of economic development and the country's resources, together with the government's commitment to improve housing conditions, seems to indicate that the low income poor housing syndrome is being eradicated. However, in reality

there is strong evidence to suggest that low income groups live in inferior accommodation and in social segregation. The case of Kuwait, indeed, is unique, in the sense that Kuwait is a rich country and could afford better standards. Oil is the prime factor in keeping the country financially buoyant, thereby providing the necessary resources for continued investment in social and welfare services. The Kuwaiti government is dedicated to public housing to achieve social goals and as a method of equally distributing the oil revenue. However, politics in Kuwait seem to be the cause of such inferior housing conditions. Kuwait only assumes responsibility for housing its own citizens and leaves the large section of non-citizens living in substandard accommodation and, more importantly, in a poor social environment. The gap between theory and reality relates to political rather than economic causes, which is particularly characteristic of Kuwait. Hence it is important to first understand the country's political, social, economic, cultural and physical background.

CHAPTER TWO

Background to Development

There is little information about Kuwait in early history. Nevertheless, it is known that, in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese built a fort at Kuwait, although whether it was a staging place or outpost to protect the trading routes is not known. In general, we can distinguish two different phases in Kuwait history, which are the eras before and after discovering the oil which was first exported in 1946.

2.1 Physical Environment:

Kuwait is a small country in both area and population. Its 8000 or so square miles (excluding the neutral zone) make it approximately equal in size to Northern Ireland, while its population size is about that of Hampshire (This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter). It is situated on the northwestern corner of the Arabian Gulf, between Saudi Arabia and Iraq. As can be seen in Figure 2.1, Kuwait is surrounded on three sides by vast expanses of desert and on the fourth by the Arabian Gulf. The surface slopes gently from west to east. In the west the land rises to just over 300 metres above sea level, shelving gradually eastwards so that the east part of the state, including the inhabited districts, is below

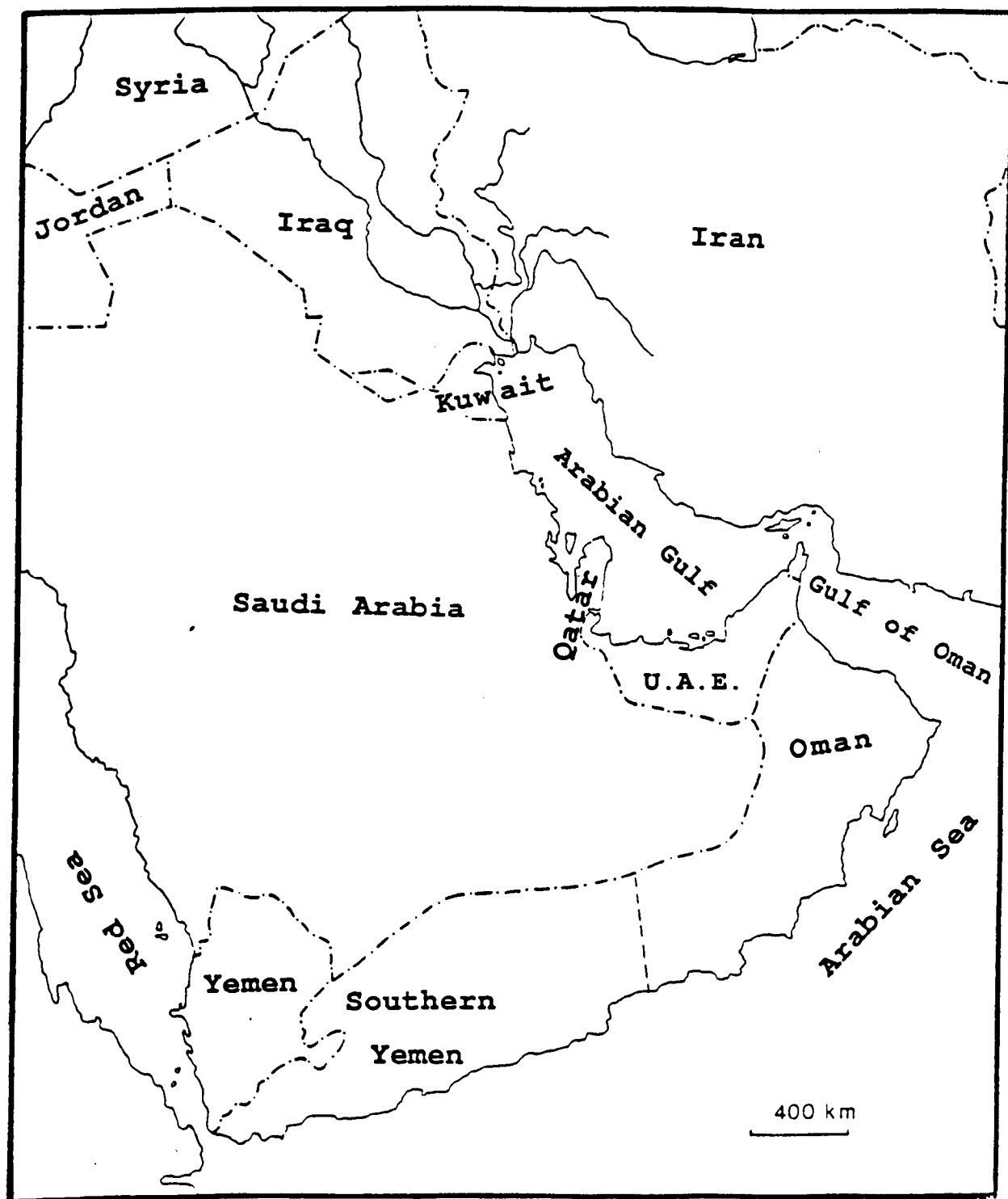


Figure 2.1: Kuwait location

150 metres. A few rocky hills and shallow valleys are found in the desert but in general it is a flat terrain covered only by scrubby vegetation.

Several islands are scattered in the Arabian Gulf and belong to Kuwait, the largest in area being the uninhabited Bubian which is located in the north-east corner. In the entrance to the bay of Kuwait lies the ancient Failka island which is densely populated, and there are a few more uninhabited islands. Kuwait's location means that the weather of the country is typical of the Sahara geographical region.

There are two seasons that can be easily recognized with only short intervening periods of climatic transition. A long hot summer with high temperature and winds, and a warm winter, relatively humid and with low rainfall, the coldest month being January. One of the prominent features of the Kuwait summer is the dust which affects health, work performance and environment. As we will see later, the climatic conditions had a marked effect on the development of the most suitable system of house construction in Kuwait's early history. Undoubtedly summer is an uncomfortable season in Kuwait; that is why most of the citizens try to avoid it by traveling to other states, which has had a major effect in showing the people different types and designs of housing that they have tried to apply in Kuwait.

Kuwait also suffers from a shortage of potable underground water, except for a few shallow wells distributed throughout the country providing the population with most of the water they need. Water also is imported from abroad (Shatt Al-Arab). So, for many reasons, agriculture is poor in Kuwait. There is a scarcity of rainfall and underground water, while the quality of soil and the climatic conditions are also unfavorable. Yet despite such an accumulation of difficult conditions, Kuwait was fortunate in its accessibility: its geographical location at the head of the Arabian Gulf. Kuwait city stands on one of the finest natural harbours on that body of water (*El Mallakh 1968*).

2.2 Political Emergence

The derivation of modern Kuwait can be traced back to the settlement of some bedouin tribes who immigrated from the northern part of central Arabia and settled themselves in Kuwait near the gulf shore.

The domestic political structure of early Kuwait was primitive, and the tribe was at the centre of the political and social system. Kuwait has never had a well organized administrative structure since it first existed in the eighteenth century. The authority of the sheikh of Kuwait gradually emerged. Like other Arabian gulf Sheikhdoms, the rulers of Kuwait control their affairs from their own palaces. The sheikh was appointed by tribal election, and the first was chosen from the Sabah family in 1756. Ever

since, this family has provided the ruling dynasty. Autocracy and centralization were major characteristics of the Kuwaiti system (*Khouja & Sadler 1979*).

Due to its strategic position, Kuwait soon developed into an important port, especially after the occupation of Basra in 1776 by the Persians. At the end of the nineteenth century, the major European countries challenged Britain's hegemony in the area. The competition between these powers for a firm foothold was acute. In 1899 the era of protectorate began with a treaty signed by the Sheikh of Kuwait, giving the English full control over the region to the exclusion of all other foreign concerns. In return the British promised the Kuwaitis financial aid, protection from outside enemies and autonomy regarding their internal affairs. This effectively gave Britain the right to control the development of Kuwait and its foreign policy (*Al Saiedi, 1983*).

Since that time Kuwait's government has developed into twenty departments, and a member of the ruling family is president for each department. Those twenty members of the ruling family constitute the Supreme Council. The ruler combines executive and legislative powers, and is the head of the whole government.

The discovery of oil has brought great changes to both social and political structure in the country. Politically, Kuwait has moved steadily toward a democratic sys-

tem instead of the feudal one which has been practiced for a long time. While the most important social change has been the huge increase and concentration of population in Kuwait, there has been another important social change which has had profound effects upon the political complexion of the country. This is the change in the social composition of Kuwaiti society. Before the discovery of oil there were three different classes of people:

1. The ruling family
2. The merchants
3. The working class

Until the early 1940's, the merchants were the most powerful group in the country owing to their control over economic activities. Later on, after the discovery of oil, power was concentrated in the hands of the ruling family, due to their control over the distribution of income from the oil (*Al- Ebraheem, 1975*).

2.2.1 Kuwait's independence

In June 1961 Kuwait emerged as an independent state, and tribal organization no longer fitted the demands or the criteria of the modern state system. Since that time, the first step in a democratic direction was initiated in 1962 when the "Amir" introduced and moved toward a constitutional government by recruiting ten merchants to join the Supreme Council. Limited though this development was,

Kuwait is in many ways the most democratic of the oil-dependent states.

2.2.2 Government structure after independence

In December, 1962 the ruler organized the election of a constitutional assembly consisting of twenty members. This step was followed by the announcement of a constitution which helped in creating the National Assembly. Fifty members and a council of ministers were to coordinate the administration, and share power with the public in running the country. The system of the government is subject to three principles as prescribed by the constitution namely, " Kuwait is a fully independent Arab state with a democratic style of government, where sovereignty rests with the nation, which is the source of power. The governmental authority is based on the separation of powers", although cooperation is required by the constitution

The fifty members of the national assembly were elected from the first class Kuwaiti citizens. The right to vote is restricted to males of Kuwaiti origin who are over 21 years old. Elections are held every four years. Members come from twenty five electoral districts, each district having two seats in the assembly.

The constitution divided the government into executive, legislative and judicial functions. As the "Amir" is the head of the state, he is in charge for both the executive and the legislative powers, but the national assembly

shares with him the latter authority. Legislation must be approved by two thirds of the assembly votes. Finally, the judiciary function is an independent power and not influenced from the government. The prime minister (or crown prince, who is selected by the Amir) is not subject to votes of no-confidence, which are allowed against other ministers. Nevertheless, in the case of lack of cooperation between the prime minister and the national assembly, the Amir is then faced with two possibilities; either to chose a new prime minister and cabinet or to dissolve the assembly and call for a new election. Unfortunately, this happened in July 1986, and the "Amir" dissolved the assembly due to its lack of cooperation with his government, and because of the critical situation facing the region. No election have been held since then.

2.3 Commercial Development

Kuwait's society was shaped by the counterpoint of the two dominant themes of its environment, the desert and the sea. During the nineteenth and until the middle of the twentieth century Kuwait's economic activity was centred entirely on three major activities:

1. pearl diving
2. seafaring
3. fishing and boat building

Kuwait's population was heavily dependent on the sea, and two factors combined historically to turn the people's

eyes toward the sea. The first was the basic lack of land resources; secondly the geographical location, with the harbour providing accessibility. As a major source of livelihood, the sea provided Kuwait with its three predominant economic activities which flourished in the gulf area prior to the discovery of oil (*El-Mallakh, 1968*).

2.3.1 Pearl diving

Pearl diving was considered one of the most difficult and risky jobs. The divers work from sun-rise to sun-set, collecting oysters and returning to the surface for breath. They live on a diet of fish, dates and rice throughout the entire season. This kind of diet was used in order to keep the divers thin which enables them to dive quickly and remain longer on the sea bed. The pearl diving season started in May and ended in September (*Al-Sabah, 1980*). This poor diet certainly had a negative effect on their health, added to the hard work that went with it, and as a result, most of them were suffering from malnutrition and skin disease.

Nevertheless, pearl diving was the main industry not only in Kuwait, but throughout the whole Gulf region. The majority of Kuwait's population were engaged in some way in pearl diving. In spite of the harsh life and risk, they worked in it because it was the only source of income for most people. This kind of work depends mostly on fortune, so if the catch was good and the price was high the divers

would be happy, and return with some money, otherwise they would return empty handed if the catch was bad or the price was low. Kuwait's income from pearl diving was around £ 1,600,000 annually (*El Farra, 1974*).

However, in the 1930's the cultured pearl was introduced by the Japanese, which was a set-back for the pearl divers in Kuwait, and almost killed the pearl-diving industry in the Gulf region. As a result, the Kuwaiti merchants found another alternative with a better income: smuggling gold to India and goods to East Africa (*Al-Essa, 1981*).

2.3.2 Seafaring and trade

Kuwait's location at the head of the gulf, gave the state an excellent position in relation to the main trade routes, and helped the Kuwaitis to be traders in the gulf region. There were several factors behind the flourishing of trade and trans-shipment in Kuwait. These factors were as follows :

(a) Kuwait is considered to be the best transit area due to its position as a link between the Arabian coast in the region, and India and East Africa.

(b) Kuwait's closeness to Iraq and the Arabian peninsula made it the major supplier for both of them. Kuwaiti merchants were exporting goods to neighbouring countries in ship's bringing cargo from India and East Africa. For

example, in 1940-5 Iraq imported 17 per cent of its goods through Kuwait.

(c) The political stability in the country played a major role in the importance of the state as a seafaring and trading centre. The unsettled political situation in Persia due to the war between the Ottoman Empire and Persians encouraged some trading families to move to Kuwait and settle themselves there, especially when the East India company moved its centre to Kuwait due to the occupation of Basra (*Al-Sabah, 1980*).

(d) Finally, low taxes also provided a further reason for a flourishing trans-shipment trade. Basically, Kuwait provided transit trading services to Europe and the far east. As was mentioned by Al-Essa (1981), that during the years of 1938-9 public revenue totaled £60,000, of which two thirds came from import duties.

2.3.3 Fishing and boat-building

As mentioned above, Kuwait depended heavily on pearl-diving, seafaring and trade. Beside that, Kuwait has been known as a centre for boat-building in the Gulf region. Many different types of boats were exported to the rest of the gulf. The best known among them was the Arab dhow. Wood was imported, especially timber from India and East Africa, in order to reduce the cost. The cost of building large boats was relatively low, due to the cheap labour and inexpensive wood.

Fishing was the main occupation for the lower class in Kuwait, and was for regional use only. The methods employed for fishing were very simple, depending on locally made equipment such as nets, fishing line and tidal weirs made of reeds. The surplus of fish was usually dried and salted and was either exported or stored for human and animal consumption.

Kuwait's economy before the discovery of oil was very simple, and operated at a subsistence level, with a very low per capita income, as Al-Ebraheem stated

"Kuwait's pre-oil economy had all the features of under-development and backwardness, furthermore, the economic recession of the 1930s left the Kuwaitis pondering the wisdom of complete dependence upon only one industry" (Al-Ebraheem, 1975).

2.3.4 Kuwait's economy after the discovery of oil

The discovery of oil led the Kuwaiti people to turn their eyes from the sea to the desert. This discovery changed the economic structure upside-down, and almost abolished the old exhausting occupations. This substitution from a harsh life to an easy one made them breathe a sigh of relief, as they faced a new era characterized by wealth and welfare. This has been the turning point in Kuwait's economy which changed from a simple economy with limited resources to one which is complex, active and with virtually unlimited resources. Describing Kuwait's economy, El-Mallakh stated that:

"The economy of Kuwait defies classification in the traditional academic categorizations of either developed or underdeveloped. The rapidity of change has contributed to the blurring of the distinction; the Kuwaiti economy combines extreme features of both classifications. The highest per capita income, one of the highest saving rates, a strong annual growth rate, and a consistently favourable balance of payments situation are all indicators of a developed economic status. Yet, on the debit side of the development ledger there are equally striking examples of underdevelopment, such as the near-total reliance of the economy on a single product, an inadequate indigenous supply of technical skills and labour, and over-dependence on imports of capital goods and consumer products"

(El-Mallakh, 1968).

Since the oil is the base of Kuwait's capital accumulation, it is worth mentioning that oil drilling in Kuwait started in 1934 after a pilot study was made by British and American companies, resulting in the detection of the largest crude oil well in the world. The Burgan well was plugged for six years because of the second world war, and functioned again at the end of the year 1945. The emergence of Kuwait's modern economy goes back to 1946 when the first oil shipment was exported. The country's growth since then has largely mirrored the smooth and swift exploitation of its vast oil reserves. Within a span of no more than fifteen years, its population came to enjoy living standards normally considered the prerogative of the most developed among the industrialized countries. And the

idea of converting the unassuming traditional town in the desert to an air-conditioned ultramodern one became possible by sudden wealth.

Unfortunately, the country did not have any sort of organized administration, and there was little coordination between the departments which existed at that time. The oil became the leading sector since the 1950's and replaced if not destroyed most of the country's traditional activities. Oil production was increasing steadily until 1973, and that was due to factors associated with the international oil market and the pattern of policies of major oil companies. In more recent years, however, a decline in production has developed because of the adoption of a conservation policy which the country could well afford after the rise in oil prices and the nationalization of the oil companies. The vast revenues gained after the increase in oil prices created another problem: the state could not absorb the accumulated capital, so they invested a large part of it outside the country in the 1970s. The oil sector accounted for 56.70 per cent of the GDP, and kept growing steadily until it reached almost 89.9 per cent of the GDP in 1985 (*Kuwait Ministry of Information, 1987*).

The growth of the economy was clearly manifested in the rapid increase of imports, population and government expenditure. Imports expanded quickly to reach by 1952 a per capita level of over \$280, jumping to \$780 in 1960, and in 1981 it reached about \$19,000 (*Al-Kandari, 1982*). How-

ever, on account of the circumstances prevailing in the international oil market, and the quota imposed in Kuwait production levels the per capita income had dropped to nearly \$15,000 (*Al-Feel*, 1988). Capital expenditure on development covers almost every part of the infrastructure, and has been increasing since 1952. During the 1970s average annual public capital expenditure reached as high as 75 per cent of the total budget. The main reason for this increase was the increasing government activity in all aspects of social, economic and political life and the increasing role of the government as an employer, absorbing the highest percentage of the labour force in Kuwait.

A major source of government expenditure has been the land purchase programme. This was a by product of the urbanization plan adopted by the higher council in 1952. Compulsory purchased land inside the old city of Kuwait was used for public facilities, and the unused part of the purchased land was resold to the private sector for commercial use. The land purchase philosophy had two major goals; first to modernize Kuwait by demolishing the old buildings in the old city of Kuwait. The second goal was to distribute part of the oil revenue to Kuwaiti citizens. The other social services, especially education and housing, occupied the second and third positions in government expenditure.

Oil revenue continued to provide the bulk of the country's foreign requirements. However, its role as an income

generating force was being rapidly eroded. This development was perhaps due to the process of saturation that was taking place in such sectors as construction, services and public administration and the lack of an effective diversification programme to supplement oil receipts with income from other sources. Kuwait, as mentioned resembles many developing countries in relying upon one single product, and the need to diversify sources of income and develop new productive activities is self-evident for a country as dependent on a single exhaustable resource as Kuwait. With oil accounting for over 90 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings, it was essential to make every effort to broaden the economic base, and the state made progress in this direction, beginning in the early fifties when the first desalination plant was established. This, in turn, prepared the way for some other small scale projects such as aluminium casting, the making of building materials and salt, and the bottling of oxygen, each of which began on a small scale.

In the early sixties the government established the industrial zone in Shuaba, followed by consumer goods industries, chemical and petrochemical industries. Meanwhile the government did not spare any effort to promote public participation in diversifying the economic sources, through loans given to individuals who wished to build private factories, in order to achieve a better balance between oil and non-oil sectors. But still the oil sector

remains dominant, despite the vacillating price of oil. Service sectors such as trade, public administration, communications, transportation, etc, have had a reasonable growth rate but do not constitute a major part of the GDP owing to the greater growth which has occurred in the oil sector. However, industrialization is not the only way to diversify sources of income, so the government encouraged other sectors such as trade, shipping, banking, insurance and real estate which have been developed in the last few years. The discovery of oil also brought social, economic and political changes that have substantially affected the future of the country (Al-Kandari, 1982).

Within a few years of exporting oil, Kuwait had been able to accomplish sufficient progress in the field of infrastructure for the economy to enter a new phase of development. This led to the establishment of the Development Board in 1952 to carry the task of coordinating construction activities. Then the Planning Board was set up to advise the government on economic policy and the identification of new development projects. After the country gained its independence, it became more concerned with matters of national interest. These included safe-guarding its oil-export earnings and creating an independent monetary system and soon they replaced the Indian rupee with a national currency (The Dinar).

Clearly, this rapid pace of progress could not have covered such a broad spectrum of activities without creat-

ing and developing new government machinery. This was also one of the country's highest priorities and most remarkable achievements. Measures were soon introduced to expand and modernize the civil service to perform new functions and shoulder greater responsibilities called for by the growth of the economy. In addition to the need to staff the numerous infrastructure projects that were being implemented and the public service ministries and departments that were rapidly expanding, the government was also expected to provide all the requisites of a state, including ports and telecommunications, public works and townships, a judicial system and a security force. Added to these a foreign service and a military force were required from 1961 onwards (*Khouja & Sadler, 1979*).

The major thing to bear in mind is that Kuwait lacks two out of three basic elements of any economy which are productive: land and labour. Kuwait has only one element, capital, and is attempting successfully to compensate the shortage of labour and land through the magnitude of its capital (*Al-Kandari, 1982*).

Kuwait's economy is characterized by :

1. Oil as the base for capital accumulation.
2. The increase of the percentage of GDP devoted to government expenditure rather than private expenditure, showing the will to expand the welfare system.
3. The absence of all forms of taxes except for a small customs duty on some imports.

2.4 Development of Infrastructure

For a desert country where there had been an ever-present need for water, it was only natural to give top priority to solving this acute problem. So in 1950 the government commissioned the first desalination plant at Al-Ahmadi port, which was later followed by several other plants. Kuwait also has a tremendous surplus of energy. The major source is the natural gas which is under pressure and used to generate electricity.

The first land-use master plan was drawn for the country in 1952, and began to be implemented immediately. This plan consisted of demolishing the old town to make way for the building of a new business centre which transformed Kuwait city into a modern one. The government in turn prepared the necessary funds and high priority was given to building a modern road network, schools, hospitals and an up to date system of communications. The land acquisition program was also partly designed to expedite the development of modern Kuwait by making funds available to the private sector for the construction of houses and commercial buildings.

2.4.1 Flowering of the welfare system

The tribal customs and traditions which have long prevailed in this desert country largely explain the paternal attitude that the government has assumed since 1946. This attitude more than any other factor has been responsible for the country's commitment to the creation of a state welfare system. The outline of this system in its present form had been established by 1956 and has been developed and expanded ever since. The development of the major social services can be briefly summarized;

2.4.1.1 Education

Efforts in the field of education constitute a major component of the welfare system. However, the main objective underlying these efforts has been the development of the country's human capital which is regarded as the main requisite for its social and economic progress. Education in Kuwait began in 1912 when the first school was inaugurated with twenty four students, and up to 1936 there were only two schools. With the flooding of oil, the government drew up a comprehensive educational programme covering all levels and a massive school construction plan was implemented. The result became quickly apparent; and growth in educational services is best seen in the rapid increase in the number of students over the past four decades. The number of students reached 78,000 in 1965. and about 211,907 in 1975. There were 559 schools with 357,181 stu-

dent in 1986. However, in spite of these remarkable achievements, the number of illiterate Kuwaiti residents over 10 years of age increased considerably with the influx of large numbers of illiterate tribesmen into the country. This prompted the government in the 1960's to institute a major adult education programme which has largely contributed to reducing the illiteracy rate in Kuwait.

In addition, a large number of Kuwaitis have been studying abroad, either with the financial support of the government or with that of their families. This development is very important in order to meet the current pressing needs of the country for skilled and highly qualified manpower, and to ensure that, when the oil runs out, Kuwaitis will be able to earn their living in other ways (*Al Qabandi, 1972*).

2.4.1.2 Health

The people of Kuwait, like those of many other developing countries in the region, suffered from many diseases. Given the limited means available prior to 1946, particularly in respect to health services and hygiene, the struggle against disease had been most difficult. Hence the government was determined to utilize oil revenues to do everything possible to improve health conditions in the country. The first fruits of this effort were the completion of the first hospital in 1949, which was soon followed by the construction of other hospitals in various parts of

Kuwait. These hospitals were supplied with the most advanced diagnostic and therapeutic equipment available.

In less than a decade after the first export of oil, the people of Kuwait were enjoying, free of charge, health services which few other countries in the region were able to provide. This tremendous increase in health services will have its effect on the rising growth rate of population, as a result of reducing the infant mortality rates in particular and the population mortality rate in general (*Ebraheem, 1982*).

2.4.1.3 Housing

The government has, since 1953, been active in implementing programmes designed to provide decent housing for every Kuwaiti family which can not afford it through non-government resources. This has been partly a response to the general development of Kuwait, but is also a direct result of the state's commitment to the lower income Kuwaitis and to the Bedouins. There are several forms of housing subsidy, the most important of which is the government provision of ready built houses for the limited income and middle income groups. Building loans are also available from the Credit and Saving Bank subject to certain conditions (This will be discussed later with more details).

2.4.1.4 Social security

A social security programme was introduced in 1976 to ensure strict application of the principles of social justice and provide for all citizens in the private and government sectors adequate protection in terms of employment and the assurance of the ability to lead a decent life in the event of unemployment due to old age, poor health, disability or any other causes.

2.4.1.5 Government supports and subsidies

Government financial assistance to needy Kuwaiti families started as early as the mid fifties. This programme had been initiated to raise the standard of living of the poor Kuwaiti families. The consumer public in Kuwait have long enjoyed many government subsidies irrespective of their income. These subsidies cover such basic services as water, electricity and gasoline, and protect people from the impact of inflation, the subsidy system has been extended in recent years to cover many of the essential food products such as rice, sugar, milk, vegetable oil etc.

2.4.1.6 Distribution of wealth and income

Kuwait found various ways of spreading the sudden wealth from oil revenues among its citizens, and the simplest and quickest one was the land purchasing scheme. In this programme the government purchased land from private owners, paying far in excess of what it was worth. Later

on the government found that the land it had purchased was more than was required for public services projects. So they sold the surplus land back to the public and recovered only a small fraction of the cost of acquisition. This programme not only distributed wealth among the original land owners and other people capable of acquiring land, but also encouraged them to take up other economic activities such as constructing residential and commercial buildings, and setting up trading enterprises and small scale manufacturing industry. Securing employment for all Kuwaiti citizens in the labour force has long been regarded by the government as a national commitment.

Summary and discussion

Kuwait is a young country with a tiny population, yet in less than three decades since its independence it has been transformed at breath-taking speed from a lifestyle based on fishing, pearl diving and the traditional desert ways of the bedouin into a sophisticated modern state, fully conversant with all aspects of technology, urbanization, industry, education, commerce, financial services etc. The discovery of oil has brought great changes in all aspects socially, economically and even in the political structure of the country. Politically, it has moved toward a democratic system through the creation of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, while the social changes represented by the huge increase of population accompanied a change in their lifestyle. Regarding the economic structure the dis-

covery of oil changed it completely and almost demolished the exhausting occupations (pearl diving, seafaring and fishing). Within a few years of exporting oil, Kuwait had been able to accomplish sufficient progress in the field of infrastructure for the economy to enter a new phase of development. Despite government efforts to increase the proportion of GNP from the non-oil sector, more than 85 per cent of the budget comes from the oil revenues.

It is worth mentioning that the government provides several public services free of charge, such as medical and educational services. Meanwhile the provision of electricity, water and fuel services, to all nationals and expatriates in Kuwait is heavily subsidized. Nevertheless, the government has adopted a policy of making a distinction between the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti population; more privileges are given to its own citizens who have become a minority within their own country. For example, subsidized housing and social security rights are only given to Kuwaiti citizens.

Finally, the government has aimed, through its welfare system which includes free education, medical care, subsidies and a housing programme as well as its employment policies, to help satisfy people's basic needs without resorting to direct taxation or attempting to change the free-enterprise orientation of the economy.

CHAPTER THREE

Population in Kuwait

In the course of a short period of time, Kuwait has witnessed rapid economic growth following the establishment of the oil industry. The country's astounding leap to prosperity was phenomenal and was accompanied by a huge increase in the population from 35,000 in 1910 (an estimated figure) to 206,000 in 1957 (the first census), growing to 1.7 million in 1985. This increase indicated an annual growth rate of 7.9 per cent. Thus Kuwait is considered to have one of the highest population growth rates in the world.

Unfortunately there are no accurate statistical data before 1957, so in order to trace the growth of population up until the time of the first census we have to depend on predictions and estimates of travellers to Kuwait or those interested in Kuwait's history.

According to the available information, there were three groups of people in Kuwait; i.e. nomads, villagers and urban dwellers. As Ismael (1982) mentioned that, the juxtaposition of arid desert, sea coast and fertile river valleys delineated three distinct life styles; nomadic, maritime and agricultural. While the influence of agriculture is indirect in Kuwait, the desert and the sea come together there to provide both the stage and plot of early

Kuwait history. It is therefore, worthwhile to highlight each group before going on to deal with population growth and the factors controlling the natural and non-natural increase in Kuwait's population .

3.1 The Nomads

It has been estimated that in 1910, nearly one third of the population were nomadic. Neibuhr (1972) estimated that, Kuwaits' population in 1915 was about 42,000 including the Bedouins (17,000) wandering in the desert. After the subsequent increase in population, the nomads represented approximately one sixth of the population by 1950. This increase in population and decrease in Bedouin numbers was due to prosperity and the rise in living standards which attracted immigrants and caused some of the Bedouins to settle. It was also due to the unstable conditions that prevailed in the peninsula after the appearance of the states and political borders that have restricted their nomadic cycles (*Al-Monayees, 1981*).

At the last census in 1985 the population had risen to 1.7 million of whom 97 per cent were urbanized or living in urban areas. No estimate is available for the present nomadic population; probably there are no more nomads in the country. Thus there has been a dramatic decline in the nomadic population since the middle of the century.

Traditionally, the economy of the Bedouin was based on livestock rearing, especially the camel, and as grazing

land was scanty and springs and wells scarce in the desert and steppe-lands, the tribes had to move from place to place in search of pasture. Their home was the tent. Animal products were exchanged with the villagers for grain and for certain manufactured goods and their camels were often hired out for use in desert caravans which might also be raided by other nomads or compelled to pay for protection. However, the government has pursued a definite policy of settling the nomads. New and improved communications resulted in a decline in the caravan trade, and the demarcation of new political boundaries limited the tribes' freedom of movement.

3.2 The Villagers

The decline in the number of nomads contributed to increase in the settled rural population. However, although the total rural population continued to rise, there has been a proportional decline, especially between 1945 and 1960. This trend, together with the decline in the relative importance of the rural population, is a result of a sharp rise in the level of urbanization.

The villagers and indeed all the farmers were concentrated in three parts of the country, namely Jahra, Al-Fintass and Abu Halaifah which constituted the only three oasis because of the fertile soil and availability of wells and underground water. So cultivation was confined to these areas and was the main source of the villagers'

livelihood. While Costello (1977) said that Kuwait had never possessed an agricultural population, Al-Sabah (1980) confirmed that 60,000 of the total population in 1919 were residing in the town of Kuwait, but the rest of the population was living in Kuwait villages

In the past, rural dwellers had been compelled to live in a compact settlement for protection from nomadic raiding, and their houses were constructed of mud or reeds. Their standard of living was deplorably low and they had very few possessions. They were almost totally lacking in the supply of pure water, electricity or similar amenities and this was the case with medical and educational standards. The land settlement laws of the early 1940s which stipulated that all people must register the titles of the land they possessed or claimed that it belong to them, radically altered this traditional pattern of land tenure. As the rich or powerful families were fully informed about this new law, they registered a large area of land in their names, and these became in effect enormous private estates. This resulted in most of the land becoming private property for which the government had to compensate the owner in order to use it.

3.3 The Urban Dwellers

As previously mentioned, at the last census in 1985 the population had risen to 1.7 million of whom 97 per cent were urban dwellers and there was an increase in the

proportional level of the urban population, which rose from half of the population to almost all of it. This was due to the period of prosperity based on accumulated oil revenue and wealth distribution (Hill, 1972).

Before the discovery of oil, the urban population was concentrated in the city of Kuwait, the only city in the country, which was surrounded by a wall for protection against the nomads and outside enemies. The condition of life in the city was poor, but there is evidence to suggest that it was slightly better than that of the villagers and much better than that of the Bedouins. The economy was based on fishing, pearl diving and trading. Houses were constructed of mud or, for those who could afford it, of building stones, and were built very close to each other thus encouraging strong social ties. They were heavily dependent upon the sea as a major source for livelihood.

3.4 Population growth

The growth of the population was influenced by four factors, namely birth, death, migration and age structure. Migration and natural increase were almost negligible until the early 1940s, and the average of the annual growth rate was a little more than 1 per cent (Al-Sabah 1980). After the discovery of oil and during the 1950s, more capital from oil output became available for investment and new commercial and industrial enterprises were

established, creating greater employment opportunities than at any time before.

At the same time, this period saw a very rapid demographic growth precipitated mostly by an influx of job seekers from other countries. In addition, much of the oil revenue was invested in health, welfare and educational facilities which caused a dramatic improvement in the range of social services on the one hand and greatly reduced the mortality rates and extended life expectancy on the other. The provision of such social and medical facilities has resulted in extremely high rates of natural increase among the citizens and the immigrant population alike.

The first population census in Kuwait was conducted in February 1957. Little was known about the population before that date, and all population statistics were merely informed guesses or based on travellers' estimations which lacked accuracy. Lorimer (1970), estimated Kuwait's population to be 35,000 in 1907 together with a further 13,000 nomad "Bedouins" commonly ranging within Kuwait's territory, while the British Naval Intelligence Division mentioned in their report that the total population was between 30,000 and 40,000 in 1916.

From 1910 to 1935 when prospecting for oil started with promising results, the population grew steadily up to

Table 3.1 : population censuses

Year	Type	Male	Female	Total
1957	Kuwaiti	59,154	54,468	113,622
	Foreigners	72,904	19,947	92,851
	Total	132,058	74,415	206,473
1961	Kuwaiti	84,461	77,448	161,909
	Foreigners	116,246	43,466	159,712
	Total	200,707	120,914	321,621
1965	Kuwaiti	112,569	107,490	220,059
	Foreigners	173,743	73,537	247,280
	Total	286,312	181,027	467,339
1970	Kuwaiti	175,513	171,883	347,396
	Foreigners	244,368	146,898	391,266
	Total	419,881	318,781	738,662
1975	Kuwaiti	236,600	235,488	472,088
	Foreigners	307,168	215,581	522,749
	Total	543,768	451,069	994,837
1980	Kuwaiti	280,649	284,964	565,613
	Foreigners	495,990	296,349	792,339
	Total	776,639	581,313	1,357,952
1985	Kuwaiti	337,243	342,358	679,601
	Foreigners	627,333	388,194	1,015,527
	Total	964,576	730,552	1,695,128

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1930 when it was estimated to be about 60,000, (Freeze & Winstone, 1972). The rate of growth then suddenly accel-

erated especially in the five years 1942-1947, and reached 120,000, as estimated in 1947 (*Al-Sabah, 1980*).

In the early 1950s the population was about 100,000, while Dickson estimated that Kuwait contained more than 100,000 in 1952 (*Dickson, 1956*). By the first census, conducted in 1957, the population had doubled to reach 206,473. Since 1961 a census of the population in Kuwait has been conducted every five years. Table 3.1, shows the seven official population censuses conducted since 1957.

The results of the 1985 population census indicate that the population is 1,695,128. Estimates from the Central Statistics Office indicate that the population will have risen by mid-1988 to 1,954,000 and by the year 1990 to about 2.1 million and to around 3 million by the year 2000, if the rate of growth remains constant.

By the time of the second census in May 1961 the total population had risen by 56 per cent since 1957, to 321,621 with a subsequent increase of 45 per cent to 467,339 in 1965, with a growth rate of 11 per cent and 10 per cent respectively per annum. The intercensal years of 1965-1970 showed the highest proportionate increase, representing 58 per cent. The population showed a remarkable increase when it more than doubled over the decade 1965-1975.

Table 3.2 :Population growth rates

Years	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	annual growth rate
1957-61	8.6	13.6	11.0
1961-65	8.1	11.8	10.0
1965-70	9.5	9.6	9.6
1970-75	6.3	5.9	6.1
1975-80	3.7	8.7	6.4
1980-85	3.7	5.1	4.5

During the same decade the population's annual growth rate was 7.9 per cent for the whole country, compared with the population growth in the 1980s of 4.5 per cent. From Table 3.2, it is evident that there was a significant change in the rate of population growth during the last fifteen years.

The above table shows that during the decade 1965-1975, the population growth rate was almost equal for Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis. The large increase in the Kuwaiti population at that time was due to the naturalization of Bedouins and others, forming a balance between citizens and foreigners. This raises the question of the law governing the granting of citizenship. This has been controversial since it began to differentiate between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis in 1948 when the citizenship law was initiated (Costello, 1977).

The 1985 population census indicate a decrease in the annual growth rate of the population of Kuwait to 4.5 per cent for the intercensal years 1980-1985, compared with 6.4 per cent between the censuses of 1975 and 1980. The 1985 census figures indicate that the growth rate for Kuwaitis remained unchanged at 3.7 per cent compared with a decline in that of the non-Kuwaiti population to 5.1 per cent as against 8.7 per cent between the census of 1975 and 1980.

With the exception of the period 1970-1975, therefore, the growth rate of the non-Kuwaiti population since 1957 was higher than that for Kuwaitis. Also the total population rose by only 25 per cent to reach 1,695,128 in the last census. This result was due to the new restrictions and regulation of immigration. Surprisingly, the preliminary result from the 1990 census showed that the Kuwaiti population are representing only 28.5 per cent of the total population.

Kuwait's population increase after the discovery of oil, especially in the first three censuses, represents one of the highest growth rates in the world, higher even than that of other exceptional communities such as Hong Kong, Singapore or Gibraltar (*Hill, 1972*). Clearly this is attributable to the high rate of immigration which is considered to be the main factor responsible for the increase in Kuwait's population.

Although the era of booming oil revenues has started to slacken, work is continuing to strengthen the economic base and maintain high rates of economic growth. There are still development projects under way and services to be provided, and none of these aims can be achieved without relying on regular in-flows of expatriate labour. Thus foreign immigration to Kuwait, and the consequent high rates of population growth, will continue to play a fundamental role in bridging the gap between manpower demand and supply in the foreseeable future.

From the outset, it was clear that Kuwait's population was far from homogeneous. There are differences between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis according to the nature of both societies. The former was influenced by natural increase and naturalization, while the latter has been affected by immigration and natural increase. We will discuss both natural increase and immigration in order to illustrate their impact on Kuwait's population growth.

3.4.1 Natural Increase

Kuwait has witnessed a tremendous leap in population growth in the last three decades, in which migration has played a large role. But we cannot ignore the main factor in the rapid increase in that section of Kuwaiti population which is not affected by immigration. This factor is natural increase. There was no statistical data based on the rates of births or deaths in Kuwait available until

1968, but it is these rates which determine the natural increase in population. It is also necessary to discriminate between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis, because each have their own demographic characteristics and socio-economic conditions.

Table 3.3: Natural increase per 1,000

	1960-1965		1965-1970		1970-1975		1975-1980		1980-1985	
	K	N-K	K	N-K	K	K-K	K	N-K	K	N-K
BIRTH	48.5	39.2	51.8	45.1	47.8	40.0	48.9	34.4	47.2	28.3
DEATH	11.5	7.2	6.4	4.1	6.3	3.3	5.7	3.2	4.5	2.3
NATURAL INCREASE	37.0	32.0	45.4	41.0	41.5	36.7	43.2	31.2	42.7	26.0

K = Kuwaitis

N-K = Non-Kuwaitis

3.4.1.1: Births

Marital composition is one of the important determinants of the fertility level of population and plays an important role in determining the growth of the population. In countries where fertility is not controlled, a lower age of marriage will cause a larger number of births and thus lead to rapid population growth. The collected data on marital status indicate that the proportion of the married female population in the childbearing age is about 60 per cent, which is a common phenomenon for traditional society. Early marriages are still common in Kuwait. Most of the males first marriages occur between the ages

of 20 and 24 years, while for females they are between the ages of 15 and 19 years (*El-Farra, 1974*).

There was an increase in the total rate, which reached 55.1 per 1,000 in 1968, which was the highest rate ever recorded. The increase in that period of time related to high migration from the Arab countries who were defeated in the Israeli Arab war in 1967. Since then, the foreigners became a majority in Kuwait. After 1970 the high birth rate started to drop and this continued until it reached 42.0 per 1,000 at the present time.

Clearly there are numerous factors involved in this high birth rate, especially among the Kuwaiti people. These factors are as follows:

a) State health facilities are freely available to all residents. These are of paramount importance in the reduction of mortality.

b) The government of Kuwait is encouraging people to marry, and they are given an allowance for each child equal to £70 per month.

c) From a religious point of view, in Islam the men have the right to marry more than one wife.

d) Tradition and social customs encourage early marriage. The most recent statistical data shows that in 537 marriages out of every 1000, the bride was between 15 and 19 years old. This contributes to the increasing birth rate.

e) Economic factors play a major role in increasing the birth rate, especially among the Kuwaiti population. When standards of living are high and rising, adding a new child to the family does not mean more financial pressure or problems as would be the case in some other communities where the people suffer from low living standards. In Kuwait, having more children contributes to one's social position and gains respect. Moreover, the state takes care of the child's health and education and finally assures employment for him in the future. Also, family limitation is unattractive to the Kuwaitis, who are eager to increase their numbers and replace the unfavorable proportion of foreigners in the population of the state (*Ebraheem, 1982*).

3.4.1.2 Death

Within a few years of gaining access to modern medical care, in which Kuwait has few parallels in the Middle East, death rates quickly fell, and in particular infant death rates. The result is that Kuwait now has a broad-based pyramid, with one of the youngest populations in the world.

Government statistics indicate that the death rate is low, which has a positive effect on natural increase. These numbers show that the crude death rate reached a low level in 1984, at 3.9 per 1000, which is almost the European level. The crude death rates are a reflection of the

good medical facilities and the age-sex structure of the population. The overall death rate was a little over 80 per 1,000. The death rate among the non-Kuwaiti population is less than for the Kuwaiti population and this can be attributed to the age and sex structure of an immigrant community since so many of them are young persons in the economically active age group and less at risk than the very young or the old. It also reflects a high standard of health care (Costello, 1977).

3.4.2 Age and Sex Structure

This is considered to be an essential factor contributing to the increasing birth rates; for example about 50 per cent of Kuwait's population is aged between 0 and 15 years. This means that an accelerating increase in population is expected in the near future, which also means that a large number of new families will be created in the next decade or two. Growth of new households will put huge pressure on government housing programmes.

On the other hand, those aged between 15 and 49 represent about 44 per cent, while the older age group (50 and over) decreased from 6 per cent in 1947 to 3.7 per cent in 1978, showing a wide-based age and sex pyramid in the Kuwaiti population. At the same time there are almost equal numbers of Kuwaiti males and females. In contrast, the males of the non-Kuwaiti section represented about 80 per cent, most of them in the working age. This also

indicates the difficulties foreigners faced in the beginning. Later on, after they raised their living standards and were able to bring their dependants to Kuwait, the male ratio dropped to 64 per-cent in the last census.

3.4.3 Immigration and its Effect on Population Growth and Characteristics

Kuwait represents a unique type of immigration. In most cities the internal immigration from rural to urban areas represents the main important factor in the population and urbanization growth. In Kuwait it is totally different, as external immigration from the surrounding countries represents the main supplier of population and urban growth. This creates some related and special types of problem.

External immigration has affected social life and created a kind of segregation in the community. The population has started to segregate into Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti, with both having their own characteristics and special urban distribution. There are particularly segregated urban areas for Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis as a result of this external immigration. Hill stated that

"the special effects of an explicit policy of discrimination on the basis of citizenship are wide ranging for not only has the policy created a highly segregated city structured in a form quite novel in Arabia, but it has also brought about contrast in the patterns of movement of the various

national groups comprising Kuwait's total population". (Hill, 1972, p.126)

And within the non-Kuwaiti population a further split emerged between citizens of other states and those with non-identified nationality - mainly Bedouin. I shall refer to these three groups as: "Kuwaitis", "other nationals" and those of "non-identified nationality", both the latter being described as "non Kuwaities".

Immigration characteristics differ according to times of oil discovery and political change. Attention has to be focused on these characteristics.

3.4.3.1 Immigration to Kuwait before 1957

Immigration to Kuwait started even before the oil discovery and affected the constitution of Kuwait's population and urbanization at that early stage. From history we gather that people came to Kuwait from surrounding areas seeking protection, shelter and settlement around the water wells where they could raise their animals. Lorimer (1970), wrote that Kuwait in the early twentieth century was populated by around 10,000 immigrants from Iran and Saudi Arabia and 4,000 black immigrants from Africa. Hill (1972) assumed that 16 per cent of Kuwait's population before the oil discovery were non-Kuwaiti.

These immigrants, being of a different origin and culture, started segregating in a particular pattern. This segregation was first described by Al-Shamlan (1959), who

said that immigrants from Al-Hasa (an area in Saudi Arabia) occupied the Al-Kebila area and most Najdi immigrants settled in the Al-Merkab area. From the limited information about immigration available before 1957, it is difficult to derive an exact idea of the situation. The population estimate of 1957 is considered to be the first exact statistical information on population immigration to Kuwait before that year.

Table 3.4: Immigrants to Kuwait before 1957

Nationals	1918-1937	1938-1942	1943-1947	1948-1957
Iraq	103	190	817	12612
Oman	80	143	465	4732
Saudi-Arabia	124	103	204	824
Syria	1	4	8	1852
Lebanon	1	4	20	6006
Palestine	1	7	66	12488
Egypt	1	1	2	1542
Iran	285	337	622	2143
India	6	24	144	3005
Pakistan	18	16	148	1931
U. K	2	0	27	1854
Total	649	879	2,775	64,642

source : Annual statistical abstract 1957 (Quoted from Ebraheem, 1982).

From Table 3.4, we can conclude that:

1. Immigration was very limited until 1937. It did not exceed 649, and of these about 50 per cent were from Iran and most of the rest from Iraq and Saudi Arabia.
2. From 1943-1947 there was a sudden increase in the number of immigrants. In this short period (four years) the migrants who entered Kuwait were more than those who entered the country in the last thirty five years (from 1918 to 1942). The total immigrants were about 2,775, mostly from Iran providing (37 per cent), Iraq (32 per cent), Oman (16 per cent), Saudi-Arabia (12 per cent), India and Pakistan (3 per cent). This indicated the changes in the immigrant structure in which their sources were multiplied, leading to a large increases in their numbers.
3. From 1948 to 1957 (the oil discovery era, plus a time of political crisis in Palestine), immigration reached a total of 64,642, accounting for 85 per cent of immigrants up to that time and started to play a greater role in population growth and characteristics; it also affected the speed of urbanization.

Immigrant characteristics at that stage:

- a) Most of the immigrants were typically young to middle-aged men who came to earn money and to return home.

b) An increase in the number of immigrants from the Gulf area, Iran, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, because it was handy for them to come and work to improve their income and they could visit their families very easily.

c) With the increase in income and improved financial status giving the immigrant some kind of social stability, immigrants started to bring their families with them. Here we notice an increase in female immigrants, representing 20 per cent of immigrants in 1957. Most of those female immigrants were from Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Iranian immigrants tended to keep their families at home because they were easy to visit.

d) There was a special increase in female immigrants from Egypt. This group worked in Kuwait as teachers and nurses, so decreasing the gap between male and female immigrants.

e) Most immigrants also tended to be Arab, as they had blood relations and strong marriage ties in Kuwait. At that time most immigrants tended to have relatives in Kuwait either from the Kuwaiti population or among other relatives working at Kuwait.

3.4.3.2 Immigration to Kuwait after 1957

This immigration was especially encouraged by the sudden increase in per capita income, giving a sudden high standard of living and good living facilities. The expan-

sion of Kuwait city and its service facilities gained momentum in the late 1950s. As personal prosperity rose through the disbursement of public money to Kuwaiti citizens, immigration on an enormous scale began (Costello, 1977). This encouraged very fast modernization and urban growth. In less than ten years, by 1965, the immigrants increased their number by 2.5 times and represented more than 53 per cent of Kuwait's population at that time. With the immigrants now bringing their families, they tended to have a natural increase in their number by birth and continued immigration. This increase in the female numbers and the birth rate reflected a better standard of living and settlement, with better jobs and social amenities. However, it is shown clearly in Table 3.5 how the Kuwaitis became a minority group compared to the non-Kuwaitis who almost represent 60 per cent of the total population in 1985. More important; they also constitute about 81 per cent of the Kuwait labour force.

As can be seen in Table 3.5, since 1965 the foreign population started to exceed the native people till 1980 when there was a sharp decrease in the Kuwaiti proportion, this feature occurred because Kuwait was not well organized in conducting previous population censuses, and no documentary proof of nationality was requested. Many people while resident under the non-identified nationality, claimed that they were Kuwaitis in previous censuses. As a result in 1980 when for the first time a documentary

proof of nationality was required, an apparent fall in the proportion of Kuwaitis in the population has been noticed. It is, therefore, possible that a number of people previously classified as Kuwaitis would not have been. Moreover, a very sharp decrease in the Kuwaiti proportion was indicated when the Planning under-secretary revealed the data of the 1990 population census. The Kuwaiti proportion dropped to reach 28.5 per cent from the total population. The justification for this tremendous drop was the removal of all non-identified nationality people who are working in the police force and the army, (who used to be considered Kuwaitis) from the Kuwaiti category.

Table 3.5 Percentage of non-Kuwaitis in the census (1957-1990)

Year	Kuwaitis	non-Kuwaitis
1957	55.0	45.0
1961	50.3	49.7
1965	47.1	52.9
1970	47.0	53.0
1975	47.5	52.5
1980	41.4	58.6
1985	41.0	59.0
1990*	28.5	71.5

Annual statistical abstract 1981-1986

* Interview with the planning under-secretary

The main change in the composition of immigrants occurred when Jordanians and Palestinians took the largest share, representing about 39 per cent of the immigrants living in Kuwait in 1975. This situation especially reflects the political crises brought about when Israel occupied Palestine, forcing many of the Palestinians to emigrate. Kuwait was the place of settlement for many Palestinians as they could achieve a good standard of living and high earnings there. There were two waves of immigrants in 1948, following the occupation of Palestine by Israel, and in 1967 after the defeat of Egypt, Jordan and Syria by Israel.

With the trend being for immigrants to bring their families, the constitution of the immigrant population changed after 1975, reverting to the normal pattern of a population pyramid consisting of males, female and children.

3.5 Bedouins and the non-identified nationality

A great part of the non-Kuwaiti population consists of a group of people called the non-identified nationality. Most of them are Bedouins who used to travel from one place to another inside the Arabian peninsula. Later on, they settled, or in other words were forced to stay in Kuwait due to closure of the borders between the new states which have emerged in the region. In 1961 with the Iraqi invasion threat to Kuwait, many bedouins were

offered citizenship in order to get them to join the army. For political reasons the government recruited most of the Bedouins in the military and police force. Farah stated that, according to recent statistics 60 per cent of the Defence Ministry employees, and 50 per cent of the Ministry of the Interior's were not Kuwaitis (*Farah, et al, 1983*). So most of the military force, i.e the guardians of the state, are registered as non-identified nationality because they have lost all contact with their original country (if they had one). In addition, some have even deliberately destroyed all their previous official documents in the hope of naturalization.

Many of those without any nationality have been working in Kuwait for a long time, and many have been resident in Kuwait for more than thirty years. In contrast, the government was considering them as Kuwaitis until 1980 when they were first counted as non-Kuwaitis in the population census. With the difficulty of acquiring Kuwaiti nationality afterwards, they were trapped and classed as non-identified nationality. This situation became even worse as their sons and grandsons, representing the second and third generation immigrants, failed to obtain Kuwaiti citizenship and remained under the non-identified nationality category. In spite of the fact that they were born in Kuwait, have served in Kuwait, and many die in Kuwait; still they are non-identified nationality.

A report by the Arab Organization for Crime Prevention in 1979 mentioned that about 260,000 people were illegal immigrants in Kuwait, whose nationalities are not identified. The report also concluded that those people represent about 20 per cent of the existing population. Thus the relative weight to be given to immigration is no easy task, depending on the precise definition of immigrants. Do they include the non-identified nationality, or do they include the second and third generation of immigrants? (*Farah et al,, et al, 1983*)

3.6 Profile of the foreign labour force in Kuwait:

The rapid growth of the Kuwaiti economy has led to the creation of a vast number of work opportunities. The state's generous expenditure on social services has meant an even greater demand for manpower, a demand which the local people alone could not satisfy.

Having an unusual combination of capital surplus and shortage of native labour, both skilled and unskilled, the country is totally dependent upon the foreign labour force, with the expatriate labour out-numbering the locals in all aspects. Al-Essa (1981), revealed the important factors which account for Kuwait's dependence on expatriate labour :

1. The rapid growth in Kuwait's economy opened the door to employment opportunities. With this, came a demand for labour that the native Kuwaiti was unable to meet, leaving

the majority of jobs to be filled by foreign labour, who constitute almost 81 per cent of the total work force in the country.

2. The large numbers of young Kuwaitis under working age. This affected the government policy towards immigration.

3. The high illiteracy rate among the Kuwaiti labour force contributed to manpower shortage of skilled workers.

4. The small part played by women in the Kuwaiti labour force. Though it is increasing steadily, Kuwaiti women's participation in the labour force remains small.

5. Many Kuwaitis reject manual work, and prefer managerial, professional and government jobs, which are considered more prestigious.

6. Most of the establishments and infrastructure are depending on imported technology, which requires wide knowledge, a high level of education, skills and experience which are more than the Kuwaiti themselves possess.

The foreign labour force in Kuwait is characterized by a wide variety of nationalities. This has a serious impact on a broad range of socio-economic issues, which are reflected in the development process itself. Unfortunately, in the early fifties, most of the immigrant labour force were low educated, which in turn delayed the development process. This was due to lack of planning and not

placing the qualified, skilled person in appropriate positions.

The problem becomes even more acute when one becomes aware of the distribution of the labour force by occupational group. The percentage of Kuwaitis in the professional, technical and semi-technical fields is very low. If similar trends continue, Kuwait will be likely to experience a major manpower crisis in the event that the expatriate labour force, for one reason or another, decides to leave, or if it were forced to leave the country within a short period of time.

The foreigners in Kuwait represent 59 per cent of the total population. Most of them are from Arab and Muslim countries. The reasons that the majority are Arabs are because they have similar customs and can easily adopt Kuwaiti traditions, and reside longer in the state. On the other hand, the Europeans have the shortest stay in Kuwait.

Expatriate workers are distributed throughout diverse occupations in Kuwait. So during the development in the 1950s, the government offered some incentives such as high wages, furnished houses and cars, in order to attract highly skilled workers from other countries. Among the foreign labour in Kuwait, a division exists; the majority of Iraqis and Iranians are employed as sales and production workers. Egyptians and Palestinians work as profes-

sionals and government employees. Pakistanis and Indians tend to work as skilled workers in technical jobs. The Palestinians are considered to be the most influential single foreign community in Kuwait. The second most important group after the Palestinians are the Egyptians, who are covering half of the education field. The third largest Arab community are the Iraqis who came from the same tribes, and there is some inter-marriage between them and Kuwaitis.

The largest non-Arab group are the Iranians, most of whom entered the country illegally, so they work in the lowest status manual occupations, with low wages and are facing deportation at any time.

3.7 Politics of the demographic transformation:

The huge influx of the immigrant labour force in the early fifties was due to the high demand from the Kuwaiti government, which undertook ambitious development programmes. The booming construction industry opened up new and wide job opportunities in a consumer society. The results of a survey which was conducted in 1955 astonished the government because Kuwaitis represented only 13 per cent of the total labour force.

These results made the government aware of the size of the problem and they started thinking carefully about the existing situation in political rather than economic

terms. In the late sixties, the government issued new policies consisting of the following :

a) To settle the Bedouins and naturalize them, to balance the gap between the natives and the foreigners.

b) To restrict foreigners from entering the country, and bar them from owning land or speculation. They were also restricted from starting a business unless they had a Kuwaiti partner.

c) To guarantee suitable employment for all Kuwaitis with higher salaries than their foreign counterparts, and promote them in terms of time rather than by performance or qualification.

d) Non-Kuwaitis must leave the country once their contracts are at an end.

e) To separate the non-Kuwaitis from Kuwaitis in term of location and type of housing.

f) To diversify the nationalities of the expatriate workers to reduce the communication among them.

g) To replace the non-Kuwaitis gradually with Kuwaitis in the elite occupations. Al-Essa (1981) has noted the practice of preferentially placing Kuwaitis in senior positions in the civil service hierarchy, particularly at the higher levels of decision making, to maintain a balance between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis.

h) To exclude the foreigner from political functions, and prohibit their ownership of any property in the state. This was a reaction to control the political involvement of immigrants.

These new laws were introduced to protect the Kuwaitis from expatriate influence, and to ensure that the majority of immigrants do not attain any high level of decision making and will remain without getting engaged in the social or political structure of Kuwaiti society.

3.8 The problem of citizenship

As a result of the continuous influx of thousands of Arabs and non-Arabs into the country, the authorities managed to distinguish between those people who were in Kuwait before the discovery of oil and those who came to benefit from the welfare state by establishing the Citizenship Law in 1948. Kuwaiti citizenship consists of two categories: i.e First and Second degree of citizenship. The first degree citizenship as Article 1 of the Nationality Law states:

"The Kuwaitis are basically those people who inhabited Kuwait before 1920 and have continued to reside there until the date of publication of this law ".

The second degree citizenship emerged as a result of the first degree citizenship. It was necessary to distinguish

between those in possession of first degree citizenship and those who are naturalized.

Naturalization requirements have changed several times. Much has been made over Kuwait's second degree citizenship as a social and political discriminatory factor which has separated the community into several parties, while the only real distinction between them is the right to run for public office. Article 6 states that:

"the foreigner who obtained citizenship (second degree of citizenship) is not eligible either to elect or to be elected in any parliament before 20 years from the date he obtained that citizenship".

In 1960 the naturalization law was amended to include Arabs who had been resident for ten years, and non-Arabs of fifteen years continuous residence. In 1966, the law was amended again to grant citizenship to Arabs residing in Kuwait since 1945 and to non-Arabs residing since 1930. Yet, no real naturalization action was taken, and Kuwaiti citizenship remained very difficult to obtain. It is not a matter of just fulfilling the residence requirement to be naturalized, it is essential that one must have entered the country legally and prove to have been of good behaviour. However, even when those necessities are fulfilled, naturalization and obtaining Kuwaiti nationality remain a hard task.

It is very difficult to gain Kuwaiti citizenship, and only a limited number were naturalized under the Law. The

obstacles to naturalization are essentially political. Article 4 of the Law demonstrates this by stating that only fifty people may be naturalized each year. This issue is neatly sidestepped in article 5, which authorizes the Interior Minister to naturalize any person who has served Kuwait well.

Summary and discussion

Kuwait has witnessed rapid economic and urban growth, accompanied by a sudden increase in population, due to the discovery of oil. Originally there were three groups of people in Kuwait, Nomads, Villagers and Urban-Dwellers. The rapid population growth experienced in Kuwait is mostly due to high birth rates, at a time when the death rate has been declining because of improved living standards, the development of medical care and consequent improvements in public health.

Owing to migration, which had a significant affect on the population growth rate as the numbers of those entering the country legally and illegally were relatively high, Kuwait is considered to have one of the highest population growth rates in the world, i.e 4.2 per cent per annum, with a broad-based age pyramid and nearly equal ratio of male and female.

Stable social relations existed between the Kuwaiti population and the immigrants, most of whom at first had either blood or marriage relatives in Kuwait. Thus most

of the early stage of immigration was from Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, U.A.E., Oman and Yemen. After 1947, Kuwait's riches became sufficiently well known to attract immigrants from beyond the countries bordering Kuwait, such as Egypt, India, Pakistan, etc.

The typical immigrant profile changed from being one of the purely prime age male group to a mixture of prime age male and female plus children, resulting in a more natural population pyramid, unlike that seen in the early stages of immigration.

Immigrants represent more than 71 per cent of the total population, and almost 81 per cent of the labour force. In addition they out-number the native labour force in all aspects.

Political factors played a great role in affecting the number of immigrant Palestinians, representing 39 per cent of immigrants in 1975, arriving characteristically in two waves following the wars of 1948 and 1967. As a result of citizens being a minority in their own country, the distinction between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis has become the prime division within the population due to the preferential system operated in favour of Kuwaiti citizens.

CHAPTER FOUR

Housing and Urban Development in Kuwait

Kuwait city started back in the beginning of the eighteenth century at the year 1711 as a small nuclear residential area on the Arabian Gulf. At that time its size was estimated at about 0.11 square Kilometre, and natural increase was slow. It was encircled by three fences to protect it from the outer environment, which limited its haphazard growth (*Shiber, 1964*).

However, since the discovery of oil and its exploitation major social, economic and political changes have occurred. There was a sudden population growth due to external migration, natural increase and Bedouin settlement. This consequently enforced a rapid urban growth and created a need for fast housing provision. Urban growth and the need for new housing units were accelerated by the new styles of life brought by the sudden wealth, an increased level of education with the effect of the inflow of new culture brought by the immigrants, and as a general consequence of modernization.

The most prominent feature of this transition was the break-up of the tradition of living in an extended family and division into nuclear families. As can be seen from Table 4.1, the total number of families has been increasing steadily since 1965, with an annual increase rate of 7 per

cent per year until it reached 236729 in 1985. There has also been a tendency towards nuclear families representing 60 per cent while the extended families shrank to 33.4 per cent (*Al-Feel, 1988*). Of course the number housing units has increased in the same period from 67517 units in 1965 to reach 228814 in 1985, yet the rate of increase did not fulfil the extent of housing needs.

Table 4.1: Growth of families and housing units in Kuwait

<u>Year</u>	<u>Families</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Person/dwelling</u>	<u>Family/dwelling</u>
1965	72464	72464	6.4	1.00
1970	113057	118180	6.25	0.96
1975	142572	131239	7.25	1.08
1980	196320	180400	7.52	1.09
1985	236729	228814	7.41	1.03

Source: Annual Statistical Abstract 1975, 80, 85, 88

Although the annual increase rate was 6.9 per cent, emphasis should be drawn to the fact that nearly one quarter (23 per cent) of the housing stock were unconventional dwellings. Moreover, vacant dwellings, because of high rent, were representing 9 per cent in 1975 and have increased to 12.3 per cent in 1985. So the gravity of the overcrowding problem is certainly under-estimated.

The economic changes also encouraged the increased urbanization and housing needs as part of a general demand for better standard of living. The GDP was growing at an

average of 6.7 per cent during the late 1970s when it became one of the highest incomes in the world. Today Kuwait ranks as one of the major oil producers and with reserves second only to Saudi Arabia (Haywood, 1989). The results were rapid economic growth, creating new employment opportunities, and attracting more foreigners to fulfil the rapid urban and economic growth. The development of oil resources in the early 1950s meant that within a decade the population had doubled and by the mid 1960s foreigners in the country outnumbered Kuwaitis (Al-Feel 1988). At present the foreigners constitute more than 71 per cent of the total population. The current imbalance in the population structure has created a number of social and political problems for both the Kuwaitis and expatriates (Abu-Lughad, 1983).

All the aforementioned factors created a rapid growth in urbanization. Now about 96 per cent of the Kuwaiti population are urbanized. The urban area had grown from 0.11 square Kilometre in 1760 to reach 350 square Kilometre in 1980 and is expected to reach about 500 square Kilometre in the 1990s (Al-Moosa 1981; Abu-Ayash 1981; Said, 1988).

4.1 Urban development in Kuwait

Urban development in Kuwait has been in two stages, the first stage in the era before 1952 which was essentially haphazard and unplanned natural growth. In 1930 the Kuwait Municipality was established with a responsibility

for land use distribution, and building the transport network. By 1951, the government realized the need for a major urban plan. Due to the limitation of the Kuwait experience in urban planning, they commissioned Minoprio and Spencely to draw their first urban Master Plan for Kuwait and from there the second era in urban development, based upon planning in advance, had started. Yet the second era could be further divided into three phases, the short-term planning, the intermediate planning and the long-term planning phase.

4.1.1 Short term planning

First came the short-term urban planning stage between 1952-1960 in which Minoprio & Spencely produced Kuwait's first plan with several objectives. First, to decrease the pressure on the city centre by decentralization of some urban activities like housing, industry and trading services to the periphery. Second, to build a new transportation network to cope with the imminent urban growth. Third, to create new residential areas and suburbs to rehouse those displaced by city centre redevelopment and also to house the growing population. Finally, to identify the best locations for the university and education services, trading, industrial and health services. The plan also provided for an electricity, water, telephone and sewage disposal network. To this effect the urban plan

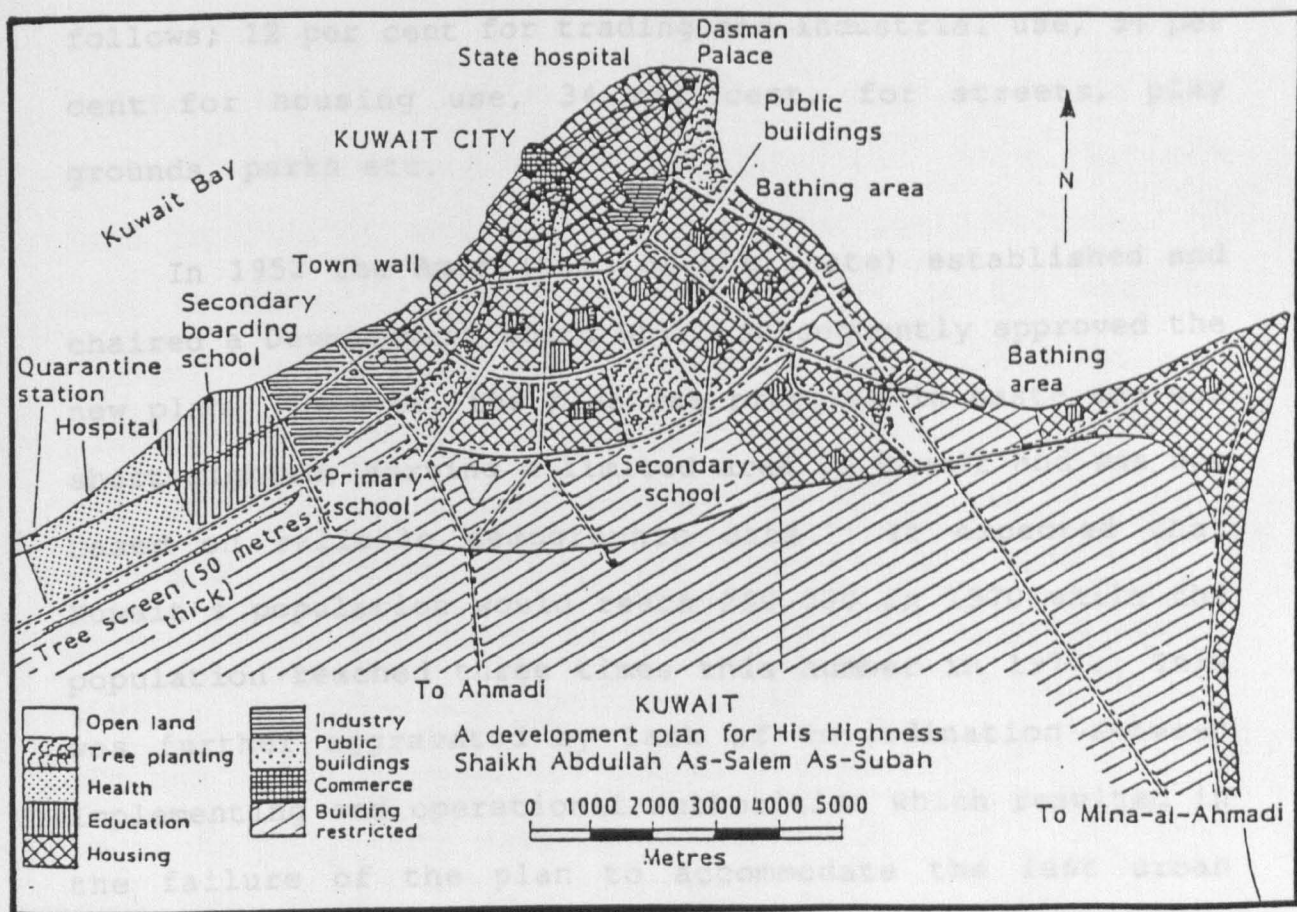


Figure 4.1: The Minoprio and Spencely Plan 1952

In 1954 the first planning adviser was appointed to the Ministry of Public Works and Social Affairs, which was responsible for town planning at this stage. However, by the late 1950s it had become clear that new administrative procedures had to be established to control the increasing development pressure. Consequently the Municipal Council,

recommended the demolition of the old Kuwaiti fence and the creation of five major roads radiating out from the city centre along the axis of the old gateways (see Figure 4.1). These roads were linked by three ring roads serving new residential areas. The land use was distributed as follows; 12 per cent for trading and industrial use, 54 per cent for housing use, 34 per cent, for streets, play grounds, parks etc.

In 1952 the Amir (head of the state) established and chaired a Development Board which subsequently approved the new plan. However, the plan was prepared in haste and was short sighted, serving a limited area in Kuwait and was not based on reliable demographic data. It expected that Kuwait's population would reach 250,000 in 1970 while the population reached three times this number in 1970. This was further aggravated by lack of co-ordination between implementing and operational authorities which resulted in the failure of the plan to accommodate the fast urban growth. It was also criticized because it recommended the demolition of old Kuwait city centre and the fence which was of historic value.

In 1954 the first planning adviser was appointed to the Ministry of Public Works and Social Affairs, which was responsible for town planning at this stage. However, by the late 1950s it had become clear that new administrative procedures had to be established to control the increasing development pressure. Consequently the Municipal Council,

which had been established in the 1920s, was reorganized early in the 1960s and was given the responsibility for town planning throughout the country.

4.1.2 Intermediate planning

Meanwhile the intermediate urban planning stage between 1960-1967 had started which was signalled by the master plan produced by the Municipality. This plan was more generalized with details to accommodate development of most of Kuwait's area from "Solibikhat" in the west to "Shaiba" in the south east. The planning had involved complete redevelopment of Kuwait's city centre (Central Business District), the area between the first and the sixth ring road and most of the area surrounding Kuwait's airport. At the same time, to resolve the housing problems in Kuwait, the government called for the help of the United Nations which recommended the commissioning of Dr. Jacob Taysi to study the housing situation in Kuwait in 1960-1962. Dr. Taysi decided that development as a whole should be studied, including population, transportation, health, education and land use to coordinate between all aspects of planning. One of his major recommendations was the establishment of a central planning council to collect demographic data and to coordinate all institutions involved in planning; this was set up in 1962.

4.1.3 Long term planning

Kuwait continued to grow rapidly in the 1960s and the need for long term detailed planning became evident, and indeed was marked by the commission of Colin Buchanan and Partners in 1967 to prepare a new detailed master plan for the metropolitan area. By this plan the detailed long-term urban planning stage had started. It consisted of a short and long term urban development plan within the context of a new national physical plan for the state. The plan had to start by studying population growth trends, housing conditions and economic growth in the country. Then it had to continue from the plan originally produced by Minoprio & Spencely in 1951 expanding a system of radial and ring roads designed for a population of 250,000 which had reached half a million when Buchanan started his work. Also it had to continue the proposed redevelopment of the central business district by the Municipality. The plan aimed; first, to prepare long term plans to identify the shape and location for further physical urban development in Kuwait for a period of 30 years; second, to prepare a master plan for a short term of 10 years showing detailed plans for new urban areas; and third to prepare detailed plans for the city centre. To absorb the population growth the proposed plan consisted of a four part strategy designed to increase the capacity of the urban area to accommodate one and a quarter million people (*Buchanan & Partners, 1969*). The first part was to add further ring

roads to the radial system to allow new residential development to expand the urban area to the south. The second was to identify the old village of Jahra, some 10 kilometres west of the urban area, as a focal point for further residential growth. The third was to encourage development southwards along the coastal strip by the provision of new motorways serving a series of new growth centres. The last was to propose the development of new towns to divert some of the growth pressures from the existing urban area.

Although the plan took four population variables into account to predict the population growth to 1990, it failed in all the predictions and hence the proposed plans fell short in accommodating the population. To overcome this shortage Shankland Cox and Partners were commissioned in 1977 to review the Buchanan plan. By that time the population had increased to more than one million and urban densities had risen above the levels recommended by the original Buchanan proposals. Revisions of the estimated population growth rates led to the decision to increase the capacity of the urban area from one and a quarter to one and three-quarter millions. This was to be achieved by increasing the number of growth points on the coastal belt, providing for further expansion of the general urban area to the south, and making allowance for two new towns, both about 80 Kilometre from the city centre. One, north of the city (Subiya) and the other in the south (Al-Khiran) expected to accommodate 500,000 persons each and their size

will be 11500 hectares each to cover a fully serviced independent town. It was recommended to create good transportation networks between these towns and the heart of the city and to ensure full employment and services independently in these towns to enhance their acceptance by the population.

The Master Plan was subsequently revised in 1983 by Buchanan himself to update the population and employment prediction and to review the existing allocations of urban development land as part of the general revision of the strategy for accommodating population growth which exceeded all previous predictions. The selected strategy to accommodate the population growth was a combination of allowing a rounding off of development in the metropolitan area, with some limited expansion, but with the main growth being directed towards the new towns of Subiya and Al-Khiran; with a preference towards Subiya town mainly. The new towns aimed at accommodating the population growth by dispersing some core employment and service functions to independent peripheral locations. The Master Plan was revised to accommodate a population capacity for a total of two and a half million people by the year 2005, with 2.081 million to be accommodated in the metropolitan area, 59,000 would live in various rural settlements and 365,000 to be accommodated in the new towns. However the 1985 census results revealed that the population reached 1.697 million some 55,000 persons more than had been predicted by the

revised master plan in 1983. Projection forward of this increased growth rate indicated that by about 1992 the metropolitan area would have reached its capacity of 2.081 million population. The preliminary studies for Al-Khiran and Subiya recommended that both towns should be developed by the 1990s. However, although the urban plans are ready for these towns, no active measures have been implemented towards their establishment, perhaps because Subiya town is near to the front line of confrontation between Iraq and Iran in the north, which has a major impact in deferring the establishment of this town. Yet no major reason is seen behind deferring the establishment of Al-Khiran town in the south. The master plan is due for further revision nowadays.

4.2 Government efforts in Housing

The extension of the urbanized metropolitan area, not only created pressure for more land and services, but also placed an increasing demand on the housing supply system. Indeed urban growth had been accelerated, as mentioned before, by several factors which also influenced the operation and efficiency of the housing system. First, as illustrated, it is mainly influenced by speedy and uncontrolled population growth, which is very hard to predict, even by the most intelligent planners, because of the complex interacting factors operating within it. Second; there was the ever growing inflow of external migrants. For example, in 1965 there were 41,854 foreign families,

yet the number had reached 116,000 foreign families in 1985, which means that they had more than doubled in two decade. This, in turn, caused an enormous pressure for housing requiring at least 100,000 housing units to accommodate them. Due to the failure of the provision of such large numbers several housing problems have emerged. Those problems include very high rent due to scarcity of supply and sharing between families, the average number of families per dwelling is about 1.1, i.e more than 17,000 families are sharing their accommodation with others. The number of persons per room is estimated to be 2.2 person/room for non-Kuwaitis while it is 1.7 persons per room for Kuwaitis in the same year (*Al-moosa, 1982*). Interestingly, despite the fact that urbanization tends to break up the feature of extended family and encouraging family planning, we found that the average Kuwaiti family size was 7.8 persons in 1970 and increased to reach 8.4 persons in 1985 (*Al-Feel, 1988*). All these created problems of overcrowding and overloading the existing public services.

Planning had been influenced mainly by economic views which stressed that spending on housing brings little return over very long periods, and that, especially in Developing Countries, economic development should be the target to raise living standards which in turn will improve the housing situation. However, Kuwait housing is not influenced by such an economic philosophy. In fact, since the discovery of oil and the increasing oil revenue, the

government took responsibility for housing in the low and middle income group, who could not afford to own an adequate house without help. This government action is seen as a step towards distributing the oil wealth among the citizens. The Kuwaiti government view is that spending on housing is valuable, not only on a human basis, but also as a national target to ensure social welfare by providing a healthy house in a pleasant environment, which helps to create decent, productive and healthy citizens. Better housing is seen as a social, cultural, educational, psychological, religious and political goal.

However, due to the government's obligation to provide houses for the limited and middle income citizens, there has been a growing waiting list for public housing. The long waiting period is considered to be the main problem of citizens' public housing in Kuwait. As could be concluded from the World Bank report, between 1980 and the 1990s there would be 56,000 new Kuwaiti families. Of these 19 per cent will be of low income, 29 per cent of limited income, 32 per cent of middle income and 20 per cent of more than middle income. From this it is concluded that 80 per cent of the population are in need of public housing which explains the growing waiting list (*World Bank, 1980*).

Although the number of housing units has been increasing steadily over the years, it is still lagging behind the demand. This increasing rate is low and causing the deficiency in the public sector. In many countries of

Western Europe and North America there have for limited periods been 10 or more houses constructed for each 1000 population in one year. In USSR about 14 houses have for some years constructed for every 1,000 population. While the highest construction rate was found to be in Japan, which had an average of 14.5 dwelling per 1,000 population (Al-Moosa, 1982; Al-Feel, 1988; Ortuzar, 1988). But in Kuwait, despite the master plan's recommendation of the construction of 20 houses for each 1,000 population, the real construction rate is lagging far behind this number (4.6 per 1,000 population). Some allowance must be made, however, for the high proportion of children in Kuwait who will be heads of households in the near future.

The problem facing public housing in Kuwait is related to its limited construction ability caused mainly by the shortage of labour. As Al Sabah said"

"Although housing is normally a problem in all countries, regardless of the economic and political system, it is usually more of a problem in over-populated countries, and where there is a scarcity of capital resources, such as in Egypt and India. The problem exists in Kuwait in spite of abundance of capital and a small population, although the availability of land is limited. It is often argued that the problem is mainly due to shortage of labour which limits the rate of house building".

(Al-Sabah, 1983)

A major concern is that the government only provides housing for Kuwaiti citizens, while foreigners are not

allowed to own land or buildings, although the preliminary data of the 1990 census revealed that the non-Kuwaiti population constitute more than 70 per cent of the total population. Moreover, at present, about 30 percent of the non-Kuwaiti population were born in Kuwait and about three quarters of the expatriate population are of Arab origin (Haywood, 1989). As a result more than 50 percent of the total population are being catered for by the private sector providing rental accommodation in the form of apartments or houses. Because the majority of expatriates are unskilled or semi skilled and have limited work opportunities, their incomes are relatively low and they are not able to pay high rents. To ensure a reasonable return on investment, housing is therefore built at higher densities and low space standards with fewer facilities than Kuwaiti housing. The gross densities range from 65 to 200 people per hectare, depending on income (Haywood 1989). The resultant environment has a very poor urban quality, with problems such as high density (overcrowding), small site area, poor parking provision and little open space. Meanwhile, many of the older buildings from the 1950s and 1960s are in very poor condition and in urgent need of repair or redevelopment. The decreased life span of the house in Kuwait, which ranges between 10 and 25 years, is due to labour inefficiency, bad construction material, bad construction techniques and speedy construction to ensure a quick profit.

However, some of the higher income skilled foreign experts are served by government rented housing in the form of high standard furnished apartments or houses. Those catered for are mainly foreign government advisers, doctors, engineers, nurses, lecturers and workers in the oil company.

Also the government does make one concession to house another group of the non citizens working in the army and police force who were living in spontaneous settlements. It provided resettlement areas called the "popular houses" lacking amenities and in undesirable locations which will be considered in more detail later as it is the main theme of this research work.

As a consequence of the government housing policy, housing has become segregated into areas for Kuwaitis and areas for non-Kuwaitis, with a range of standard plots varying in size according to nationality and income. The higher income group of Kuwaitis buy development plots from the Municipality or the private sector and develop their own house or choose to buy a specially constructed house or villa. However, medium and limited income Kuwaitis are sold standard houses built by the government. Since supply cannot match demand, houses are provided under a system of first come first served according to a waiting list held by the government, and therefore families may have to wait up to 10 years for a home.

4.3 The historical development of housing authorities

Kuwait's vast oil wealth gives it one of the highest levels of per capita income in the world. Constantly increasing income from oil has resulted in a far reaching programme of social welfare including housing services. The primary objective for housing development is to provide every citizen with a standard house consistent with their level of income.

Consequently the housing shortage placed an enormous pressure on the housing authorities as long ago as the early 1950s. This resulted in changing government policies and authorities dealing with housing in an attempt to organize the best administration to solve the housing shortage. The government had no plans for public housing before the 1950s and the real government interest in public housing grew out of the flood which occurred due to the heavy rains in the winter of 1954. This flood drove away and demolished some of the old Kuwaiti homes built from mud and left large numbers of Kuwaiti families homeless. The government rushed in and established the Council of Construction in 1954 with the main function of providing homes (about 2000 units) for those affected by the flooding (see figure 4.2). From the year 1954, the government started supplying citizens with adequate houses in a good social environment as a means of distributing the oil wealth. Due to the difficulty faced by the Construction Councils the government established the Government Possession Council in

1956, which were incorporated with the Municipality, with the main function to distribute public houses among eligible candidates and to provide land plots for those displaced by the redevelopment of the central business district accompanied by financial compensation. In 1958, a Housing Committee was formed to assist the Government Possession Council in its functions. Later in 1961 the Government Possession Council was incorporated with the Financial Ministry and its function was limited to distributing the government-owned old houses among those citizens who are in need. From 1954 up until 1961 the government has supplied about 3,634 housing units of the limited income, Arabic type consisting of one floor with three bedrooms, a reception room, kitchen and bathroom, all surrounding a courtyard. The cost of construction was ranging between 1,750 and 3,350 KD (£3,500 and 8,000).

The second type of public housing was initiated by the establishment of the Trust Bank in 1960. This Bank functions as a government financing agency to help eligible people to build their houses by providing an interest free loan to be paid off over long periods of time. This main development aimed at accelerating public housing provision by encouraging the private sector to take part in the construction of housing. Also it gave the candidate a free choice in selecting their own house design. The Trust Bank was entrusted with a capital of £15 million to provide these loans and cater mainly for the middle income group.

The main type of housing in these design areas was the villa type. The Municipality agreed to allocate 10 per cent of the land for each public housing area to be distributed at a subsidized rate for those eligible for the land and loan schemes.

Because of the increased demand for loans from the government financing agency represented by the Trust Bank, the government had to increase the capital and modify the services. In 1965 the bank was reorganized under a new name, the Credit and Saving Bank and the capital was increased to £640 million, which was further increased to £1000 million in 1980. Also, because of the inflated prices of construction, the individual loans were increased from 12,000 KD. (£26,000) in 1965 to 45,000 KD. in 1980, and currently stand at 54,000 KD. The loans are granted over long terms, reaching up to 50 years. The rate of repayment starts at £130 per month and is modified according to personal income. Before 1982, the Municipality had shared in this scheme of public housing by distributing 16,425 land plots at a heavily subsidized price. The total surface area of these plots reached 1357 hectares, of which 1752 plots of size 500 square metre, 7964 plots of 750 square metre, and 6765 plots of size 1000 square metre (Al Feel, 1988). These plots were distributed among 33 new suburbs. The government financial agency (the Trust and Saving Bank) had shared by approving 34412 interest free loan accounting for K.D. 556.8 million (£1113.6 million)

over the period from 1960 until 1982 (*Al-Rumaihi, et al, 1982*). This land and loan scheme had served in housing 100,000 citizens. Al-Tehaih (1981) in a housing survey found that about 90 per cent of the Kuwaitis prefer this type of housing, on the other hand he found that more than 61 per cent spent more than the loan, in order to complete their house and had to use private capital or other loans

Yet due to the problems facing the public housing for the limited income group, the government again had to change the department dealing with public housing. In 1962 the government referred the responsibility of public housing to the Ministry of Public Works and Social Affairs, which took the responsibility very seriously and succeeded in providing about 12,500 housing units during its activity period between 1962 and 1974. Those units benefited more than 15,000 families representing about 100,000 of the population. The design for public housing in this period had been mainly of the new Arabic style, and there had been a trend towards the villa type of building. The latter is a two storey house with four bedrooms on the first floor while the kitchen, dining room, sitting room and guest room are on the ground floor. Also there has been a trend towards using prefabricated material in the walls and stairways to speed up the construction rate. The government also heavily subsidized the land and the building prices. The land is estimated to be worth about 7000 KD. while the construction cost reached about 19,400

KD.(£42,000), and repayments ranging between 7 and 15 KD per month(Al-Rumaihi, et al, 1982).

As population growth continued to be beyond all prediction and the needs for housing were evident, the government began to realize the need for long term housing programmes based upon detailed reliable demographic data. Al-Sabah pointed out that

"The housing problem cannot be separated from the population problem as a whole.... If the size, rate of growth and structure of the population are not accurately measured as in the case of Kuwait, how can the housing problem be solved in the long run?".
(Al-Sabah, 1983)

The government agreed with Jacob Taysi's recommendation and established a Central Planning Council (CPC) in 1962, which was responsible for the following functions: (i) To organize all development processes between the Ministries, (ii) to update the development programmes and prevent internal interference of functions between different implementing authorities and (iii) to provide reliable demographic data including population and buildings censuses. The Central Planning Council was formalized into the independent Ministry of Planning in 1976. This led to the reorganization of departments involved in the building and management of public housing, which was crowned by the establishment of the National

Date of establishment

Function & achievement

In 1954

The Council of Construction

2000 Arabic style houses were distributed

In 1956

Government Possession Council

Land purchasing programme
Distribute Public housing

In 1958

The Housing Committee

To assist The Government Possession Council
(1,634 housing units)

In 1960

The Trust Bank changed to Credit & Saving Bank

Provide interest free loans
First squatter rehousing project

In 1962 to 1974

Ministry of Public and Social Affairs

Distribute public housing among eligible citizens
(12,500 housing units)

The current housing authorities

In 1975

Ministry of Housing

Short term planning
Supervising housing implementation
Distributing public housing

In 1982

Supreme Housing Council

Long term planning
Supervising long term plan implementation
Housing research

In 1974

Operational entity

National Housing Authority

Second squatter rehousing project
Design and construction of public housing

Figure 4.2: The historical development of housing authorities in Kuwait

Housing Authority (NHA) in 1974, as an operational authority to implement the government's public housing policy.

The current housing agencies dealing with public housing were organized into three functional entities with three service divisions (see Figure 4.2). The operational entity was the NHA responsible for guiding long term housing strategies and charged with the specific responsibility of providing housing for middle and limited income citizens, squatter clearance; development of squatter resettlement projects, and dealing directly with constructing and designing the public housing and supervising the construction programme. The second housing entity is the Ministry of Housing established in 1975 with the main function of developing housing policy and distributing the completed houses among eligible citizens.

The third housing entity is The Supreme Housing Council established in 1982 with the main function of long term planning for housing with respect to the population growth, selecting the best method to achieve the public housing goals, supervising the implementation of long term plans, and conducting regular research on the housing situations. In 1976 the work of the NHA was formalized and strengthened through the development of the Ministry of Planning which developed more comprehensive housing policies based on creating a new guide-line and standard for structuring public housing areas in response to clearer



Plate 4.1: Two different styles of limited income housing

perception of community need (*National Housing Authority, 1976*).

Since the new housing authority was established with specified responsibility, it has worked hard towards increasing the construction rate. From 1974 when it took over until 1985 it had produced 16,320 limited income housing units which were distributed by the Ministry of Housing among eligible citizens (see Plate 4.1).

The National Housing Authority had been also engaged in housing the middle income group. In 1978, the complaints by those benefiting from land and loan scheme had increased due to the inflation in the prices of construction material and labour. This inflation resulted in the loans not being enough to cover the cost of the house and the people required further help which could not be granted to the public. In turn the whole land and loan scheme was cancelled and the government took responsibility for providing ready built houses for the middle income group. This overloaded the already burdened National Housing Authority. In 1979 the housing authority started constructing the first 226 middle income villas which were distributed later in 1979 among eligible citizens. The middle income unit is essentially built on 500-600 square meter plot area and the actual construction area is 300 square meter (see Plate 4.2). Each unit costs about 38,500 KD. and the land price is equal to 10,000 KD. The owner



Plate 4.2: Two different styles of middle income housing

only repays about 32,000 KD. over 50 years. The repayment rate starts from 65 KD per month, which is estimated to be from 8 to 13 per cent from the monthly income. From 1978 when this type of housing started, until 1983, about 2255 units were distributed among 5 newly formed suburbs and occupied a surface area of 307 hectares (*National Housing Authority, 1987*).

The national housing authority has always aimed at fairly high standards of housing for the limited and middle income families. To achieve these high goals the initial NHA capital in 1974 was £400 million which reached £1600 million for the second five year plan of 1981-1982 to 1985-1986 (*Al-Feel, 1988*). The housing unit had several variable designs (usually 5 to 8 different designs within the neighbourhood) to satisfy different preferences among occupiers. The houses had been mainly of two floors, villa type. The ground floor comprises kitchen, dining room, bathroom, sitting room, reception room and guest room and the first floor usually comprises the bedrooms and serving bathrooms.

The overall size of neighbourhood is largely determined by the requirements of the primary road system. The internal structure of neighbourhoods is based on the religious requirement that all dwellings should be within 250 metres of a mosque. At average densities these standards result in a residential unit of about 200 dwellings, known as a Mosque Community unit. The function of the mosque, as

a focal point for the community is generally reinforced by the addition of a limited number of local shops and a nursery school. Primary schools and a wider range of shops and services are provided at intermediate centres which serve a group of four Mosque Community units. Higher level facilities are provided in a neighbourhood centre which generally includes a co-operative supermarket, small shops, some government offices, social and health care services together with a large mosque for Friday prayers.

In an attempt to improve densities and reduce the costs of development, the N.H.A has been experimenting with the development of high-rise flats both in the city centre (eight floors) and suburban locations (see Plate 4.3). However because of the importance attached to land ownership and privacy, these schemes have not generally been successful.

In 1980 the government signed the first contract to build 3,603 apartments in three residential areas aiming to serve 19,818 Kuwaiti citizens. Each apartment is of 250 square metre surface area and consists of two floors with central air conditioning. Each building has its own swimming pool, supermarket, playground for the children and a public meeting room.

However, to the disappointment of the government, those apartment buildings were rejected by the public media



Plate 4.3: High-rise flats

and the people on the waiting list for public housing; as a result the government had to suspend the rest of the project. In a study about public housing by Al-Tehaih (1981), presented to the Amir, the majority of the surveyed group (98.5 per cent) of those waiting for public housing rejected the idea of living in an apartment block. The same result was also reached by Al-Feel (Al-Feel, 1988). The government had consequently returned to low-rise apartment projects consisting of three floors. However, these were also rejected by the people and had to be rented

to the widowed and divorced Kuwaiti females with their children.

Since the active engagement of the government in public housing, there had been a progressive increase in the construction rate of the different type of housing units. However, there was a general feeling that the divisional housing services offered by the government according to the income created a social and economic discrimination and resulted in some kind of segregation into certain residential choices and locations. Consequently the government has moved recently into



Plate 4.4: Type of unified public housing

supplying a standard type of housing irrespective of personal income (see Plate 4.4). This uniform type is to encourage the newly constructed suburbs to come together into one co-operative community (Said, 1988; AL-Feel, 1988). At present the N.H.A builds about 2800 houses a year and in an effort to increase the housing supply, they recently in 1986 started to sell serviced plots and resumed the interest free loans system from the Credit and Savings Bank to enable individuals to build their own houses (plots are currently sold for the equivalent of £8500 which is estimated to be about 25 per cent of their market value, loans available are equivalent to £108,000).

Furthermore, the government also participates in public housing, by subsidizing the construction material in order to reduce the construction cost. Also the government is currently paying about £200 per month to subsidize the high rent in the private sector for those on the waiting list for government housing. Although there is no acute housing shortage in Kuwait, there is a substantial housing problem manifested for the Kuwaiti citizens by the long period they have to wait in order to acquire their public housing. However for the non-citizens, it is much more apparent in the form of poor housing conditions.

4.4 General background to the studies concerned with public housing in Kuwait

It is essential to throw some light on the previous research and studies about public housing in Kuwait. There have been several studies and reports conducted by agencies and individuals and we will discuss them briefly in chronological order.

4.4.1 The urban plan of consultant Minoprio and Spencely (1952)

This plan has mainly concentrated on the urban aspect although it tried to put forward a housing policy. Yet it was not based upon sufficient demographic data and hence failed to project the approximate need for the growing population. However, it marked a new era in Kuwait urban planning because it provided the first short term urban plan for Kuwait. It recommended the complete redevelopment of old Kuwait city which was criticised because it demolished all the historical buildings and tourist interest areas. Also it gave a limited plan which did not accommodate the rapidly growing urbanization. The plan did not cover the whole country and only catered for the area surrounding old Kuwait city which soon became engulfed by the growing population and the need for long term planning emerged.

4.4.2 Jacob Taysi report (1960-1962)

Jacob Taysi was commissioned to revise the urban plan. However he was a visiting consultant based abroad, and hence did not spend enough time to understand the social and cultural background of Kuwait. In spite of that he introduced a major step in Kuwait planning which was the collection of demographic data and vital statistics. He also recommended planting the vacant lands. His forecasting for population growth was too low and he recommended continuance of the Minoprio Plan which proved to be insufficient to accommodate the population.

4.4.3 Dr. Saba Shiber Study (1963)

His study was mainly concerned with design and architectural aspects of housing. He is the one who introduced the idea of land economy. He also recommended the Arabic style architects to enhance an Arabic identity for Kuwait city. He also condemned the repetitive design and criticised current land use in view of the limited land resources in Kuwait. However, he did not use demographic data. Also his sketches were more theoretical than practically applicable.

4.4.4 Colin Buchanan Master Plan (1968)

The Consultant Buchanan was commissioned to draw a long term urban plan for Kuwait. Within his urban plan he produced a preliminary study of the population, economics

and housing status. He produced a long term plan to cover the period between 1970 and the 1990s while his short term plan was to guide urbanization in the period of ten years between 1970-1980. However he concentrated mainly on studying housing needs for the Kuwait population and methods of fulfilling such shortages. He also participated in trying to solve the shanty problem which was prevalent in the 1970s. He concluded there was a need for building 16,000 units each year to meet the needs. He prepared plans to house 238,000 persons while there was in fact to be an accumulating need to house 404,000 persons in the period of 1970-1980. He also predicted the maximum of the population to reach 1,257,000 persons in 1980 while it reached 1,357,952 in the 1980 census. The study mainly concentrated on planning for housing the Kuwaitis although he had put forward suggestions towards considering housing the non-Kuwaitis of low income. Yet the suggested prediction of the population growth and housing needs had all failed to meet the real situation. Subsequently Shankland Cox were commissioned to update the plan.

4.4.5 Shankland Cox and Partners, Al-Marsoq and Abi-Hana revision of the Master Plan with special reference to housing (1977)

The report was presented within a short period (5 months) which suggested the rapidity of the work with little background and insight about Kuwait's climate and physical structure and about the social and cultural

environment. The main objective of the report was to update the Buchanan plan according to new predictions of population growth; also to specify land use and to identify possible residential development areas. It also dealt with economic aspects of population growth and tried to create new job opportunities to absorb those unemployed by creating new commercial and administrative services. The goal of achieving some kind of equilibrium between the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti in the labour market has not been fulfilled. It also aimed at expanding the existing transportation network. It went further and prepared the plans for the proposed new cities in order to create a comprehensive urban plan to ensure complete employment and services independent of those cities. Their plan was insufficient to accommodate population growth. Hence it failed to meet the housing needs. Finally the study was mainly concerned with housing the citizens who formed a steadily declining proportion of the population.

4.4.6 The report on housing produced by the Ministerial Committee in 1979

The report dealt with public housing, essentially to identify the problem of shortage of public housing creating a long waiting list. The study made some recommendations to alleviate the problem. The most important recommendation was to unify all types of public housing to overcome the economic discrimination existing within the present system. Also it recommended the production of high rise

apartment estate buildings to decrease the demand on land which had been acted upon as previously described. However it was a great failure due to the rejection by the people. This study was limited to public housing (for citizens) concerning limited and middle income groups.

4.4.7 Dr. Al-Moosa study on housing (1980)

This study started by reviewing all the previous studies about public housing and then reviewed the present housing situation with its problem (i.e. a long waiting list). Then it fully discussed and analysed the cause of the long waiting list for public housing and made some recommendation to solve it, mainly dealing with identifying the real priority for public housing. Again this study is limited to one aspect of the public housing shortage for people of limited and middle income.

4.4.8 The World Bank Report on housing in Kuwait (1980)

This report was presented by the World Bank to help the government in evaluating the efficiency of public housing projects and to recommend alternative methods of production and financing, in order to speed up the construction rate. This study concluded that housing is a social and economic need, yet the policy of providing all the citizens with public houses in a limited productive system resulted in a long waiting list. It recommended a more discriminative system to identify those in real need

for housing on the basis of family income and size. The families living in overcrowding and those living in poor conditions should have a priority. Also it suggested new terms of repayment, mainly to increase the monthly payment according to income and family size. This study also dealt only with the public housing. (for limited and middle income citizens)

4.4.9 The Study presented by Dr. Al Tehaih (1981)

This study was presented to the Amir and included fieldwork on a sample of public housing residents, the people on the waiting list and policy-makers of public housing. The survey sought their opinion about the current situation of public housing. Their degree of satisfaction with public housing, and the best methods to overcome the problems facing public housing. Hence this study only dealt with housing of limited and middle income types to measure satisfaction and tried to bring forward recommendations on how to improve this type of housing and how to shorten the waiting list for the service.

4.4.10 The Engineering Association Study (1982)

This study tried to cover all aspects of public housing experience in Kuwait for limited and middle income citizens. It also evaluated the current housing situation and its consequences. It identified areas of defect causing the problem of shortage of supply creating this long waiting list for the service. It also aimed at

measuring tenants' satisfaction with public housing, causes behind people's dissatisfaction with government housing, and the effect of lack of services in the area. Consequently its recommendations mainly aimed at methods of improving the service and suggestions to increase the production rate and, hence, decrease the waiting list. However this study is one of the most comprehensive studies dealing with public housing shortage for middle and limited income citizens.

4.5 Summary and discussion

The aim of this chapter was to describe the housing situation for Kuwaiti citizen. It was hoped that by illuminating the high standard of the housing units provided for the citizens, the reader would observe the great disparity in housing provision to non-citizens. For some readers the popular housing may seem an adequate, conventional type of housing when compared to other rapidly developing countries, however, but Kuwait can afford better alternatives. The chapter has discussed housing and urban development in Kuwait. The discovery of oil with its wealth encouraged external migration and Bedouin settlement, causing rapid population growth and consequently rapid urbanization. Kuwait had always sought foreign advice for its urban planning, yet all planners had failed to understand the social and cultural background of the area. Also they failed to predict the population composition and growth rate and hence their plans had to be

revised regularly. One of the drawbacks of the urban Master Plan was the complete demolition of old Kuwait city resulting in the loss of all the old buildings with their historical importance. All foreign planning had resulted in a city with no special identity, as it lost all Kuwaiti and Arabic style to the dominant modern designs.

The rapid population growth created increased pressure for housing. This demand could not be met through the current production and financing methods, resulting in an increased waiting list for housing. The government is only responsible for housing its own citizens leaving the foreigners accounting for more than 70 per cent of the population to be housed by the private sector. The high rents resulted in problems of sharing, overcrowding, and buildings in bad condition which predispose them to be social and medical hazards. On the other hand the citizens are also facing a long waiting time for public housing which resulted in social and economic problems. Although there is no acute housing problem in Kuwait, there is a substantial sub-standard housing situation needing attention.

The government has made a great effort to deal with the problem of shortage in housing by changing the housing authorities' personnel and organizations in order to formalize the most efficient planning, administrative and operational authority. In 1974 the N.H.A was established as an operational authority compounded by the Ministry of

Housing, established in 1975 as a planning and decision making authority. Since then, the rate of construction had steadily increased, but it was still lagging behind the ever increasing demand. This is caused by the fact that the government is the sole supplier of housing for more than 80 per cent of the citizens of the limited and middle income groups eligible for public housing, To deal with this problem, several studies have been conducted by government personnel and agencies and several recommendations have been suggested. However, all the studies are mainly concerned with housing problems of the citizens, either dealing with the causes and consequences of the long waiting list for public housing or measuring their level of satisfaction with the dwelling and the community services. Moreover, they tried to forward recommendations to improve the service.

No single study has been produced to deal with the problem of housing the foreigners or non-Kuwaitis, although a considerable number are living in sub-standard housing. This has encouraged the writer to investigate problems faced by those also housed by the government but who are not citizens (popular housing tenants). The government has taken the responsibility of housing a proportion of the non-Kuwaitis from "non-identified nationality" on a rented house basis called "popular housing". Yet this popular housing is suffering from deteriorating conditions and bad

housing environment which will be illustrated later as it is the main theme of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

Government projects concerned with squatting in Kuwait

With hindsight, it is clear that the existence and growth of squatter settlements in post-oil Kuwait was inevitable. The simple data for the growth of Kuwait due to immigration and natural increase shows that, in the period 1946-61, population grew more than 400 per cent from less than 100,000 "estimated" to 322,000 (see chapter three). This huge growth in population created a demand for about 27,000 houses. But during this period the total housing production through public and private sectors was only about 13,000 (Annual Statistical Abstract, 1986). At the same time approximately 10,000 houses were built in so called squatter settlements. Since that time, Kuwait has faced the problem of the spreading of spontaneous settlements.

These settlements were usually built from wood and covered with iron sheets or plates of metal. The living environment in the spontaneous settlements was a health hazard to their occupants as a result of poor sanitation, overcrowding and lack of most social amenities (Burns et al, 1970). The residents of the shanty towns in Kuwait consisted of those Bedouins who decided to settle and abandon their nomadic life and immigrants from neighbouring countries. These included the foreign workers whose main concern was saving money more than the condition of their

shelter. In spite of the fact that the vast majority of shanty dwellers were people with low incomes, the problem was not purely attributed to poverty. The housing was inadequate not only from the point of view of appearance but also due to the lack of the basic standards for any shelter.

This chapter presents data regarding the spontaneous settlements in Kuwait. These deal with the beginning of squatting in Kuwait, the growth of shanties, and what happened when the government started to recognize the urban squatting problem. In addition the policy solutions adopted by the government in order to overcome the squatter problem are discussed in detail.

5.1 The beginning of squatting in Kuwait:

Migration from rural to urban areas, and the inadequacy of housing in urban areas to absorb the migrants, caused spontaneous settlements to appear around the urban areas in response to the population shift (Al-Moosa, 1976). The most important factor encouraging people to migrate is the provision of employment. The case of Kuwait as a developing country is a good example, with the start of the tremendous urban development generated from the discovery of oil in 1936, many workers in neighbouring countries who could not fulfill their economic and social needs were attracted to the wealthy country, which was in desperate need for a labour force. At the same time, Kuwait was

deficient in manpower, which could only be fulfilled through immigration from the neighbouring and western countries.

In order to carry on its development plans and to service its economy, Kuwait has been importing foreign workers at an ever-increasing scale. The situation was made more unstable by the lax immigration policies which allowed a great number of immigrants to infiltrate illegally (*Jamal, 1974*). Moreover, due to the prosperity, and the revival of urbanization, many Bedouins decided to settle near the oil-fields or near the work in which they were engaged; this had considerable impact on the population growth (*Al-Hashimy, 1976*).

As a result of the rapid expansion of the population, the housing stock was certainly inadequate to meet the needs of many immigrants and many of them started to erect temporary shelters (shacks) on any vacant lots, with little if any regard to land ownership. This was the starting point in the appearance of urban squatting in Kuwait.

5.2 Growth of Shanties in Kuwait

Concurrent with the expansion of the city state due to its prosperity, spontaneous settlements have mushroomed on the outskirts of the city close to the main roads and employment centres. As mentioned previously, the greatest contributing factor in spreading shanties is a purely economical one. In fact, Turner (1969), pointed some of

the reasons cited for the mushrooming of the shanties: building a shack is very cheap, it is handy, transferable and near the site of migrant work, would allow them to save the rent and transportation. Furthermore, some squatters consider their living conditions as a temporary measure in order to save as much as possible to return soon to their country.

Moreover, due to world inflation in general, and the increasing living standards of Kuwait in particular, the country faced a huge increase in rent from about 35 KD per month before 1973 to 150 KD in 1974, which encouraged shanty dwellers to continue living in their environment on the one hand, and it made it difficult for those who preferred to move to conventional housing, on the other (Al-Khateeb, 1978). A second reason assisting in the mushrooming of squatting was the moral stability that shanties gives to their residents because they tend to be homogeneously occupied by the same tribe or people from the same origin (Iraq, Iran, Syria). Finally, the shanties started to have their own economic activities, such as grocery, bakery, a warehouse, which allowed the residents to consider their settlements to be the same as any other residential area in the country.

As can be seen from Table 5.1, the number of shanty dwellings dropped down from 11,549 to 10,704 in the second census (1961). However, the first two censuses were carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour

which did not cover this issue in sufficient depth; which made these censuses to be estimations rather than accurate figures. The first reliable census in Kuwait was conducted in 1965 which gave the total number of shanties as 10.987. This number does not include the black tents which the Bedouins used as accommodation in Kuwait. In the census of 1970, the shanty dwellings had increased by 42 per cent over the period of five years giving a total of 15,517 units in spite of the social and economic welfare factors and the prosperity that Kuwait enjoyed.

Table 5.1 : Growth of Shanties in Kuwait

Census	No. of Shanties	Rate of increase
1957	11.549	-
1961	10.704	-7.3
1965	10.987	2.6
1970	15.517	41.2
1975	21.208	36.7
1980	6.258	-70.0
1985	0.000	-

Source: Annual Statistical Abstract, 1986

This large increase could be attributed also to a political reason. In the 1967 Middle East war, when a huge number of people immigrated after the Israeli occupation of their land, a considerable number of them came to Kuwait. Some started to live in shanty areas, although there is no evidence in the 1970 census because of the lack of demo-

graphic information on the shanty areas population (Al-Moosa, 1976). The 1970 census estimated the total housing stock of Kuwait to be 113,000 units, of which 15,600 were shacks (Ashish), comprising 13.8 per cent of the total housing stock. These squatter settlements were accommodating nearly 100,000 persons, about 15 per cent of the total population. By the 1975 census, the total number of shacks reached 21,087 with an increase of 5,850 over the total number of 1970. This represented an annual average increase of 1770.

As a matter of fact, this increase in the number of shanties has been calculated after more than 6,000 families in shacks had been accommodated in the first squatter rehousing project, and their shanties had been demolished as part of the shanty clearance scheme adopted by the government. This huge increase in the number of shanties may be attributed to the fact that the housing production could not cope with the pace of the population growth. Moreover, the raising of the living standard in Kuwait, due to the rise in the oil prices, made the rents in the private sector out of reach of the low income groups, which in turn encouraged some and forced many of the immigrants to live in squatter settlements where they need not worry about the rent.

After implementing the squatter clearance scheme (this will be discussed later in this chapter), the 1980 census gave the total number of shacks as 6,022 and the number of

shanties continued to decrease rapidly due to the rehousing programmes adopted by the government, until 1982 when the authorities demolished the last shanties in Kuwait.

5.3 Recognizing the urban squatting problem:

Due to the increasing number of new arrivals from neighbouring countries and the bedouins, to benefit from the opportunities of employment in the country, the squatter problem started growing out of all proportion. By 1962, the authorities recognized that squatting was growing rapidly, and a positive programme of action was needed by the government to prevent the ultimate breakdown and deterioration of their city state. At the same year, the government formed a Committee, constituted from the Ministry of Interior, Municipality and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, to study and recommend a solution to the spreading of squatter settlements, and to recommend measures to deal with the squatter problem on a national scale which would enable the government to bring a satisfactory solution in abolishing the shanty towns in Kuwait.

A report was submitted by the committee recommending the following:

1. Due to the fact that squatter settlements are very poor and inadequate in terms of location, health and social factors, they should be moved to a better and organized location in order to improve their conditions;

2. All non-Kuwaiti shacks should be destroyed and their dwellers forbidden to live in squatter settlements;

3. A close study should be undertaken regarding squatter settlements and their occupants. However, none of the above mentioned recommendations were carried out. They just remain as words on paper.

Two years later (1964), a proposal produced by the Municipality, aiming to find another alternative in housing the shanty dwellers and terminate the squatter problems in the country was presented to the Council of Ministers. This plan comprised the following:

1. Eliminate the squatter settlements in Kuwait

2. A comprehensive study of the shanty dwellers should be conducted.

3. The establishment of five organized settlements in different locations of the country, in order to transfer the shanties to them.

Again this scheme was ignored, and nothing was done in regard to those suggestions. This might be attributed to the fact that these plans were not based on a substantial study which could provide a permanent solution to the problem. In addition, the organizations who produced the proposal were not specialized or qualified to take care of a crucial issue that most of the world was suffering from.

In 1965, and due to the insistence of the land owners where some shacks had been established, the Municipality

were authorized from the Council of Ministers to shift all Non-Kuwaiti squatters to Al-Doha squatter settlement and confine them to this area.

By 1966, the idea of establishing an agricultural settlement in the edge of the country had considerable attention from the government. This concept has been encouraged by the following reasons:

1. the neighbouring Saudis' projects in settling the Bedouins has been praised by the authorities in Kuwait.

2. the introduction of the underground water in the north and the south-west of the country motivated the establishment of an agricultural settlement.

- (3) the agreement with Iraq that a pipeline would bring fresh water from Shatt Al-Arab (South of Iraq) to be used for drinking and irrigation purposes had supported the idea.

- (4) finally, the smallness of the country size made the issue of communication very easy.

As a result, the government formed a Committee consisting of a member from the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Electricity and Water, and the Planning Board, to study the situation and present their suggestions and recommendations. In the light of the socio-economic factors relating to the population of the shanty areas in

Kuwait, the Committee submitted his proposal to the Council of Ministers, comprising the following:

1. Agricultural settlements were to be created in the north and the south-west of the country;

2. half of the population of the settlements should be Kuwaitis, in order to assist the other people to become incorporated in the settlement;

3. the government should provide the people with water pumps and seed, and assist in well-digging;

4. all the community services should be provided, such as health centre, supermarkets, police station, mosques, a veterinary centre, etc;

5. the settlements should be linked with the city by a regular transportation system.

The principal aims for the proposed scheme were:

- (i) To establish an agricultural sector which could supply the country with part of its agricultural and live-stock needs.

- (ii) To solve the problem of squatters by settling them in these areas and providing them with appropriate employment.

- (iii) To reclaim some areas of the desert land in order to reduce the severity of the dust storms problem, which disturbs the country, and alleviate the weather conditions (*Al-Hashimy, 1976*).

The ultimate future of this scheme was no better than the previous ones which were recommended in connection with the squatter problems in Kuwait. None of the suggestions have been implemented because it was believed that the Master Plan in 1969 (explained below) was more in accordance with the authorities' thoughts and inclinations. The failure of the agricultural proposal could be attributed to many reasons, the most important of which being the lack of a proper and comprehensive study for the shanty dwellers who are the core of the problem. Another reason for the lack of success of this plan was the imitation of other schemes and projects which are unsuitable for the Kuwaiti situation. For example, the scheme was influenced by the Saudis' projects in settling the Bedouins on agricultural areas which were completely unrelated to the problem of shanty residents in Kuwait.

The Master Plan in 1969 suggested that within ten years the replacement of squatter settlements would be achieved. The first step in this proposal was to remove all shacks into designated settlements and improve the capacity of the authorities to control and prevent the erection of any further shacks. This procedure would provide the government with the opportunity to conduct a comprehensive study of the squatters, in order to identify their needs and to keep a record of their size and characteristics before rehousing them.

The plan also concluded that the location of the new designated settlements is a very important issue and it should be selected carefully to have appropriate access to the existing road network. Moreover, the Master Plan had proposed two alternative housing standards to the shanty dwellers:

First: at the beginning, to build temporary housing which would last for a short period of time (five years) and fulfil their social and economical needs and then rebuild a permanent housing.

Second: To build permanent housing from the start and later on expand them to meet their basic needs and necessities.

Following the consideration of the economic cost of the above proposals, the plan preferred the concept of providing permanent accommodation from the beginning, and subsequently the houses could be modified to suit the probable change in housing needs. Also, the plan recommended that the location of the rehousing project should not be very far from the urban areas, in order to ease the provision of the infrastructures and the community services for them. In addition, from the social point of view, the Master Plan suggested that these settlements should be designed in cluster forms in order to reinforce the social cohesion between the Bedouin settlers.

5.4 Shanty clearance scheme:

In 1970 the government, in accordance with the recommendations of the Master Plan, started the implementation of the shanty clearance scheme. The main objectives of evicting and rehousing the squatters were, first, to clear land urgently needed for permanent and more intensive development; second, to rid the wealthy growing state of the higgledy-piggledy shanty towns which spoilt its image; and finally, as it was assumed, to improve the living conditions of the shanty residents.

The achievement of the rehousing plan went through several stages. The first step was to restrict all squatters in the twenty three scattered areas to the newly designated settlements in order to control the spread of shacks in Kuwait. During this time, the Council of Ministers had charged the Credit and Savings Bank to carry out a project consisting of building 14,992 traditional Arab houses at Jahra and Um-Elhiman to rehouse the shanty dwellers as suggested by the Master Plan (This will be referred to later in this chapter).

However, due to the unprecedented increase in the number of shanties which had resulted from the huge growth of the population by in-migration, the Council of Ministers in 1971 had urged the Municipality in combined action with the Interior Ministry to interfere and to put through some measure to prevent the erection of new shanties in any part

of the country. Moreover, the Council had also demanded the eradication of all the existing shanties in Kuwait. This demand was not put into action due to the realization of the problem behind it, that being of where to relocate the shanty dwellers.

In view of the limited ability of the Municipality, the government decided to set up the Higher Committee of Shanty Clearance. This Committee consisted of a member from all the Ministries in the Government.

Later on, three squatter settlements were officially designated (Jahra, Al-Shedadia and Saihad Al-Awazim) in order to relocate the squatters. Each area was divided into sections; Jahra's portion was composed of five sections; Al-Shedadia, nine sections and Saihad Al-Awazim eleven sections. Each section was divided into blocks and each block contained 80 dwellings. These areas were relatively cleaner and more organized than the previous ones. Regarding this, the Municipality used to provide each dwelling with refuse bags to maintain the appearance of the clean area. Furthermore, each settlement was provided with a clinic, a police station and a monitoring office from the Municipality to prevent the erection of any shack without permission, and to demolish the shanties when their occupants had gained low income housing through the government.

The moving procedures to the new designated shanty areas required each family to obtain permission from the Municipality and the Interior Ministry. Each family had been allocated a plot measuring 250 square metres, regardless of the household size, to establish their dwelling. Meanwhile, the single persons were forbidden from living in shanty areas and were forced to reside in collective accommodation in private tenements in order to share the high cost of renting.

Although every head of the households moving had a choice in going to any one of the new designated shanty areas, there was resistance from some of the residents to leaving their dwellings. As the General Director of the Illegal Dwelling Department stated:

"in spite of the great difficulties in the refusal of the shanty dwellers to evacuate their shanties, the preservation of Kuwait's appearance was requiring the eradication of the squatting phenomenon for ever." (Al-Khateeb, 1978).

Beginning in 1971, the relocation process was carried out following the instruction of the Higher Committee which was to assist in the transfer of the families to the new designated shanty areas. Indeed the families, their belongings, and the remnants of materials from their shacks, were transported by trucks, made available by the Interior Ministry, to the demarcated plots on the new settlements. There the families were dumped. No provision

had been made to assist the families in the erection of their shelters; no electricity, water, drainage or any community rehabilitation facilities had been provided.

5.5 The first squatter rehousing project at Al-Jahra and Um-Elhiman:

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Master Plan proposals in solving the spontaneous settlements problem was much more acceptable by the government. In order to establish the first squatter rehousing project, the Council of Ministers in 1970 had entrusted the Credit and Savings Bank with the responsibility of constructing such a project. The rehousing project was called "The housing replacing shanties project", or "Al-Masakin Al-Badilah Lil Ashish" (in Arabic). The programme composed of 14,992 housing units. This number was mainly concluded and based upon a study of the squatter settlements which was included as part of the survey conducted in 1970. The intention was that the project would rehouse all the people living in the shanty areas. However, the government in fact restricted the eligibility for this rehousing project to two groups. The first group to be rehoused by this resettlement project were the Kuwaiti citizens living in these squatter settlements. The second group was the Police and military personnel serving in their posts, and they were mainly from the non-identified nationality category. This resettlement

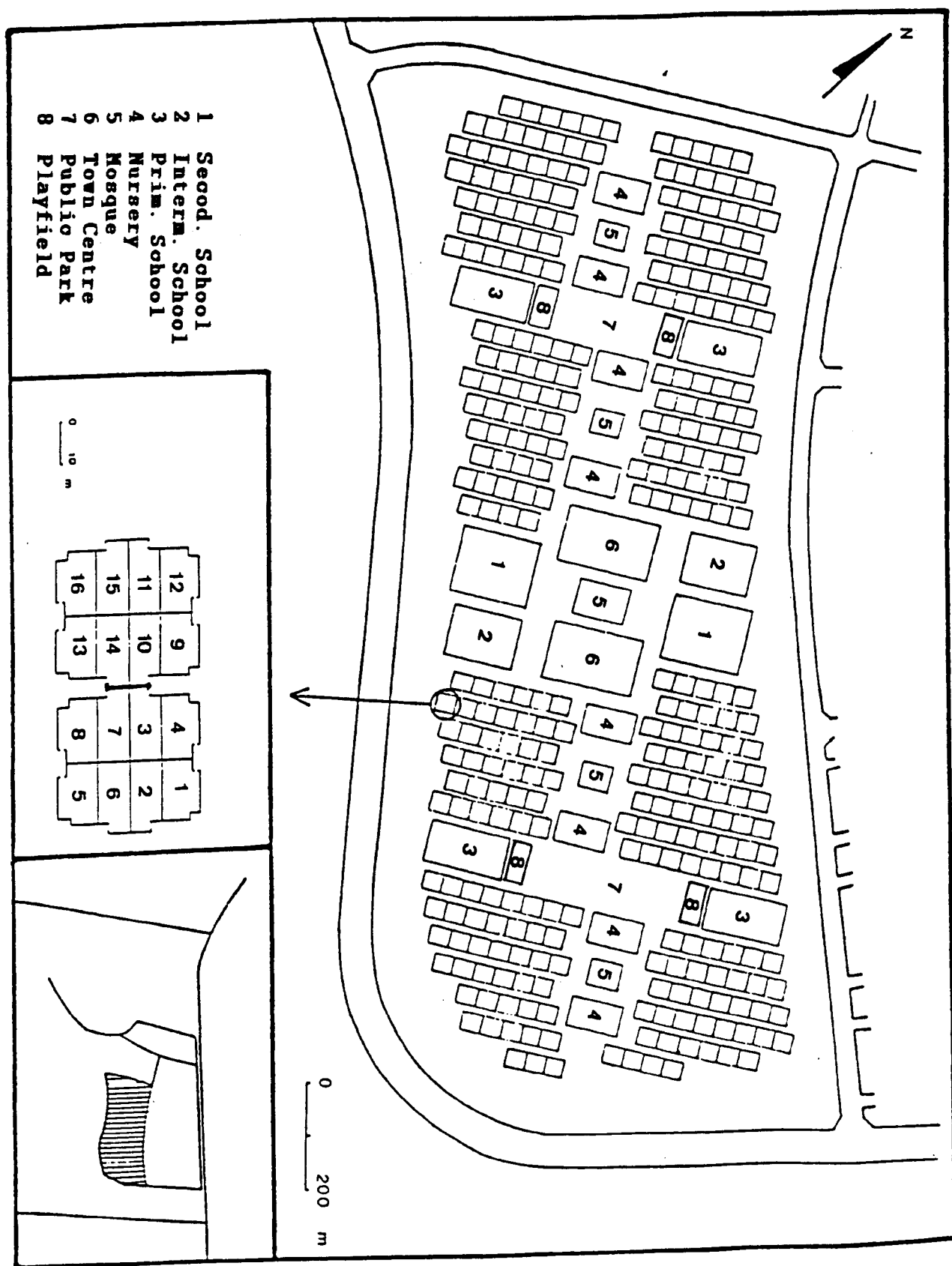


Figure 5.1: General site plan of the first squatter rehousing project at Al-Jahra

international tenders to cover all aspects of design, project was allocated in three areas:

1. Al-Jahra site where 5,000 housing units are to be constructed;
2. Al-Ardiya site consisting of 5,000 housing units;
3. Um-Elhiman site, consisting of 4,992 units.

In an effort to meet the government's requirements for this project, the Credit and Savings Bank has called for construction and finance. The reason behind calling the international tenders as declared by the Bank officials is not to overload the local agencies which are already engaged with the on-going public housing schemes. This would enhance the construction rate without interfering with the local housing projects and housing market.

Due to the fact that most of the squatters are of Bedouin origin, the Master Plan has suggested that, in order to keep the tribal atmosphere and kin relationship between the occupants of those squatter areas, the design of the rehousing settlements should be in a cluster form. Based upon this request the company which won the tender proposed a layout of this project in the form of micro-areas divided by parallel roads. These micro-areas are the housing units and each unit composed of several housing blocks (see Figure 5.1).

The land plan for each settlement was exactly the same and consists of:

Housing area	2,925,840 m ²
Sports Centre and Recreation Area	250,000 m ²
Settlement centre	420,000 m ²
Main Roads, open areas, and extensive free space	457,160 m ²

Each dwelling had a plot measuring 150 square metres, in the shape of the typical Arabic housing style. The house is composed of a central open courtyard surrounded by either two or three bedrooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and a shady space (see Figure 5.2). The basic building materials are cement blocks, the walls are ready-made units and the doors are made from iron to ensure hard wear.

After the completion of the first stages of the rehousing project in 1973 the government started leasing the houses. The leasing contract had been carefully prepared by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, which stated that people from the eligible category are leasing a house on condition that they should first, hand over their shack to be demolished; and second, they should not carry out any alteration to the shape of the house.

In accordance with the government's decision that only two groups were eligible for this type of rehousing, the houses were divided equally. Fifty per cent would be

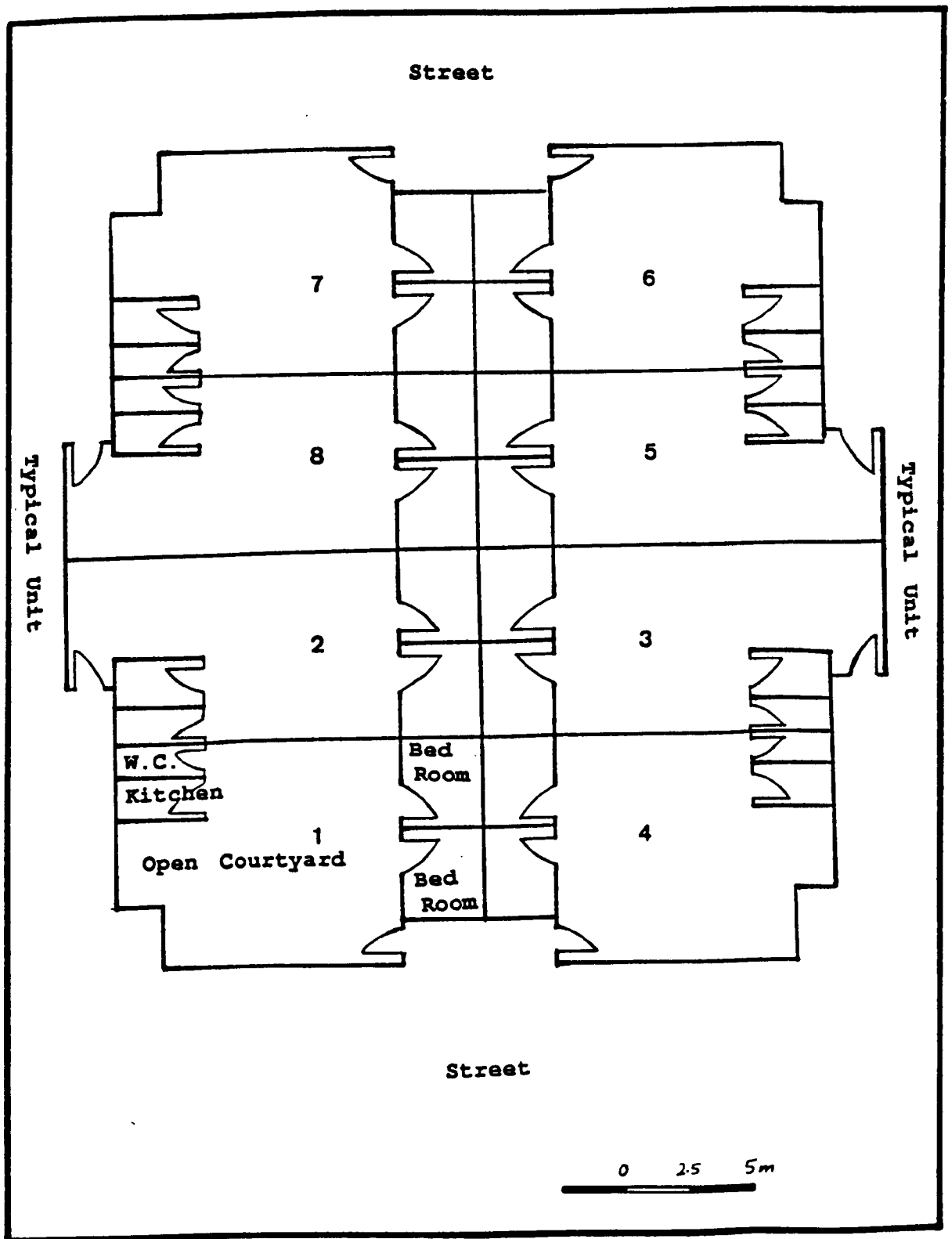


Figure 5.2: Design of the housing unit of the first rehousing project

allocated for Kuwaiti citizens living in squatter settlements and waiting for their turn in the public housing (the limited or middle income housing programme), so they will use the house as a temporary accommodation. The other fifty per cent is leased through the Interior and Defence ministries to their personnel.

Since rent and housing are often emotive issues, the government initially fixed the rent as low as possible. In fact at a nominal rate, which was 7.5 KD (equal to £17) per month. This was probably because many squatters were poor and because low rents would help in getting the squatters to move more easily without undue fuss and cause minimal trouble. Compared with rents in the private sector for a similar type of accommodation, resettlement rents are indeed very cheap.

However, the families who were allocated a house they should evacuate their shack and hand it to the Municipality to be demolished. This procedure was conducted to guard against subleasing of the shacks and to prevent further use by other new settlers in order to decrease the squatter problem and hopefully to eradicate it. In order to encourage the mobility of the squatters to their new houses, the families, their furniture and personal belongings, were transported free by trucks made available by the Defence and Interior Ministry. All these efforts combined with the decision of the Council of Ministers implemented in 1965 which prevent and prohibit the construction of any more

shacks, had been a good step which enabled the government to eradicate a significant number of the shanties.

By allocating those resettlement houses, the government thus became the landlord to over 70,000 people, whom it has compulsorily transported and rehoused. Later on, and after residing in these settlements, problems and complaints started to arise and the argument for evaluating this housing scheme expanded.

First: In the layout of these resettlement areas, there should be shopping areas, recreational areas, water supply, sewage disposal, health centres, schools, etc. However most of these facilities were abandoned and the scheme was developed mainly as dwellings without any attention being paid to the other basic needs.

Secondly: Especially in the resettlement project at Um-Elhiman site, the new houses were very isolated from all the surrounding urban areas, really representing an isolated island in the south edge of the desert. This problem was further aggravated by the lack of an internal and external transportation network to connect them with the urban areas. There is no exaggeration in the fact that the nearest transportation route was about three miles away with no paved road to connect it. The people were simply dumped in the desert.

This dumping at an isolated location, ignoring even the geographical elements of the distance between the

resettlement site and employment location, forced the residents into difficult and long distance journeys every day. This fact in combination with the lack of most essential facilities forced the people to be totally dependent upon nearby urban areas, and resulted in a sense of isolation and feeling of rejection by the community. This all prevented them from being integrated in the society.

Moreover, the leasing contract stated that the second group (police force, and army personnel) have indefinite leases and can consider themselves as owners. However, their stay at the house was conditioned to the period they serve in their post, and they should hand the house back in the case of retirement or resignation. Under this conflicting situation facing this group, how could they feel they had any rights to ownership if they were to be forced to leave their houses if they lost their jobs for any reason? Another contradiction in the government's attitude arises from the fact that although they stated clearly in the leasing contract that there is no alteration to be carried out to the house, they wanted the occupant to feel comfortable and to enjoy like owners. How would they feel their ownership if they could not practise their right to alter the house as their requirements changed, their life cycle changed, their family size changed and even their social needs changed?

This strange situation broke the sense of ownership, stability and safety. In fact it only led them to

disobedience and feelings of rejection and instability. As a result residents ignored the property and misused it. Indeed, in spite of these regulations prohibiting any alteration in the shape of the house, many of the occupants, if not most of them, either added extra rooms or had roofed all the courtyard, or made some other alterations. At the start the government reacted by forcefully demolishing these alterations or additions in an attempt to prevent the people from further alteration. However, at the end the government succumbed to the situation and stopped interfering (for more detail see Chapter eight).

All these factors created a sense of frustration, dissatisfaction and isolation among the residents. In fact, the first stage of the project faced a great deal of criticism from the residents and the public through the newspapers and the public media.

Al-Seyassah, which is a very popular daily newspaper published in Kuwait, and read by most of the population, published on 30th June 1974 (just a few months after the distribution of the first lot of the rehousing project), this comment:

"People who moved to the resettlement houses are not surprisingly still living in the desert environment as nomads, as they are still very far from water and food resources"

Also in Al-Taliah weekly magazine, the following comment was published which criticized the method of dumping those

people in this rehousing scheme which is like dumping them in graves. The translated comment was

"living in the resettlement houses is much like living in graves. How could such housing conditions create the new generation of Kuwait, the builders of Kuwait's future".

In this very specific comment, one can feel how bad is the social atmosphere for those rehoused and -still worse- the environment surrounding them. This highlighted the possibility if not the certainty of this type of housing creating social problems.

In another issue, Al-Seyassah on 4th July 1974, reported one of the tenant's views, who said:

"these houses are certainly created to allow the demolition of our shacks (ashish) which have spoiled the Kuwaiti appearance. However, this is much like treating the symptoms and leaving the cause. In fact they created a new problem"

This opinion in fact supports the view of Epstein (1973), who recognized that attempts to absorb the squatter settlement into the rest of the city are very difficult, because they have failed to understand the fundamental causes of squatter settlement.

Due to the growing tension and complaints, the government called for delay in further implementation of the rest of the project. Later they cancelled the rest of the rehousing project. At the site of Al-Jahra nearly 2,500

were not constructed, and in Um-Elhiman about 700 houses were cancelled. While the project at Al-Ardiya site was totally cancelled. As a result of the cancellations, only 6,960 houses were constructed from the originally planned project, composing of 14,992 houses.

5.6 The Department Responsible for Illegal Housing:

After the failure of the first squatter rehousing project in putting an end to the shanty areas problem, the government decided to carry out further studies in a more efficient and comprehensive way which resulted in the establishment of the Department of Illegal Dwellings in 1974. The reason for creating this department was to take the responsibility of organizing the shanty areas and to carry out all the recommendations made by the Shanty Clearance Higher Committee, until they put an end to the squatting problem in Kuwait.

The department started working at the end of the year 1974, to continue the operation of organizing the squatter settlements, and demolishing the shacks which had been erected with no permission. The first step in the organizational process was to prevent the establishment of new shacks in the designated settlements for a period of time and commence numbering them. This was followed by conducting a survey in order to keep a complete record about the squatters and their details such as the owners' name, occu-

pation, number of households, number of people living in the shanty and nationality. In accordance with the information obtained during the survey, the department initiated a special identification card for each head of household and any male member who was eighteen years old or over. This card required monthly renewal by the department, which later on, became every two months. The reason for following these regulations was believed to be in the public interest to control the number of shacks in the country; in addition, to keep out criminals likely to break the law, and to alleviate the government's anxiety about the squatters.

As a way of organizing the shanty areas, and preventing the mushrooming of shanties in Kuwait, the Department of Illegal Dwellings took a decision in 1975 to put some restriction on issuing permissions for establishing new shanties. The decision was to confine the permission for erecting a new shanty to Kuwaiti citizens and those of non-identified nationality who work in the police force and the army. The procedure for obtaining a permission and moving to the new settlements was as follows:

1. A permission should be obtained from the employer's side (either the Interior or Defence Ministry), allowing their personnel to move to the squatter settlements;

2. The Department of Illegal Dwellings then requires the head of the family to present: the marriage certifi-

cate, birth certificate for each member of the family, health card and job identification.

3. After the approval of the family's application to move to the designated settlements, the Department supplied the head of the family with a red identification card bearing his photograph and other details like name, occupation, nationality and the residential area. Meantime, the department also provided a ration book for the whole family, carrying all details about the members of the household and their relation to the head of the household.

4. Finally, and after completing the aforementioned points, the department would provide the head of the household with permission allowing him to construct his shack in the preferred designated settlement.

The Department also performed several censuses of the squatter settlements including population, family size, jobs and nationalities. In 1977, the Department decided to carry out a quarterly census of the shanty dwellers in all settlements. The aim of this counting was to be in constant awareness about any changes and expansions occurring in the squatter settlements.

The first quarterly census was carried out in September 1977, and showed the total number of shanties as 17,284. This figure meant that, within less than three years, the squatting areas had been reduced by nearly 4,000 shacks. This decrease could be attributed to the follow-

ing: first; some of the few Kuwaitis living in squatter settlements had gained limited income housing; second, many shacks have been demolished due to their conflict with the Department's role; third, the fact that many people could not tolerate the living conditions in shanty areas, coupled with very restrictive actions from the authorities.

In December 1977, the second census revealed further reductions in the number of shacks to reach 16,118 dwellings. This census was more precise and comprehensive in categorizing the shanty dwellers than the previous ones. This was followed by another counting in March 1978. Later on, the authorities took major action in putting an end to the squatting problems in Kuwait. First, they decided to quit issuing any identifications or permissions for the establishment of new shanties. Second, the authority started demolishing the shanties of those who are not qualified for obtaining the popular housing, which is the alternative for rehousing the shanty dwellers. Those who were not eligible for popular housing were people such as the unemployed and those working in companies and government ministries.

As a consequence to the aforementioned resolutions, the census in May 1978 showed a huge decrease in the number of shanties resulted from demolishing more than 4,500 units. The total number of shanties reached 11,541 dwellings. This response showed that only some squatters have benefited from the rehousing scheme. In January 1979,

the remaining number of shanties were around 9,000 dwellings, and all their residents were qualified for the alternative housing built to replace shanties.

5.7 The second squatter rehousing project at Al-Jahra and Sulaibiya

In view of the surveys and studies carried out by the Department of Illegal Dwellings on the designated shanty settlements, the Council of Ministers asked the National Housing Authority to study the situation carefully and to prepare a comprehensive plan to overcome the squatting problem for ever.

In keeping with the government demands, the National Housing Authority conducted a further extensive study of the squatter settlements, which was supported by a field survey. The final results and recommendations were presented to the government and they suggested foundation of the second rehousing project for which the detailed plan was submitted. A decision was taken to authorize the National Housing Authority in constructing the second squatter rehousing programme which consisted of 9669 housing units and was called "The Popular Housing". Henceforth, the government responded by allocating KD 107 million to finance the implementation of the approved project. The plan had identified all the needs of the squatters and, moreover, tried to avoid the drawbacks of

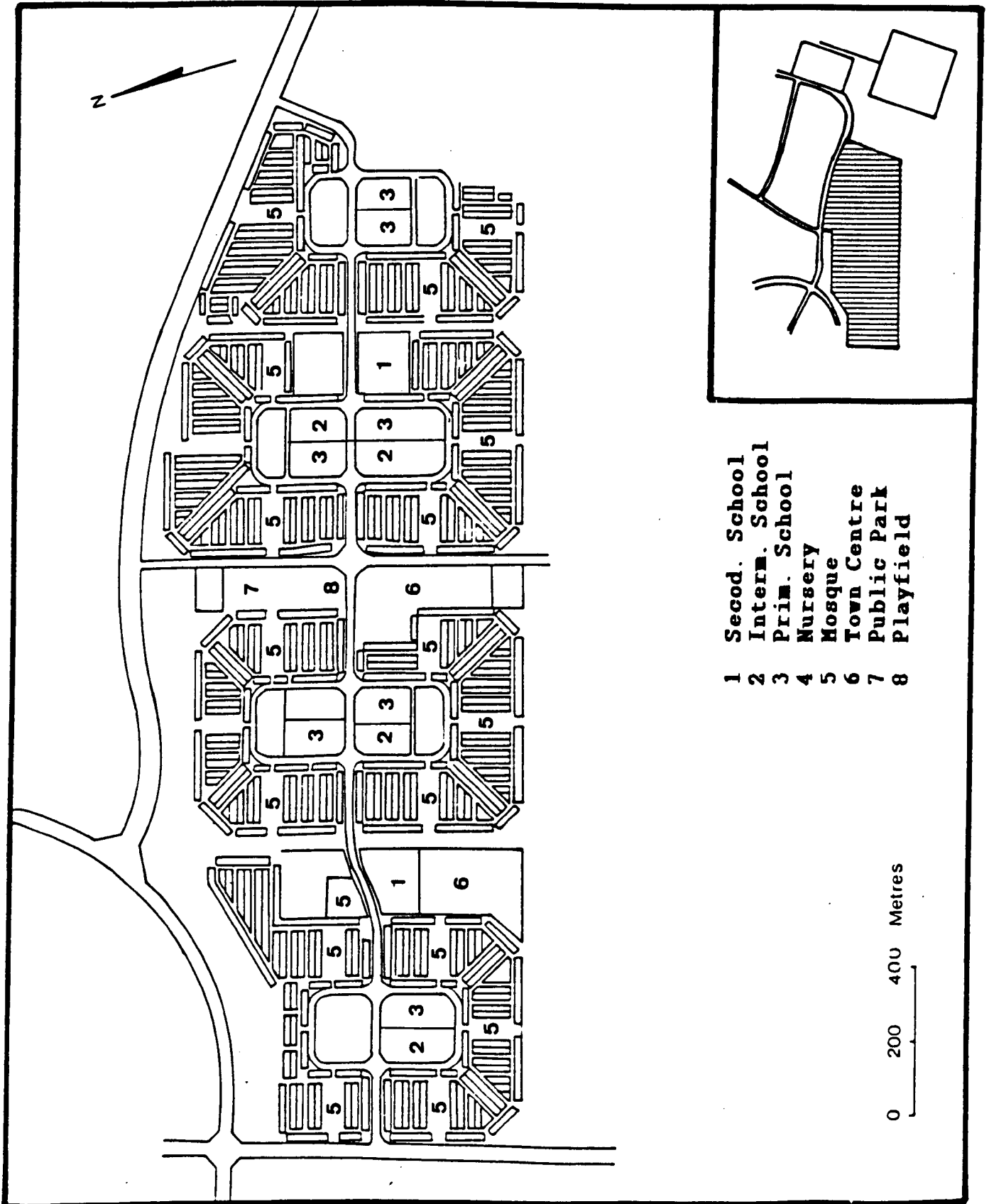


Figure 5.3: General site plan of the second squatter rehousing project at Al-Jahra

the first resettlement scheme. For example, the plan placed a high priority on the location site of the project, which had to be accessible and connected with the major motorways in order to link the settlements with the other urban areas. Accordingly, two sites were selected for this purpose:

(a) Al-Jahra. Due to the already existing public facilities and community services in the site, the authorities decided to add a further 4150 housing units to the first resettlement project. The planning area of the second rehousing project at Al-Jahra site was subdivided into two parts: section A comprising 2151 housing units forming four neighbourhoods, each neighbourhood consisted of about 540 dwellings. Section B was composed of 1998 housing units forming four neighbourhoods. Each neighbourhood consisted of about 497 housing units. The reason cited for this subdivision was to speed up the construction rate as both sectors could be started simultaneously and not one after another (see Figure 5.3).

(b) Sulaibiya was selected because of its good geographical location in the centre of Kuwait. In addition, it is connected with Kuwait city and the rest of the urban areas by a ring motor way. Therefore, 5546 dwellings were proposed to be constructed in this area. In this settlement the project was divided into ten neighbourhoods, and each of them consisted of about 554 housing units (see Figure 5.4).

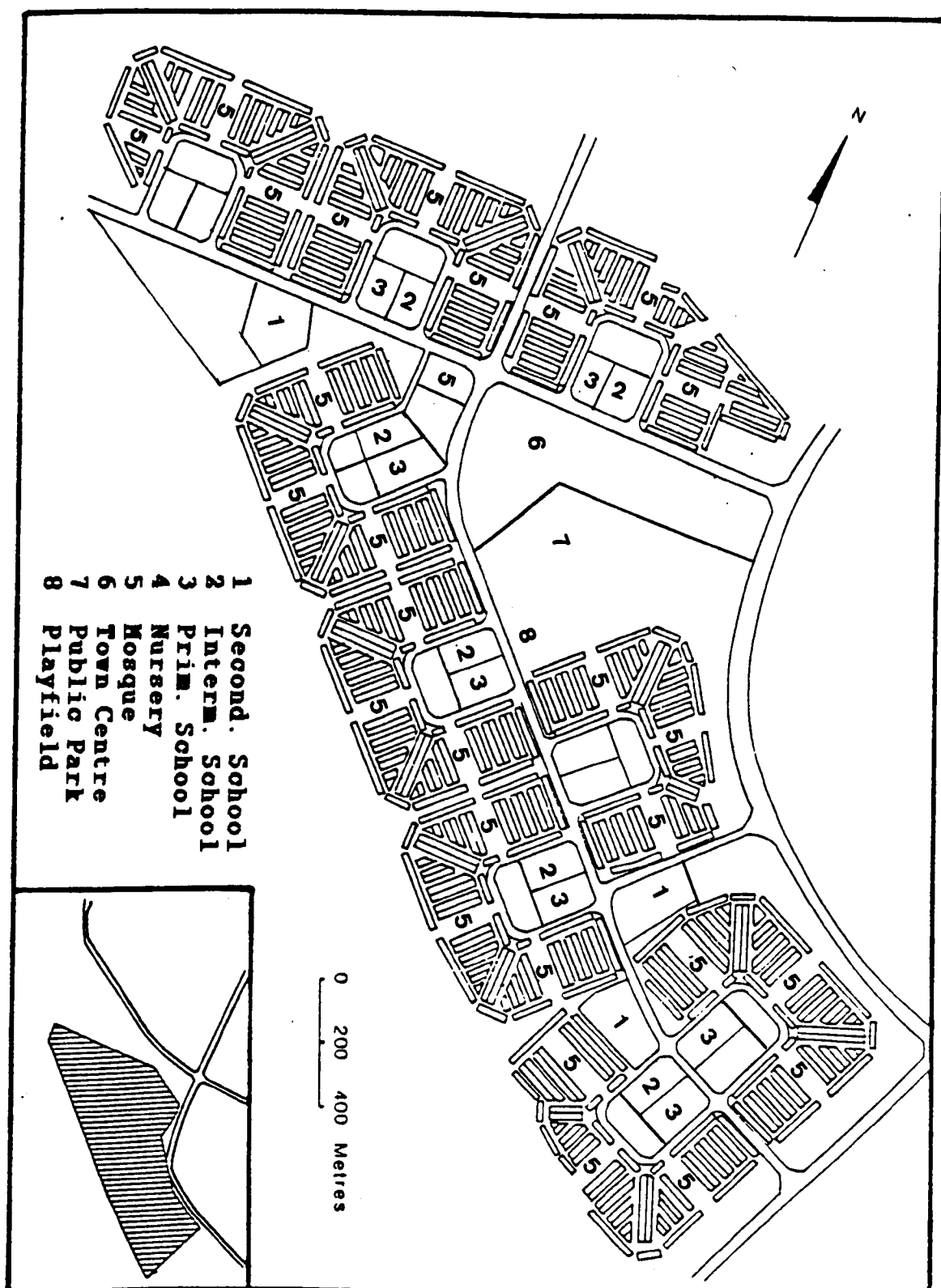


Figure 5.4: General site plan of the second squatter rehousing project at Sulaibiya

The National Housing Authority also realized that the clustering design of the settlement was not adequate and therefore the plan suggested that the layout of the settlements should be designed like the other residential urban areas, taking the neighbourhood forms.

Each dwelling in the project occupied a plot area of 200 square metres. The accommodation took the traditional Arabic style and consisted of three bedrooms, reception area, a kitchen, a bathroom and an open courtyard (see figure 5.5). The building materials were almost the same as the first rehousing project. The project was provided with all the basic infrastructure such as water supply, electricity, drainage and roads. In addition, a minimal community service was supplied, such as schools, clinic, mosques, supermarket, etc. This was implemented to avoid the previous frustrations and complaints of the lack of facilities in the first rehousing project. Meanwhile, they were intended to create some sort of independence in the social services for these areas.

In March 1977, the fieldwork of the programme started in both Al-Jahra and Sulaibiya. Every effort has been made to speed up the construction rate of the rehousing project. Furthermore, the implementation of the project as a whole went through three different stages, which were started at the same time but differed in their finishing and delivery date. The last stage was delivered to the government at

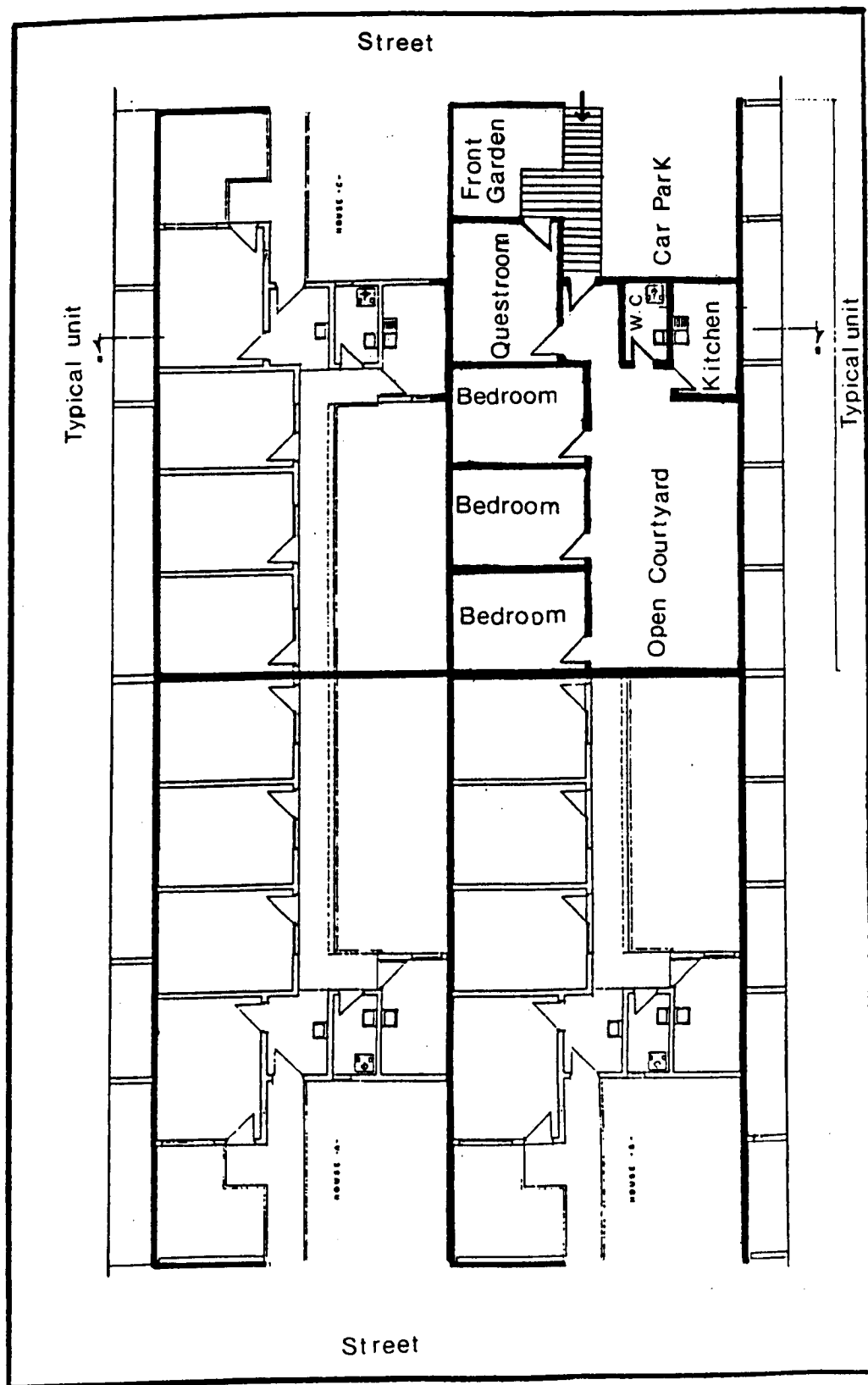


Figure 5.5: Design of the housing unit of the second rehousing project

the beginning of 1980. The cost of constructing each dwelling was estimated to be about KD 8,000. At this time the cost of constructing a new house in the private sector was typically more than KD 50,000.

On 23rd December 1978, the Housing Ministry started allocating the first stage of the project. The houses were allocated under the same regulations with 50 per cent to be for Kuwaiti citizens and 50 per cent for the Police and army personnel. The leasing contract was prepared by the housing ministry to contain a section preventing the tenants from doing any alterations to the house. The leasing rate was 45 houses per day which was facilitated by preparing and signing the leasing contract at the site of the project, where a representative of the Housing Ministry took the responsibility of preparing all the legal documents and paperwork needed.

Meanwhile there was a very high level of co-ordination between the Ministry of Housing, the Department of Illegal Houses, the Ministry of Defence and Interior and the Municipality during the final stages of allocating and leasing the houses in order to ensure the handover of the shacks to be demolished by the Municipality and to prevent further shack construction or sub-leasing. To facilitate the moving procedure, the Ministry of Defence and Interior provided trucks to move the families, their furniture, and personal belongings to their new houses (popular houses). Most of the squatters are from the non-identified national-

ity who are not eligible for the public housing programmes by the government nor are allowed to buy a house with their own savings. Hence they were locked in the unescapable net of the government resettlement project, whether they liked it or not. They were pushed also by the fact that the rents in the private sector are very high because of the high living standard in Kuwait. Moreover, they were not politically inactive by choice, but had been forced to be, because of their inability to nominate or to vote. They were not economically marginal because much of the country's economy rested upon them and indeed most of them hold a regular job and they form the main bulk of the military force.

In July 1981, the government announced that the last shanties in the country had been eradicated and that finally the problem of squatter settlements had been put to an end.

Although the projects had reached their goal in eradicating all the squatter areas in Kuwait, there are many points of criticism. First; in respect to the first rehousing project, it was not based upon sufficient studies of the causes, the nature, the extent and the effect of the problem. It was only viewed as a pattern which does not keep pace with Kuwait wealth and spoilt the image of the city and hence needed eradication. It was only thought of as a housing problem, not as a complex of social, economic, cultural and political problems. Thus the situation was

very unrealistic and it took a long time to provide low cost rented housing for some of them, while the rest were forced to find a solution through renting in the private sector. On the other hand, government has failed to solve the other aspects of the problem to date.

Second ,the location of the resettlement project especially the first was far from logical, as they really dumped the squatters in the desert. In respect to the Um-Elhiman site no prior urban planning was taken to supply the area with transportation. This was avoided in the second project, as their main aim became accessible location. The geographical isolation resulted in segregation of the community and enforced social exclusion. It was difficult for them to break the walls of isolation. In return their settlement became a stigma to them.

Third, although they knew that the people to be rehoused are mainly Bedouin who prefer spaciousness, courtyards, and open areas, and were characterized by high natural growth rate, they were restricted to a plot area of 150 square metres which was increased to 200 square metres, while their previously allocated shacks were 250 square metres. This indeed led rapidly to grim overcrowding.

Finally, it is obvious that the main reason for the rehousing scheme was not the interests of squatters "per se" or raising their standard of living, but the land which

they occupied. Consequently, the government neglected supplying them with adequate infrastructure and community services. Moreover, they did not take the responsibility of maintaining the dwellings as a landlord. In contrast, the tenants had no sense of ownership, and hence do not maintain their dwellings but misuse and ignore the property. Due to the unconcerned political attitudes towards these settlements and their occupants, there was a painful restlessness, instability, isolation and uncertainty for the tenants.

5.8 Summary and discussion

In this chapter we have presented the problem of squatter settlements in Kuwait, how it started and mushroomed rapidly due to migration combined with settlement of Bedouin in the city.

In the early sixties, the government realized the depth of the problem and that, if no major steps were to be taken to solve it, the situation would deteriorate further causing urban destruction, deterioration in the standard of living, and ruin of the appearance of Kuwait city. Although the problem of squatters was obvious in Kuwait, the methods of dealing with them varied over the years, as the problem proved to be difficult to solve, especially with the changes in political views and attitudes. With regard to this the first step was creating a committee in 1962 to study the problem, then the Municipality suggested

establishing five alternative settlements to relocate the squatters. Moreover in 1966, they presented a solution suggesting the foundation of agricultural settlements to resettle the squatters and so the government would also benefit from their agricultural produce and livestock. However, all these suggestions and plans had failed to be implemented and were mostly unrealistic. This was because of difficulties which Dwyer (1974), shows to be very common in rapidly developing countries of the Third World: some are political the frequent changes of policies, Departments, Committees, and leadership and some arise from rigid and inappropriate master plans prepared by foreign consultants who have a minimal understanding of the habits and social activities of the communities concerned.

This indeed is very true in the case of Kuwait, where all the solutions were placed without prior and adequate studies of the causes and extent of the squatter problem which consequently led to their failure. Also there was difficulty in drawing a certain policy due to the on-going changes in Committees, Departments and Ministries dealing with the problem.

Next, in 1969, the Master Plan studied the squatter problem and suggested ways to solve the problem over a period of 10 years. However, the Master Plan considered the problem as a pure housing problem and had never studied the problem carefully and extensively from the other aspects. Consequently, the solution was superficial and

most of the decisions were left to the government whose housing policy at that time was undefined. In 1970, the Credit and Savings Bank was entrusted with the responsibility of implementing the first resettlement project, called "The houses replacing shanties", which failed due to the poor location and the isolation of the site combined with the lack of most of the facilities. This, in turn, led to the cancellation of the rest of the project.

Indeed, the first positive step in the right direction, was the establishment of the Department of Illegal Dwellings. Although overdue and late, the department started using the scientific way of surveying, studying and organizing the squatters and preventing the erection of any new shacks. In view of the department's studies the Council of Ministers in 1977, requested the National Housing Authority to draw an urgent plan for squatter demolition and rehousing projects. Finally they selected two sites, namely Sulaibiya and Al-Jahra for the construction of the second project, the popular housing, in which most of the drawbacks of the first project was avoided.

Although by this policy the government got rid of the squatting appearance in Kuwait and indeed they eradicated the problem physically, was this method the best to solve the problem? Was it accepted by the dwellers and did it satisfy their needs and aspirations? Did the dwellers adapt to their new situation, and how effective was the

popular housing solution? These questions will be the target of the forthcoming chapters dealing with the fieldwork.

CHAPTER SIX

Methodology

This chapter of the dissertation is devoted to the presentation of the research methods upon which the empirical findings of this research will be based. They are established upon the use of systematic investigative procedures aimed at the following objectives:

1. To determine how objective residential conditions and residents' perceptions and evaluations of them explain the variation in residential satisfaction at the dwelling unit and neighbourhood level;
2. To define who benefits the most from the government squatter rehousing scheme;
3. To find out how residents rate residential planning measures and what suggestions they have as to how government ought to tackle the residential problems;
4. To determine the effect of popular housing on urban density with particular reference to the influence of sub-leasing;
5. To determine if residents want to move from popular housing, and what are the determinants of their mobility inclinations;

6. Finally, to explore public views and attitudes toward popular housing and its tenants.

6.1 Research Methods

The investigator has adapted the following elements of survey research as the basic sources of his data collection:

1. Cross-sectional survey design;
2. Informal interviews with government officials;
3. Site visits and observations;
4. Written documentation.

Several factors and obstacles have influenced decisions to employ the aforementioned multiple information gathering methods, most of them related to the social and cultural characteristics of the region. These can be summarized in the following way:

First; Individual's privacy. The generosity and warmth which is inherent in the people of the region should not be taken for granted, especially when it comes to personal matters. For example, the social traditions and customs of the people in that region prevent either interviewing a female or seeking information about the female side. As a result all female heads of households were excluded from being interviewed. Furthermore, detailed questions related to family members were also reduced or eliminated.

Secondly; Illiteracy. Typical of Third World Countries is the possibility of widespread illiteracy among subjects chosen for study, raising the question of credibility in the information obtained by a particular method (i.e., mail questionnaire). For those who could not read or write who had someone help them fill out the questionnaire, one could question how much influence the presence of those intervening persons had on the content of the replies. However, methods of research must be consistent with the ability of the informants. For example, if the questionnaire had to be filled out by the subject, then the vocabulary used in the questions had to be phrased so that they were readily understood to avoid any ambiguities and reduce bias, especially when the questions included some technical phrases that might have no precise meaning to respondents. The presence of the investigator could provide an opportunity to help the respondent in his interpretation of the questions, although caution is needed not to influence the subject's responses (Al-Saati, 1987).

Thirdly; Over-reacting replies. Whatever methods were employed in securing the willingness of the subject, there is still the issue of suspicion and trust on the part of the subject which may introduce various sorts of bias. Past experience in the area shows that when someone tries to get some information, there might be biased responses from the informants owing to anxiety or suspicion; they must trust the researcher and feel he will not endanger

them (Al-Moosa, 1976). Regarding the previous matter, in addition to the assurances given to the householders with respect to confidentiality, the researcher sought the help of several mediators or third-party personnel in order to develop rapport, and thereby gain initial acceptance from informants. These mediators, who facilitate arranging meetings, included relatives of the subjects, close friends and colleagues.

From the previous discussion we can conclude the following: first; relying on one particular method to obtain information needed for the study has a greater chance of risk. While each method has its particular advantage in dealing with the aforementioned aspects, each has its limitation and thereby introduces bias. Second; using multiple information-gathering methods would allow the weaknesses of one method to be partially compensated by the strengths of another method (Friedmann, et al., 1978). For example, the limitation of the resident survey in obtaining some objective measures regarding the physical conditions of the residential environment can be supplemented and cross-validated by using the site observation method. Third; chances of introducing bias are minimized when employing multiple information gathering methods. As suggested by Webb et al (1966), employing several approaches to meet the same objective will reduce overall methodological bias and increase the research yield:

"Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement process. If a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their irrelevant error, confidence should be placed in it" (Webb, et al, 1966).

6.2 Cross-Sectional Research design

This part of the study represents the key component of the methodology whereby answers were sought from a group of users through the questionnaires. The selection of this type of survey was based on the fact that the cross-section survey is the most widely used type of survey design. Many experts who design and conduct social research via survey found that the cross-section survey is relatively low in cost and simple in design. In addition, sample surveys are the most efficient way to determine the characteristics, attitudes and behaviours of a population or a sub-group of that population at a single point in time. Furthermore, much of the data derived from this type of survey is easy to present in distribution and comparative forms. Furthermore, it allows for the establishing of relationships between personal characteristics and specific attitudes or behaviour (Marans, 1975).

The cross-section (resident) survey consists of a structured interview with the heads of the households

living in popular housing units. As mentioned earlier, carrying out the survey was motivated by the fact that, compared to other research approaches, such as mail questionnaires, sample surveys are the best means available for describing certain characteristics of a large population by studying only a few of them.

6.2.1 Survey Instruments:

Prior to constructing the survey, a very important decision regarding the research instrument is the mode by which the survey to be conducted was made. It was decided to adopt face to face interview techniques as a primary source of our data for the first questionnaire and a self-administered questionnaire for the second one. The structured interview was conducted with the head of the household living in popular housing units. The selection of the interview methods as opposed to other methods was motivated by the following:

1. The desire to attain a high rate of responses;
2. The desire to get as much information as possible from respondents by probing some of their answers and recording volunteered comments;
3. The desire to reduce bias and non-responses which can be attributed to misunderstanding of the questionnaires' items, to illiteracy or mistrust;

4. The desire to extend the interview with some respondents beyond its structured form and hence provide insights into their social life and the changes they make in relation to their residential environments.

Finally, the interviewer can observe as well as ask questions. For example, "the interviewer can note the respondent's general reactions to the study. Meanwhile, similar observations can be made regarding the quality of the dwelling, the presence of various possessions, and so forth (Babbie, 1973). The presence of the interviewer increased the chance of establishing rapport with the respondents and clarifying confusing matters, thereby obtaining relevant responses.

The selection of the self-administered technique as opposed to other traditional survey techniques in gathering data for the second questionnaire dealing with "public attitudes to popular housing and its tenants" was based mainly on the following factors:

1. The difficulty in conducting face to face interviews due to the large size of the samples to be selected coupled with the limitation of resources;

2. To give the respondents greater assurance of anonymity by eliminating the interviewer bias;

3. The desire to give more opportunity to all family members to participate in answering the questions.

One major drawback of this technique, which was regarded as a vital risk to be taken, was the fact that the mail-in questionnaire is notorious for its low response rate. In order to overcome the low response rate associated with the use of the mail-in questionnaire method, all respondents were personally met by the investigator in their work places. They were briefed about the nature of this study and the important role that each respondent had in the success of the research. A questionnaire was personally handed to all the respondents and the researcher would collect the completed questionnaires after three days time.

6.2.2 Questionnaire Design

The design of a questionnaire is intimately related to the general plan of the survey. As Burton pointed out, there is no method and no system of question-wording which is suitable for all purposes. Questions have to be worked out to fit the needs of the particular survey and the investigator must be quite clear about the issues that he wants to discover (*Burton and Cherry, 1970*). Oppenheim (1966), has identified five groups of decision that have to be made before writing the questions:

1. Those dealing with the main methods of data collection; that is whether by interview, postal survey, observation, and so on;

2. Decisions concerning the methods of approach to the respondents;

3. Decisions regarding question-sequences and the ordering of questions within the framework of the questionnaire;

4. For each variable, the order of questions within each question-sequence and the use of techniques such as funnelling, quanti-mentional design and factual or attitudinal opening;

5. Decisions about the use of different types of questions, such as closed and free-responses (open-ended questions).

From the above discussion we can conclude that the questionnaire is a list of questions designated in order to seek or obtain specific information from respondents who have been chosen in some appropriate manner. It may range from closed questions, in which the respondent is offered a choice of alternative replies, to free-response questions, which may be answered freely, and the answers have to be recorded in full.

The chief advantage of the open question is that replies are spontaneous, free, and in the respondent's own words, while on the other hand, the closed questions are quicker, no writing is required and they are easier to

answer and analyse than open questions (*Bulmer and Warwick, 1983*).

In the light of the previous discussion, the data on this study were obtained by means of two separate questionnaires. In the following discussion the process of designing each questionnaire will be presented.

6.2.2.1 Popular housing questionnaire:

After the completion of the final draft of the questionnaire in December 1987, the Arabic translation of the questionnaire was finalized. Prior to conducting the main survey a small pilot study was carried out with several residents (4 per cent of the total sample) in Jahra settlement. The pre-testing of the questionnaire was carried out in order to establish how long the interviews would take, to improve question sequence and wording, reduce the number of questions with free-response format in favour of closed questions with appropriate response categories, and to identify to which it is difficult to gain a reply. The result of the pilot study indicated that:

1. The questionnaire was quite lengthy and each interview needed approximately one hour;

2. Most responses were very brief unless they were probed;

3. There was some suspicion with regard to the purpose of the research, in spite of the assurances given to the householders with respect to confidentiality.

4. Some respondents tried to answer the free-response questions in reference to a specific incident they had experienced;

5. Respondents found part of the questionnaire difficult to understand, while others did not reveal all the information required because some issues were not covered accurately;

Finally, the most convenient time for conducting the interview with the respondents was the afternoon and early evening. In view of the aforementioned findings, the following steps were undertaken:

First, modifications were made to the questionnaire. Some questions were removed, while other ones were incorporated. Later on the final version of the questionnaire was reviewed by Professor Al-Moosa, the vice-rector for research of Kuwait University, who had been involved in many surveys concerning housing and urbanization in Kuwait.

Second, assistant researchers had been requested from Kuwait University to help in conducting the survey.

Third, the help of several mediators was sought to pave the way for conducting the interviews with respondents.

Fourth, efforts were made to probe the respondents' answers if needed.

Finally, attention was given to ensuring that respondents had enough time for answering the free-response questions.

The questionnaire was designed so that the questions directed to the respondents were arranged in a sequential order of events. This would facilitate the investigator in building rapport with the respondents, as well as helping them to be in touch with their memories as the interview proceeded.

In general the questionnaire was organized to collect data regarding:

1. Background information including profile data and demographic characteristics of the inhabitants. These included the respondent's age, marital status, place of birth, level of education, occupational status, income and family structure. This type of information was sought in order to serve in organizing the information collected and to allow the researcher to establish patterns of relationships within the findings. Background data was also useful in checking the representativeness of the chosen sample vis-a-vis the study of population as a whole.

2. Factual information regarding the physical characteristics of the respondents' residential setting and immediate neighbourhood. The factual environmental data was

obtained to assist in identifying certain characteristics regarding the previous and present homes of the respondents and the circumstances in which the respondents lived. These include information about the type and occupancy status of previous accommodation, reasons for moving from previous dwelling, length of residence at the present homes, and reasons for choosing the present neighbourhood to live in.

3. Perceptual information including the inhabitants' attitude and motivations with respect to the social and physical environment of their previous and present homes, and their evaluation of the context of their residential setting within which most of the respondents' social interaction occur. Data in this category covered an area in which, from the researcher's point of view, there was least likely to be data from secondary sources. By relating the findings of this section of the survey, to the respondents' background information, certain attitudes and behaviour of a particular stratum of inhabitants can be studied and explained.

4. The last section of the questionnaire was devoted to generating information regarding expectations and aspirations of the inhabitants in the light of their actual housing needs in terms of housing type, size, tenure, spatial organization and cost. Questions in this section of the inquiry were designed so that a number of alternative options were listed and the respondent was asked to

check the most desired one (The English version of this questionnaire is presented in Appendix A).

6.2.2.2 Public Attitude Questionnaire:

The second questionnaire, entitled "Public views about popular housing and its tenants" was intended to provide a general impression of the public attitude, opinion and evaluation of this type of housing (popular housing) and its occupants. The first draft of the questionnaire was developed and reviewed in November 1987. Prior to conducting the survey the questionnaire was also reviewed by Prof. Al-Moosa, minor modifications were suggested and the second draft of the questionnaire was translated into Arabic.

The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part dealt with the general demographic characteristics of the respondents, which had been organized in the same manner as the background data section in the previous questionnaire. The second part sought public attitudes to and evaluation of the popular housing project and what kind of suggestions people have for tackling the popular housing problems. This also includes the future expectation for these settlements.

When the questionnaire had been printed in its final form and the needed number of copies made, a letter to the respondents was also printed asking for their co-operation and assuring them of complete secrecy and confidentiality

of all information received in their answers. A copy of the introductory letter from the investigator was attached with each questionnaire (The English version of this questionnaire is provided in Appendix B).

6.3 The Study Area

The study sample was drawn from the three different settlements (Jahra, Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman) which have been designated to represent this type of housing in Kuwait (see figure, 6.1). The selection of all different settlements consisting of popular housing was motivated by the following: first, an interest in documenting the actual impact of the rehousing projects of squatters in different geographical locations in the country and how these variations might affect the responses of residents. Second, to obtain a high level of representation of the total population.

6.3.1 Jahra settlement

Jahra settlement is located about two miles south-east of the old town of Al-Jahra in the north west of the country. The site for the popular housing project totals 3.5 square km. The residential community is surrounded by the low and middle income housing projects which are separated by roads. This residential community was planned to accommodate a threshold population of 51,231 in about 6742 housing units. The planning area within the

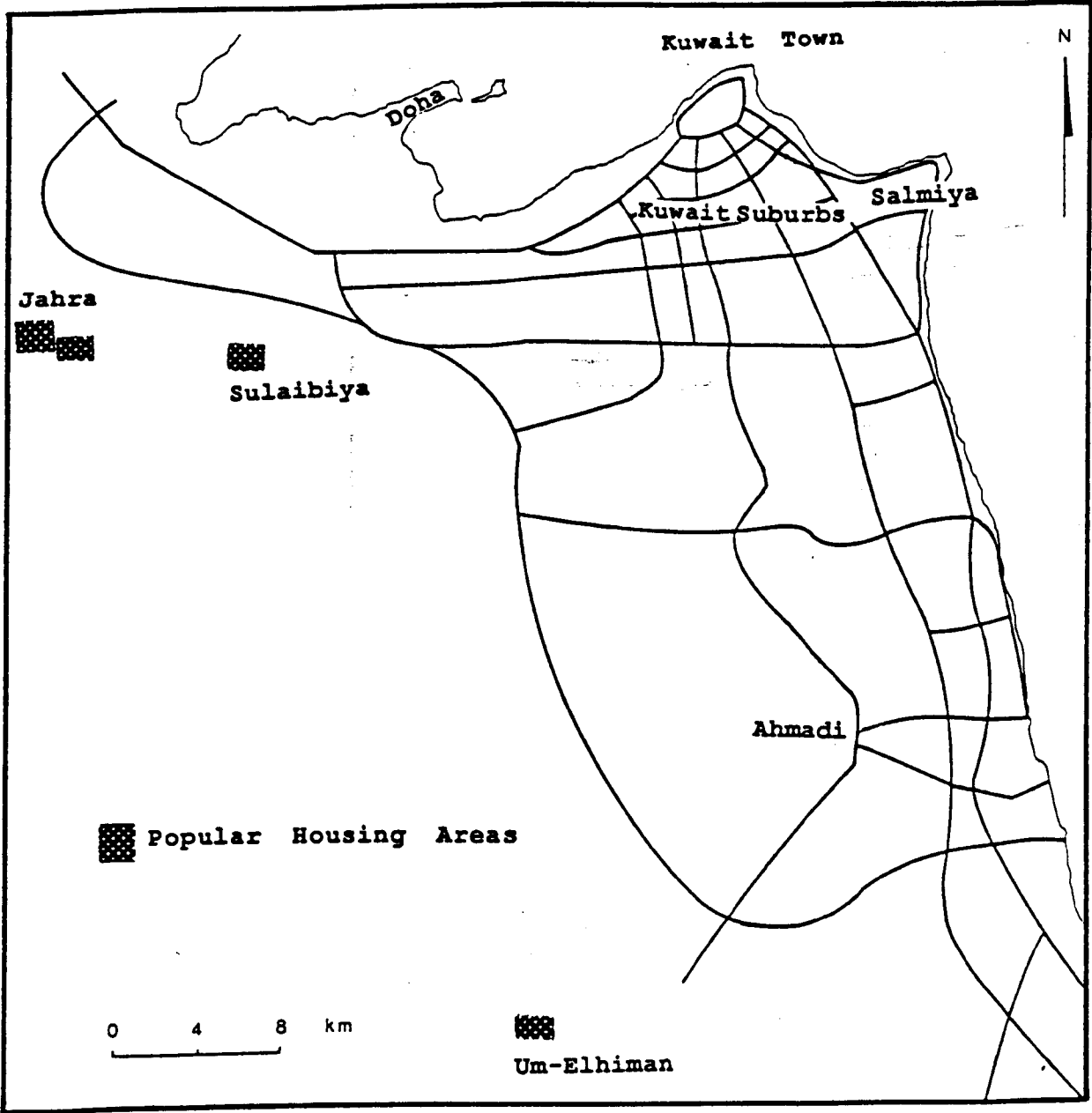


Figure 6.1: Popular housing locations in Kuwait

residential community has been divided into twelve principle districts. Four blocks or districts were developed during the first rehousing project, and the remaining ones were developed at the time of the second rehousing project (For more detail see Chapter Five). One can distinguish two residential areas, the traditional neighbourhoods which consist of popular housing, and the modern suburb which consists of limited and middle income housing. These residential areas differ not only in their location within the city, but also in terms of other physical and social attributes. For example, the suburban communities are generally distinguished by their modern style, detached or semi-detached houses, well organized and well maintained neighbourhoods, lower population densities and relatively higher socio-economic characteristics than in popular housing neighbourhoods.

In contrast, the popular housing districts can be identified mostly by their back-to-back terraces of courtyard houses and the unorganized, littered neighbourhoods. These differences reflect the social inequality in the field of housing on one hand, and why the popular housing dwellers feel they live in a segregated community on the other hand.

6.3.2 Sulaibiya settlement

Sulaibiya settlement is located to the south-west of Kuwait City. The settlement is divided into ten neigh-

bourhoods, all developed in the second rehousing programme. The project encompasses a total area of 3.4 square Km. and consists of 5546 housing units, to accommodate a total number of 51,231 people with an average household size of 9.2 persons. This settlement is considered to be the best of the three settlements owing to the following factors:

1. The good geographical location of the settlement not far from the city centre, and bounded by the 5th and the 6th motorways from the north and the south respectively;
2. Due to the fact that this settlement developed in the second phase, the authority avoided all the problems and shortages that occurred in the first squatter rehousing project;
3. And finally, the settlement does not contain any type of housing other than popular housing which, in some way, diminishes the feeling of segregation between the residents.

6.3.3 Um-Elhiman settlement

Um-Elhiman settlement is located in the far south of the country. It consists of seven neighbourhoods with a total of 4,366 housing units in a site of 2.2 square km. This settlement was implemented in the first rehousing project. The residential community accommodates a total number of 31,588 population according to 1985 census (For more detail see Chapter Five).

6.4 Definition of target population

Before moving to discuss the sampling method, it was necessary to identify the target population (the body about which conclusion will be drawn) for each questionnaire. In general, the findings of a small survey should accurately relate to the population from which the sample is selected. Therefore, it is critical to arrive at a clear definition of the target population. Of necessity, then, a sample can not be chosen until the whole that it represent is decided upon. In the light of this, the target population for each questionnaire was defined by the following:

1. For the purpose of this study, the definition of the target population to be interviewed for the popular housing questionnaire was determined by specifying the spatial area to be covered by the study, and the heads of the households living in popular housing units there;

2. Bearing in mind that the target population may cause some source of bias, depending on how representative it is of the true population being studied, the investigator found that the educated people (represented by school teachers) were the most appropriate sampling frame for the second questionnaire.

The decision of choosing school teachers to be our study sample for the public attitude questionnaire, was based on the following factors :

(i) Due to the fact that a relatively high rate of illiteracy occurs among the Kuwaiti people, the use of self-administered questionnaire techniques forced the researcher to select school teachers because they are all literate people;

(ii) Simplicity of defining and the easy way of selecting school teachers would save time, resources and, more importantly, would conquer the disadvantage of the mail questionnaire (its low rate of response) by getting respondents to be more cooperative;

(iii) The wide range of communication they have with the students' families made them aware about their attitude and their way of thinking. In addition they live in the areas where they work;

(iv) The difficulty in obtaining well defined addresses (i.e., the area code has not introduced yet, the streets are not properly named, the house numbers are not well marked, etc) will often result in loss of the questionnaire or a considerable delay in receiving the response.

(v) Finally, there is the question of culture and values, since the belief in the traditional values of Islam, its language, customs, etc are shared by almost everyone in the country, any section of the population would provide a fairly accurate representation of the whole population in these respects (Al-Saati, 1987).

6.5 Sampling method

The next step in the research process after selecting the study area and identifying the target population, was the determination of the sufficient sample size for making reliable and confident generalized conclusion about the universe it would represent. Surveys usually require large sample sizes of sufficiently varied characteristics that adequately reflect the variation that might exist in the total population and also to estimate the incidence of relatively rare phenomena (*Rossi and Freeman, 1982*). However, an obvious phenomenon in sampling surveys is that too large a sample implies a waste of resources, while too small a sample diminishes the utility of the results.

Thus, the decision to specify the sample size can not always be made satisfactorily without setting acceptable limits of error that are tolerable in sample estimates, and specifying the magnitude of the inference margin which is to be permitted.

First: in regard to questionnaire A (popular housing questionnaire) a combination of systematic and random samples were used in this study in order to obtain a representative sample. A sample was drawn from the total number of popular housing units in which the following formula was utilized for computation of the sample size:

$$n = \frac{N Z^2 pq}{d(N-1) + Z^2 pq}$$

where; N = population size (16654)

p = population responding one way = 0.5

q = 1-p

d = half the desired interval

Z = confidence coefficient (95%)

(Daniel & Terrell, 1979)

By applying the above formula and 5% probability of error, a total of 376 heads of households can be employed to represent the population living in popular housing units. To obtain accurate information, the sample was divided into three parts in order to represent the three different settlements. Each settlement had a sample size of an equal percentage of the dwelling units it contained. For example, Jahra settlement consist of 40.5 per cent of the total number of popular housing in the whole country, so its share would be the same percentage from the total sample.

As can be seen in Table 6.1, out of the 376 applicants, only 315 interviews were completed which accounted for a response rate of 83.8 per cent. When comparing the various settlements, Jahra had a significantly higher response rate of 94.1 per cent. The non-responses fell into the following categories: a) refusal; b) termination of the interview because the respondent was not co-

operating; c) the status of the dwelling was changed (eg. turned into a clinic, or abandoned); d) unable to meet with the head of the household.

Table 6.1 : Response rate by type of settlement

	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Desired sample	152	125	99	376
Completed interview	143	94	78	315
Response rate	94.1	75.3	78.8	83.8
Total No.of popular housing	6742	5546	4366	16654
in each settlement	40.5%	33.3%	26.2%	100%

Second: based on the researcher's available resources and objectives, a preliminary decision was made to select a sample of 200 participants from the target population for the second questionnaire (the public attitude questionnaire). The reason for choosing a small size sample for the second questionnaire was based on the fact that the public attitude questionnaire is not related to the physical characteristics and qualities of the participants' present dwellings, rather it relates to participants' personal perception, views and attitude to popular housing and their occupants.

The total sample was further sub-divided into four groups in order to cover the four governorates forming the state of Kuwait. Each group consisted of 50 informants who were distributed among six schools in each governorate, selected systematically through the educational council in

each governorate. From the 200 distributed questionnaire, 171 participants had completed and returned the questionnaire which accounted for a response rate of 85.5 percent (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Response rate over the state governorates

	Capital	Hawaili	Ahmadi	Jahra	All
Desired sample	50	50	50	50	200
Returned questionnaire	44	41	38	48	171
Response rate	86%	82%	76%	94%	85.5%

6.6 Field Procedure

The interview procedure was started in the beginning of February 1988 immediately following the pre-testing and lasted until the middle of April of the same year. These interviews were conducted by the researcher and a team of two interviewers. This team of interviewers were assistant researchers provided through the cultural division of Kuwait University. However, the investigator held a number of meetings with the team of interviewers, in order to explain his research interests and how he wanted the team to proceed with the interviewing.

The fieldwork began first in Jahra where most of the respondents were interviewed. Then the investigator and his team moved to carry out the interview with respondents

in Sulaibiya, and finally in Um-Elhiman. Respondents who were identified by interviewers or mediators (friends, relatives to the respondents) were approached first, usually in a meeting that had been arranged by the mediators at the respondent's home. The other respondents were approached directly at their homes. On average, the interview lasted almost two hours. This included the time of offering some refreshments by the respondents. Nearly all interviews went smoothly with respondents who seemed very friendly, co-operative and generous. After concluding the interview with each respondent, the questionnaire was carefully checked by the interviewer in order to ensure that all the questions had been properly answered.

6.7 Site visits and observations

Observation is another method for data collection without direct questioning on the part of the investigator. This method is very often used in combination with other methods. The interviewer for example may be required to make observational ratings on the characteristics of the respondent or his living environment. For the present study, in addition to the outcome of the field survey, site reconnaissances were made to obtain first hand information, both qualitative and quantitative about the problem. Meanwhile, these observations were a reliable means for supporting and interpreting the results of the resident survey.

These reconnaissances were specifically made to generate information regarding:

a) the physical conditions of the residential environment, such as the quality of the built environment and its infrastructure, including maintenance and upkeep, community facilities and utilities available;

b) residents' characteristics, for example the mix of people, their places of origin, ages, social interaction and economic positions.

The site observation gave the researcher a broader and more integrated picture of the quality of life, and the components of the selected housing programme. As mentioned above, these reconnaissances assisted in the understanding and interpretation of some of the attitudes and responses of the residents obtained in the field survey.

6.8 Official interviews

This part represented the non-systematic portion of the study in which data was collected by means of personal interviews and open informal discussions with public authority personnel involved in direct decision-making issues as well as the management of the popular housing programme. The open-ended questions in the interview covered a wide range of topics including historical background to the projects, criteria for selecting design and housing type, housing policies and regulations, and plans

for future developments and improvements. Another set of questions dealing with interviewees' concerns, expectations and satisfaction was also presented.

The interviews were found to be very useful for they covered an area which was the least likely to have data from secondary sources. These official interviews, however, were not intended for statistical analysis, rather they were intended to supplement and complement the data obtained from the cross-section survey interviews and the technical documentations of popular housing projects.

6.9 Statistical Analysis

Immediately following the completion of collecting information from the samples, data were coded, built into computer files and tabulated using the SPSSX system. Each of the two samples were studied separately. Presentation and analysis of the data involved the following:

1. One-way tabulations to study the frequency and percentage distribution of responses, and to compare different groups' responses. As a descriptive statistic, this process was very helpful in presenting most data in a more simplified way that could be understood by non-researcher groups.
2. Chi-square and cross-tabulation techniques were mainly used to discover and test the relationship among variables. Chi-Square is a non-parametric technique used in this

research to determine whether association between two or more variables is statistically significant.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Living Conditions

This chapter is divided into three major sections: household composition and socio-economic status; housing conditions, and the neighbourhood characteristics.

The first section emphasizes the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the households. This includes age of the respondents, education level, occupation, income and household structure and composition. The second section deals with the physical elements of the dwelling, including size and occupancy rate, availability of dwelling facilities, access to essential utilities, and the conditions and evidence of deficiencies, while the final section examines the characteristics of the immediate neighbourhood surrounding the respondent's dwelling. This will include the availability of neighbourhood services, and conditions and evidence of deficiencies.

7.1 Household composition and socio-economic status

The first thing we noticed from the survey is that the vast majority of respondents are non-Kuwaitis (91.7 per cent), of whom 62.5 per cent were of non-identified nationality. The remaining 8.3 per cent represent the Kuwaiti group in these residential settlements. Generally we can say that the majority of the population in popular housing in Kuwait are Bedouins with no identified nation-

ality. However, the percentage rate varies from one town to another, and the other nationalities group represents 29.2 per cent of total respondents. The reasons for the relatively high percentage of non-Kuwaiti tenants in these settlements could be attributed to, firstly; the illegal sub-leasing of popular housing from some people who were not in need of this type of housing, but sought to benefit from it. For example, the Housing Ministry records indicates that 46 per cent of the popular housing tenants are Kuwaitis; this does not match with our study. Moreover, the study showed that almost one third of the respondents were renting from the private sector and the house is not registered in their names. Secondly, a number of non-Kuwaiti government employees were housed in these areas especially in Um-Elhiman, due to its location on the fringe of the country. For instance, the Education Ministry provides any teacher who is working in Um-Elhiman with popular housing should he prefer this.

Because the popular housing tenants were originally living in shanty areas, this means that the majority of them are not of Kuwaiti origin, and one of the assumptions which illustrates this feature is that a huge number of them entered the country illegally from neighbouring countries. Due to the fact that most of them were lacking in skills, technical experience and any level of education to acquire an adequate level of living standards, in that period, they were forced to live in shanties in order to

save as much money as they could. One of the main reasons which contributed to their increasing numbers was the arrival of a new group of their relatives. Furthermore, the social customs encouraged co-operation and hospitality, which later resulted in their relatives settling, and the shanty areas spread in a way that could not be stopped without the Government's involvement.

7.1.1 Respondents' Age

Table 7.1 shows that the majority of respondents (64.6 per cent) are middle-aged, between 30 and 49 years of age. Those who are under the age of 30 years represent nearly one fourth of the respondents (22.0 per cent) while those over 50 years represent only 13.4 per cent.

Table 7.1 Age of respondents by type of settlements

<u>Age of respondents</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
20-29 years old	28.7	23.4	14.1	22.0
30-39 years old	23.8	38.3	34.6	32.2
40-49 years old	35.7	25.5	35.9	32.4
50-59 years old	7.7	9.9	12.8	10.1
60 years and over	4.2	3.3	2.6	3.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

In comparing the three towns, no significant differences were found between the middle-age groups. However, major differences were found between the younger-age

group. Jahra settlement had more young respondents than Sulaibiya and almost double the ratio of Um-Elhiman (28.7 per cent vs. 23.4 and 14.1 per cent respectively). From these findings we can conclude that almost all the respondents (96.8 per cent) are married and they have large households.

7.1.2 Education Level

In general, the respondents were educated similarly. Those who were illiterate, and the people who learned reading and writing without joining a regular school, represented exactly one-fifth, i.e. 20.0 per cent of the total respondents (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Respondents' education by type of settlement

Education Level	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Illiterate	16.1	11.7	11.6	13.7
Read & write	8.4	5.3	3.8	6.3
Primary	35.0	25.5	24.3	29.5
Intermediate	25.2	33.0	25.6	27.6
Secondary	10.5	18.1	15.4	14.0
University & more	4.9	6.4	19.2	8.9
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

The majority of the respondents (57.1 per cent) were holding a primary or intermediate level of education.

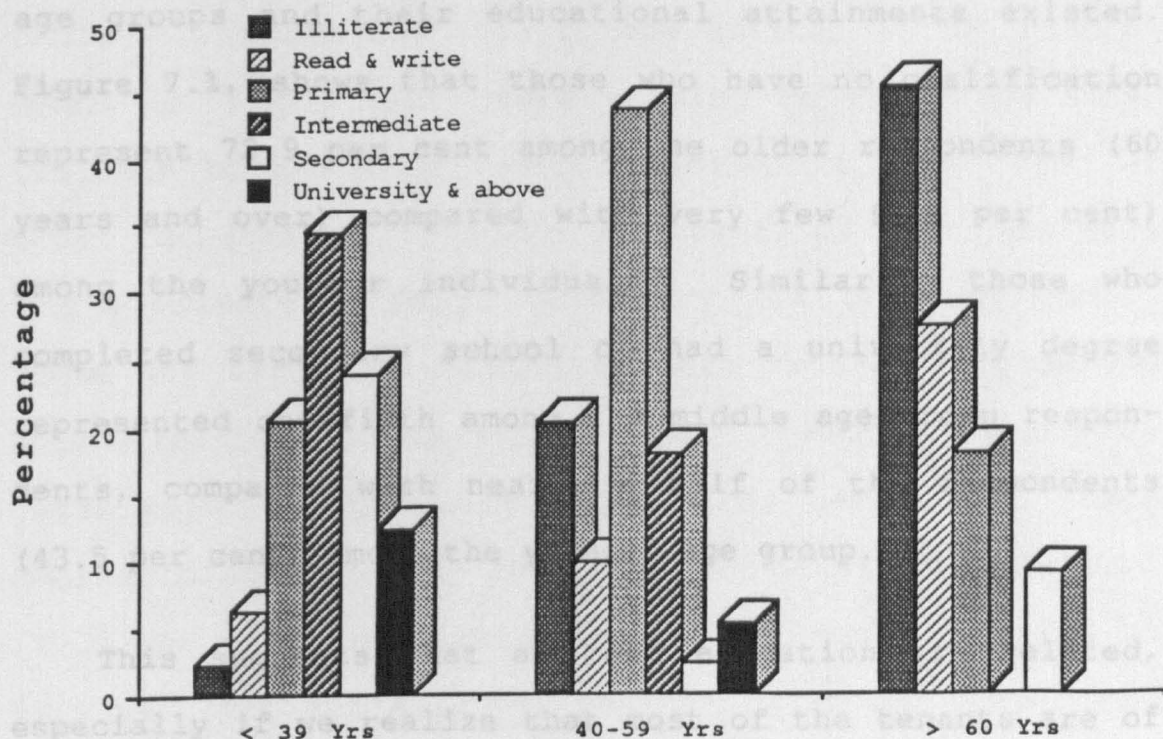


Figure 7.1: Respondents education level by age

Those who completed a secondary education and above represented almost a quarter of the respondents. However, the findings indicate that a strong association between age groups and their educational attainments existed. Figure 7.1, shows that those who have no qualification represent 72.9 per cent among the older respondents (60 years and over) compared with very few (8.7 per cent) among the younger individuals. Similarly, those who completed secondary school or had a university degree represented one-fifth among the middle age group respondents, compared with nearly a half of the respondents (43.5 per cent) among the younger age group.

This suggests that age and education are related, especially if we realize that most of the tenants are of Bedouin origin among whom the old generation did not have the chance to join schools, while the younger generation did. No significant differences were found between respondents in the three towns. Um-Elhiman have a few more respondents than Jahra and Sulaibiya, who hold secondary and university degrees, 34.6 per cent vs. 15.4 and 24.5 per cent respectively. This could be attributed to the fact that Um-Elhiman has more non-Kuwaiti immigrants who are working as teachers and government employees than Jahra and Sulaibiya.

7.1.3 Main Occupation

As might be expected, the majority of the respondents (59.7 per cent) are employed in the army and police force. Table 7.3, shows that nearly one quarter of the respondents (22.5 per cent) were working as civil servants, followed by portering which represent 8.6 per cent of total respondents. Private employees, or those who work for a private company, were very few (4.1 per cent). Those who were not working or were retired represented only a few respondents (5.1 per cent). When comparing the three towns, significant differences were found. The overwhelming majority of the respondents in Sulaibiya (72.3 per cent) were soldiers and policemen compared to 60.8 per cent and 42.3 per cent in Jahra and Um-Elhiman respectively.

Table 7.3: Occupation by type of settlement

<u>Occupation status</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Police & army	60.8	72.3	42.3	59.7
Civil servants	21.0	11.7	38.5	22.5
Porter	8.4	8.5	9.0	8.6
Unemployed & retired	6.3	3.2	5.1	5.1
Private	3.5	4.2	5.1	4.1
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

Statistically significant at the .05 level

On the other hand, about one-third of the respondents in Um-Elhiman (38.5 per cent) were doing clerical work, compared to very few in Sulaibiya (11.7 per cent). The findings also indicated that there were people whose access to the popular housing was through their Kuwaiti wives; the house was registered in her name.

These findings may therefore suggest the following: with regard to the wives, the survey revealed that a very low percentage (4.9 per cent) of them were working and the remaining ones stay at home. This phenomenon is compatible with the people's culture which believes that the most important job for a wife is to serve her husband and take care of the children.

Several anthropological studies indicate that settled or newly settled bedouins prefer to work as drivers rather than builders or in construction work because they like moving. Sabir, mentioned in his study regarding Saudi bedouins working in petroleum companies that the most preferable occupation for the bedouins was to be guards. This can be attributed to the kind of work which assures the combination between the old custom where the bedouin used to carry a weapon and the new fashion in carrying a weapon for serving the law (*Quoted in Al-Hashimy, 1976*).

In Kuwait most of the bedouins who work in the army and police force are aiming to pave the way in easing the

procedure of being naturalized, and benefit from the other social services.

7.1.4 Head household income

Due to the fact that the non-Kuwaitis are not allowed to establish any business or own real estate, their sources of income are dependent on their employers. The investigator therefore, had some knowledge about their income, and asked the respondents to check the proper category representing their monthly income (see Table 7.4). The majority of the respondents (60.3 per cent) were from the middle and upper middle income groups whose income was between KD 400 and 799 KD (£900 -1800) per month.

Table 7.4: Head of household income by type of settlement

Head of household monthly income	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Less than 200 KD	12.6	10.7	15.4	12.7
From 200-399 KD	18.9	13.8	30.8	20.3
From 400-599 KD	23.8	34.0	34.6	29.5
From 600-799 KD	35.0	38.3	14.1	30.8
800 KD & over	9.8	3.2	5.1	6.7
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

Statistically significant at the .05 level

1 KD = £ 2.3

The lower income group, who earned less than KD 400 was representative of almost one third (33.0 per cent) of the total respondents, while the higher income group KD 800 and over were relatively small and accounted for only (6.7 per cent) of the studied households.

The investigator faced some problems when trying to ask about the total income for the whole family, or the people living at the same dwelling. Almost all the heads of the households refused to answer the question, but agreed to tell how many persons were earning income and living under the same roof. Table 7.5, shows that the majority (52.7 per cent) of the total households have more than one person working and having income; while more than one fifth of the household have more than two persons receiving income and living in the same dwelling.

Table 7.5: Number of persons having income per household

No. of persons having income	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
one	44.8	44.7	55.1	47.3
two	35.7	33.0	24.4	32.1
three	13.3	19.1	17.9	16.2
4 & more	6.3	3.2	2.6	4.4
Total	100	100	100	100
.No. of respondents	143	94	78	315



Plate 7.1: Luxury cars in front of popular housing

The differences between the income distribution in the three settlements lies in the low income groups, i.e. less than 400 KD where Um-Elhiman accounts for 46.2 per cent compared to 31.5 and 24.5 per cent for Jahra and Sulaibiya respectively. In the higher income group Jahra settlement accounts for 9.8 per cent compared to 3.2 per cent in Sulaibiya and 5.1 per cent in Um-Elhiman. As a sign of having wealth, luxury cars are found belonging to residents (see Plate 7.1). From the previous illustration, we conclude that the overwhelming majority of the respondents have a decent and regular income which, in contrast, is not reflected in their living standards. This may suggest that, since they do not feel that these dwellings belong to them, and they do not know how long they are going to live in this area, this has resulted in the lack of care and deterioration in their environment. On the other hand, it might be that some of them try not to spend any thing in order to save more money to be prepared for the uncertain future.

7.1.5 Household structure and composition

Since the Kuwaiti government made a commitment to provide every Kuwaiti family with adequate housing, and efforts were made to rehouse those who were working in the army and police force, we preconceived a decline in the number of extended families. This is due to the fact that most of the people may be encouraged to be independent of their families and move to their own houses. While this

may hold true in a few cases, in most cases the reverse was true. Table 7.6 shows that our study population was almost equally divided between extended and nuclear families. Many cases were known where two or more married brothers or sisters were living with parents at the same house. The extended family expands sometimes to include a married cousin, mother in-law, brother-in-law and other relatives, and despite this multi-family occupation, they are still considered to form only one household.

Table 7.6: No of families living in the same house

No. of families	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
one (nuclear)	31.4	58.5	71.8	49.5
two	41.3	24.5	21.8	31.4
three	18.9	12.7	6.4	14.0
4 & more	8.4	4.4	0.0	5.1
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

The high percentage of the traditional extended family could be attributed to the following:

1. The Demolition of shanty areas left the people in a desperate need for other accommodation. However, it is very expensive for people who were sharing shanties or living with relatives to rent a house;

2. The strong social ties among the bedouin contributed to raising the proportion of extended

families. A majority of our respondents had their married sons, brothers or their old parents living with them;

3. From an economic point of view, it is much better for them to share the expenses and help each other financially;

4. Traditionally, it is more respectable to have a large family and have relatives gathered around;

Finally, there is an obligation towards the old parents or the mother who is left alone after the father's departure, and many individuals are very pleased to take care of their mothers by having them living in the same dwelling. There were at least fifty four cases where the mother was found living with her son in the same house.

By comparing the three towns, significant differences were found. More than two thirds (67.6 per cent) of the respondents in Jahra live in extended families, while in Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman the majority of respondents live in a nuclear family (58.5 and 71.8 per cent respectively). Again the main reasons for the high percentage of nuclear families in Um-Elhiman is due to the non-Kuwait immigrant employees residing in this settlement and the distant location from job opportunities and city centre.

Our results indicate a high percentage of the extended family compared to the study conducted by Social Ministry six years ago, which estimated the extended family type in

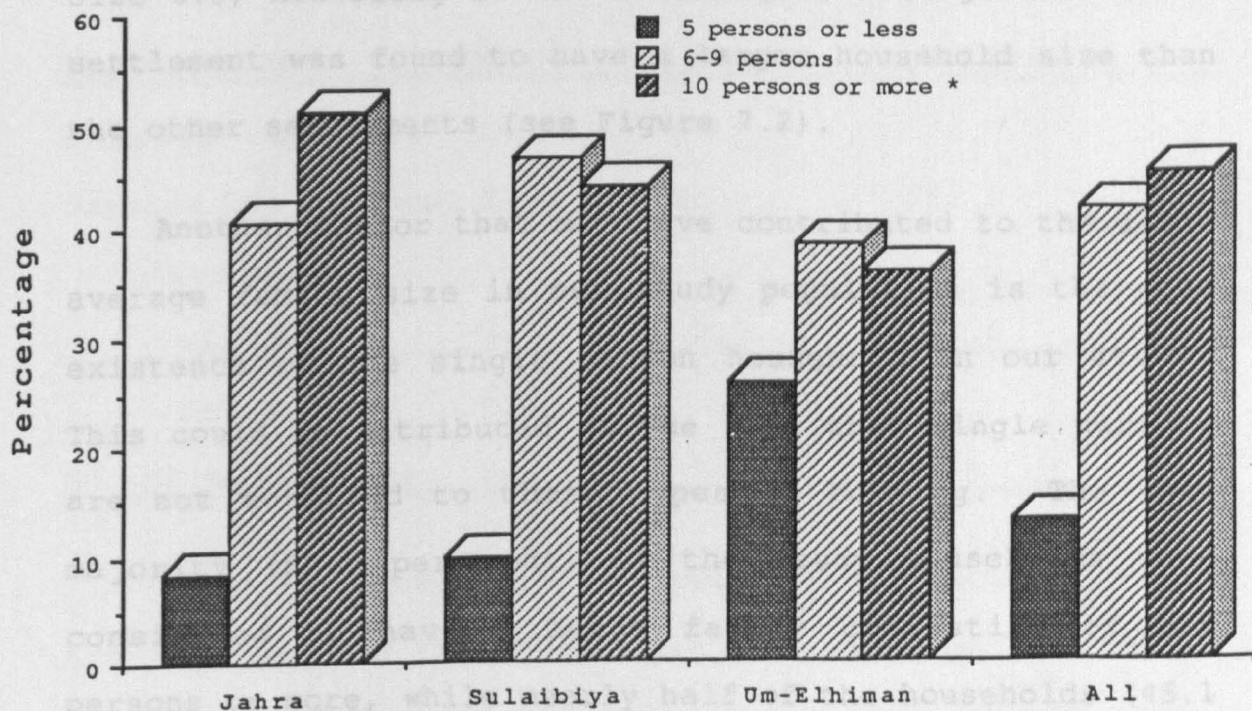


Figure 7.2: Household size by type of settlement

the three settlements Jahra had larger households (6 persons or more) than Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman (91.6 per cent vs. 90.4 and 74.3 per cent respectively). The study also indicated that there were more small families (3 to 5 persons) in Um-Elhiman than the others (25.7 vs. 8.4 and 9.6 per cent) for Jahra and Sulaibiya respectively.

It is also worth mentioning that the investigator had problems in obtaining the age and sex structure of the household members. The investigator was not allowed to ask about the female side of the household because it was considered special and private for them and a serious problem could arise if this information had been demanded.

popular housing (in the three different towns) to be 43.4 per cent. Our results reveal an average of 9.0 persons per household, higher than the national average household size 6.5, according to the 1985 census. In general Jahra settlement was found to have a larger household size than the other settlements (see Figure 7.2).

Another factor that may have contributed to the large average family size in our study population is the non-existence of the single person household in our study. This could be attributed to the fact that single persons are not entitled to these types of housing. The vast majority (87.0 per cent) of the study households were considered to have a large family consisting of six persons or more, while nearly half of the households (45.1 per cent) were consisting of 10 persons or more. Comparing the three settlements Jahra had larger households (6 persons or more) than Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman (91.6 per cent vs. 90.4 and 74.3 per cent respectively). The study also indicated that there were more small families (1 to 5 persons) in Um-Elhiman than the others (25.7 vs. 8.4 and 9.6 per cent) for Jahra and Sulaibiya respectively.

It is also worth mentioning that the investigator had problems in obtaining the age and sex structure of the household members. The investigator was not allowed to ask about the female side of the household because it was considered special and private for them and a serious problem could arise if this information had been demanded.

This attitude could be attributed to the background of the tenants of popular housing.

Table 7.7 Marital status by type of settlement

Marital status	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
married one wife	71.3	80.8	84.7	78.3
married two or more	25.9	14.9	11.5	18.5
divorced	2.1	2.2	1.3	1.9
widow	0.7	2.2	2.6	1.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

Table 7.7 shows that 96.8 per cent of the respondents are married, one fourth of whom have more than one wife, which represents 18.5 per cent of the total respondents. This feature contributes to the large household size occurring in the study sample. The remaining 3.2 per cent is occupied by Kuwait females who have been divorced or became a widow. One case was recorded in Sulaibiya where a husband remained unmarried after the death of his wife.

More than one quarter (26.3 per cent) of total respondents had one to four children. This proportion might indicate that there is a tendency toward family planning in reducing the dominant feature of the large family size. However, this assumption is not generally true as multi-marriages often occur in the society. Respondents who have from five to seven children, were representative of

more than half (52.9 per cent) of the total sample, and the remaining proportion (20.8 per cent) had eight or more children, which reveals the high level of fertility. However, the income which these larger families have cannot easily support so large a family.

The age distribution of the household members indicates that nearly two thirds of the study population (61.2 per cent) is less than fifteen years of age. From this we conclude that a larger number of dependents rely upon the head of the household than in other undeveloped countries. While the male children who are 18 years or more represent a very few (3.7 per cent) from the study population, they do not play a significant role in raising the total income for the household.

7.2 Housing conditions

One of the major aims of this work is to examine comprehensively all the physical elements in the residential environment in order to determine the following; a) the physical condition of the living environment, b) the availability of facilities and storage, and c) housing density. Type of the dwelling has been discussed earlier in chapter five.

It is worth mentioning that the writer found a high level of co-operation from popular housing occupants in discussing housing conditions and problems. The respondents were very keen to find someone who has been raised

dents were very keen to find someone who has been raised with them trying to study their housing problems and raise their issues in order to attract the public and official attention. Thus the investigator was invited to see the interior of the house by most of the respondents interviewed, and to make a close inspection of the housing conditions they are living in. Another source for obtaining the above mentioned information was sought from the Housing Ministry and the Credit and Savings Bank.

The current dwellings, were built in two stages; the first settlement took place in Jahra and U-Elhiman which were both built by the Credit and Savings Bank. The second stage, which expanded the first settlement in Jahra and founded the other new town, Sulaibiya, was built by the National Housing Authority. It was helpful therefore, to examine the residences occupied by tenants prior to the move in order to get a closer look at the type and conditions of the previous living environment. Also it was helpful in making a comparison between the two environments.

7.2.1 Type of previous residence

The assumption made during the preliminary research was that most, if not all, of the tenants in popular housing were living in shanty areas, because this type of low-cost housing was built originally to get rid of shanties and move their occupants to the new settlements.

But this was not true. As can be seen in Table 7.8, almost half of the respondents (49.5 per cent) were living in a different type of accommodation from shanties. In fact, they were living in private rented housing prior to the move to the current dwellings built by the government. They were encouraged to move to the present residence for several reasons. Among them was the need for cheaper housing, to be near relative and friends who moved to these neighbourhoods and they wanted to follow them, but, most importantly, because there was no other alternative.

Table 7.8: Type of previous dwelling

Type of dwelling	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Traditional	17.5	22.3	32.1	22.5
Limited-income	7.7	7.4	9.0	7.9
Villa	1.4	1.1	2.6	1.6
Flat	2.8	3.2	19.2	7.0
Annex	11.2	10.6	9.0	10.5
Shanty	59.4	55.4	28.2	50.5
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

The findings indicate that half of the respondents (50.5 per cent) were living in shanties before moving to their present house. Since the numbers of shanties demolished were roughly the same as the numbers of popular houses built, this implied that a huge number of the

shanty dwellers did not have the chance to move to the new accommodation. The new houses were divided equally between the Housing Ministry to be distributed for the Kuwaitis, and the Defence Ministry which in turn distributed its share to its employees.

A significant difference between the towns has been found. Respondents who were living in shanties at Jahra and Sulaibiya represented 59.4 and 55.4 per cent respectively, while Um-Elhiman respondents living in shanties represented only 28.2 per cent. This was followed by respondents who were renting old Arab housing or traditional ones who represented nearly a quarter (22.5 per cent) of the total respondents. The respondents who were living in annexments accounted for one-tenth of the sample. The people who were living in flats represented 7.0 per cent, most of whom were non-Kuwaiti immigrants. Significant difference has been found between the three settlements. Um-Elhiman has more respondents who used to occupy flats than Jahra and Sulaibiya.

Respondents who were living in rented limited-income housing represented 7.9 per cent and the few who were sharing villas with their families accounted for 1.6 per cent. With the exception of those who live in villas or limited-income housing, which tend to offer more space and utilities, those who were living in annexes and flats tended to enjoy only a small dwelling which offered little privacy for occupants.

These findings may suggest that the majority of the respondents, regardless of previous occupancy status and type of dwelling, were living in an environment that is associated with several difficulties: finding a cheap house or going along with many friends, they were more than happy to move to the new settlements. Later on the situation completely changed, but still this is the best choice they have from the government.

7.2.2 Popular housing

As previously mentioned, popular housing is a low-cost accommodation built by the government in order to get rid of the ugly scenery of shanties, which spoils the appearance of the newly modern rich country and to replace the squatters with better living conditions. The popular housing as a traditional Arab housing unit emerged in 1970, when the Credit and Saving Bank was entrusted with the responsibility of building the first squatter rehousing project. These settlements were built in Jahra and UM-Elhiman, and consist of 6,958 housing units, each plot or unit occupying an area of 150 square meters. The house contains either two or three rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and a shady place. All these facilities were built surrounding an open courtyard. Generally both settlements were built as prefabricated back to back terraces. Al-Moosa mentioned that

"The layout of each settlement is divided by parallel roads into micro areas. These micro areas

are housing units, each of them, composed of housing blocks which are the smallest urban unit" (Al-moosa, 1976).

A second scheme was drawn up to expand the idea of popular housing. This time the National Housing Authority was in charge of the designing and implementing of these settlements. The programme expanded the project in Jahra by adding 4,150 new housing units to the settlement, and created a new site in Sulaibiya to build 5,546 housing units. The new dwellings were built from cement blocks, consisting of three bedrooms, reception room, kitchen, bathroom and a front yard to be a small garden (see chapter five for more detail). One of the agreements between the Housing Ministry and the dwellers is that no alteration should be made to the houses. In the next chapter we will deal with those alterations which were made and who was responsible for maintaining the dwellings.

Table 7.9, shows the occupancy per room and the number of rooms per occupied dwelling in different countries. It is clearly seen that these settlements are suffering from overcrowding. In Kuwait as a whole the occupancy per room (persons per room) averaged 1.6, compared with our study area of 2.7. The number of rooms per occupied dwelling averaged 3.6, with the majority (72 per cent) occupying four rooms. This indicates that the number of persons per

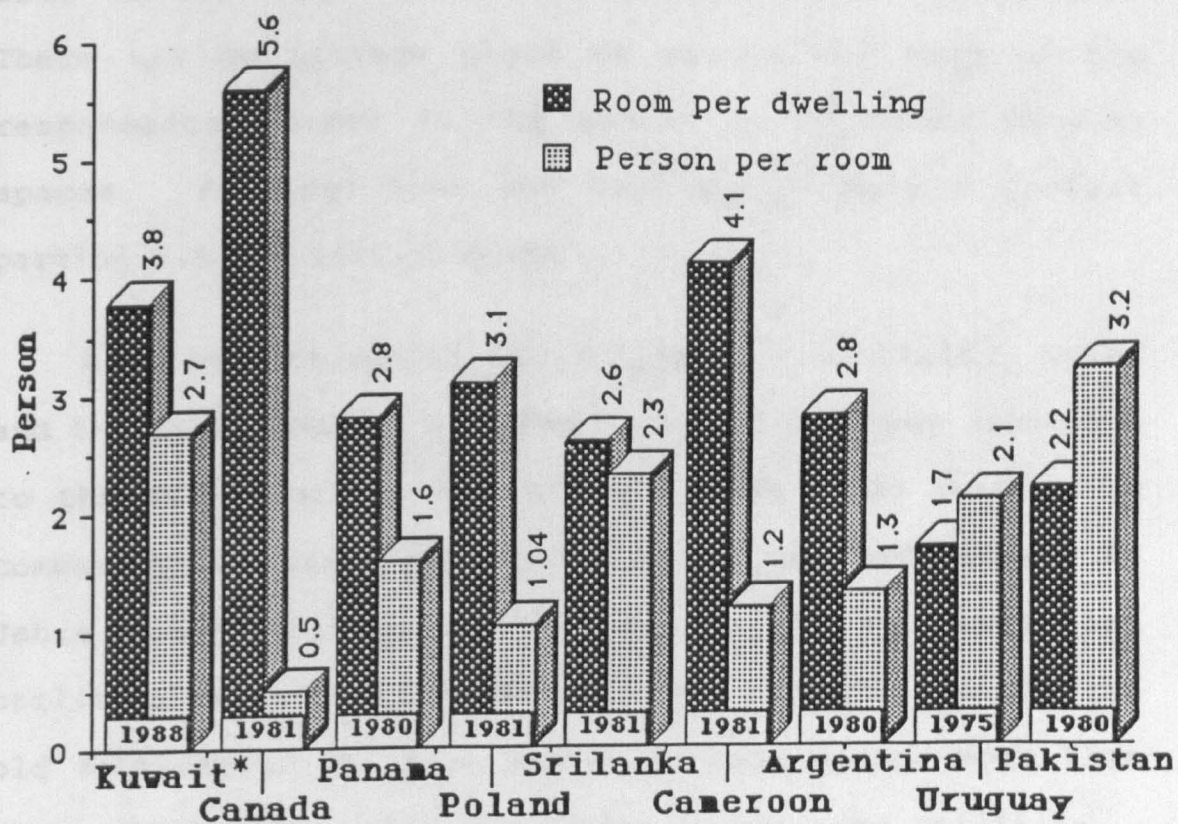
room is considered among the highest in the world, comparable to Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Uruguay.

Table 7.9: Comparison of density by country (urban-areas)

Country	year	rooms per occupied dwelling	persons per room
Kuwait	1985	4.5	1.6
Canada	1981	5.6	0.50
Panama	1980	2.8	1.60
Poland	1981	3.1	1.04
Sri Lanka	1981	2.6	2.30
Cameroon	1981	4.1	1.20
Argentina	1980	2.8	1.30
Uruguay	1975	1.7	2.10
Pakistan	1980	2.2	3.20
The study area	1988	3.6	2.70

Source: United Nation Statistical Year Book, 1985, 86.

Bearing in mind that these settlements were created in order to demolish squatter settlements and raise living standards, we found that the dwellings lacked the basic facilities. The government dealt with the issue as purely a housing problem. So they moved the people from one place to another without considering the other factors or sides of the problem. Moreover, the houses are surrounded from three sides by neighbours. In only four cases has it been known that the respondent has used the vacant land as



* Referred to the study area

Figure 7.3: Comparison of density rate by country

a garden (due to the location of the house in the corner of the block) mainly using it as a sitting area in the evening for him and his friends. There was no playing area for children, and most of them played in the streets. There was no storage place or garage and most of the respondents parked in the street or in other parking spaces. Kuwaits' heat and sand-storms make a distant parking place a real problem.

All the settlements had access to electricity, water and telephone except Um-Elhiman which is neither connected to the main drainage system nor having piped water. In comparing the areas we found that the new settlements in Jahra and Sulaibiya had access to all the essential utilities before their tenants moved into them, while the old settlements in Jahra and Um-Elhiman waited more than eight years before they had access to the same utilities.

It is worth mentioning that the majority of the respondents, especially those who were living in shanties, had some experience of living without most of the previous services for several years before moving to their present dwellings. Some had used a portable generator for electricity, while others relied on the water tankers to provide them with water.

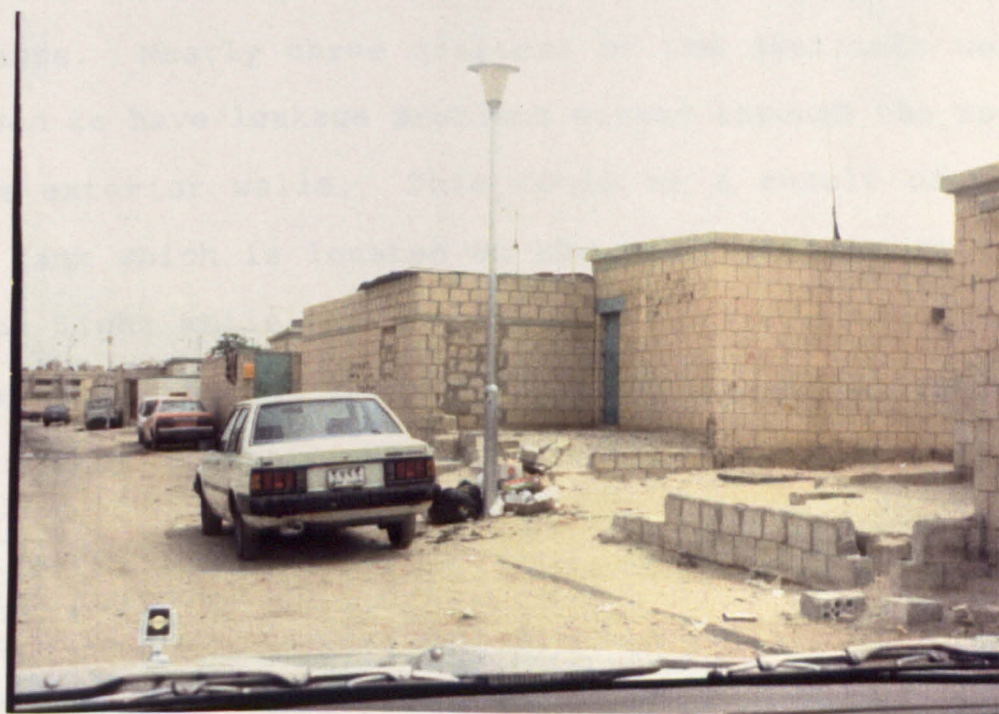


Plate 7.2: Cracks and other deteriorating problems

7.2.3 The physical condition of dwellings

By observing the general physical conditions of the dwellings from outside, the most dangerous problems found were cracks. While the field observation showed that the majority of the dwellings have such problems, a considerable number of them were serious. This was due to the dwellings' age which was considered to be old, the lack of regular maintenance, and the poor construction work. It was found to occur more often in Um-Elhiman and Jahra, especially in the old settlement, than in Sulaibiya (see Plate 7.2).

Water leakage was a serious problem facing the occupants. Nearly three quarters of the dwellings were observed to have leakage problems either through the roof or the exterior walls. This could be a result of the water tank which is located on the roof, and exposed to the sun light while the summer temperature in the shade reaches more than 45 degrees C. The previous problem thus created another problem; that of damp and peeling paint which was considered to be the most frequent and common occurrence.

Another problem was found in the hazardous wiring extended on the exterior walls of the dwelling in order to light the extended place (tents or side yard which were used as a sitting area for males). This problem could act as a major threat to the safety of the residents and

especially to the children. Moreover, it is exacerbated in bad weather conditions, as well as during rain in the winter (see Plate 7.3).



Plate 7.3: Hazardous wiring extended on exterior walls

As the settlements have been observed from outside we can conclude that the general condition of the majority of dwellings ranged between fair and satisfactory condition. Table 7.10 shows that nearly half of the dwellings (40.3 per cent) were in a deteriorating condition and required major repairs or replacing. Significant differences were found between the settlements, especially Um-Elhiman and Sulaibiya. The deterioration of dwellings in Um-Elhiman

accounted for two thirds (67.9 per cent) of the housing, compared with 44.8 and 10.8 per cent for Jahra and Sulaibiya respectively.

This was due to the fact that Jahra had two settlements, new and old, while Sulaibiya had only a new settlement, and Um-Elhiman had the old settlement only. Almost one quarter of all houses (23.8 per cent) were of satisfactory condition.

Table 7.10 Condition of the dwelling as observed from outside

<u>Condition of dwelling</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Good	4.2	12.7	0.0	5.7
Satisfactory	16.7	47.9	7.7	23.8
Fair	34.3	28.6	24.4	30.2
Deteriorating	44.8	10.8	67.9	40.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

Statistically significant at the .05 level

Another significant difference has been found between the three settlements. While housing with satisfactory conditions represent nearly half of the dwellings (47.9 per cent) in Sulaibiya, it did not reach even one fifth in the other towns, and only a few (5.7 per cent) of the studied dwellings were in a good condition, and these were mainly found in Sulaibiya. This could be attributed to

the fact that the settlements in Um-Elhiman and part of Jahra are older than Sulaibiya.

The previous discussion concerning popular housing shows that these houses are in desperate need of repairs or replacement, and, while they are the smallest built by the government, they accommodate multi-households or large families. The overcrowding was obvious in these settlements. The respondents were very generous towards the writer, and nearly half of the residents interviewed invited the investigator inside the dwelling which, in turn, enabled him to have a closer inspection and clearer idea about their living situation. In addition, the respondent's perceptions about problem within the interior of the dwellings were carefully considered to be relied upon for illustrating the living conditions. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

With regard to the quality of these dwellings, they may be considered far better than the previous accommodation (especially for those who were living in shanties); they offered more safety, utilities and better construction. However, they still have many problems. These problems are the deterioration in the housing conditions which can be attributed to the following: the most important reason is that there was no regular maintenance for the building. Other reasons are lack of supervision from the authorities, the poor construction work, the materials used for building and carelessness about the

dwellings. Due to the fact that they do not own the house nor have any kind of security of tenure, occupants are uncertain of how long they will be in the house. Regarding this, Cullingworth mentioned that tenure is a crucial factor as incentive for the improvement of the house and increasing the efficiency of it. He stated that

"renter has no long term interest in his house and regards it as essentially a hire of some one else's property, while the owner occupier has a very real incentive to care for, maintain and improve his own capital"
(Cullingworth, 1968).

7.3 Neighbourhood characteristics

The living environment in which the people live and spend most of their time cannot be defined simply as the dwelling itself. It also includes the surrounding environment and the immediate neighbourhood of that dwelling. In order to obtain a clear view and understanding of the living environment, it was required to assess the physical characteristics of the immediate neighbourhood, to judge the availability of important services and their conditions.

Due to the fact that these settlements were provided by the government, the land used was completely residential and featured a low-rise building profile (one

storey accommodation). While these settlements were erected in different parts of the country, some were located in the old town such as Jahra, others were built in a new areas such as Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman. This has a potential influence in providing services and infrastructures which would affect the neighbourhood quality, and therefore also the respondents' satisfaction about the living environment.

7.3.1 Availability of essential neighbourhood services

From the above illustration, one can predict that the settlement in Jahra had the advantage of being built in the old city of Jahra, and most of the services were nearby. Generally it can be readily seen that a small number of the study residents enjoy accessibility to primary services such as public schools, co-operative society, local mosque and clinic, within walking distance, while the majority of residents have to use some kind of transportation to reach these services.

Other services such as hospitals, fire stations and shopping centres seem to be accessible to most of the residents in Jahra and Sulaibiya, while the nearest hospital to Um-Elhiman is twenty miles away. Public transportation service was lacking to the majority of residents, as the buses pass behind the settlements without actually going through them. This fact made the residents dependent on their private vehicles for transportation.

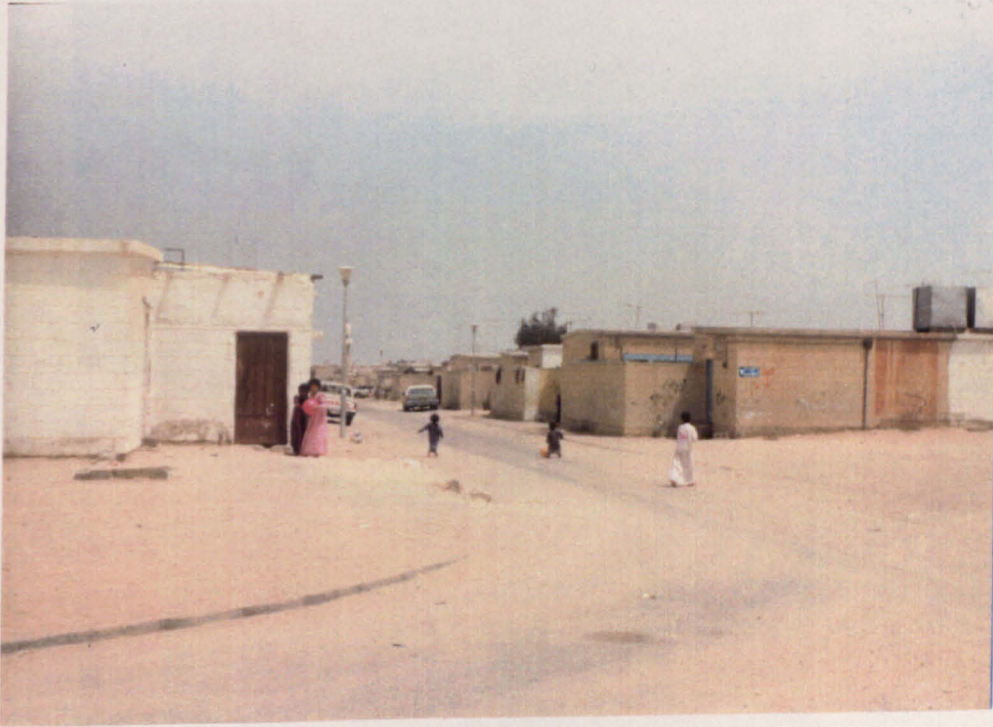


Plate 7.4: Children playing in the street

However, all the settlements lacked the availability of recreational facilities, especially parks and playgrounds for children. It is quite a common scene to find children playing in the streets or in vacant lots that they find close to their homes. Unfortunately, most of these areas are unsafe because they are located in the middle of the traffic, and they are not clean and could cause some health problems to the children (see Plate 7.4).



Plate 7.5: Abandoned dwellings in Jahra settlement

In considering the neighbourhood characteristics, there are significant differences where it appears that residents in Jahra have access to the hospital and the parks in the old town. However, in the other neighbourhoods, accessibility to such facilities seems more difficult due to their lack in the neighbourhood and the long distance to the others in different areas.

7.3.2 Conditions of the neighbourhood and evidence of deterioration problems

During the fieldwork, the investigator observed that, in the vast majority of the streets in front of the respondents' dwellings, the pavements were covered with sand and dirt.

Significant differences were found between the various settlements. The previous problem was more extensive and widespread in Um-Elhiman and Jahra especially in the old settlement. In regard to the general street conditions, street lighting does not exist due to vandalism and lack of maintenance from the authorities and seems to be more prevalent in the old settlements.

Another serious problem was the occurrence of abandoned dwellings in a state of disrepair or destruction, which is frequently an indication of a deterioration problem in the area (see Plate 7.5). All of these forsaken buildings were found in the old settlement of Jahra and Um-Elhiman settlements. One of the authorities



Plate 7.6: Dirt and sewages overflow in middle of the street and destroyed dwelling used as dumping area

responded, when he was asked by the investigator regarding this problem, by saying that repairs and maintenance are the tenants' responsibility and secondly the old settlements in Jahra and Um-Elhiman would be demolished in the near future.

Another sign of deterioration is the presence of trash and litter in some neighbourhoods. This problem appears mainly in Um-Elhiman and Jahra old settlements. The abandoned and destroyed dwellings encouraged some individuals to use them as dumping areas for garbage as well as unwanted belongings (see Plate 7.6).

One of the things that attracted the investigator's attention during the survey was that a number of residents had erected tents in front of their dwellings. These were used as a reception or a sitting area for the males. This phenomena indicates the small size of the dwellings which is not sufficient for the large number of people living inside (see Plate 7.7). The previous two problems seem to appear more frequently in Jahra and Um-Elhiman, while the housing in Sulaibiya shows evidence of residents' caring about the dwellings and their neighbourhood.

It is worth noting that the study revealed another deterioration problem: that of a number of hawkers who are doing good business in these settlements. This is a violation of the law, but the authorities are careless in these neighbourhoods and this has encouraged the hawkers

to increase. This situation may get worse and could cause a serious health problem to the tenants. The large number of hawkers in this neighbourhood could be attributed to the lack of grocery stores in the area. A branch of the main supermarket had been serving the old settlements and a supermarket served the new ones.

Another common problem is the lack of residential parking lots. The problem becomes more prevalent if we consider that most of the residents depend on their private cars. Furthermore the layout of the neighbourhood in a grid system characterized by narrow streets with more than twenty five housing units on each side , combined with multi family occupation has worsened the situation, leaving some of the residents to find parking in other places.

7.4 Summary and discussion

In the previous data, analysis indicates that the vast majority of our respondents were non-Kuwaitis. This high figure does not match with the government data, which implies that a considerable number of tenants were sub-leasing their dwellings to others. At the same time the assumption made during the preliminary research that all tenants were previously living in shanty areas was not true. A large number of the respondents were in rental accommodation. The majority of tenants were middle-aged with large families and different levels of income.



Plate 7.7: Extending the house by erecting tents and shade space

The main occupation among the respondents was army and police personnel.

Our observations indicate that several problems were confronted by most of the respondents while living in such an environment. Among these were the deterioration of housing conditions and the lack of privacy which is a fundamental need for the people in this region. During the site visitation, we observed also some signs of deficiencies in the neighbourhood. These were indicated by the presence of hawkers, uncleanness, and the tents which were used as a sitting area for males.

Furthermore, most of the residents were having some difficulties in gaining access to the basic services. All of the study areas still lacked recreational facilities such as parks and playgrounds for children, and since these places were not available, or were far away from their homes, the childrens' needs were met in the street in front of their homes, or in the vacant lots nearby. They were exposed to the unhealthy environment near dirt and garbage and the danger of traffic. Furthermore, the surrounding residents were annoyed by the noise and were sometimes the victims of vandals who destroyed cars or outdoor lights.

During the fieldwork, we noticed that some of the respondents were using the vacant land near their homes as a garden. However, only the dwellings in the corner of

the blocks can benefit from this. Thus there is an urgent need for major repairs or replacement where significant differences in housing conditions have been found in the settlements. While the space of dwellings is small for the number of people living in these areas, there is a hope that it will meet the residents' demands and satisfy their needs if the quality of their housing is improved.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Evaluating the popular housing

As stated before, the core of this investigation is to evaluate and ascertain the social and physical conditions of popular housing, in the light of their tenant's perception, assessment and housing needs. This chapter is an attempt to obtain an answer to the question of how effective is the popular housing solution. The chapter is divided into three major sections:

The first presents the respondents' perception of the problems of the living environment. Fields of interest to be examined in this portion are problems related to the dwelling itself and to the immediate neighbourhood that surrounds the dwelling.

Secondly; the respondents' attitude to and evaluation of their dwellings: in this section we will explore what the respondents like or dislike most about their dwellings, and how satisfied they are with their dwellings.

Finally, we examine the respondents' attitude to and evaluation of their neighbourhoods. After analysing the characteristics of the immediate neighbourhood in which the respondents live, and the respondents' perception of problems related to the neighbourhood, the last division will discuss the extent to which the previous aspects,

along with other aspects, may influence the respondents' evaluation of their neighbourhood.

8.1 Perception of the dwelling

After recording several problems relating to the dwelling during the preliminary visit to the study area, respondents' perception toward these problems and others have been sought.

The problems gathered were formed into different categories which were later addressed to the informants in order to measure to what extent the residents truly suffered from these problems. These categories were as follows: maintenance and structure related problems, design related problems, size related problems and, finally, social and health related problems. It is thought that it might be helpful to discuss the reasons influencing the respondents to move to the present dwelling, before dealing with the other problems.

Table 8.1 shows that among the most important reasons mentioned for choosing the present house was that there was no better alternative in economic and social terms. Nearly one third of the respondents (32.7 per cent) stated the above reason. The second most important reason was the government's policy in providing these dwellings after demolishing their shanties. This was mentioned by 29.8 per cent of the respondents. The investigator responded to the informants' answers by saying that they have another al-

ternative in which the government offer a rent allowance for those who did not get popular housing. The respondents' most common reaction was to say that was true, but

"we are a large household and its very difficult to find suitable accommodation with a reasonable rent. Moreover, in renting we are not allowed to make any changes to meet our needs".

Table 8.1: Reason for choosing present house.

Reasons	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
No better alternative	42.7	25.5	23.1	32.7
Government policy	28.0	39.4	21.8	29.8
Cheap house	11.9	17.1	32.1	18.5
Near to work	4.2	6.4	21.8	9.2
Near relatives and friend	11.2	10.6	1.3	8.6
Like house & area	2.1	1.1	0.0	1.2
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Respondents	143	94	78	315

statistically significant at the .01 level

Regarding this, significant differences were found between the various settlements. Nearly half (42.7 per cent) of the respondents in Jahra were influenced by the latter reason, more than the other settlements where only 25.5 and 23.1 per cent gave this reply in Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman respectively. The economic factor played a major role in

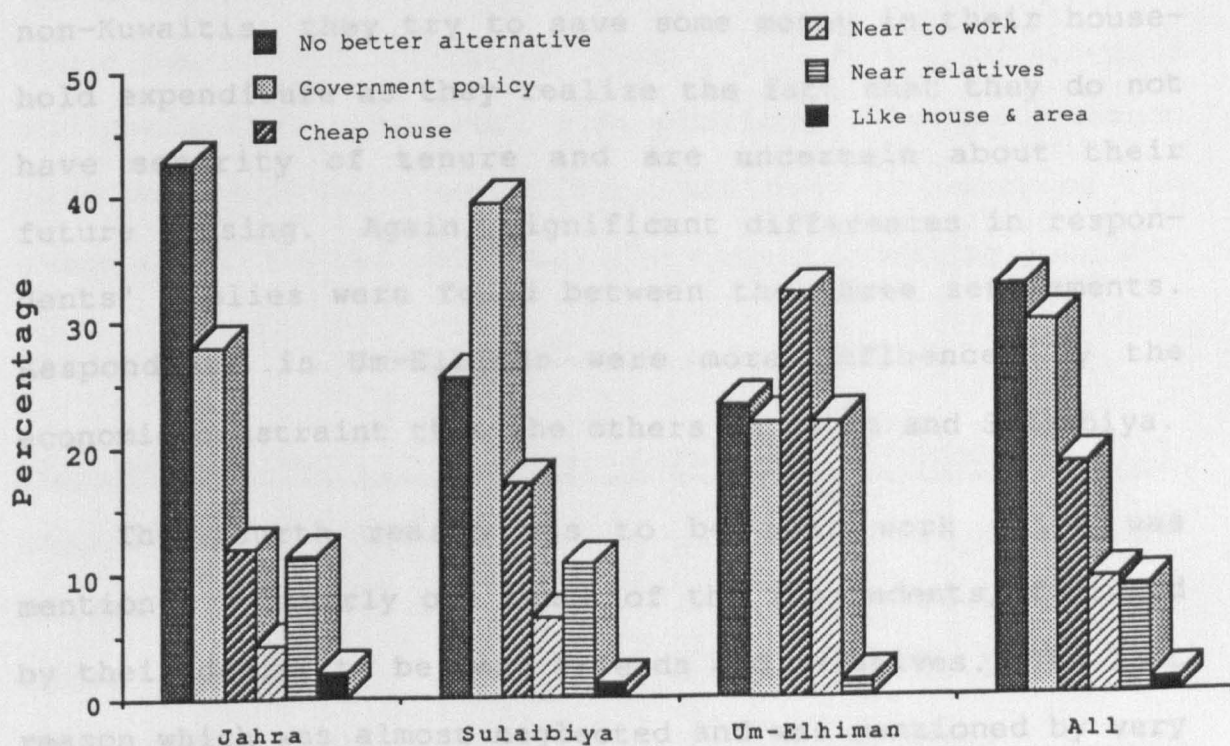


Figure 8.1: Reason for choosing present house

From the above discussion, one could expect that several problems would be encountered by the respondents while living in these buildings. Some of these problems were permanent ones and the respondents will have to live with them.

deciding to move to the present house. The cheap rent of this type of housing came as a third reason and accounted for 18.5 per cent. Because most of the respondents were non-Kuwaitis, they try to save some money in their household expenditure as they realize the fact that they do not have security of tenure and are uncertain about their future housing. Again, significant differences in respondents' replies were found between the three settlements. Respondents in Um-Elhiman were more influenced by the economic constraint than the others in Jahra and Sulaibiya.

The fourth reason was to be near work which was mentioned by nearly one tenth of the respondents, followed by their desire to be near friends and relatives. The last reason which was almost neglected and was mentioned by very few (1.2 per cent), was that they liked the area or the type of housing and design. From the previous discussion one can conclude that the reasons which influenced most of the residents in moving to the present dwelling may have had a determining impact on the living environment conditions. For example, giving the inhabitant a chance to choose the living environment will make him more interested in preserving the area and keeping it tidy.

From the above discussion, one could expect that several problems would be encountered by the respondents while living in these buildings. Some of these problems were permanent ones and the respondents will have to live with them.

8.1.1: Construction-related problems

As shown in Table 8.2, when respondents were asked about any problems with their dwelling since they moved to their present accommodation, nearly all of the respondents indicated that there were some problems. The most common problem which was mentioned by the vast majority of the respondents (86 per cent) was the damp and peeling paint.

Table 8.2: Structure related problems:

<u>Kind of problem</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Damp & peeling paint	88.8	75.5	93.6	86.0
Cracks	85.3	57.5	82.1	76.2
Water leakage	78.3	67.0	79.5	75.2
Need restoration	65.7	43.6	87.2	64.6

(Some respondents mentioned more than one problem)

Statistically significant at 0.01 level

This could be attributed to both the bad weather conditions occurring in the area and to the design of the settlements. Significant differences had been found between Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman settlements. The latter seems to have this problem more often with 93.6 per cent vs. 75.5 per cent respectively. The second most frequently mentioned problem which was considered to be a serious one and which needs major repair, was cracking. This accounted for more than three quarters (76.2 per cent). The water leakage problem was third, and was mentioned by almost three-quarters of the respondents (75.2 per cent). The fourth most

frequently mentioned problem was that the dwelling needed restoration and major repairs. Significant differences were found between the different settlements.

Respondents in Um-Elhiman mentioned this problem more than those in Sulaibiya (87.2 per cent vs. 43.6 per cent respectively). This could be attributed to the age of building and type of materials used. In addition, the lack of preliminary studies before setting out the plan might have affected the quality of the work in these settlements. This fact was pointed out in a report published by the company which won the tender for building the first rehousing projects in Jahra and Um-Elhiman. The report added that:

"when typical human groups are in question, in this case the Bedouins, the problem is perhaps even more complicated, and it surpasses the framework of the study in a restricted architectural and constructional sense. Above all, this problem deserves the attention of scientific and research institutions: historical, demographic, economic, social and finally urban architectural-engineering. In order that one such important project is successful, it is necessary to analyse this problem from all angles. Unfortunately, the time at our disposal was too short to approach this problem fully in this manner. For this reason, international experience in this field and studies of Kuwait based on long observations have been used here" (Al-Moosa, 1976).

Table 8.3: Responsibility for maintaining the house

Responsibility for maintaining the house	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Housing Ministry	60.1	60.6	44.9	56.5
Don't know	13.3	14.9	20.5	15.6
Tenants	10.5	17.0	20.5	14.9
Both	16.1	7.4	14.1	13.0

However, these problems raised the question of who is responsible for maintaining these dwellings. The majority of our respondents (56.5 per cent) indicated that the Housing Ministry should maintain the dwellings, due to their ownership of the buildings, while 15.6 per cent did not know who was responsible for maintaining the house. The rest claimed that it was the tenants' responsibility or both (Housing Ministry and Tenants) who should share the responsibility (see Table 8.3).

8.1.2 Design related problems

As changes in the life cycle as well as style occur, additional needs will prevail, such as the desire to change the living space in order to accommodate future needs. For example, the increase in family size, the need for larger reception room, a separate room for the growing children. All of that represents a challenge to the present dwelling and whether it is possible to change the space arrangement to accommodate future needs (*Rossi, 1955; Cullingworth, 1968*).

Table 8.4: Design related problems

<u>Kind of problem</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Always hear neighbours when they are inside their home	87.4	79.0	83.5	83.5
Back to back terrace	76.7	79.0	82.3	79.0
Walls so low that overlooking is possible	94.9	73.4	63.9	77.1
Subject to climatological features (too hot in summer and too cold in winter)	54.9	87.2	71.8	72.1
The family has some difficulties in moving about inside the house when guests are present	74.2	52.6	43.1	58.7

The number of replies is larger than the number of respondents because multiple responses were possible

The most critical problem was related to privacy. It is an important aspect in every society with special reference to Arab muslims, particularly for those from bedouin origin (Al-Hathloul, 1978). Privacy, visual as well as physical, plays a major role in people's lifestyle, and intrusion into someone's private life could create tension and discomfort. As stated by Hietbrink;

"Privacy is essential for the individual and for the family. For the individual, it is necessary for self-realization and rejuvenation. Discovery of the self is a critical part of becoming a socialized individual. Equally important is interaction with others which starts within the family and expands to include wider circles. The family needs privacy to realize itself as a unit as does the individual. It is in the strength of the fam-

ily that the individual can find the security he needs for the process of becoming" (Hietbrink, et al, 1978).

Unlike the other type of housing in Kuwait, our study indicated that "in the popular housing" lack of privacy allowed the intrusion by others, either intentionally or unintentionally. The majority of the respondents (68.6 per cent) were claiming that their dwelling did not provide the adequate privacy they were used to (see Table 8.4). When the writer asked the respondents during the interview about how they experienced such problems, several aspects and complaints were mentioned. First, the walls were too low, making overlooking possible. Second, there are difficulties for the family, especially females, to move inside the house when guests are present. Third, they always hear neighbours when inside their homes. Finally, whenever the main entrance is opened, the interior is within the range of vision of people passing in the street or hallway. Significant differences have existed between the respondents' responses in the three settlements. Respondents in Jahra and Sulaibiya were more annoyed with this problem than those in Um-Elhiman. This might be related to the fact that a considerable number of the respondents in Um-Elhiman are foreigners and are more liberated than the others. In spite of the fact that the Housing Ministry regulations do not allow any alteration to be made to the house, many of the respondents tried to change the space

arrangement of the dwelling in order to accommodate some of their needs.

In dealing with these problems, we observed that many respondents had applied some devices depending on the context of the problem, such as adding height to the walls, and using opaque curtains between the guest room and the rest of the dwelling. While others took advantage of their dwelling location being in the corner of the block by erecting a tent to be used as a guest room or a reception (see Plate 8.1). Another common problem related to the design was that no attention had been given to the weather, which resulted in creating an unpleasant environment inside the house.

A primary function of any house is to provide the inhabitants with protection from antagonistic factors in the environment, such as cold, heat, dust, high wind, dangerous animals and even human enemies. It was for this reason that dwellings first originated. In consequence, one might suggest that a house which fails in this primary purpose, whatever other desirable attributes it may possess, is an architectural failure (*Macpherson, 1979*). However, since these dwellings were built in a traditional way, i.e. the rooms surrounded an open courtyard, this in turn exposed the wall and windows of the rooms to a tremendous amount of heat during the summer. The vast majority of the respondents, 72.1 per cent, indicated that, due to the dwelling design, it is very difficult to cool

the house during the summer season, while in the winter time they could not avoid the cold drafts which are created by the open courtyard which led them to depend on using the heaters to increase the temperature in the house. Regarding this matter, some respondents had covered all the courtyard in violation of the housing authority regulations.



Plate 8.1: Erected tent used as a guest room

8.1.3 Lack of space and health related problems

Overcrowding has been considered as inimical to health because it increases the chance for the transmission of

disease. Apart from this, however, humans are adversely affected by too close contact with their fellows (Macpherson, 1979). Nevertheless it is difficult to define overcrowding due to the varying circumstances and, moreover, standards of acceptability diversify with the social customs of the persons concerned. The absolute minimum acceptable space for an adult is perhaps three square metres but the minimum desirable area could well be twice that amount. In an affluent society like Kuwait, even twelve square meters would be regarded by some as undesirable overcrowding. In our study area, despite that the present dwellings to some extent offer more space than the previous accommodation, more than half (55.6 per cent) of the respondents think that the house is too small and there are not enough rooms in it (see Table 8.5). Another important element that all the study dwellings lacked is storage space. Our observation showed that some respondents tried to solve this by using the roof of the room as a storage place (see Plate 8.2).

As mentioned earlier, no attention has been given to the impact of the local climate. The dust storms in the summer find their way through the opening courtyard into the rooms, which in turn creates a bad atmosphere filled with dust assisting the spread of diseases such as asthma, hay fever and allergies. This unhealthy environment will decrease the individual productivity and strain their health. On the other hand, due to drafts of cold weather

in winter, the residents are more prone to the common cold and chest infections. Moreover, keeping the house clean and tidy is very difficult in these circumstances.

Table 8.5: Lack of space

Features	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
House too small	61.6	53.9	49.3	55.6
No storage space	31.5	42.1	29.2	34.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

Furthermore, a serious health threatening problem is caused by bad smells, insects, and rodents, which is a habitual problem in these settlements, due to the improper installation of the drainage system and the use of septic tanks in existing dwellings, which provides a hospitable environment for these objects.

When respondents were asked whether they made changes or alterations to deal with the previous problems and to improve the quality of their living environment, the majority of them (63.6 per cent) replied "We have no choice". Most of the changes were considered to be major repairs, such as fixing the roof of the rooms, or changing the electricity wiring. While the other problems, such as repainting or regular maintenance work, were ignored. One respondent commented on this by saying,

"we are spending our money on government properties. How could we maintain and improve such

housing that we do not own, in which we do not feel secure or stable, and do not know how long we are going to live at this home".

Regarding this matter, a high level of association had been found between spending to modify the dwelling and the tenure status of the occupants.



Plate 8.2: Resident using the roof as a storage place

8.2 Problems associated with the neighbourhood

A number of problems relating to the immediate neighbourhood surrounding the respondents' residence were

pointed out during the introductory parts of the fieldwork. These problems were formulated and directed to the respondents in order to gain insight as to how they intrinsically perceived them. Fields of interest were categorized as: social problems, street condition and parking shortages, and deteriorating or lack of neighbourhood services.

Taking into consideration the age and location of the settlements, we anticipated major differences in the respondents' replies because, firstly, the location of each settlement had a significant influence in the provision of any services and facilities to these areas. Since Um-Elhiman settlement is located in the fringe of the country, providing all the services seems to be a difficult task (especially for non-citizens). As a result, this area lacked neighbourhood services; the water is still provided to dwellings by tankers, and the drainage system is not connected to the main sewerage network.

Secondly, since the respondents' dwellings in both settlements Jahra and Um-Elhiman, were considered to be older because they were constructed in the first rehousing project, we expected that problems of deterioration will be revealed there. Also, perception of most of the previous problems would be higher among respondents in these settlements.

8.2.1 Social problems

In our preliminary field work, we looked at several problems concerning the social background, attitude and behaviour of the residents of popular housing. These problems were formed and addressed to the respondents to get an insight as to how deeply it is affecting their feeling and social attitudes. Also we aimed to explore the effect of this type of housing upon the residents' behaviour.

As can be seen in Table 8.6, that feeling of segregation and isolation from the community is the social aspect which most annoys the residents of popular housing, mentioned by 61.6 per cent of the respondents. Significant differences between the respondents' replies were found.

Table 8.6: Social related problems

	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Feeling of segregation	59.4	51.1	78.2	61.6
Stigma associated with popular housing	67.8	42.6	69.6	60.9
Shy to invite friends	52.4	45.7	62.8	53.0
Uncertainty & worry	28.7	38.3	25.6	30.8
Other social problems	19.6	15.9	29.5	20.9

Number of answers is larger than number of respondents because multiple responses were possible

Respondents in Um-Elhiman (78.2 per cent) who suffered from a feeling of segregation were more than those in Sulaibiya and Jahra (51.1 and 59.4 per cent respectively). These differences might be attributed to the isolated location, coupled with the authorities' unwillingness to maintain and develop the settlement like the other residential areas in the country. The stigma associated with popular housing was second and mentioned by 60.9 per cent of the total respondents. Many respondents stated that, due to the deteriorating living conditions in these settlements, the public consider the popular housing tenants to be bedouins, inferior and poorly educated. The third social problem, which was a result of the previous one, was that more than half of the respondents (53.0 per cent) mentioned that they feel embarrassed when asked about their address. Others were even reluctant to invite friends to their house. These replies reflect the tremendous psychological stress which the popular housing tenants are facing. In fact, in reviewing the public views about popular housing and their tenants, the study revealed that, for many Kuwaitis, popular housing is only an indistinct part of the country. It is generally labeled as an impoverished bedouin slum, a centre of corruption and even more spoiling the image of the modern state. Finally, nearly one fifth of the respondents (20.9 per cent) stated other problems, such as vandalism and deterioration.

8.2.2 Street condition and parking related problems

The overwhelming majority of the respondents indicated that there was no sidewalk in their immediate neighbourhood. Meanwhile more than half of the respondents (52 per cent) perceived the streets in their neighbourhoods to be in poor condition and covered with sand. Significant differences were found between Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman. Nearly three quarters of the respondents (72.3 per cent) in Um-Elhiman indicated that the streets in their neighbourhood were in poor condition compared to one third of the respondents (33.7 per cent) in Sulaibiya. This might be attributed to the bad location (in the periphery of the country) which exposed the settlement to the dust storms prevailing in the region. This has been coupled with lack of regular maintenance and cleaning from the authorities. Another criticism mentioned by some respondents was that the street lighting in their neighbourhood was inadequate or had been vandalized.

In the light of the previous findings, suggesting the poor condition of the streets, and bearing in mind the high density rate in these settlements, one could expect that they will have parking problems and jammed streets. Consequently some residents would park their cars in a reckless manner, regardless of the width or importance of the street, and it is not uncommon to see cars blocking the street. More than half of the respondents (51.4 per cent) mentioned that they used to park in the street (see Table

8.7), while others were trying to find some shade in order to protect their cars from direct sun, especially during the summer. Referring to this, 44.1 per cent of the respondents indicated that they parked their cars in the shade of their dwelling.

Table 8.7: Street condition and parking related problems

	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Street in poor condition	51.8	33.7	72.3	52.0
Park in the streets	57.4	46.3	44.2	51.4
Inadequate street lighting	49.3	41.2	64.8	47.8
Park in dwelling shade	43.7	48.6	39.1	44.1
Other parking space	4.9	4.1	3.9	4.4

Number of answers is larger than number of respondents because multiple responses were possible

Very few (4.4 per cent) mentioned that they parked in vacant lots or in the parking space of the Mosque. The general problem of parking can be assigned to the fact that adequate planning for population growth in these settlements did not exist.

8.2.3 Deterioration and lack of neighbourhood services

Deterioration problems such as the existence of abandoned structures or buildings in run-down condition were found to be more prevalent in older neighbourhoods than in the newer ones. This resulted from the lack of regular and proper maintenance by the present occupier, as

well as the long-standing neglect by the authorities. Another problem pointed out by nearly one third of the respondents, was that the vacant lots were abused by the residents through the dumping of garbage and dirt. Furthermore, they presume there is trash and litter in their neighbourhood, which is in turn, threatening the health and safety of the residents, particularly the children who have no play ground except the streets. Significant differences were found between settlements regarding the previous problems, which indicated that Um-Elhiman and Jahra settlements were experiencing those problems more often than Sulaibiya settlement. These findings enhanced our preliminary assumption that perception about deteriorating problems would be higher in old settlements.

Regarding community services, it was mentioned earlier that at the time of our inspection in the study area we noticed that most of the children's activities occurred on the street or vacant lots in the neighbourhood. Most of these areas are unsuitable environments for such functions due to the fact that they are exposed, prone to accidents, and unhealthy places. The survey revealed that one of the major complaints was the lack of recreational facilities and playgrounds for the children. Another complaint mentioned by nearly three quarters (73.3 per cent) of the respondents, was that no chemist has been provided for the neighbourhoods, while the other social services such as

schools, clinics, co-operatives, etc., were not found to be sufficient.

8.3 Attitude and evaluation of present dwelling

A prime objective of this study is to determine the respondents' attitude and evaluation of the present accommodation which has been provided through the government in order to rehouse the shanty dwellers. Obviously, we have not tried to evaluate housing conditions according to objective standards of amenity but rather to obtain tenants' subjective evaluations of the conditions in which they live. Before discussing respondents' attitude, we thought it might be helpful to measure the extent of the various factors affecting the residents' assessment of housing conditions. Regarding this, a specific open-ended question was addressed to the respondents which dealt with the advantages and disadvantages of their housing conditions, and the relative importance of the criteria they used in evaluating these conditions. They have been asked to list the factors in order of importance, the average rankings of the items on a ten point scale are given in Table 8.8.

From Table 8.8, it is clear that respondents considered ownership of the house by far the most important factor listed. Ownership received an average ranking of 1.86 on the ten point scale as compared with an average ranking of 3.21 for the next most important factor "Rent".

The responses reflected continuing concern and anxiety of the residents about security of tenure and the uncertain housing future facing them. Roberts et al (1977), clarify this when they point out that ownership protects the occupants from the uncertainties of tenancy and reliance on others. Meanwhile, ownership provides self-esteem.

Table 8.8: Respondents' ranking of factors affecting their assessment of housing conditions.

<u>Factor affecting assessment</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Ownership	1.84	1.72	2.07	1.86
Low rent	3.04	3.87	2.74	3.21
Size of dwelling	3.68	4.54	4.35	4.17
Type of dwelling	5.55	4.21	5.10	5.04
Housing facilities	5.14	5.72	4.65	5.19
Privacy	5.50	5.60	6.52	5.78
Nearness to place of work	6.80	8.25	6.61	7.19
Community services	7.25	6.58	7.92	7.20
Near friends & relatives	7.33	6.89	8.01	7.37
Recreational facilities	8.83	7.84	6.98	8.07
No. of Respondents	143	94	78	315

Average rankings based on scale of 1 to 10

Furthermore, Rakoff (1977), highlighted this aspect, that the house symbolized personal control in two ways: first, having control or owning the private living space offers a feeling of freedom from the control and intrusion of others. Second, this feeling of controlling their own

private space would provide the power and the opportunity to achieve some kind of self-fulfilment.

Rent received a high ranking, and was the second most important factor affecting the assessment of housing conditions. The third most important factor affecting the attitudes towards housing was "size of the dwelling" which received high ranking particularly from those who are living in large households and suffering from overcrowding. This was followed by type of dwelling and housing facilities.

At the other end of the scale it was somewhat surprising that nearness to friends and relatives was not ranked as particularly important. This finding is especially stimulating in that some previous studies concerned with housing in Kuwait have proposed that people in new suburbs constantly regret the break-up of the traditional cohesiveness between family and other relatives (Al-Tehaih, 1981, Al-Monayees, 1985b). In general, there was close agreement on rankings among residents in the three settlements, the most dominant factor everywhere being ownership of housing. Statistically, significant differences in the respondents' replies were found between the various settlements. Respondents in Um-Elhiman ranked the nearness to place of work and recreational facilities as a rather more important factor than the other respondents in Jahra and Sulaibiya. This may reflect the difficulties that people have, due to the location of their dwelling, in

reaching their work and finding adequate social services that they can enjoy.

8.3.1 Feature liked most about present dwellings

As far as the actual home is concerned, the data of our study revealed that popular housing tenants are delighted with some basic points and they believed that the housing authorities had been helpful in taking their desperate needs for housing with adequate facilities into consideration and assigning them a house. This may be considered as a creditable finding from the point of view of the housing authority, who no doubt want to see that their ultimate objective (presumably to provide housing conditions with which people are satisfied) has been achieved, and at the same time, that the people rehoused are appreciating their change of environment. More than one third (36.2 per cent) of the respondents mentioned that they felt that their present dwelling offered them more facilities than their previous accommodation (such as electricity, water supply and sanitation) especially for those who were living in shanties (see Table 8.9).

A few respondents (8.1 per cent) liked the design of the house (traditional Arabian style with rooms surrounding an open courtyard) which they thought suited their tradition and culture. This positive attitude toward the design of Arab traditional style dwellings seemed to be related to the age of respondents. Those who were aged 55

years and over were more pleased with the design of the present dwellings, than the younger age group. This could be attributed to their past experience of living in the desert, which may reflect that they want to hold on to their old tradition. On the other hand the majority of the younger age group are trying to imitate foreign patterns and pursuing more modern western lifestyles.

Table 8.9: Feature liked most about present dwelling

Features	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Cheap Rent	41.3	44.1	52.0	41.3
Facilities of the house	35.1	40.6	39.6	36.2
Nothing	33.6	24.3	34.7	29.6
Design	7.1	9.9	10.4	8.1
Locational aspects	4.9	12.1	1.3	6.0

Number of answers is larger than number of respondents because multiple responses were possible

Cheap rents were found to be the most liked feature of the present dwelling. Over two fifths of the respondents (41.3 per cent) mentioned that low rent contributed to their length of residence at these settlements. This may explain the limited choices in the private sector which is mainly expensive. Another aspect mentioned by a few (6 per cent) was related to the location. This could be attributed to their proximity to work, relatives and friends. Regarding the previous aspect a significant difference was found to be occurring between the

respondents in the various settlements. Respondents in Sulaibiya liked features related to location more than Jahra and Um-Elhiman. Finally, and not surprisingly, there were relatively high numbers of respondents (29.6 per cent) who mentioned that there is nothing to be liked in these dwellings. This could be attributed to their dissatisfaction with several aspects, such as quality of construction, dwelling size and design and the appearance of the neighbourhood. Some of the respondents' comments were:

"Our household consisted of three families and more than eleven persons living in three rooms and for sure this dwelling is not sufficient for us. We are looking forward to find a better one in the near future"

Others:

"Why should people spend a lot of money to maintain and improve a rented accommodation and yet never own their own place?"

8.3.2 Features disliked most about the present dwelling

When respondents were asked about the most disliked features with their present dwelling, most of the complaints that were made related to the size of the dwelling. As can be seen in Figure 8.2, more than two thirds (69.1 per cent) of the respondents mentioned aspects of space; i.e. overcrowding, small rooms and no storage place. Also highlighted were the importance of security of

tenure the lack of which was annoying the majority of our respondents, 52.3 per cent mentioned that due to lack of security of tenure in these settlements and being tenants all the time created a feeling of uncertainty about the future. Furthermore, it limited their attempts toward improving their living environment. As one respondent said:

"Ownership encourages residents to improve their living environment, and if they lacked it their attention toward reforming and modernizing the dwelling would be very low"

Other disliked features were concerned with the physical condition of dwellings being in deteriorating conditions. Nearly one half (46.8 per cent) of the respondents reported complaints relating to the former aspect which include; plumbing, sanitation, cracks, water leakage and the need for restoration. Complaints about the design of the dwelling, such as lack of privacy, back to back terrace building and the traditional style with open courtyard, were mentioned by more than two fifths (44.3 per cent) of the respondents.

Tenants in Um-Elhiman settlement expressed their grievance about the location aspect. Nearly one quarter (26.2 per cent) of the respondents mentioned that the location of their dwellings in the periphery of the country isolated them from the rest of the population. Others

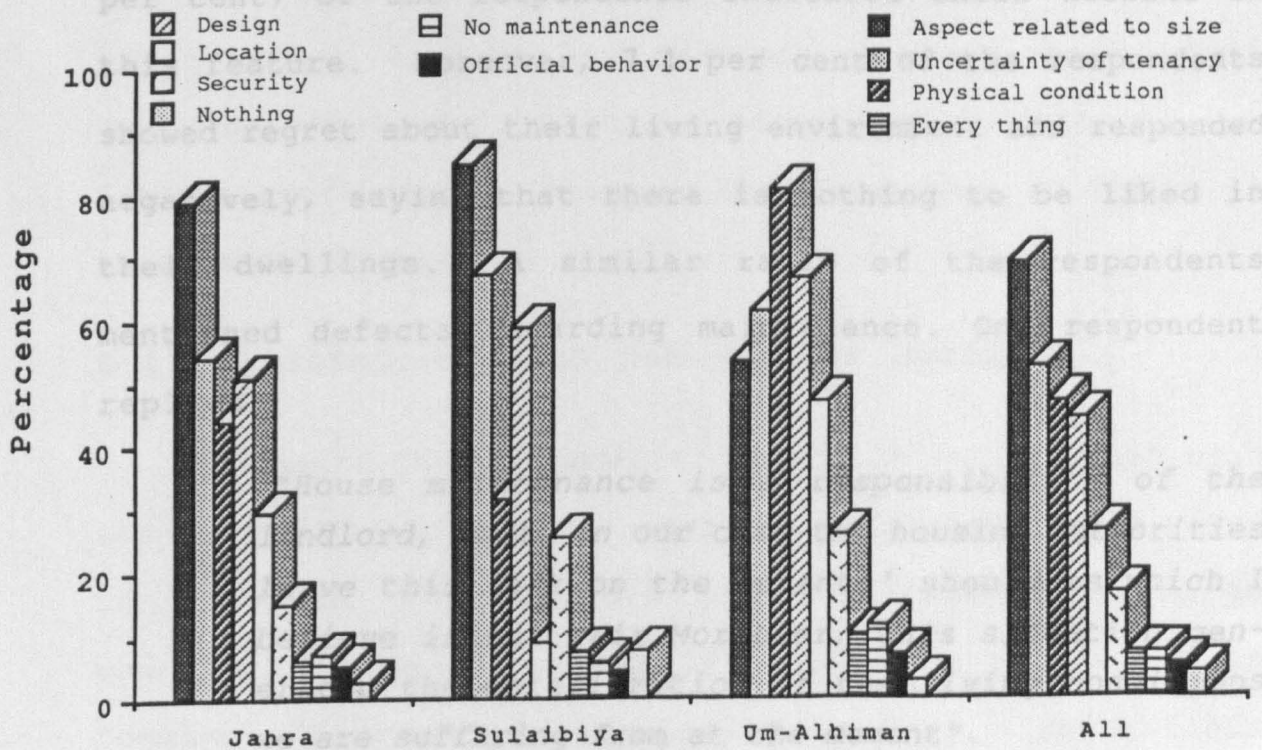


Figure 8.2: Features disliked most about present dwelling

The last complaint made by a few respondents (5.4 per cent) was not related to the actual housing assignments but to the alleged rudeness of officials and being "treated like cattle" in the authorities' offices. Finally, a very few respondents (4.0 per cent) indicated that there was nothing that they disliked about the present dwelling, which was considered to be much better than their previous one. Complaints about the dwellings were mainly concentrated on the physical condition of the dwellings. Significant differences between the various settlements can be seen. Respondents in Sulaibiya and Jahra who complained about aspects relating to the size of the present dwelling

complained that the dwellings lacked security due to the type of back to back terrace, with open courtyard, which made them unsafe and exposed to accidents. One sixth (16.7 per cent) of the respondents indicated their dislike of this feature. Moreover, 7.1 per cent of the respondents showed regret about their living environment and responded negatively, saying that there is nothing to be liked in their dwellings. A similar ratio of the respondents mentioned defects regarding maintenance. One respondent replied:

"House maintenance is a responsibility of the landlord, while in our case the housing authorities leave this task on the tenants' shoulders, which I believe is not fair. Moreover, this situation generated the deterioration of the living conditions we are suffering from at the moment".

The last complaint made by a few respondents (5.4 per cent) was not related to the actual housing assignments but to the alleged rudeness of officials and being "treated like cattle" in the authorities' offices. Finally, a very few respondents (4.0 per cent) indicated that there was nothing that they disliked about the present dwelling, which was considered to be much better than their previous one. Complaints about the dwellings were mainly concentrated on the physical condition of the dwellings. Significant differences between the various settlements can be seen. Respondents in Sulaibiya and Jahra who complained about aspects relating to the size of the present dwelling

were by far more than the respondents in Um-Elhiman (73.0 and 79.1 per cent vs. 54.2 per cent respectively). This might be attributed to the fact that a considerable number of the respondents in Um-Elhiman are foreigners with a households of five or less persons. Another reason which could be involved is that the peripheral location of Um-Elhiman settlement discourages the atmosphere of living as an extended family.

8.4 Satisfaction with the present dwelling

Measuring the respondents' levels of satisfaction with their present accommodation has been of considerable value to this work. We used a five-point scale according to whether they were: very satisfied, quite satisfied, no feeling either way, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. Respondents were asked to designate their level of satisfaction regarding the following aspects: House condition, living space and the dwelling in general as a place to live. In general, the findings appear to show quite a low level of satisfaction, with the majority of the respondents being critical of their present housing.

8.4.1 Satisfaction with physical condition

The data which showed levels of satisfaction with the physical condition of the dwelling revealed that largest proportion of the respondents (45 per cent) were not satisfied with the physical condition of their dwellings, while those who were satisfied were 43.3 per cent (see

Table 8.10). However, an interesting point revealed through the survey that nearly one tenth of the respondents (11.7 per cent) mentioned that they do not care or have no feeling either way about their housing condition, due to the fact that most of them are Kuwaiti citizens waiting for their turn to acquire a better housing. Meanwhile they consider this accommodation as a temporary one and for a short period of time only.

Table 8.10: Satisfaction with the physical condition

Rating	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Very satisfied	4.8	11.7	2.6	6.3
Quite satisfied	33.6	54.3	21.8	37.0
No feeling either way	10.5	10.5	16.7	11.7
Dissatisfied	28.7	19.1	41.0	29.1
Very dissatisfied	22.4	4.3	17.9	15.9
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Respondents	143	94	78	315
Mean Score	2.69	3.50	2.50	2.89

Mean ratings are based on scores of 5 for "very satisfied" and 1 for "very dissatisfied" .

Significant differences were found between the various settlements. Respondents in Um-Elhiman and Jahra indicated their dissatisfaction more than the respondents in Sulaibiya (58.4 and 51.1 per cent vs. 23.4 per cent respectively). A number of factors were assumed to be associated with the respondents' ratings. Firstly, the age of the dwelling had a strong effect on the respondents'

satisfaction with the physical condition of their dwelling. Therefore, respondents who were living in old settlements (Um-Elhiman and part of Jahra settlements) were found to be more critical than respondents living in new ones. Secondly, length of residence had some impact upon respondents' ratings. The human tendency is that once an individual has accomplished a significant thing in his life i.e. moving to better housing or a cheaper one, he tends to look on the brighter side and ignore the problems. Usually this tendency is overcome by reality. Changes in life-style happen over a time which will require additional needs that the present accommodation cannot offer. Those who were living in their dwelling for a short period were likely to be less critical about the physical condition of their homes, while those who were residing longer in their dwelling had a greater chance to observe defects in their dwelling. The analysis also indicated that most of the respondents who lived in their dwelling for a longer time, tended to discover problems and to become more critical.

Finally, a strong relationship was found between perceived problems over the dwelling and the respondent's level of satisfaction. Respondents who truly experienced some problems in their dwellings, were found to have much lower satisfaction than those who did not. Another noteworthy point revealed through the survey was the presence of Kuwaiti citizens who consider this accommodation as temporary while they are waiting for their turn in

acquiring much better housing. They are planning to leave the area in a short time.

8.4.2 Satisfaction with the living space and design

From looking at the Table 8.11, it is clear that the majority of the respondents (57.9 per cent) were critical and dissatisfied with the design of their present dwellings. There were no significant differences between respondents' replies in the various settlements. However, this reflects that the standard singular design of the houses has an adverse effect on level of satisfaction. Indeed no one could expect that the whole people rehoused (Kuwaitis, bedouins and others) would have the same design preference. Although the level of satisfaction for respondents in Jahra was found to be higher than for those in Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman (44.1 vs. 33.0 and 28.2 per cent respectively).

Some respondents claimed that the authorities designed the dwellings with little emphasis given to residents' preference and changing needs. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents indicated that the living space in the house is not enough to accommodate their current large household; therefore, some are considering moving to another place. Again, in producing a standard size of houses, the government assumed that all the occupants' households are of the same size, which is in practice a wrong assumption.

Table 8.11 : Satisfaction with the house design

Rating	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Very satisfied	8.4	6.4	5.1	6.9
Quite satisfied	35.7	26.6	23.1	29.8
No feeling either way	4.8	4.3	7.6	5.4
Dissatisfied	32.2	40.5	42.4	37.2
Very dissatisfied	18.9	22.2	21.8	20.7
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Respondents	143	94	78	315
Mean Score	2.80	2.50	2.47	2.65

Mean ratings based on scores of 5 for "very satisfied" and 1 for "very dissatisfied".

The result demonstrates the fact that no comprehensive survey of residents' needs has been conducted prior to the implementation of these projects, and this led to a short-sighted plan followed by the authorities. The findings in Table 8.12 show that there is a significant difference between the respondents' responses in the three settlements. Respondents in Um-Elhiman were found to be more satisfied with the living space in their dwelling than those in Jahra and Sulaibiya settlements.

This could be attributed to the large number of non-Kuwaiti citizens residing in Um-Elhiman, who have a smaller family size. On the other hand respondents in Jahra prefer a big family size due to their bedouin background where the three generation family is still the norm. Another factor

may explain the high dissatisfaction with living space in Jahra is that their Kuwaiti citizen neighbours, across the road, have been provided with more than double the living space that they have which, in turn, cause a high level of housing disparity among the residents. Overall, the majority of the respondents were not satisfied with the living space in their dwellings.

Table 8.12: Satisfaction with the Living Space

Rating	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Very satisfied	1.4	3.2	16.7	5.7
Quite satisfied	26.5	36.2	33.3	31.1
No feeling either way	8.4	6.4	6.4	7.4
Dissatisfied	25.2	27.6	19.2	24.1
Very dissatisfied	38.5	26.6	24.4	31.7
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Respondents	143	94	78	315
Mean Score	2.27	2.61	2.98	2.55

Mean ratings based on scores of 5 for "very satisfied" and 1 for "very dissatisfied".

These findings led to the suggestion that a strong relationship between respondent's satisfaction with the living space and the rate of occupancy or size of household might exist. Interpretation of the data revealed that significant differences have occurred in the ratings between the informant groups according to their household size.

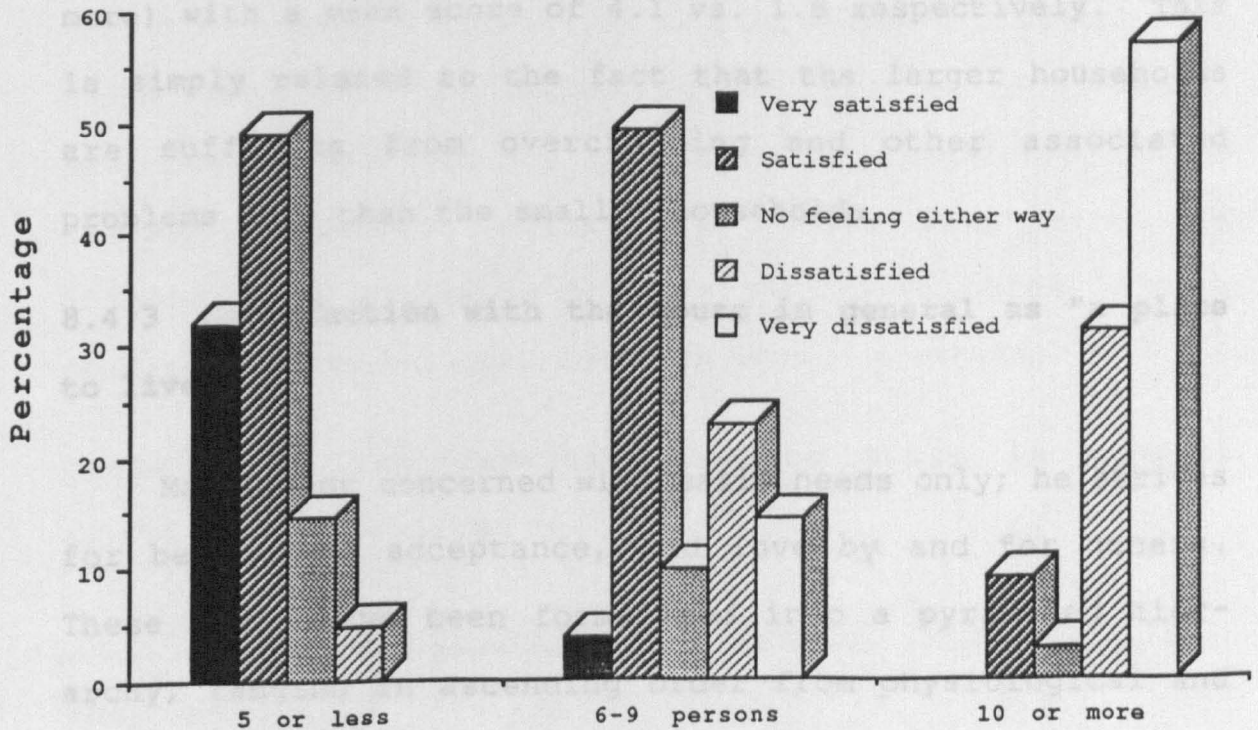


Figure 8.3: Satisfaction with living space by household size.

Respondents in Dulisibiyi with higher mean satisfaction rating (3.9 per cent) were found to be more satisfied with their dwellings as a place to live than the respondents in

As shown in Figure 8.3, satisfaction among respondents having a small household (5 persons or less) was higher than for those living in large households (10 persons or more) with a mean score of 4.1 vs. 1.6 respectively. This is simply related to the fact that the larger households are suffering from overcrowding and other associated problems more than the smaller households.

8.4.3 Satisfaction with the house in general as "a place to live"

Man is not concerned with basic needs only; he strives for belonging, acceptance, and love by and for others. These needs have been formalized into a pyramided hierarchy, ranging in ascending order from physiological and safety through social, self-esteem and self-actualization needs. At each level, housing can serve in a critically significant way, but it also depends on the life style of a particular sub-group within a society or for members of different societies cross-culturally, to realize and fulfill these needs (*Newmark, et al, 1978*). As can be seen in Table 8.13, the majority of the respondents (52.9 per cent) were dissatisfied with the dwelling as a place to live. Significant differences have been found between respondents in the three settlements.

Respondents in Sulaibiya with higher mean satisfaction rating (3.0 per cent), were found to be more satisfied with their dwellings as a place to live than the respondents in

Jahra and Um-Elhiman, whose mean score is 2.4 and 2.6 per cent respectively. The difference in the rating might be related to the following: (1) more respondents in Jahra and Um-Elhiman than in Sulaibiya, had experienced problems with their dwelling. (2) Regarding the age of settlements, respondents in Jahra and Um-Elhiman are considered to be living in the old settlements, while respondents in Sulaibiya are living in the new settlement which is more spacious and in a better location than the others.

Table 8.13: Satisfaction with the house in general as "a place to live"

Rating	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Very satisfied	0.0	3.2	6.4	2.7
Quite satisfied	39.2	52.1	30.8	41.1
No feeling either way	3.5	3.2	3.8	3.4
Dissatisfied	15.4	22.3	35.9	22.5
Very dissatisfied	42.0	19.1	23.1	30.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Respondents	143	94	78	315
Mean score	2.4	3.0	2.6	2.6

Mean ratings based on scores of 5 for "very satisfied" and 1 for "very dissatisfied".

(3) Lastly, the respondents in Sulaibiya had less complaints than the other settlements about deterioration problems in the neighbourhood.

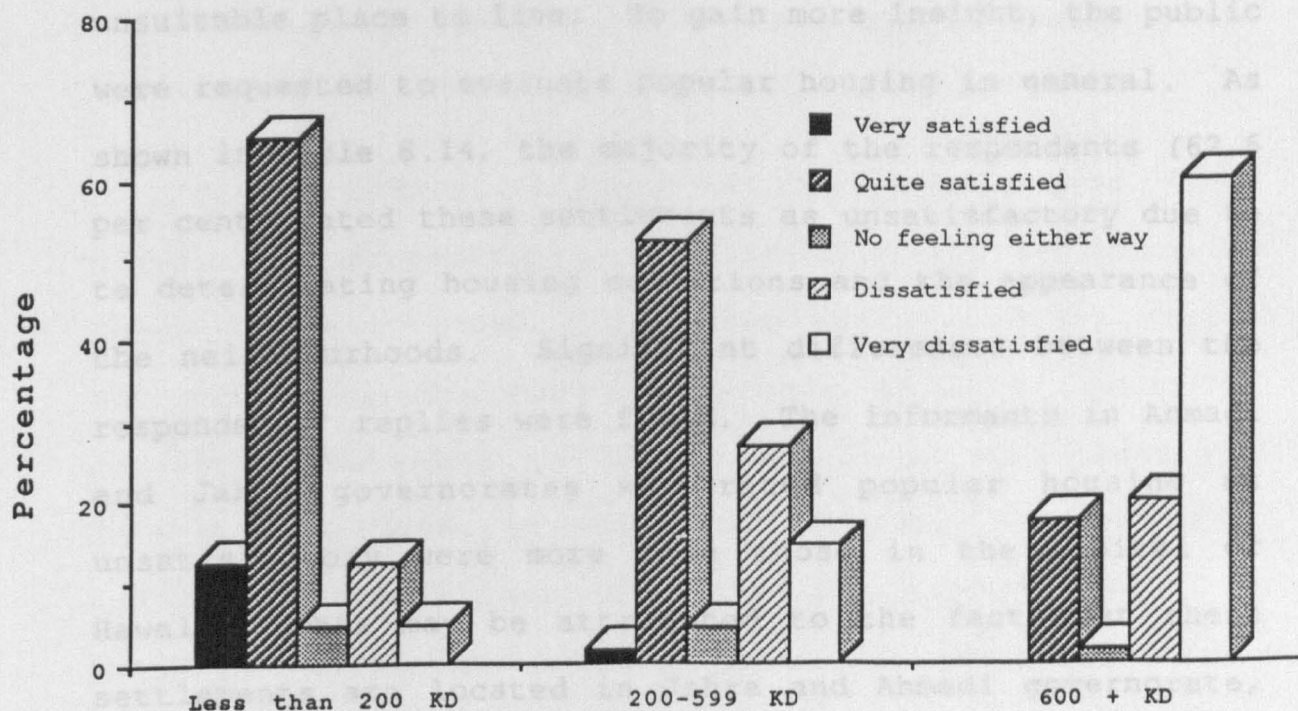


Figure 8.4 : Satisfaction with dwelling in general as a place to live by income

Table 8.14: Public views about popular housing

Governorates of Kuwait					
Rating	Capital	Musall	Arabi	Jahra	Total
Satisfactory	2.3	9.8	9.9	1.5	8.2
Acceptable	36.6	39.0	18.4	2.8	24.2
Unsatisfactory	59.1	51.2	73.7	66.7	62.8
No. of respondents	44	41	38	48	171

On the other hand, the findings of the public views questionnaire revealed that the vast majority (70.8 per cent) of the public considers popular housing as an unsuitable place to live. To gain more insight, the public were requested to evaluate popular housing in general. As shown in Table 8.14, the majority of the respondents (62.6 per cent) rated these settlements as unsatisfactory due to the deteriorating housing conditions and the appearance of the neighbourhoods. Significant differences between the respondents' replies were found. The informants in Ahmadi and Jahra governorates who rated popular housing as unsatisfactory were more than those in the Capital or Hawali. This may be attributed to the fact that these settlements are located in Jahra and Ahmadi governorate, which may indicate that the public in these governorates knows more about the settlements, and is more concerned about them.

Table 8.14: Public views about popular housing

Governorates of Kuwait					
Rating	Capital	Hawali	Ahmadi	Jahra	Total
Satisfactory	2.3	9.8	7.9	1.5	8.2
Acceptable	38.6	39.0	18.4	2.8	29.2
Unsatisfactory	59.1	51.2	73.7	66.7	62.6
No. of respondents	44	41	38	48	171

The analysis showed some relationship between the level of satisfaction and other variables. For example, a strong relationship was found between respondent satisfaction with the dwelling as a place to live and personal characteristics such as literacy attainment and income.

Significant differences in the ratings were found between the proportion of respondent groups according to their education level. As shown in Table 8.15, satisfaction among respondents who have a higher level of education (secondary and above) was lower than those who have a lower level of education (intermediate school or less), with a mean score of 2.2 vs. 3.6 respectively. This could be attributed to the reality that education introducing high expectation and self orientation encourages people to reject living in predetermined location, design, and standards of living space. Moreover, they want to participate in selecting and planning their future housing, which in turn will affect their personality, productivity, prosperity and social welfare.

The economic conditions of the respondents also have a strong association with the level of satisfaction. As Figure 8.4, indicated, the lower income group were more satisfied with the dwelling as a place to live than the higher income group. This could be attributed to the fact that increase in the level of wealth is usually associated with increase in demand for access to amenities and social

services; these become essential to status seekers in Turner's model (Turner, 1969).

Table 8.15: Satisfaction with dwelling in general as a place to live by level of education.

Rating	Illiterate	Primary and Intermediate	Secondary and above
Very satisfied	6.3	1.6	1.4
Quite satisfied	69.9	35.6	29.2
No feeling either way	6.3	2.8	2.8
Dissatisfied	12.7	27.2	19.4
Very dissatisfied	4.8	32.8	47.2
Total	100	100	100
No. of Respondents	63	180	72
Mean Score	3.60	2.45	2.18

Mean ratings based on scores of 5 for "very satisfied" and 1 for "very dissatisfied".

Type and condition of the previous accommodation had some effect on the ratings, and several studies have suggested the influence of previous living on an individual's attitude to and evaluation of their present living condition. Cooper (1975), pointed out that most respondents tend to reply to a general question about their house in terms of comparisons with what they have known before. Moreover, Schorr (1970), noted that housing influences satisfaction and a relationship between where a person has lived and his current housing does exist. Our findings

were consistent with those opinions in observing a similar result. The investigation revealed that the majority of the respondents who have been living in shanties expressed their satisfaction, while other respondents who were living in better housing indicated their dissatisfaction.

Finally, in order to assess the balance between respondents' satisfaction and dissatisfaction, the following questions which would give us rather different perspectives on this matter have been directed to the informants: (1) Compared to your previous accommodation, is your present dwelling better, about the same, or worse? (2) Are you considering moving from this house? The latter question will be discussed in the next chapter. The majority of the respondents (56.2 per cent) thought that the present dwelling was better than the previous accommodation in which they had resided.

Table 8.16: Present dwelling compared to previous one.

Rating	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Better	64.3	59.6	37.2	56.2
About the same	13.3	7.4	3.8	9.2
Worse	22.4	33.0	59.0	34.6
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of Respondents	143	94	78	315

Significant differences have been found between respondents in the various settlements. As Table 8.16 shows, respondents in Jahra who found their dwellings better were more common than those in Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman. This may seem contradictory to previous findings which indicated that the majority of the respondents in Jahra were less satisfied with their present dwelling as a place to live than the others in Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman. This discrepancy most likely resulted from the poor living conditions they experienced. On the other hand, rating their present dwelling as a better accommodation than the previous one does not signify the fulfilment of all requirements to be satisfied. When the respondents were asked how their present dwellings are better, the majority (78.3 per cent) mentioned aspects related to facilities of the house (such as electricity, water supply, drainage system), while others mentioned structure and building materials, especially for those who lived in shanties.

Type of previous accommodation were found to be significantly associated with how the respondent perceived the present dwelling in comparison with the previous one. Respondents who had lived in conventional housing (villa, limited-income, flat) found their present dwelling worse than the previous one. This could be explained by the fact that people always want to achieve higher goals and living standards in their life.

8.5 Respondents' attitude and evaluation of their neighbourhood

Shelter can be viewed in the narrow sense as the structures which tend to be constructed regardless of the services provided and dwellers' needs. Yet housing is really a package of services; land, public facilities, access to social services as well as the housing structure itself. As mentioned earlier, the ultimate objective of government policy is to provide housing conditions with which people are satisfied. It is uncertain just how far satisfaction is related to such factors as possessing suitable housing facilities or the age of or number of rooms in a house. Indeed, there is evidence from previous housing studies that the term "housing conditions" needs to be very broadly interpreted (*Cullingworth, 1966; Donnison, 1967*). Satisfaction may depend at least as much on such intangibles as their neighbours' social attitude, the quality of entertainment in the area, and the frequency with which relatives are able to visit, as it does upon provision of more basic amenities.

Our previous findings indicated that the respondents' perceptions of problems in their neighbourhood were very much influenced by the characteristics of the neighbourhood. We found that perceived problems such as the deteriorating street conditions, the existence of trash and litter, and the social problems generated from living in

isolated and neglected areas, were higher among the respondents in Jahra and Um-Elhiman.

8.5.1 Reasons for living in the present neighbourhood

Before discussing the respondents' attitudes towards their neighbourhoods, we thought it might be helpful to throw some light on the reasons for respondents' living in the present neighbourhood. The largest proportion of the respondents (45.4 per cent) mentioned that the government policy in allocating the popular housing in these areas, and the shortage of better alternatives, were the most important reasons for living in the present neighbourhood (see Table 8.17).

The second most important reason for living at the present neighbourhood was related to economics. Nearly one third of the respondents (32.3 per cent) were attracted by the cheap rent. The locational aspects of the settlements came third and were mentioned by 19.1 per cent of the respondents. These features include nearness to place of work, nearness to friends and relatives, and the location of the neighbourhood in proximity to Kuwait city. Regarding the previous attribute, major differences were found between the respondents' responses in the various settlements.

Table 8.17: Reasons for living in present neighbourhood

Reason	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Government policy	48.9	45.7	38.5	45.4
Economic features	30.8	33.0	34.6	32.3
Locational aspects	15.4	18.1	26.9	19.1
Others	4.9	3.2	0.0	3.2
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

Despite the fact that the location of Um-Elhiman settlement is undesirable, the finding revealed that proportionately more respondents in Um-Elhiman were influenced by the proximity to their place of work as a reason for living in the neighbourhood. On the other hand the respondents in Jahra who mentioned location, were essentially concerned with the nearness to friends and relatives. Finally a very few of our respondents (3.2 per cent) either were reluctant to leave the neighbourhood where they grew up (as in Jahra) and decided to settle in the same area, or they liked the appearance of the neighbourhood.

8.5.2 Features liked most about their present neighbourhood

A considerable number of the respondents felt positive feelings about living in their neighbourhood. The feature they liked best about living in their neighbourhood was the availability of some essential utilities such as elec-

tricity, water and telephone, and other community services like schools, mosques and co-operatives. Nearly two fifths of the respondents (36.2 per cent), especially those who previously lived in unconventional housing, were delighted to improve their housing conditions gradually. The second feature liked most about the present neighbourhood was related to locational aspects such as nearness to place of work, friends and relatives or proximity to the city centre (in the case of Sulaibiya settlement). Nearly one third of the respondents, 29.8 per cent, stated location (see Table 8.18). More than one quarter of the respondents (26.3 per cent) liked the neighbourhood because of the pleasant neighbours surrounding them. The existence of a strong social cohesion between the respondents resulted from the difficult circumstances they went through, and the mutual goals and aspirations for their future.

Table 8.18: Features liked most about present neighbourhood

Features	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Access to utilities and services	34.3	43.6	30.8	36.2
Locational aspects	25.9	27.7	39.7	29.8
Pleasant neighbours	25.9	28.7	24.3	26.3
Nothing	17.5	6.4	26.9	18.7
Nice area, better than shanties	7.0	8.5	2.6	6.3

The number of answers is larger than the number of respondents because multiple responses were possible.

Not surprisingly, 18.7 per cent of the respondents were displeased with the neighbourhoods and mentioned that there was nothing they liked about their present one. The most frequent reasons mentioned for their negative feelings against the neighbourhood were lack of community services, shortages of parking space and deteriorating street conditions. One respondent replied *"just think of any problem: you will find it in this neighbourhood"*.

Significant differences between the informants' responses were found regarding the previous aspect. Respondents in Um-Elhiman settlement were more reluctant and unpleased with their neighbourhood than those in Jahra and Sulaibiya settlements. Finally, a few respondents (6.3 per cent) were pleased with the neighbourhood and mentioned that it is a nice area, better than the shanty environment.

8.5.3 Features disliked most about present neighbourhood

Although a considerable number of the respondents were pleased with some features in their neighbourhoods, the overwhelming majority (92.1 per cent) of the respondents had complaints. The most common complaints were concerned with the isolation from the community. More than two fifths of the respondents (41.6 per cent) mentioned that living in these neighbourhoods created some kind of segregation between the people in the same community (see Figure 8.5).

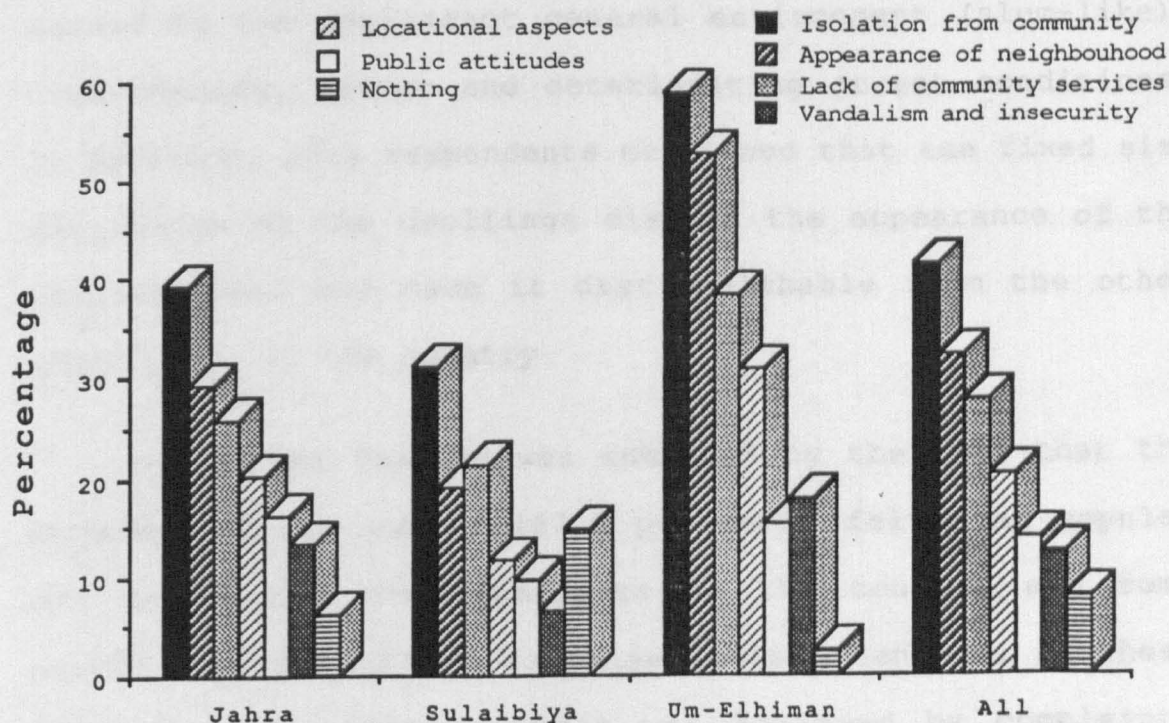


Figure 8.5 : Features disliked most about present neighbourhood.

Negative aspects relating to the appearance of the neighbourhood were mentioned by more than one third (32.1 per cent). Most of the complaints in this category were in regard to the unpleasant general environment (slum-like), high density, litter and deteriorating street conditions. In addition, some respondents mentioned that the fixed size and design of the dwellings distort the appearance of the neighbourhood and made it distinguishable from the other urban areas in the country.

The former feature was enhanced by the fact that the majority of the public (67.8 per cent) felt that popular housing spoilt the appearance of the country and some action should be taken to raise living standards in these areas. Among tenants, this was followed by complaints about the lack of some essential community facilities, such as children's play areas, adequate shopping centres, recreational facilities and parking spaces. More than one quarter of the respondents (27.6 per cent) were annoyed about these matters. This forced them to be dependant upon the nearby urban areas in order to fulfil their social needs which consequently overload the urban areas causing some tension against those living in popular housing.

Another complaint which was mentioned by one fifth of the respondents (20.3 per cent) was related to the locational aspects of the settlements. Significantly more respondents in Um-Elhiman (30.8 per cent) than in Sulaibiya (11.7 per cent) mentioned the locational aspects. Nearness

to the city centre and other services may illustrate the differences between the various settlements. The fourth most disliked feature about the present neighbourhood was the stigma attached to the people living in these settlements. More than one tenth of the respondents (14.0 per cent) mentioned that the public look to these neighbourhoods as low standard areas and the people living in them as primitive.

One of the most common aspects of concern about the neighbourhood, and mentioned by 12.4 per cent of the respondents, were complaints about vandalism and lack of security. This issue had concerned the residents of the neighbourhood for the last four to five years. This could be attributed to the high level of unemployment in these areas, resulting from the government policy which does not permit the non-identified nationality people being employed in the country unless they provide documentary proof of nationality. Consequently, most of the teenagers, after finishing their studies, became unemployed, and remain dependant on their parents. This might encourage the bad feelings to grow into tension and tendency toward crime. In the end a few respondents (7.9 per cent) mentioned that there is nothing in their neighbourhood to be disliked.

Significant differences were found between the respondents' replies in the three settlements. In general, negative feelings about the present neighbourhood seem to be more common among those living in Um-Elhiman and Jahra.

For example, more respondents in Um-Elhiman were complaining about the appearance of the neighbourhood (slum-like) and the isolation from the community than in Sulaibiya. On the other hand, 14.9 per cent of the respondents in Sulaibiya stated that there is nothing in their neighbourhood they disliked. This compared to very few -2.6 per cent- in Um-Elhiman. These differences may be attributed to the fact that the respondents in Um-Elhiman were living in the old settlement which is characterized by peripheral location, lack of essential community services and poor construction materials. In contrast, respondents in Sulaibiya are living in newer neighbourhoods, in a middle location, better organized and larger in size.

8.6 Satisfaction with the neighbourhood

To the same extent that respondents rated their dwellings, the findings revealed a low level of satisfaction with their surrounding environments. Undoubtedly, there were some other aspects which had influenced the respondents' ratings (positively or negatively) side by side with the physical conditions of the neighbourhood. The following factors were among them:

First; the possibility that some of the informants were making their assessments in comparison with their previous locality.

Secondly; the duration of residence and the changes which occur over time might affect their assessments.

Thirdly; the prospect that some informants were optimists in regarding the difficulties and disadvantages about their neighbourhoods as transitory, that conditions would improve through time. Consequently, their assessments were inconsistent with their high level of future expectation (see chapter nine).

Finally, the type of settlement in which the respondents reside plays an important role in their overall satisfaction with their neighbourhood. Attention will be given to the aforementioned aspects in order to show how they influenced the respondents' ratings in evaluating their neighbourhoods.

8.6.1 Present neighbourhood compared to the previous one

When the respondents were asked to rate the present residential environments by comparing them to their previous abode, the majority (54.6 per cent) of them found it satisfactory (see Table 8.19). Those who observed the neighbourhood as worse than their previous place of residence represented one third (33.0 per cent), while the remaining proportion (12.4 per cent) found it about the same. Most of the respondents who thought that their present neighbourhood is better than the previous one, mentioned some aspects related to the existence of some essential utilities and community services. Others referred to the appearance of the neighbourhood. The

locational aspects were also mentioned by some respondents particularly those who are living in Sulaibiya.

Significant differences were found between respondents' responses in the various settlements. As presented in Table 8.18, more respondents in Jahra and Sulaibiya (55.2 and 62.8 per cent) rated their present neighbourhood as better than those living in Um-Elhiman (43.6 per cent).

Table 8.19: Present neighbourhood compared to previous one

Ratings	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
better	55.2	62.8	43.6	54.6
About the same	10.1	11.7	16.7	12.4
Worse	34.3	25.5	39.7	33.0
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

The differences between the respondents' ratings could be attributed to the following:

1. The majority of respondents in Jahra and Sulaibiya had been living in shanties or other unconventional accommodations;

2. Considerable number of the respondents in Um-Elhiman are foreigners who had been living in better neighbourhoods;

3. The fact that Jahra and Sulaibiya were constructed in the second phase, after avoiding most of the mistakes

and faults committed in the first one, led to the possibility that some respondents viewed their living in the neighbourhood in terms of economic cost.

When asked how it is worse, most of the aspects mentioned were related to the lack of adequate community services and quality of the physical condition of the neighbourhood. Some respondents in Um-Elhiman were displeased with the location's being far away from the social infrastructure, the centre and the rest of the community. Some of their comments are;

"The previous neighbourhood was better because it was close to city centre, social services and to friends and relatives, while here I feel as if we have been isolated from the whole country".

"In the previous neighbourhood relations between neighbours are much stronger. Now, the people are mixed from different nationalities, with the result that most of the families in the neighbourhood are living in isolation from the others".

8.6.2 Evaluating some of the neighbourhood characters

In order to ascertain the tenants' satisfaction, a number of features relating to the neighbourhood were presented to the respondents to be evaluated in terms of their adequacy, on a two-point scale representing "adequate" and "inadequate". Considering the mean rating scores manifested in Figure 8.6, out of the attributes evaluated most positively were those dealing with con-

venience to essential services in the neighbourhood, such as nearness to public schools (1.74), nearness to supermarkets and shopping centres (1.65) and nearness to religious institutions "local mosques" (1.62). Significant differences, regarding proximity of supermarkets and shopping centres, were found between the respondents' ratings in the various settlements. Respondents in Sulaibiya and Jahra rated the character more positively than the respondents in Um-Elhiman (1.82 and 1.74 vs. 1.29 respectively).

These differences in the ratings could be attributed to the location of Um-Elhiman settlement in the fringe of the country, and to the fact that some respondents were driving to supermarkets far away from their houses, despite the existence of a grocery store in the area. Their reasons for not buying from the closer one were either that they could not find most of the things they wanted or that they had been charged too much.

On the other end, the lowest ratings were given to neighbourhood services such as recreational facilities and playground for children (1.07), the appearance of the neighbourhood (1.42), and the nearness to medical and health services in the areas (1.44). Once more, differences between the respondents' ratings in the three settlements were significant in regard to the appearance of the neighbourhood and the locational aspects. Negative ratings were higher among the respondents in Um-Elhiman.

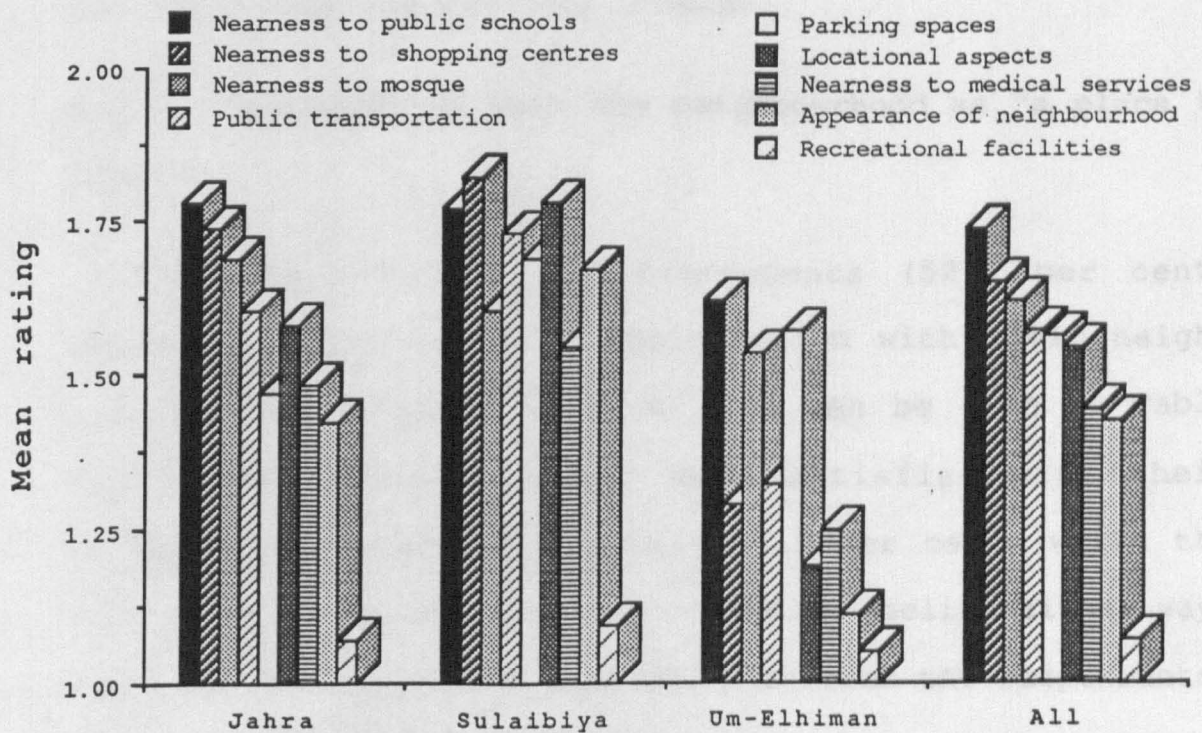


Figure 8.6 : Evaluating some of the neighbourhood attributes.

This could be expected considering that the respondents in Um-Elhiman were found to be living in deteriorating neighbourhoods more often than the respondents in Sulaibiya and Jahra (see the previous chapter).

8.6.3 Satisfaction with the neighbourhood as "a place to live"

The majority of our respondents (52.1 per cent) indicated a low level of satisfaction with their neighbourhoods as a place to live. As can be seen in Table 8.20, the respondents who were satisfied with their neighbourhoods represented only 47.9 per cent, while the rest either were dissatisfied or had no feeling either way. Significant differences were found between the respondents' replies in the different settlements.

Table 8.20: Satisfaction with the neighbourhood as a place to live

<u>level of satisfaction</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Very satisfied	3.5	12.8	1.3	5.7
Quite satisfied	42.6	47.9	34.6	42.2
No feeling either way	6.3	4.2	14.1	7.6
Dissatisfied	32.9	26.6	26.9	29.6
Very dissatisfied	14.7	8.5	23.1	14.9
Mean scores	2.87	3.29	2.64	2.94

Mean ratings based on scores of 5 for "very satisfied" and 1 for "very dissatisfied".

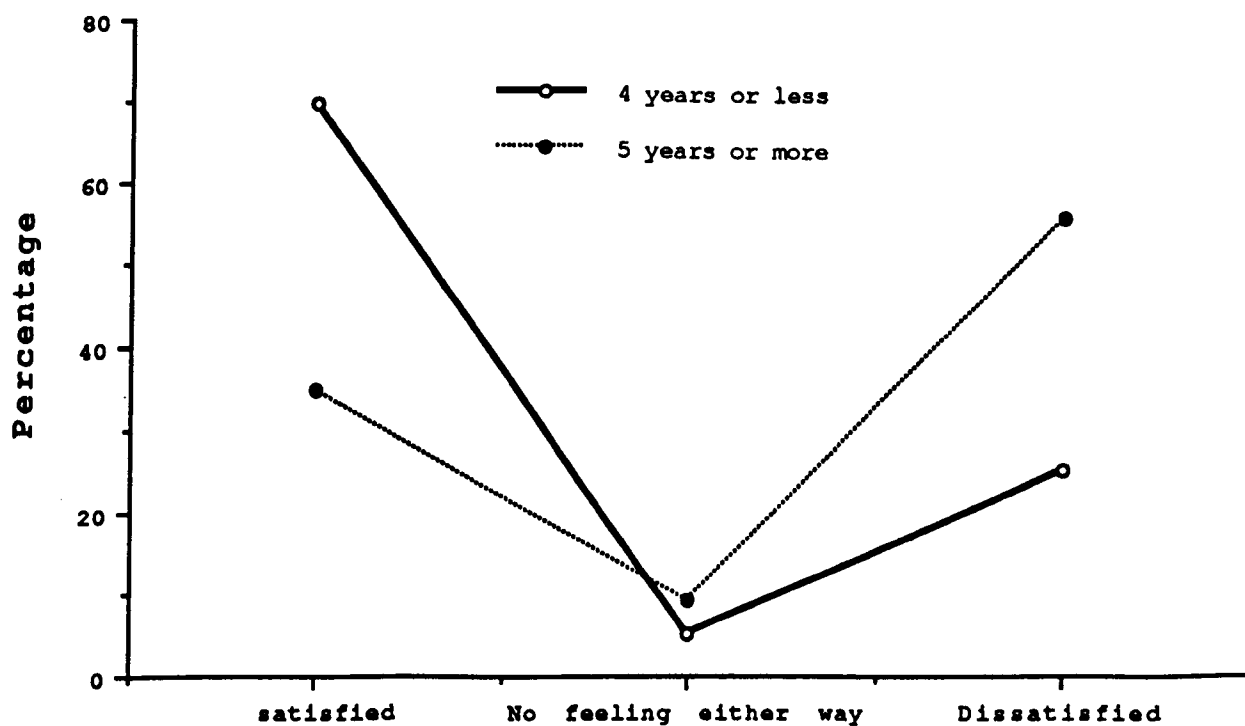


Figure 8.7: Satisfaction with the neighbourhood by length of residence at present dwelling

Residents' satisfaction appeared to be higher in Sulaibiya, with a mean score of 3.29, than among those residing in Um-Elhiman with a mean score of 2.64. These variations in the respondents' ratings might be associated with several aspects. One of them is duration of residence in the present dwelling, corresponding with the preceding findings which indicated that longer residence has a significant negative effect on the respondents' evaluations of the physical conditions as well as their overall ratings of the dwellings. Accordingly, we anticipated that the same impression will hold true in the respondents' assessments of their neighbourhoods.

The data analysis revealed that a potential relationship between length of residence and the respondents' ratings of their neighbourhoods as a place to live does occur (see Figure 8.7). Dissatisfaction among those who inhabited their areas for a longer time (5 years or more) was higher than those who resided for a shorter period (4 years or less). This is consistent with our previous findings which indicated that respondents in Um-Elhiman and Jahra settlements (66.6 and 64.3 per cent respectively) who stayed longer in their present dwellings were more numerous than those in Sulaibiya settlement (55.1 per cent). Therefore, this may illustrate the difference in the ratings between the various settlements.

The influence of length of residence on the respondents' assessments can be manifested either by

"internal" changes in the life style of the household, or, by "external" changes which take place over time in the living environment. Consequently, these changes could have a crucial negative impact upon the informants' attitude towards his neighbourhood. Furthermore, some of the neighbourhood characteristics were found to be related to the ratings given by the respondents. Satisfaction among those who lived in new settlements was higher than among those who lived in old ones. The differences in the informants' ratings might be attributed to problems associated with the old neighbourhoods, such as poor street conditions, the existence of some buildings in run-down conditions, or the presence of trash and litter, which were all found to have a significantly negative effect on the respondents' assessments. Accordingly, dissatisfaction among those who perceived their neighbourhoods to have the aforementioned problems was found to be higher than among those who did not.

The respondents' perceptions of several attributes related to the residential environment were also found to be potentially associated with their evaluation. For example, satisfaction among those who viewed the preservation of the neighbourhood and the quality of the buildings more positively, was higher than among those who felt differently. On the other hand, the respondents' perception of nearness to supermarkets, public schools, clinics, friends and relatives showed relatively small

association with their assessments. This might be attributed to the fact that the country is small in size, and nearly all the informants were substantially dependent on their private vehicles. From the above illustration, we may suggest that the respondents' perception of the appearance of the neighbourhood and the quality of the buildings in their areas are more important than accessibility (nearness to shopping centres, clinics, schools, friends and relatives) in defining their overall satisfaction with the neighbourhood.

8.7 Summary and discussion

In this chapter the investigator tries to assess the residents' perception of their dwelling, neighbourhood, and associated social services and then to measure their degree of satisfaction with this resettlement project in respect of the dwelling itself and the services it provides. Certainly the government had reached its goals behind this resettlement project which was mainly to clear the land occupied by them and to eradicate the squatters disfiguring Kuwait city. This section asked the question: did this resettlement project fulfill its social goals and, indeed, the resident needs, not only for shelter, but for the whole service provided by a house?

In order to answer this question the field work was set up, and its results have been analysed. The residents were unhappy about their dwelling, their neighbourhood and

the social services. They suffered a lot of problems because of the deteriorating conditions of the dwelling itself. Damp, peeling paint, cracks, water-leakage and the dwelling needing major repairs, were common complaints among all respondents. However, the problem seems more prevalent in the older settlements, especially of Um-Elhiman, due to its climatic effect, location and age. Also, most of the people complained about the limited space and unacceptable design with respect to privacy, overcrowding and health hazards. This is due to inadequate preliminary study and lack of effective understanding and planning by the authorities. How would they expect such a large sector of the population with different constituents, cultural and social backgrounds, to accept a pre-determined location, a standard design and a standard size to fulfil the different incomes, needs and preferences of this huge sector?

It is totally unwise to impose a certain location, design and size of house on the tenants with no choice. This is likely to cause frustration, rejection and dissatisfaction. In turn, social and health problems had been introduced by this type of settlement. Also the deteriorating conditions of the dwelling and the neighbourhood constitute a risk to those living there.

This is mainly caused by lack of maintenance on the part of the residents, because they do not feel responsible for repairing something they don't own, or in which they do

not feel security of tenure. On the other hand, the government as a landlord is not taking responsibility towards maintaining these settlements because they do not represent part of its obligation or interest. The occupants are politically inactive and the government tends only to maintain responsibility towards citizens. Yet another factor, is the fact that the government is landlord for only this sector and hence has limited experience in the obligations towards tenants of rental houses. Hence, it is recommended that introducing security of tenure or home ownership could encourage the tenants to maintain and even improve their own property.

How would the people maintain the property if they are not interested because it was not their choice to live in this house? (Most respondent rated "no better housing alternative" or "government policy" as the major motive behind moving to this type of housing). They are leased the house for the time they are working for the government, i.e. temporarily, and hence they don't feel the responsibility towards these houses. Consequently most respondents ranked security of tenure as the most important factor in the assessment of housing conditions.

Neighbourhoods lacked many services, i.e. social services, playground, parks, local chemist, etc., and were deteriorating with many abandoned units, deteriorating buildings, and litter everywhere in the neighbourhood. Again the solution is to introduce security of tenure to

enhance the feeling of belonging and hence increased responsibility of preserving the neighbourhood. But that should be accompanied by government participation through introducing adequate social and infrastructure services. In spite of that, respondents showed a lot of interest in their dwellings, especially those in Sulaibiya and Jahra. However, residents of Um-Elhiman showed little interest due to their isolated location, imposing a major contributing factor to their problems, compounded by their older dwellings and the fact that the original plan was to build a fully serviced town while the government have only constructed the houses with limited services and abandoned the rest.

Although degree of satisfaction is very hard to measure, the investigator preferred to use the subjective method in evaluating it. However, he discovered many factors inter-relate and interacting in creating a certain degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. He observed that the respondents' degree of satisfaction depended upon several factors, and mainly on where they have lived before this residence. If they were living in shanties before, their degree of satisfaction was magnified as the new home represented better standards.

Also the degree of literacy has had an impact on satisfaction, as the more educated respondents have higher expectations and are more critical of their housing environment.

The change in life style creates a need for a change in life pattern and housing is a major component of that. Moreover the type of settlement area seems to have an impact on their level of satisfaction. The first resettlement project is the oldest, with deteriorating environment, lack of facilities, and dwellings of smaller size, and a location which is very isolated from the urban areas. Hence people living in Um-Elhiman show the lowest level of satisfaction in general, while people living in the newer settlement (Sulaibiya and Jahra) enjoy better location, newer dwellings, better services, good transport network, and larger size (although still of the same design and limited services). Hence the level of satisfaction is better among them. A major contributing factor to resident satisfaction is the length of residence; people are showing more dissatisfaction, the longer they stay. This may reflect that by the longer stay they have more chance to explore and observe the negative aspect of their housing or that people's satisfaction scores decline over time in a systematic way if the dwelling and its services are not up to the standard of the resident's needs and expectations.

Finally, it seemed that most settlements had suffered from isolation from the community, and were segregated. However, the problem is most evident in Um-Elhiman due to its extreme location. No comprehensive housing policy which is aiming for high social goals would permit such a situation. Segregation has created tension and feelings of

anger among residents, a feeling of inferiority because there had been severe discrimination in the housing situation between the Kuwaiti citizens and the non-citizens. This was aggravated by a politically antagonistic attitude towards those who might create social, political or economic problems in the future.

It is now evident that there is at least vandalism and insecurity in those settlements which might extend to other areas. Also the final question showed that 68.3 per cent of those rehoused had a preference to live in the limited-income Kuwaiti housing, which shows their modesty of aspiration. The time has come for the housing authorities and the government to reconsider their role in introducing a fair housing policy and a change in political attitudes. An interesting fact is that although 63 per cent of the respondents agreed that their present house is more satisfactory than the previous one, the level of satisfaction with the house and neighbourhood were disappointingly low.

CHAPTER NINE

Aspirations and Future Expectations

In this chapter attention is focused on three major aspects: First, residential mobility and households' declared intention toward moving; second, tenants' preferences and aspirations in terms of actual and ideal housing conditions; and finally, future expectations and suggestions regarding the problems of the living environment.

The first aspect looks into mobility and the chain of housing turnover which has been generated by people moving from one house to another. Also it will include intention to move and the reasons cited for it. Several questions dealing with migration were addressed to the respondents during the interview. The central question was focussing on the decision to move and the reasons cited for moving. Moreover, in order to provide insight into the circumstances for favouring a move and the inconveniences of living in the present neighbourhood, respondents who declared an intention to move were asked whether they would consider moving to a similar place. The second part examines the respondents' preferences and aspirations. The final section is concerned with the respondents' expectations about the future of their neighbourhoods in terms of population size, housing constructions and services

provision. Respondents' suggestions in tackling the residential problems have been incorporated.

The researcher hoped that by collecting such information he would provide the following: additional measures of the level of satisfaction; an insight into the respondents' needs as well as their ambitions for future residential environments; and, more importantly, a measure of the success of the rehousing scheme in achieving its objectives.

9.1 Residential mobility:

Before discussing mobility and reasons cited for moving, we thought it might be useful to throw some light on the correlation between a household's needs and residential condition, or in other words, the residential fit. Ahrentzen (1985), stated that residential fit exists when a person's needs and desires are accommodated by the environment. Fit is commonly determined either by the occupants' evaluations of their residence or by objective quality standards. However, the former measurement (subjective indicators) is more frequently employed because it constantly mirrors the standards and qualities which residents find most desirable. Expressions of satisfaction may be a factor, not only of existing conditions, but also of perceived alternatives and future expectation. In addition, certain households may be less able to differentiate housing conditions as satisfying or

dissatisfying due to their limited experience with various living situations. This often occurs among the low income groups who were living most of their life in poor conditions.

The second way of assessing fit is to focus on objective housing qualities and standards, which usually concentrate on measuring health and safety indicators.

In the light of the previous discussion, residential mobility or moving can be pointed out as 'adjustment or actions directed towards the environment resulting from responses to housing conditions deemed undesirable or unfit' (Ahrentzen, 1985).

In the case of our study, of the total of 315 heads of households interviewed, nearly three quarters (71.3 per cent) had changed residence at least twice before moving to the present house, which reflects a substantial amount of residential mobility among popular housing tenants. This result is not surprising if we consider that very few households had their own accommodation from the beginning. It is worth mentioning that most of the respondents had occupied rented property or were sharing their accommodations prior to their move into the present one. From the previous discussion we can observe that the majority of the respondents (renters as well as owners of shanties) were in desperate need of better housing which would satisfy their requirements at the least possible cost.

The analysis of reasons for households' movement showed that most moves resulted from a desire of the family to improve its housing conditions relative to its needs.

Three levels or scales of assessing movement have been used in most studies; first, the objective: which deal with the basic characteristics of the moving households such as origin, age, social class, etc. Secondly, the normative: which give thought to the direct reasons citing for moving, such as changing one's job, finding better accommodation, etc. Finally, the psycho-social: which investigates the underlying motivations for moving, and these motivations are related to the movers' personalities (*Pitchard, 1976*).

Since the importance of housing is comforting and stabilizing from the viewpoint of this study, the normative level of analysis or the reasons that people give for moving will be the central point of concentration. The study has assumed that the nature and types of households moving most often indicate a consistent pattern of movement influenced by position in the family cycle, preferred life style and functions of authorities managing the housing system.

Housing needs change as people or families go through the life cycle and they themselves move up the occupational ladder. Family size increases as children are born in the early years of marriage, and consequently

housing needs and space requirements change. When families move up the occupational ladder they become sensitive to the social aspects of location and use residential mobility to bring their residence into line with their prestige needs (*Rossi, 1955; Cullingworth, 1968*). For Britain Donnison (1967), has summarized five housing stages in order to offer a method of analysing the 'life cycle' whereby people's ages may be associated with their accommodation needs. These housing stages are:

(i) For the first twenty years or so they live in their parents' homes.

(ii) Then a growing proportion of them spend a brief period on their own or with friends, after leaving home to study or to find work. The first year or two of marriage, when wives generally remain at work, may be regarded as a continuation of this phase; the household is small and out all day.

(iii) As soon as their first baby is born, the household's needs change again and become, during this expanding phase, increasingly extensive and demanding.

(iv) In time, all or most of their children leave home, and for those who do not have elderly relatives living with them, there follows a fourth phase. The household is again small, and less dependent on its neighbours and the services afforded by the surrounding neighbourhood, but a home has been established and filled

with possessions, roots have been put down, and people are less likely to move than in earlier years.

(v) Finally, in old age, households shrink still further; they become even less mobile, and their comfort and peace of mind depend increasingly upon security of tenure, upon the design and equipment of the home, the services available in the district and the support of nearby relatives and friends (*Donnison, 1967*).

While the above housing stages are very applicable in the U.K and most of the western world, there are slight differences if applied in Kuwait. The first two stages could be combined in one stage due to the social cohesion and the existence of the extended family. However, the importance of family life cycle in influencing residential mobility could be limited by other factors: in other words, constraint and inertia factors may prevent housing adjustments in accordance with the family cycle.

Furthermore, movement varies with type of tenure. Previous residential mobility studies have shown that renters are considerably more likely to move than owners (*see Rossi, 1955; Okraku, 1971; Murie, 1974, 1983; and Abdelrahman, 1979*). Tenure status is a complex variable. In part, renting or owning has an attitudinal aspect, expressing how a household regards its housing in terms of rejection or acceptance of the high valuation placed on home ownership especially in our region.

Table 9.1: Main reason for moving from previous house

Reasons	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Government policy	30.1	28.7	24.4	28.3
Space shortage	29.4	25.5	16.7	25.1
Better accommodation	20.3	19.1	15.4	18.7
High rent	8.4	17.0	12.8	12.1
Job situation	4.2	5.3	23.1	9.2
Others	7.7	4.3	7.7	6.7
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

In analysing the reasons for household movements from their previous housing, we found that the most important reason, which was mentioned by 28.3 per cent of the respondents, was the government policy in demolishing shanties (see Table 9.1). Shortage of space ranked second in importance and was mentioned by one quarter of the total respondents (25.1 per cent). This was followed by the availability of better accommodation provided through the government. The high rent charged by the private sector was fourth, and job situation was fifth, mentioned by 12.1 and 9.2 per cent respectively. Significant differences were found among the respondents' answers in the various settlements. Respondents in Um-Elhiman were more influenced by the job changing factor than respondents in Jahra and Sulaibiya. This could be

attributed to the fact that Um-Elhiman settlement is located in the fringe of the country, which in turn, forced the people working there to live in the area of their occupation. Finally, few respondents (6.7 per cent) stated marriage and a desire for independence, lack of neighbourhood services and being near friends and relatives, as reasons for moving from their previous home. These findings support our preliminary assumption that the nature and types of households moving most often indicate a consistent pattern of movement influenced by housing conditions, position in the family life cycle and functions of authorities managing the housing system.

9.1.1 Intention to move and reasons for moving

Several studies have used intention to move as a measure of residential dissatisfaction (see *Francescato, et al, 1987; Mullins and Robb, 1977; Weildemann and Anderson, 1977; Nathanson, 1974; and Droettboom et al, 1969*). When respondents were asked if they are intending to move, the majority of them (55.6 per cent) replied that they have no inclination to do so in the near future. These responses indicate either a high level of satisfaction with the residential environment or, more likely, a high value placed on a site when it is obtained, due, for example, to inability to move elsewhere. Significant differences between the respondents' replies in the three settlements were found. Jahra and Um-Elhiman had more

respondents who intended to move than Sulaibiya (48.9 and 53.8 per cent vs. 29.8 per cent respectively).

Table 9.2: Moving intention and main reason for moving

<u>Planning to move</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Sulaibiya</u>	<u>Um-Elhiman</u>	<u>All</u>
Yes	48.9	29.8	53.8	44.4
No	51.1	70.2	46.2	55.6
<u>Main reason for intended move</u>				
In poor condition & needs restoration	40.0	24.9	47.6	39.2
Too small	24.4	21.4	16.7	21.4
In poor neighbourhood	10.0	7.1	14.3	10.7
The provision of better housing	11.3	14.3	4.8	10.0
Others	8.6	14.3	9.5	10.0
Want different type of housing	5.7	17.9	7.1	8.6
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	70	28	42	140

Statistically significant at the level of .05

Respondents who declared their intention of moving were asked to give the principal reasons for moving from the present accommodation. The findings in Table 9.2, revealed that problems associated with the physical conditions of the dwellings was the outstanding reason for moving. Nearly two fifths of the respondents (39.2 per cent) who declared their intention to move mentioned that the poor conditions of the present dwellings has affected

their decision. Evidence regarding the role of housing quality in motivating residential mobility is quite limited. Nevertheless, that the lower quality housing can be a causal factor in the decision to move is supported. Roistacher (1974), indicated that the rate of mobility is higher for families living in poor quality housing. Moreover, Sabagh et al (1969), predicted that housing unit deterioration (in effect a reduction in housing quality) would motivate families to move. Significant differences between respondents in the neighbourhoods have occurred. Respondents in Um-Elhiman were more critical, and influenced by the previous factor, than those in Sulaibiya (47.6 per cent vs.24.9 per cent). The need for more space due to increase in the family size came second, mentioned by 21.4 per cent of the total respondents. The incidence of complaints regarding space varies with the amount of space available, lending credence to space complaints as a measure of a space deficit, Rossi stated:

"For a given family size, the smaller the dwelling unit, the more likely the household is to cite space complaints as a primary reason why it left its former home. Similarly for a given dwelling size, the smaller the household, the less likely the family is to cite space complaints as having had an impact on its moving decision" (Rossi, 1955)

The physical appearance of the neighbourhood was ranked third and mentioned by 10.7 per cent. The complaints about the neighbourhood cover a considerable

range of specific aspects of the present living place. Some households were concerned primarily about the social composition of the neighbourhood, others were concerned with its physical aspects, and some were more concerned with services and so on. Thus, these findings enhance our preceding suggestion that the presence of perceived and actual neighbourhood deficits can be seen to have a considerable influence on overall satisfaction and the desire to move. The fourth reason for intending to move was the provision of better housing, which was mentioned by 10.0 per cent of the respondents. Interestingly, most of those in the latter category were Kuwaiti citizens who decided to move out even before they had taken up the option on their previous dwellings. They occupied the popular housing as a temporary expedient while they are waiting for the more suitable accommodation to be acquired through the government. Finally some moves were involuntary and were forced upon the household by the pressure of events beyond its control. For example, nine cases found that the households were forced to move either because the house has been required by the original lease holder, or by the law that after retirement or leaving the work they should evacuate the house.

9.2 Housing aspiration

We have seen in the previous chapters that the majority of popular housing tenants who used to live in shanties or in unconventional dwellings found their

present housing conditions much better than the previous ones. This is the qualitative change which housing programmes try to achieve. How far does this change fit in with the purposes of the people, how important is housing to them, what type of housing do they prefer, and what would they like to be done in regard to their neighbourhood? Answers to these questions will show how much the change in physical conditions agrees with the ideal housing standards of the people for whom the housing projects have been designed.

One of the most basic decisions appertaining to housing is that involving type of tenure (owning or renting). Nearly all the respondents indicated that it is very important to own a house. To highlight the decision to buy or rent, the respondents were asked whether they expect to own a home some day. Only 13.3 per-cent of the heads of the households interviewed retain this hope of home ownership. Most of those who expected to own their private accommodation were Kuwaiti citizens. This result could be attributed to the current housing policy in which the state provides adequate housing or facilitates interest free loans only for Kuwaiti citizens. However, without the government's help, a large number of the Kuwaiti population would not be able to buy or own their homes.

Turning back to the remaining 86.7 per cent of the respondents who intended to rent, nearly three quarters

(71.1 per cent) of them stated that they did not have enough money to purchase a home. The remainder were distributed among other reasons such as the uncertainty of their future in the country or the desire to collect and save some money in order to secure their housing needs in their mother country. Since the vast majority of the occupants of these residential settlements are by definition from the limited and middle income groups, they are unable to afford to own a house. The resources necessary for buying a house would have to come either from the government or the private market. In view of the public sector's resources and the state's commitment to its citizens and the different pressing needs, it is doubtful that the government would facilitate free interest loans for such a large number of people (this matter is related to political issues more than social ones). On the other hand, the private market does not support individual housing loans for the limited income groups due to the high cost of the residential accommodation in Kuwait, and their income is unreliable in meeting regular payments. Moreover, some people will not accept loans that involve interest because it is against the laws of Islam (Islam prohibits borrowing money or lending it for interest).

In order to give more information about the residents' aspirations regarding their housing, they were asked to state the most important features representing the future ideal housing. The overwhelming majority of the

respondents (76.2 per cent) agreed that ownership is the most important feature in housing objectives (see Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: Features of ideal housing

Feature	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Ownership & security of tenure	78.3	84.0	62.8	76.2
General comfort	65.7	71.3	74.4	69.5
Location	57.3	37.2	59.0	51.7

Some respondents were given more than one feature

Significant differences have been found between the respondents' replies in the various settlements. The overwhelming majority of the respondents in Sulaibiya (84.0 per cent) stated ownership and security of tenure as the most important aspects in their ideal housing, compared to 62.8 per cent in Um-Elhiman. These differences may be due to the fact that a considerable number of the respondents in Um-Elhiman (42.3 per cent) are foreigners and came to work for a limited period of time without planning to stay for good in the country. Another reason also which does not encourage non-Kuwaitis to buy their home even if they could afford it, is the fact that there is no guarantee in the migration law that they could have a permanent visa to settle in Kuwait. This means that their future is insecure in the country. Moreover, there is a very limited chance for them to succeed in gaining

Kuwaiti nationality because of the rigid administration of the citizenship law.

The second most important feature in aspirations for accommodation, and mentioned by 69.5 per cent of the respondents, was general comfort. This includes the following:

(i) the house should be spacious to cope with the future needs stemming from increase in family size;

(ii) privacy is an essential character of the comfortable dwelling;

(iii) the comfortable house should contain all housing facilities such as electricity, water supply and drainage system connected to the main network;

(iv) the comfortable dwelling should be permanent and provided with the sufficient community services. This could counteract the respondents' impression about their housing being temporary

The third important feature of the most desirable housing was the location. More than half of the respondents (51.7 per cent) mentioned that the location of the dwelling in terms of nearness to place of work, social services such as schools, cooperatives, clinics etc., and nearness to friends and relatives would be important features of their ideal house. By comparing the informants' responses in the three settlements, significant

differences were found. The majority of the respondents in Um-Elhiman and Jahra (59.0 and 57.3 per cent) stated the location to be an important aspect of the ideal housing, compared to 37.2 per cent in Sulaibiya. This could explained by the isolated location of Um-Elhiman, creating a need for long journeys to the centre, social services and other amenities. While Sulaibiya is situated in the middle with good connection to motor ways.

Table 9.4: Preference of living in another type of housing by type of settlement (percentage distribution)

	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
yes	94.4	88.3	83.3	89.8
No	5.6	11.7	16.7	10.2
For those saying "yes"				
Preferred type of housing				
Limited-income	67.4	57.8	44.6	59.4
Flat	14.1	24.1	41.5	23.3
Villa	11.1	10.8	6.2	9.9
Others	7.4	7.2	7.7	7.4
No. of respondents	135	83	65	283
Total	100	100	100	100

On probing the respondents about specific features, we found that differences in individual status had some influence over housing preferences and aspirations. For example, age is important, not only for the level of

aspiration, but also for the reasons behind this level. Younger people are more likely to say that they want a particular type of home in order to live respectably or to better themselves, while the older people are less demanding and quite satisfied with their housing.

After defining the the most important features about the desirable housing that residents in popular housing were looking forward to achieve, the respondents were asked whether they prefer to live in another type of housing. As shown in Table 9.4, the vast majority (89.8 per cent) of the respondents indicated their preferences for living in a different type of housing. Of the 89.8 per cent of the respondents who preferred living in a different type of housing, 59.4 percent stated that they wish to live in low-income housing which the government provides for Kuwaiti citizens. The second type of housing preferred by popular housing tenants, and mentioned by 23.3 percent of the respondents, was living in flats. Significant differences were found between the respondents' replies in the various settlements. The findings show that respondents in Um-Elhiman settlement who prefer living in flats were more frequent than the respondents in Jahra and Sulaibiya settlements (41.5 per cent vs. 14.1 and 24.1 per cent respectively).

In contrast we found that there were far more respondents in Jahra settlement who prefer living in limited-income housing than the respondents in Um-Elhiman

settlement. This difference could be attributed to the background of the people, especially when we take into consideration the large number of respondents who came from bedouin origin. On the other hand, a number of the respondents in Um-Elhiman, as mentioned previously, are foreigners who came from urban backgrounds and used to live in flats. A small proportion of the respondents (9.9 per cent) indicated their preferences to live in villas, while the remaining (7.4 per cent) respondents mentioned other type of housing such as traditional dwellings.

Table 9.5; Main desires regarding popular housing settlements

Desire	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Get rid of	55.9	19.1	62.8	46.7
Should be better maintained and serviced	35.7	53.2	32.1	40.0
Remain as it is	8.4	27.7	5.1	13.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

In regard to their neighbourhoods, heads of households interviewed were asked about the best thing that should be done to these settlements. Nearly half of the respondents (46.7 per cent) agreed upon the point saying that popular housing settlements were originally created as a temporary solution for the shanty dwellers and it is time now to

replace them by better housing standards which should be permanent ones (see Table 9.5).

Significant differences were found between the respondents in various settlements. Respondents in Jahra and Um-Elhiman who expressed their desire to demolish popular housing were more than those in Sulaibiya (55.9 and 62.8 per cent vs. 19.1 per cent respectively). This may be due to the fact that all the dwellings in Sulaibiya settlement were constructed in the second rehousing project, in which the authorities tried to avoid some of the problems which arose during the implementation of the first rehousing project. Moreover, dwellings in Sulaibiya are more organized and relatively spacious compared to the others. This result is consistent with our previous findings which revealed that the respondents in Sulaibiya were more satisfied with their living environment than those who are living in Jahra and Um-Elhiman settlements.

The second hope or desire regarding popular housing settlements, which was mentioned by 40.0 per cent of the respondents, was that the government should renovate and maintain all the buildings in these neighbourhoods. While the remaining 13.3 per cent of the respondents seem to have vague aspirations, no particular needs, and would like the neighbourhood to remain much as it is.

9.3 Future expectation:

After recording the respondents' intentions toward moving and the reasons cited for it, and their aspirations in terms of housing, future expectations regarding their living environment for the next five years have been sought. Several questions have been addressed to the respondents in order to determine whether they expect that their living conditions would be improved and some of their goals could be achieved, or the situation would get worse. Reasons for their responses were also elicited.

The first question was focussed on the time they were expecting to live at their present accommodation. As shown in Table 9.6, the majority of respondents (54.3 per cent) were not sure about the length of time and their reply was *"we do not know for how long we will live at the present dwelling"*. This result reflects the high proportion of the residents feeling insecure and unsettled. One respondent had replied that

"due to the vague and unbalanced housing policy for non Kuwaitis (meaning non identified nationality) we feel insecure and worried about the uncertain future".

Respondents who expected to stay in their present accommodation less than five years were second, and accounted for nearly one third (31.4 per cent) of the total responses.

Table 9.6: Time expecting to live at present house

Time	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Less than 5 years	35.7	24.5	30.8	31.4
More than 5 years	9.1	14.9	5.1	9.8
Don't expect moving	4.2	7.4	1.3	4.4
Do not know	51.0	53.2	61.5	54.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

This was followed by those who expected to live in their dwellings for more than five years, who accounted for 9.8 per cent. These results are consistent with our previous findings regarding those who were planning to move. The remaining 4.4 per cent of the respondents stated that they do not expect to move from this housing. No significant differences were found between the respondents regarding the previous issue.

From the analysis, we found that there is a strong association between the time people expect to live at their present dwelling and the nationality of respondents. As shown in Table 9.7, most of those respondents who expected to stay in their dwelling less than five years were Kuwaiti citizens waiting for their turn in the public housing programme, and those non-Kuwaitis who were either very dissatisfied with their housing conditions or came to work for a limited period of time and planned to return to their own country.

Table 9.7: Time expecting to live at present dwelling by nationality

	Kuwaitis	Non-identified	Non-Kuwaitis	
Less than 5 yrs	92.3	13.7	52.2	
More than 5 yrs	7.7	7.1	16.3	
Do not expect to move	0.0	6.1	2.2	
Do not know	0.0	73.1	29.3	
Total	100	100	100	
No. of respondents	26	197	92	=315

On the other hand we found that most of the respondents who do not know for how long they will live at their present housing, were from the non-identified nationality group. Secondly, respondents were asked what type of housing they expect to live in after five years. Again the uncertainty of future housing appears, and nearly half of the respondents (41.0 per cent) were not sure what type of housing they would occupy in the near future (see Table 9.8). Some respondents replied

"While the present housing policy is concerned only with housing the Kuwaiti citizens, we cannot expect any specific type of housing for the future".

Those who expected to live in limited or middle income housing were second and accounted for one quarter of the respondents (25.1 per cent). Significant differences have been found between the respondents' replies in the three settlements. Respondents in Jahra who

expected to live in limited and middle income housing groups were more than those in Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman (31.5 per cent vs. 25.6 and 12.8 per cent respectively). This could be attributed to the fact that the Kuwaiti respondents in Jahra, who are waiting to be provided with limited or middle income housing were more common than those in Sulaibiya and Um-Elhiman.

Table 9.8: Type of housing expecting to live in after 5 years

Type of house	Jahra	Sulaibiya	Um-Elhiman	All
Do not know	35.7	42.6	48.7	41.0
Limited and middle income	31.5	25.6	12.8	25.1
Same house	18.9	22.3	17.9	19.7
Others; Traditional, Flat, shanty etc.	14.0	9.6	20.5	14.3
Total	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	143	94	78	315

Almost one fifth (19.7 per cent) of the respondents indicated that they expect to live in the same dwelling (popular housing) after five years. The remaining 14.3 per cent of the respondents mentioned some other type of housing such as traditional Arab housing and flats. Interestingly, in three cases the heads of the households interviewed stated that they expect to return to shanties and black tents.

Finally, respondents were asked about their future expectation regarding their neighbourhoods for the next five years. In general, the overwhelming majority of our respondents (72.6 per cent) indicated that the neighbourhood would get worse in the next five years. Respondents who are living in old areas (Um-Elhiman and part of Jahra) were the least optimistic about the future of their neighbourhoods. On the other hand, greater optimism was found among respondents living in new areas especially in Sulaibiya. The most frequent reasons given by those pessimistic respondents were; (1) Lack of maintenance coupled with the authorities' ignorance in improving these settlements; (2) The government policy in housing the people without offering them any kind of security of tenure; (3) As a result of the current housing policy the chain of housing turnover has been accelerated and led to the deterioration of these neighbourhoods; (4) The constant increase in the population of these settlements created the overcrowding problem which also contributed to worsen the living conditions in these areas. And lastly, as temporary housing the residents were not critically interested in maintaining them. However, the majority of the public interviewed indicated that popular housing has a negative effect upon the housing development and hence they expected that these settlements would be demolished in the near future.

However, when the public were asked to state their prediction about the future of popular housing, the findings revealed that the majority of them (52.0 per cent) believed it will be demolished in the near future(see Table 9.9). The most frequent reason stated for that view was the deteriorating conditions of the settlements.

Table 9.9: Public prediction about the future of popular housing

<u>Prediction</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Hawali</u>	<u>Ahmadi</u>	<u>Jahra</u>	<u>Total</u>
Demolished	54.5	36.6	57.9	58.3	52.0
Remain as it is	22.7	34.1	15.8	27.1	25.1
replaced by better housing	18.2	12.2	23.7	2.1	13.5
Expanded	4.6	17.1	2.6	12.5	9.4
No. of respondents	44	41	38	48	171

Respondents who predicted that the settlements will remain as they are accounted for one quarter (25.1 per cent) of the total replies. Those who were holding some hopes of an improvement of housing conditions in these settlements (13.5 per cent) indicated that the authorities will replace them with better type of housing. Finally, nearly one tenth of the respondents (9.4 per cent) predicted that the settlements will be expanded to cope with the growth of the population in these areas.

9.4 Summary and discussion

This chapter has investigated the informants' overall reaction to their living environment by using several measures. These included residential mobility and the causes behind it, the tenant's aspirations and future expectations regarding the residential environment. Indeed, the data obtained supported the assumption that the nature and type of households' movement, most often indicate a consistent pattern of movement influenced by housing conditions, position in the family cycle, and the functions of the authorities managing the housing system. However, the housing system or policy, which is politically determined, had adversely affected the tenants' housing conditions as they moved up the ladder in their family size; yet no alternative type of housing is offered to them, leading to physical and social deterioration of their house.

Moving is not a random event but determined by a household's needs, dissatisfaction and aspiration. A household's complaints about its residence and neighbourhood were also shown to be highly related to mobility. Particularly important were those complaints referring to the characteristics of the dwelling unit itself. Moreover, the limited choices and government policy were the main causes behind moving to this type of housing. Yet the controversial point experienced by the investigation is to explain their low intention to move out despite low

levels of satisfaction and deteriorating condition. Most writers would regard low intention to move out as a measure of a high level of satisfaction. However, it could be explained by their limited alternative in the government housing schemes, the high rents in the private sector, and the provision of flats mainly by the private sector which do not suit their increased space demand and their social and cultural background.

Their housing aspirations and ideal housing was mainly focussed upon security of tenure, which was reported to be one of the most important contributors to satisfaction, yet only 13.3 per cent maintained a hope to own a house (all are Kuwaitis). This low level of optimism reflects the impact of government policy and regulation which only permits citizens to own land or home in Kuwait. The ideal housing was also described by them to be spacious, with high levels of privacy, public services and permanent construction materials. This indeed reflects the gravity of the problem they are suffering due to overcrowding, lack of privacy, lack of public services and deteriorating physical conditions of the dwelling itself.

Interestingly, the age of the respondent affected their level of satisfaction as older age respondents seemed less demanding and more satisfied, while younger age groups show more unfulfilled aspiration and less satisfaction. However, in general their preference of the

future houses were concentrated around the limited income government housing which is already supplied for Kuwaitis. This shows the modesty in their demands enhanced by their feelings for security and willingness to be part of the Kuwaiti community.

When the investigator tried to predict their future expectation, the problem of high feelings of insecurity were uncovered because the majority replied that they were not sure about their length of stay in this housing. A strong relationship between expected length of stay at the present dwelling and nationality was observed. Indeed, those who are moving in less than three years were mainly Kuwaitis waiting for their turn in the public housing projects or foreigners coming for only a limited period of time. The vast majority of the respondents who replied that they do not know the length of their stay were indeed from the non-identified nationalities. This reflects some facts about their social problems of uncertainty, worry, unsettlement, lack of feeling of belonging, and a feeling of rejection by the government.

Finally, when they were asked about their future expectation regarding their neighbourhood, the majority (72.6 per cent) replied that it would deteriorate over the years due to lack of maintenance, no security of tenure, and the government policy accelerating the chain of housing turnover, which ultimately would lead to deterioration in both the dwellings and the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

The object of this thesis was to ascertain the housing conditions, and in particular, to explore and measure the level of satisfaction of the popular housing tenants, in order to assess the effectiveness and the degree of success of the rehousing project in achieving its human and social goals. The government has succeeded in clearing the squatter settlements disfiguring Kuwait. But has it been equally successful in satisfying the people's needs? The study also aimed at identifying the tenants' hopes, aspirations and future expectations regarding their housing status.

The first part of the thesis discussed in detail the problems of low income housing in the world in general, with special attention to the third world and then focussed upon the situation in Kuwait in particular. The housing situation in Kuwait indicated great disparities involving the distribution of benefits and other public aid within the present housing system. Indeed, such a degree of injustice might lead to social and political problems in the long run. These conclusions are drawn from the second part of the thesis dealing with housing conditions and the living environment of the popular housing tenants.

The intention of this concluding chapter is to draw together some principal research findings and to identify, first, the practical implications and recommendations arising from the study for solving the present problems facing the popular housing tenants; and secondly, the future policy implications of the results obtained which might help the government to satisfy and meet the tenants' own hopes and aspirations.

This study also provides base line information about housing status especially of the popular housing in Kuwait. It is the belief of the investigator that, given a more reliable base of information for decision-making, those in charge of housing policy could become more effective in creating a more responsive residential environment which would live up to the desires and expectations of the occupants. This study may also provide a guide to important areas needing further research in the future.

To avoid repetition, not all the research findings are summarized here, because each chapter contains its own conclusion to the material covered. Thus only the main findings and their policy implications have been discussed.

10.1 Thesis Findings

Although the inflow of rural-urban migration in many developing countries causes rapid city growth and further strains on already over-stretched resources, the attempt to slow this migration flow in order to eliminate low-income

housing which fails to meet city standards, is probably bound to fail. They need the labour of the migrants too urgently to do without them, and the urban bias in the development philosophy of many governments has accentuated rural-urban inequality and encouraged migration. The increased divergence of income, at regional and intra-urban level in the Third World is a major contributing factor to their urban problems. This highly uneven pattern, with an acutely skewed distribution of incomes and employment, has adverse affects on the welfare, housing and other benefits within the cities.

Therefore, urbanization, with its emerging problems, is likely to continue, and in practice, most national and urban governments are under pressure to accept the large and growing proportion of the urban poor and to help them find shelter suitable to their immediate needs which they can afford. Thus, for most governments, except the wealthier ones, a sound housing policy must accept that much slum and squatter housing represents a normal positive response by the poor to the lack of low income housing. Consequently, many governments have succumbed to the inevitability of squatters and have accepted a housing strategy for those with low incomes which meets the most basic needs of the urban poor. In this sense they have channelled resources into investment in low cost housing, relying on a number of closely linked policies including on-site upgrading of existing slums and squatter housing,

ensuring adequate supply of land for site and service projects, providing security of tenure and access to finance, along with establishing wider socio-economic development and the use of appropriate local technology.

The principal findings of the thesis will be presented within a discussion of four points;

(1) Why does so wealthy a country have these housing problems?

(2) Who are living in the popular housing?

(3) What is the quality of the living environment in these neighbourhoods?

(4) What are their levels of satisfaction, aspirations and future expectations with their dwelling and the surrounding environment?

(1) Kuwait is a wealthy country with small population. Then why should it face a housing problem with resultant great disparities in the housing conditions among the population?

This must be a unique situation. Many would argue that the fundamental constraint on housing policy in the developing countries is a financial one, complicated by the strains of rapid urbanization and huge rural-urban migration which is characteristic of most of these countries. Wealthier states, like Hong Kong and Indonesia, are solving their housing problems more effectively. Yet Kuwait, in

spite of being a wealthy country with a high level of per capita income (over \$15,000 per annum) combined with a small population, is still suffering from substantial housing problems. However, the first impression gained from the large government investment in housing since the beginning of 1952, when it adopted complete commitment to housing provision for all those who could not afford it, was that the state need not, in the longer run, have any housing problems. The state involvement in housing investment had been growing significantly over the years. Yet, despite focussing all this expenditure on the citizens, housing remains a major problem, especially for those who are not Kuwaiti citizens. Although there is no acute housing shortage, there is a considerable amount of sub-standard housing. The unbalanced composition of the population, in which the local people represent only 28 per cent, compounded with political attitudes, creates such a problem.

Kuwait politics have caused the problem. In fact Kuwait seems to be one of the rare countries (although the other Gulf States may have similar situation, no available data were found) in which there are three types of population category: (i) the Kuwaiti citizens, (ii) the non-Kuwaiti immigrants and (iii) a large population with "no identified nationality" who, due to the difficult citizenship law, are trapped under the "unidentified nationality category". Kuwait has accepted and tolerated their sit-

uation over the years. Indeed it has welcomed their employment in the army, the police and as security guards, three very sensitive fields to which Kuwaitis are not attracted. Now, despite working 25-30 years for the government in the same fields, they still do not gain citizenship or permanent visa. They are still a worried, unsettled, heterogeneous population, stigmatized by their lack of nationality, confined to a limited range of jobs, with no political rights and segregated in "popular housing".

The Kuwaiti situation is unique, not only because of the country's political constitution and in the fact that there is virtually no financial constraint, but also because the majority of the people (71.5 per cent) not being citizens of the state, are left to be housed by the private sector. There is no right of land or house ownership for the non-citizens, while most of Kuwait's land is privately owned by citizens. All these factors have interacted to produce and to maintain substandard housing conditions for a large sector of the population, creating great disparity and injustice involving the distribution of benefits and services within the present housing system.

(2) Who are living in the popular housing? This the second question asked in this study. Is it, as the Government claims, that 50 per cent is occupied by citizens and the other 50 per cent houses some of the army and police personnel? Popular housing was originally built to rehouse

the squatters, who were mainly limited and middle income families. The vast majority of the residents are in fact non citizens, mostly of "non-identified nationality"; this does not match with the governments' data. This could be explained by sub-leasing of the popular housing. The study showed that more than one quarter of the respondents rented their dwellings from others (those who were taking advantage of the people in need by sub-leasing the houses for higher rents). Also it appears from the results that nearly half of the respondents have not been living in shanties before moving to the popular houses. However, this contradicts our preliminary assumption that the tenants of popular housing were mostly the squatters rehoused. Most beneficiaries were not previously squatters. This can be explained by the high turnover of such dwellings coupled with the sub-lease by Kuwaitis to tenants with non-identified nationality.

Another important factor was that most respondents were middle-aged with large families. They were mainly working in the army and police, and this confirms the finding that tenants are mainly from the non identified nationality. Due to their social and cultural background and to the limitation of the private sector, this is the most suitable type of housing available for them. Indeed, this was confirmed when the majority responded in ranking the "government policy" and "no better alternative" as the most common reasons for moving to this housing.

(3) What is the quality of housing and the living environment in these neighbourhoods, and is it the only available housing for the majority of the "non-identified nationality"? This the third question asked in this investigation.

There is a significant difference between the various settlements in terms of housing conditions as well as the location of the neighbourhood and the availability of public services. Um-Elhiman was found to be much the worst in all aspects, while the Sulaibiya settlement seems to function best. Housing conditions suffered from many problems related to the dwelling itself and the surrounding neighbourhoods. These problems are severe in all the three settlements. There had also been complaints about the dwellings showing deteriorating conditions such as cracks and water leakage. Residents also complained about the bad design which expose them to the climatic changes predisposing them to severe sandstorm and hot weather in the summer, and cold drafts in the winter time. These climatic changes could adversely affect their health predisposing them to diseases such as asthma and hay fever. They had also complained about the limited space they have in which over-crowding became a common problem as the average occupancy rate is 9 persons per housing unit and about 2.7 persons per room. Interestingly, some residents had erected a tent in front of the house to overcome the space shortage. Respondents also vigorously complained about

lack of privacy which had allowed a lot of social problems and intrusion by others (some respondents claim that they usually hear their neighbours when they talk).

From the above we may suggest the following; (i) poor construction work, which may be attributed either to unskilled builders or to the use of inappropriate prefabricated construction materials which need skilled labour; (ii) poor construction material to reduce the construction expenses, or over-rapid construction leading to poor labour performance; (iii) lack of supervision during construction, which might in turn, allow substandard material or building performance; finally, (iv) the lack of regular maintenance which appears to rate as the most important point.

The speed with which the projects were implemented without sufficient study, supervision, and follow up, resulted in the deteriorating conditions faced today by the tenants. In fact, 72.6 per cent of the total respondents have predicted that the neighbourhood will get worse over time. When the tenants were asked why they do not maintain their homes some did not feel responsible because their house is rented and some said that the government should maintain them. However, a crucial point which came to light here is the importance of home ownership. The vast majority of the informants ranked security of tenure as the most important factor in assessing their housing conditions and the main contribution that could be made to raising levels of satisfaction. On the other hand, if that

is not possible, the government should provide all maintenance functions and social services and hence stop the deterioration of the environment. But that would call for long term spending which is not preferred by the authorities. Meanwhile, the housing authority is quite busy with other projects.

Hence the best solution to maintain the dwellings is by encouraging the people to take care of their homes by introducing some kind of security of tenure to alleviate their sense of insecurity: 54.3 per cent replied that they are not sure about their length of stay at the present dwelling and consequently they are not interested in maintaining it. They were also not happy with the neighbourhood which they felt was not safe, organized or tidy.

Other problems arise from the fact that the government's approach to the provision of housing has been almost entirely in terms of providing accommodation, without any consideration of social factors, or the public services involved in low income housing, especially in the case of popular housing. This is particularly true because, when compared to other residential areas in Kuwait where fully serviced neighbourhoods exist, considerable investment in services will be required to create the best social and environmental well-being. Yet popular housing suffers from being isolated, with limited services which makes it dependent on the nearby urban areas. That, in turn, overloads those urban areas and creates negative feelings towards

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Conclusion

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political and social change in attitudes and decisions. All these factors interact to cause residents' dissatisfaction with their living environment, distort the public views about these settlements, and create bad feelings among the residents.

(4) Finally, what is the level of satisfaction among the tenants with their home and the surrounding environment, and what are their aspirations and future expectations?

The majority of the respondents, regardless of their previous occupancy status, were living in an environment which was associated with several difficulties. The majority of them found their present dwelling was better than their previous accommodation. Yet there was a high level of dissatisfaction with the dwelling, the neighbourhood, the services and the location. Surprisingly, the majority of the respondents had no intention to move from their present dwelling, which most writers consider as a measure of a high level of satisfaction. Moreover, many respondents stated that they had accepted the inevitability of popular housing due to limited choices. Compared with other public housing programmes, where the beneficiaries appear to enjoy more freedom in their choices of the type and the location of their dwellings, the popular housing tenant has limited choice, having to accept a predetermined location and design of housing, which creates a lot of dissatisfaction. Housing should be perceived as a function

of what it does to the lives of its users and not only in the material quality of the final product. The failure to provide acceptable types of housing, with acceptable social facilities, adversely affects the people's performance socially, economically and politically. For example; as previously mentioned, living in popular housing with its deteriorating conditions (physically and socially) had exposed the tenants to medical hazard which might influence their productivity (economically) and their education (socially) by ill health. Also the presence of abandoned houses could be used as breeding sites for crime and bad behaviour, which may cause social and political problems. Moreover, lack of privacy through over-crowding could expose occupants to social tensions and problems among the family and neighbours. The tension among tenants, arising from being isolated and politically antagonized by the government, might create political unrest in the future, and that could be especially dangerous for the state because these people are the main bulk of the army and police force.

The people living in the popular houses have hopes and dreams for a better life. If they do not realize these dreams they will not function well in the community and will ultimately become disillusioned.

Decisions taken without consultation should be avoided, as should the risk of misinterpreting peoples' needs through providing specific types of accommodation on

specific locations with no alternative. They usually provoke anger and feelings of rejection and dissatisfaction. A more successful housing policy can be derived from solutions that provide a means by which the consumers can choose the type and location of accommodation which best serves their needs. Most studies show that environmental satisfaction, in particular satisfaction with the dwelling, can be significantly enhanced by policies which welcome the participation of the tenants in creating their own residential environment.

Evidence from the study shows that most of the negative attributes to satisfaction, especially those pertaining to the environment of popular housing, were interrelated and cumulative in their effects and impacts. For example; firstly, the complaints about the location of the housing projects were not unrelated to the inadequacy and inefficiency of public transportation, particularly in Um-Elhiman. Secondly, the tirade of complaints about the lack of open spaces, playgrounds and private yards was related to the tenants' dissatisfaction with their lack of external privacy. Thirdly, the high concentration of many large sized households on a small piece of property inevitably generates high probabilities of conflict between neighbours. Finally, the publicity often generated by these complaints, is likely to have fostered and perpetuated a stereo-typed bad image of popular housing in the minds of the public. This negative image can feed back to

create further dissatisfaction among popular housing tenants. This is further illustrated by the investigator's observation that the degree of satisfaction had been influenced by several factors. Firstly by their previous home; when people had been living previously in shanties they appeared to be more satisfied. Secondly by degree of literacy; the younger literate people are less satisfied. Thirdly by the location of settlement; where people living in Um-Elhiman seem least satisfied. Fourthly by the length of stay; where the longer occupants stayed in the house, the less is their satisfaction. Hence respondents' perceptions of problems in their dwelling and surrounding environment may be aggravated by other social, political and economic factors. This vicious circle must be broken and improvement should be implemented at all levels from the dwelling itself to the neighbourhood, public facilities, social services, transportation and in the minds of the people themselves.

However, the aspirations of the popular housing tenants regarding their housing environment were modest and were in line with the conventional public low income housing already existing in many other places in Kuwait. This modesty of aspiration reflects their preference for home ownership as a means of gaining a greater feeling of security and to enhance their sense of belonging to the Kuwaiti community as a whole. Residents want to have a say in the location of their homes, which reflects their desire

to mix with and penetrate the closed Kuwaiti community. They want to break out of their isolation. After all, they have lived for many years in Kuwait during which they have suffered from the difficult nationality system which categorizes them as having "no identified nationality". This problem of segregating them into certain spatial geographical locations and also in certain employment choices "working only in the army, police and security guards" was noticed by other researchers such as Al-Moosa, who makes a recommendation for their full integration into the Kuwaiti community. Yet no such policy was adopted by the government.

10.2 Policy Implications

Given all the variations discussed, no standard set of housing strategies can be formulated for all countries. Each country must review its own option, geared to its own resources. Similarly, housing standards depend on the financial and other resources available, especially those within reach of the poor. Housing standards should be improved for the whole urban population and not just for certain segments. However, three characteristics are desirable in all housing policies and programmes. These include flexibility to cope successfully with changing social, political and economic circumstances; comprehensiveness to draw on all possible sources of investment in low-cost housing, whether conventional or not; finally, policies should be tailored to meet the specific require-

ments of the poor, within their financial capabilities and using local resources. Meanwhile, attempts to copy, without adaptation to local needs, the apparent success of other wealthier countries should be particularly avoided.

It has often been argued that attention should be directed towards a balanced and selective intervention by housing authorities in those areas where needs are greatest, that is, to provide decent dwellings for those unable to afford owner-occupied units. In the case of Kuwait, a great deal has been done to achieve this, but public housing policy has only been directed towards the citizens, in the form of creating new housing units or assisting them with subsidized land and interest free loans. Since public policy is applied indiscriminately, it has stimulated over-demand from middle and upper income groups among citizens. This greatly overloads the capacity of the public housing authorities and has led to long waiting lists of about 8-9 years, and moreover, to over-consumption of public land and the financial resources available for housing.

Although most societies tend to exclude some marginal groups from the full benefits offered to other citizens such as social services, job opportunities, medical care, etc, most do this through informal but powerful economic and social processes. Few do it (as Kuwait does) by legal, formal rules about citizenship. This system formalizes, and makes explicit and public the exclusion which happens

elsewhere less formally but equally effectively. It seems that the wealth of Kuwait has played a part in aggravating the problem of foreigners in general, and the non-identified nationality in particular. Although Kuwait is offering relatively good standards, even to the excluded people with non-identified nationality, yet it is pursuing a firm policy of controlling them as an expatriate group, through a difficult nationality law and legislation preventing them from owning businesses or properties. Moreover, the government recently has adopted a tough policy in tracing the roots of those people, by limiting their access to all kinds of public services (e.g health, education, employment etc...) unless they present documentation showing their nationality.

Generally, the government has built new housing units over a period of time, contending that market mechanisms would lead to the supply of limited-income housing through the filtering process which would fill cheaper housing as its occupants moved out to better, new houses. However, the filtering process in Kuwait does not reach the target population because the political system confines home ownership to Kuwaiti citizens only. As this study has indicated, such political ideology has adversely influenced and affected the realities of the housing system.

A closer examination has shown that acute housing problems stem from the fact that public resources have not been equally distributed through the population, and

indeed, the unbalanced composition of the population has aggravated rather than aided the implementation of housing programmes. In other words, short-sighted policies have led to wasted opportunities, distorted priorities and misallocation of funds and resources.

As was noted, the "non-identified nationality" population is economically and politically essential for Kuwait (mainly in the army and police) and indeed they are socially and culturally very homogeneous with Kuwaiti culture and social composition. Yet their failure in obtaining Kuwaiti nationality has adversely affected their rights in general and their housing conditions in particular. These conditions serve to indicate that the realities of the current Kuwaiti housing system (particularly its political component) are but poorly understood. Moreover, the reluctance to extend citizenship to large numbers of N I N people is due to the facts that many are believed to have a nationality which they are concealing. Also the economic cost of offering them all the rights of citizenship would be very high.

To date, there has been a general tendency to ignore the linkages between housing policy and the country's general economic and, more importantly, its political performance and stability. Recognition must be given to the fact that, in many ways, the Kuwaiti housing system is unique, insofar as the country has a steady supply of capital for housing investment because it has retained its

balance of payments in a healthy position. Such development potential, however, has been hindered by political and managerial constraints, despite the presence of sensitive areas of major problems needing immediate attention in popular housing, and despite the existence of untapped national building resources. The socio-economic level of those in popular housing is mainly middle income, with the financial potential for a better type of housing that is not available to them. However, it is unrealistic to expect this sector to remain locked in this situation and not to improve their housing conditions. To achieve a more stable community they must be offered better opportunities.

Hence, in order to improve the living conditions of popular housing tenants, we must solve their nationality status first. There should be a more comprehensive and generous political attitude and a recognition of their role and the contribution it makes to economic and political stability. There should be a reconsideration of the political attitudes which prevent the acceptance of the present non identified nationality settlers as full citizens of Kuwait, sharing other citizens' duties (which they already do), and benefiting from all citizens' privileges. That would bring their housing problem to an end by moving them to their aspired limited-income housing, tasting the benefits of ownership and belonging to the community.

10.3 The importance of home ownership

However, if that is impossible (which would be unwise in the long term) an alternative approach to the problem is to introduce security of tenure and home ownership to this category as a privilege of serving the Kuwaiti government. It is an attractive form of saving and will enhance consolidation, maintenance, and sanitary environments for the whole community because they will feel at least secure from short term displacement. This would also decrease housing inequalities in the Kuwaiti system, and hence the worries and doubts people feel about the future.

Home ownership is the most important factor in consolidating and improving the house and the community. It is not based merely on financial benefits. It also provides privacy in home life, a feeling of security for the future and a means of saving and acquiring wealth. Furthermore, it provides a means of communicating one's identity as autonomous individuals, a feeling of contentment, and a pride in personal property. Indeed, research in several countries has also shown that ownership tends to be associated with higher residential satisfaction. Therefore, if one is to improve the housing conditions and the environment in the popular housing, some security of tenure must be introduced- preferably ownership, as it will give the best results- and hence the neighbourhood will be preserved and the house will be looked after.

Meanwhile, a variety of measures, to improve housing conditions and to alleviate the acute problem of the popular housing tenants, could be taken in this transitional period, whilst awaiting changing political and housing policies to bring about wider changes in social and economic welfare. Such measures as the immediate introduction of security of tenure and the provision of a system of repair grants would greatly assist occupants in maintaining their dwellings. In addition, the full service of such places, through a good transportation network, good infrastructure, water supply, shopping areas, open spaces, medical health centres, and schools would encourage full independence of these places. That will decrease the pressure upon the nearby urban areas and consequently decrease the tension towards those living in popular housing. As most of the tenants are from the middle income groups, they could be encouraged to move out to the Kuwaiti low income sector as renters, in the meantime, to decrease the overcrowding in these places. The short term solution is to grasp the realities of the popular houses and try to treat them directly.

In concluding this study, it is important to emphasize one major implication of this work for future planning. This relates to the need by the Kuwaiti government to change its policy on housing which was mainly prepared or borrowed from Developed Countries. The authorities should pay more attention to the residents of popular housing in

their housing programme rather than neglecting them. The existence of major distinctions between subsidized good quality housing for Kuwaiti citizens and that for those of non-identified nationality is an acute social problem which the authorities should recognize as a threat to stable order. If this gap is not to become permanent in the country, the existing patterns of housing and of social segregation must be changed by concentrating efforts on the improvement of the quality of houses in the popular housing settlements. This effort of the public authorities to improve the quality of housing in those settlements may not necessarily involve the building of new housing. Offering security of tenure can be of great value in mobilizing and directing human investment in housing by the residents.

10.4 The Key to Break the Segregation

This study recommends the release of tension built up by this spatial and political isolation through the full integration of tenants into the Kuwait community. This will only fully be achieved through their naturalization and hence their relocation within the housing system, so that they can select their house location and achieve more healthy social mixing through the society. The present situation prevents social integration and damages many aspects of social welfare.

However, if these goals are hindered by refusal to confer citizenship, good environmental maintenance through

security of tenure and home ownership, institutional, and governmental assistance will decrease their feeling of isolation, especially with the provision of better transportation links and if possible, adjustment of employment location. In combination with public acceptance guided by efforts of the public media to enhance their image these steps will achieve improvements in their social and cultural welfare.

10.5 Limitations of the study

Due to the critical political position of those concerned in the study, there have been several limitations faced by the investigation. First there was lack of official information, records and surveys about the people to be studied. Officials tended to ignore the problem as if it did not exist. They politely jumped over the subject and dissolved any purposeful discussion. There is no published, definite, documented government policy regarding their condition or future. There are no published data concerning their contribution to the government's labour force, their occupations and skills, their social or cultural composition. Hence the most important problem facing the investigation was lack of reliable information to help in guiding the research and testing certain hypotheses and policies: for example, the problem of finding those people who were not entitled to popular housing and were forced to rent their accommodation in the private sector. This unique political situation led to

other undesirable and unintended consequences, mainly by making comparative studies related to similar conditions difficult, as most of the existing literature dealt with housing problems resulting from economic constraints and rapid urbanization caused by rural-urban migration. Yet in Kuwait, the housing problem is created by political rather than economic constraint. No similar condition is recorded in other countries and hence the investigation has limited access to similar information.

Another undesirable limitation to the study was the lack of co-operation from the tenants themselves because they were adversely affected by their political situation. They were worried and afraid, and some refused to be interviewed. They assumed that the investigator was a government agent who might harm them and they did not want to disclose their own experience and feelings about their housing conditions or about their expectations because they knew that the government is the cause of their trouble.

Bearing these limitations in mind, the investigator felt it was worth persisting because the core of the problem was the absence of information and a detailed study of housing conditions and aspirations from the occupants' own view might assist the policy makers in solving their problems. Policy objectives should be to redirect investment for those in most need of it. The solution, however, is pragmatic and unique, and it aims at the social, economic and political integration of this group.

The popular housing tenants will welcome the advantages of the solution to alleviate their problems in terms of improved accommodation, social welfare and political fairness. On the government's part, it will enjoy more social, economic and political stability where these tenants are freed from housing worries and enabled to take their job seriously and actively. Furthermore, naturalization fits into political stability, and achieves high social goals.

The objective of this research has, thus, been achieved. It has contributed to knowledge by analysing the housing problem within socio-economic, cultural and political parameters of Kuwait and has formulated recommendations by which "popular housing" problems could be solved. Such a study also forms a strong baseline for subsequent research following up the effects of public policy decision-making with regard to popular housing.

APPENDIX A

**THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE
(POPULAR HOUSING)**

Interview No: _____

Settlement: _____

Date: _____

Section 1: Household composition

Respondents age:

- ☐ 20-29
- ☐ 30-39
- ☐ 40-49
- ☐ 50-59
- ☐ 60 and more

R's marital status:

- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed

R's education level:

- ☐ Illiterate
- ☐ Read and write
- ☐ Primary school
- ☐ Intermediate school
- ☐ Secondary school
- ☐ University and above

R's place of birth:

- ☐ Kuwait
- ☐ Kuwait desert
- ☐ Iraq desert
- ☐ Suadi Arabia desert

☐ Other (specify) _____

R's main occupation:

☐ Policeman

☐ Soldier

☐ Porter

☐ Civil Servant

☐ Unemployed

☐ Retired

☐ Others (specify) _____

How long have you been working at this job?

☐ Less than 3 years

☐ From 3-6 years

☐ From 7-10 years

☐ From 11-14 years

☐ 15 years and more

Would you tell me in which category your monthly income fall in?

☐ Less than 200 KD

☐ From 200-399 KD

☐ From 400-599 KD

☐ From 600-799 KD

☐ 800 KD and more

Considering members of the household, how many are working and bringing income? _____

R's nationality:

☐ Kuwaiti

☐ Non Identified nationality

☐ Non Kuwaiti

Type of family inhabiting the dwelling:

- ☐ Nuclear
- ☐ Extended
- ☐ Other (specify)

How many children do you have?

Section 2: Factual data

1. Where did you live before you move to this house?

What type of housing you were living in?

- ☐ Traditional house
- ☐ Limited income house
- ☐ Flat
- ☐ Villa
- ☐ Shanty
- ☐ Other (specify) _____

Did you own your previous accommodation?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If no, did you rent your previous accommodation or were you living as a part of another household?

- ☐ Rent
- ☐ Share

If sharing, with whom?

- ☐ Parents
- ☐ Relatives
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ Others (specify)

Would you tell me the main reason for leaving your previous house?

- ☐ Space shortage
 - ☐ Decrease in family income
 - ☐ High rent
 - ☐ Job situation and distance
 - ☐ Type of housing
 - ☐ Marriage
 - ☐ Lack of public facilities
 - ☐ Others (specify) _____
-
-

How long have you been living in this house?

- ☐ Less than 2 years
- ☐ From 5-7 years
- ☐ From 8-10 years
- ☐ 11 years or more

Which of these reasons was the most important in deciding to choose your present accommodation?

- ☐ Near work
 - ☐ Near relative and friends
 - ☐ Cheap house
 - ☐ Like the house and design
 - ☐ Like the area
 - ☐ Government policy
 - ☐ No alternative
 - ☐ Others (specify) _____
-
-

Is this house registered in your name?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Did you rent this house from the Housing Ministry
or from private occprier?

☐ Housing Ministry

☐ Private occupier

How much the rent of this house?

Do you have a lease or a contract for this house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, for how long?

Do you let or sub-let any room in this house to someone
else?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you have any close friends or relative living in
popular housing?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Section 3: Housing conditions

Is there any cracks in your house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Is there any dampness in your house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Is there any leaking in your house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Does your house need restoration?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you think there is enough privacy in your house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If no, in which way?

Is the streets in your neighbourhood in poor condition?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Is there a parking problem in your neighbourhood?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you feel that you are isolated from the rest of the community by living in popular housing?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you think that people look down on popular housing?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Is there any other problems related to the living environment?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, please specify?

Who is suppose to be responsible for repairing and maintaining the house?

☐ Housing Ministry

☐ Tenants

☐ Shared

☐ Don't know

How much have you spent on repairing and maintaining this house?

During the past 12 months?_____KD

Since you moved to this house?___KD

Do you have any plans to repair or improve your house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you think this area is save?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Have any thing been stolen from your house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Section 4: Attitude and evaluation of the living environment

The following factors influence the evaluation of the dwelling, would you reorder them according to their importance;

☐ Dwelling size

☐ Nearness to friends

☐ Ownership

☐ recreational areas

☐ Rent

☐ Nearness to place of work

☐ Privacy

☐ Housing facilities

☐ Community services

☐ Type of dwelling

What are the things that you like most about living at this house?

What are the things that you dislike most about living at this house?

How satisfied are you with the following facilities
in your house:

Living space

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Quite satisfied
- ☐ No feeling either way
- ☐ Dissatisfied
- ☐ Very dissatisfied

Housing design

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Quite satisfied
- ☐ No feeling either way
- ☐ Dissatisfied
- ☐ Very dissatisfied

Physical condition

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Quite satisfied
- ☐ No feeling either way
- ☐ Dissatisfied
- ☐ Very dissatisfied

Compared to where you lived before moving to the
this house, is your present dwelling;

- ☐ Better
- ☐ Worse
- ☐ About the same

Why, _____

How satisfied are you with your present house as a place to
live?

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Quite satisfied
- ☐ No feeling either way
- ☐ Dissatisfied

☐ Very dissatisfied

**How would you evaluate the adequacy of the following
as they relate to your neighbourhood;**

Public schools

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Hospitals/clinics

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Parking space

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Public transportation

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Shops/cooperative

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

**Quality of the building in the
neighbourhood**

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Nearness to friends and relatives

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Nearness to place of work

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Preservation of neighbourhood

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Local mosques

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Parks and playgrounds

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Street lights and pavement

☐ Adequate

☐ Inadequate

Could you tell me what are the main things you like most about this area?

Could you tell me what are the main things you dislike most about this area?

Compared to where you lived before moving to this area, is your present neighbourhood;

☐ Better

☐ Worse

☐ About the same

Why,

Are you or any member of the household consider moving from this house?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, which most important reason effected your
dication to move?

- ☐ House required by owner
 - ☐ Too expensive
 - ☐ Too large
 - ☐ Too small
 - ☐ In poor repair
 - ☐ In poor neighbourhood
 - ☐ Job changes
 - ☐ Marriage
 - ☐ The provision of better housing
 - ☐ Want different type of housing
 - ☐ Others (specify) _____
-
-

Would you like to live in another type of housing?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, what do you prefer?

- ☐ Traditional house
 - ☐ Limited income house
 - ☐ Middle income house
 - ☐ Flat
 - ☐ Others (specify) _____
-

Would you prefer living in a Kuwaiti neighbourhood
or non-Kuwaiti neighbourhood?

- ☐ Kuwaiti neighbourhood
- ☐ Non-Kuwaiti neighbourhood

What do you like to see done in regard to popular housing?

What are the main features for ideal housing?

How long do you expect to live in this house?

- ☐ Less than 5 years
- ☐ From 5-10 years
- ☐ Over 10 years
- ☐ Don't expect to move
- ☐ Don't know

What do you think about the future of popular housing after 5 years from now?

- ☐ Get better
- ☐ Get worse
- ☐ Stay about the same

What kind of policy do you think the government should follow in-order to improve or solve the problem of popular housing? Why?

Would you like to say any thing about popular housing that I did not ask you?

APPENDIX B

PUBLIC SURVEY

respondent No.:_____

Governorate:_____

Date:_____

Dear respondent:

I am a postgraduate student sponsored by Kuwait University, doing my Ph.D in Town and regional planning at Glasgow University, Scotland. My study is concern with popular housing and their tenants. The main objective of this work is to assist in raising the living conditions in these areas. Your cooperation is essential for the current study and will be highly appreciated. For your knowledge, all the information in this questionnaire will kept strictly confidential.

Thank you for your cooperation

Ajeel Al-Zaher

PUBLIC ATTITUDE ABOUT POPULAR HOUSING

How old are you?

- ☐ 20-29
- ☐ 30-39
- ☐ 40-49
- ☐ 50-59
- ☐ 60 and more

What level of education do you obtain?

- ☐ Illiterate
- ☐ Read and write
- ☐ Primary school
- ☐ Intermediate school
- ☐ Secondary school
- ☐ University and above

What is your marital status?

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced

What is your main occupation?

What is your nationality?

- ☐ Kuwaiti
- ☐ Non-Kuwaiti

Would you tell me in which category your income fall in?

- ☐ Less than 200 KD
- ☐ From 200-399 KD
- ☐ From 400-599 KD
- ☐ From 600-799 KD
- ☐ 800 KD and more

In which area do you live? _____

What type of housing do you live in?

☐ Limited income housing

☐ Middle income housing

☐ Traditional housing

☐ Flat

☐ Others please specify_____

Would you tell me please how many people living in your house?

Do you own or rent your present house?

☐ Own

☐ Rent

If renting, how much the rent?

_____KD

Which of these reasons was the most important in deciding to choose your present house?

☐ Near work

☐ Near friends and relative

☐ Cheap rent

☐ Like house and design

☐ Like the area

☐ Government policy

☐ Others please specify_____

Do you have friends or relatives living in popular housing?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you think popular housing is an adequate place to live in?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you think that popular housing spoilt the appearance of Kuwait?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Do you think there is a problem in popular housing?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, what kind of problem? _____

Do you accept the idea of building popular housing in your area?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If no, Would you tell me why? _____

What is your opinion about popular housing in the following aspects?

Design and construction

☐ Satisfactory

☐ Acceptable

☐ Unsatisfactory

Community services

☐ Satisfactory

☐ Acceptable

☐ Unsatisfactory

Maintenance and upkeep

- ☐ Satisfactory
- ☐ Acceptable
- ☐ Unsatisfactory

Do you think popular housing was the proper solution for the squatting problem in Kuwait?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If no, What is the best solution in your opinion?

Do you think that popular housing has a positive or negative effect on the housing situation in Kuwait?

☐ Positive, Why, _____

☐ Negative, Why, _____

These are some polices which have been proposed to raise the living conditions of popular housing, which do you think would be the best?

- ☐ Build better housing and rent them to popular housing tenants.
- ☐ Give them the right to own the house without owning the land.
- ☐ Leasing the land for a long time.
- ☐ Give them the right to make any alteration or addition to their house.

- ☐ Replace them with a limited-income housing without ownership.
- ☐ Leave things as they are.

Would you propose any other policy?

What is your prediction about popular housing future?

Thank you for your cooperation
Ajeel Al-Zaher

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