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Public Spaces under Threat: Scenes from Amman



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Introduction

The Public Space is a major component of any urban fabric and has been a central concern for urban planners, economists, politicians, geographers and sociologists (Neal, 2010). Therefore upon the perspective of the scholar, reading a Public Space takes several approaches; tangible, perceptible, ideological, theoretical... etc., and accordingly the contributors influencing its production varies. This research study conceives the Public Space within its abstract conceptual perspective through identifying the process and ideologies behind its production and the influence of social, political, and economic practices in creating Public Spaces.

The research study aims to shed the light on practises and policies threatening the Public Spaces of Amman based on three theories on Space and throughout appointed time, through examining; the factors contributing in producing the Public Space, and the factors influencing the practices among the Public Space within a hypothesis structure that implies a transformation on Amman Public Space due to neoliberal policies of privatization in correlation with the political, planning, cultural and social aspects.

The methodology of the research is based on *Qualitative Research Strategy* examining how and why such transformation is occurring and not merely where and when it took place, influenced by a Marx's ontology of research, which was described by Harvey "the research has to be directed to discovering the transformation rules whereby society is constantly being restructures. Rather than to finding "causes" in the isolated sense that follows from a presupposition of atomistic association, or to "identifying" stages or "descriptive laws" governing the evolution of totalities independent of their parts" (Harvey, 1973, p. 289). Moreover, the methodology applied a *Descriptive and Meta-Analysis Research Design* in order to scrutinise the transformation, through reading the Public Space of Amman within different time laps to signify the prospects of each phase, and within different methods that varied between theoretical and scientific analyses, practices inspections and public survey.

The study consists of four overlapping chapters supported by scientific studies and tangible observations of economic, political, planning and sociocultural practices. The first chapter 'Space' sought to dismantle the conception of Space within three theories by Lefebvre (1991), Friedmann (1988) and Habermas (1991), followed by examining terminologies and models of Public Spaces particularly in the Middle East region, and introducing potential threats occurring on Public Spaces based on the theoretical perception of Space Production. Chapters two and three were dedicated to quest the hypothesis on Amman City as a case study, starting with introducing the City's Spaces and their influences over one another, followed by sceneries of exploiting its Public Space and the formation of new Spaces so-called Public. Wherein chapter four aimed to examine the quality of Amman Public Spaces through evaluating the experience of living the public, semi-public and private spaces as consequences of eco-political practices, and consequently determine the impacts of practices examined of the former chapter.

Chapter 1

Space

1.1 How to read a Space

The public space is a term used by most scholars, urban planners, architects, geographers, economists, politicians, sociologists... etc. From one hand, because it is a common 'space' used by everyone in their own way and vision, and on the other hand the term itself embraces altered abbreviations and divisions which drives each profession in a community to observe it differently. But, at first, starting with the very beginning, what is space? And from which perspective are we looking at it? Who are the contributors? And who are the users? What are the components? And what is their impact on the space itself and users? This incessant debate shall start with defining Space.

The word 'Space' is employed by all scholars, and has been defined differently upon background. Looking in the oxford dictionary, one of the definitions for space is; *a continuous area or expanse which is free, available, or unoccupied*. Also it defines it as *the dimensions of height, depth, and width within which all things exist and move*. The later gives the space a physical perspective relative to the components in which they take place. In physics, Newton called it absolute and described it as a homogenous and immovable in own nature without reference to anything external (Newton, 1999), it is autonomous form the events taking part within in it, but influenced by them independently. From a geographic perspective, the physical geography described space as "a portion of space in which people dwell together" and "locality," (Agnew, 2011) while the human geography gave it numerous definitions and description which will be examined thoroughly in the study. Even in philosophy, there isn't one definition for space; it depends on the context of which it was out. However, in his PHD dissertation, *Paweł Przywara* had explained three meanings of space; the geometrical (physical) space which he described as abstract models, the phenomenal space Conceived by senses, and the manifold spaces which only exist in one's imagination and differently observed from one to other (Przywara, 2006). Speaking planning, planners have seen the space as a fundamental subject to examine and study using the term; *Spatial*. But yet, the report submitted by the Economic Commission for Europe, entitled with *Spatial Planning: Key Instrument for Development and Effective Governance* noted that it is too difficult to define the terminology of spatial planning particularly in an international, multidisciplinary and multilingual context (UN, 2008) but there are several common points that are shared between the various terminologies, this study has selected the term as defined by The European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter:

"Regional/spatial planning gives geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of society. It is at the same time a scientific discipline, an administrative technique and a policy developed as an interdisciplinary and

comprehensive approach directed towards a balanced regional development and the physical organisation of space according to an overall strategy" (COE, 1983)

This terminology was later adopted and used by the European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning (CEMAT) in 1983. Apart from the theoretical part of the definition, in practice the bonds and communication platforms between urban/regional planners and geographers, economists, politicians, architects and sociologists is becoming more and more comprehensive, strong and tangled, but the menace arose; who is actually taking the leadership and having the power of resolution when it comes to spatial planning development proposals and projects. Architects and artists however, had used the term 'void' to describe space, and relate it to 'solid' or 'mass' to give assessment, void is read relatively to solid and not as individually. Although void is observed as the 'absence of mass', it doesn't necessarily give the negative meaning of emptiness, the comprehensive study of solid-void is the initial language in massing or sculpturing to form 'space'.

The Space meant to be studied is the Space in which people's lifetime takes place and interact, and where everything else related to this human interaction get involved; politically, economic and socially. The space of which town, cities, and to a wider extend regions are being formed and habilitated. Precisely speaking, the space concluded within the urban fabric of where urbanization exists. The human geography's understanding of such a space tried to overcome both the historical gap and the present senses of space, and there have been four theoretical approaches to achieve this; the neo-Marxist, the humanist, the feminist and the performative (Agnew, 2011). In this study the space will be examined from the neo-Marxist perspective hence this approach supports the hypothesis of the research; privatizing Public Space. So, what is meant by privatizing? And how can a space be bought or owned? How is the public space achieved, and how could it be privatized on the contrary? Is using the space considered to be an individual or group act? Who has the right to determine its employment characteristics?

In his book, Friedmann had defined two opposite geographies form a unity of opposites: life space and economic space (Friedmann, 1988). The life space is basically where life takes place, where people meet, interact, live... etc. life Space is seen as a place made of people therefor, the life space has a history and memory conceived in the mentality and memories of those who inhabited it, therefor, it's an intimate valuable space. People are the only and one contributor that create or compose the Life Space and make an influence on it through their practices, so it's not a physical space of which can be reformed anywhere else, which makes it immovable and can't be imitated elsewhere for human's nature varies radically. The Life Space expands based on the *needs* of population's increase, which determine in which direction it shall appear and develop. And this is very crucial point to stop by; what are the pivots of identifying these needs, and what are they influenced by? Impartially, the basic human needs examined are; food and water, shelter, the feel of secure and social needs.

These needs were badly hypnotized by capitalism which consequently put the life space under attack in what so-called Economic Space.

The Economic Space is a nonphysical space as well, it's the Space in which the livelihood conditions take place (Friedmann, 1988). The Economic Space was a study subject to geographers, philosophers and planners in different perspective. Lefebvre for example had named it an "abstract space" (the space produced by economic transactions and state policies) (Agnew, 2011), while Harvey seen in from a contrary perspective considering the economic circumstances and policies which produce the space determine its character (Harvey, 1973). The 'production' of economic space is identified both physically and hypothetically through the products of the production process; dwellings, retail shops and shopping malls, currency, stock market...etc. On the contrary of the Life Space where people are the contributors, in The Economic Space firms and corporations are the contributors and they act according the central principle:

"The amassing of surplus from production should be private, while social costs should be absorbed on public account" (Friedmann, 1988, p. 97)

The goal of any economy of course is to grow and expand. In capitalism¹, the way to control and insure the growth of economy is by regulating people's needs. This is achieved through many principles, but ones to mention; privatization of utilities and nature resources, occupying public spaces in the name of developments and shifting the population intentions to use Third Places and private spaces as an alternative to the public (common) space. Therefore the main concept adopted by capitalism is privatization and crucial attempts were made to insure private-land ownership in order to have the full power and maximum opportunities to invest it 'freely' with less constrains possible, and assure the free flow of capital from one branch of production to another (Lenin, 1917). Also, capitalism aims to achieve the maxim profit possible through challenging the society achieve their needs by consumption and purchasing. However, in the economic space perception, consumption cannot be achieved in public spaces, for there are no products to consume or services to be paid for –for example, unless the space was regulated and owned by the private sector, and then the nature of the public space will transform accordingly to meet the goals of investors and corporations, and by default forfeit its 'public' character. Of course, in order to certify the on-going progression of Life Space, and to certify people's needs in food and housing - for example- is being achieved, there must be an 'economy' cycle that works underlining parallel. Because wherever capitalism is the being the stakeholder, the only way to achieve its sustainability and profitability, is attained through exploitation the Life Space.

Another comparative study attempts to signify what Space is and how is it being transformed due privatization policies, was through analysing the conceptual triad examined by Lefebvre in his book *The Production of Space*; the *Perceived Space* which embodies the spatial practice, the *Conceived Space* which embodies the representation of space and the *Lived Space* which embodies the representational space (Lefebvre, 1991). In

his theory, Lefebvre suggests that those three spaces mingle together and form the spatial pattern. The Perceived Space has a physical –geometrical- nature, visible and readable, it is where the buildings, streets, trees...etc., are placed. The components of which the Perceived Space (spatial practice) is made, touches everyday human life; neighbourhoods, grid, shopping malls and retail, wide road network structure and parking lots...etc. The Conceived Space is a mental space, made through the intellectual practice of scientists, planners, architects... etc., of what is called representation of space. The Conceived Space has an idealistic approach, whereas the Perceived Space adopts a materialistic character. The importance of the Conceived Space is resembled in being the ‘brain’ of the space that is manifested in its physical form (*Perceived Space*). Both the Perceived and the Conceived Spaces influence the practices occur in the Lived Space. Since the Lived Space is the representational space; therefore, it is a social space, as Friedmann called it “Life Space”. The Lived Space encompasses both idealistic and materialistic characteristics. So far, there are five perspectives of Space based on two theories; the Perceived, Conceived and Lived Spaces proposed by Lefebvre, and the Life and Economic Spaces proposed by Friedmann.

In parallel to the spaces mentioned above, there is another interesting perception of space proposed by Habermas in his book: *The Structural Transformation of Public Spheres* called Public Sphere. Initially the concept of Public Sphere is driven from the Greek *polis* sphere (public) which was common to the free citizens but strictly separated from the *oikos* sphere (private) where each individual presents his own real. Both spaces in their *public or private* character demonstrate high democracy levels and public participatory of their time.

Later in the early 19th century in Europe, and probably due to the struggle against dictatorial state, the bourgeois public spheres had emerged, crystallizing the idea of "public opinion" (individuals coming together as ‘public’ to use their own reason to discuss the power of the state). Those individuals are persons in the bourgeois class of the society who ironically took part in institutionalization of privatives phenomena. Today, the notion of public sphere had dramatically transformed due to the rapid urbanization, industrialization and capitalism to represent itself in press, third places and bourgeois salons. Yet, public spheres are becoming no more than an advertising bulletin board for commercial uses and press is just another trading tool for both neoliberalism and politicians (Habermas, 1991).

If the public spheres in the Greek times were the Agora, in today’s political schemes, the parliament, the governmental institutions and the religion intuitions to a certain extend possess the power to regulate the democratic and liberal movements through the arena produced by them for the public.

But what is the relation between Lefebvre, Friedmann and Habermas perceptions on Space? How do the triad theories of space influence the production of public spaces? And how do these spaces have influence on each other?

If metaphorically the triad theories were overlapped, the Lived and the Life Space would both together create one space called the ‘*Social Space*’; the Social Space is the theatre of everyday life and is the heart of every place; space.

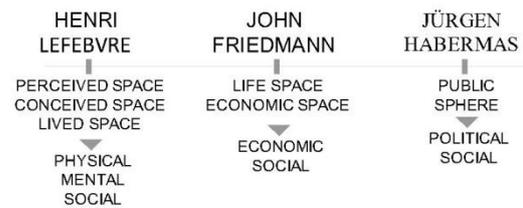


Figure 1: Key words of the Triad Theories of Space, Graphics: Khawaia

This dialectic² ‘position’ of the space presents both; the various contributors of which the space is being produced by, and the contributions made on space. The ‘dialectical production of space’ (Shields, 1999) was examined from a Marxist perspective throughout Lefebvre writings (*The Production of Space*, 1991) and Harvey’s contribution in his several writings (*Justice Nature, and the Geography of Difference*, 1996 and *Social Justice and the City* 1973). In Harvey’s perception, the space was examined through the study of capitalism influence on the space, Harvey in his explorations of the contradictory constitution and restless transformation of capitalism as a system of commodity production: hence his insistence on the crucial, dialectical concept of ‘creative destruction’ (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, J.Watts, Whatmore, 2009)

1.2 How to Read Public Space

Each city, town or village is weaved with distinct urban fabric of which signifies one place from another and creates the character and features of its space. The one mutual element of any urban fabric is the *Public Space*. The Public Space however is too wide in notion, components and form. The Public Space directly or indirectly has significant impact on the urban fabric, social life, economic... etc. Planners, architects, sociologists, geographers and many others, are concerned about the influence of the public space on the urban fabric components, inhabitants, economic, politics... and the other way round. As the debate and discussions over the public space get more and more tangled, so does the definition. The definition is in a continuous fickle due to the rapid and radical changes occurring on the form and function of the public space worldwide, in addition to the incessant transformation of its contributors of which the space is being influenced by. This study will discuss three terminologies of the public space over the last 30 years.

In his book ‘*A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space*’ Lyn Lofland describes public space as:

“...those areas of a city to which, in the main, all persons have **legal access**. I refer to the city's street, its parks, and its **places of public accommodation**. I refer to its public buildings or to the "**public sectors**" of its private buildings”. (Lofland, 1985, p. 19)

Four years later, in *'Public Places and Spaces'* by Altman and Zube, the public space was given another description entitled with the word *true* to distinguish the so-called public spaces that function as private or semi-public spaces from the actual 'true' public space:

*“‘True’ public space is recognised as **being accessible** to all groups, providing **freedom of action, temporary claim and ownership**” (Altman I. & Zube E., 1989)*

Another interesting and comprehensive description of public space by Tonnelat proposes:

*“In urban planning, public space has historically been described as “open space”, meaning the streets, parks and recreation areas, plazas and other **publicly owned and managed** outdoor spaces, as opposed to **the private domain** of housing and work”. (Tonnelat, 2010)*

It is well recognized that the notion of **accessibility** is found in the first two definitions and that the public freedom of movement within a Public Space is an essential feature to achieve its public nature. In the two later definitions however, introducing the perception of public **ownership** and **power** upon the public space is more obvious, which of course indicates the unceasing position pursued by the private sector, authorities and privatization policies causes the transformation of the public space compromising the public accessibility, ownership and power to become restricted. Another crucial perception not mentioned in any of the definitions is the **cultural** environment in where the public space takes place. Understanding and interacting with the space rely on the cultural environment and background. In addition to the political and economic power influencing the behaviour in the public space, the social power has a major impact as well. Hence, to tackle the purpose of this paper, the public space will be examined from the Middle East cultural, economic and political perspectives.

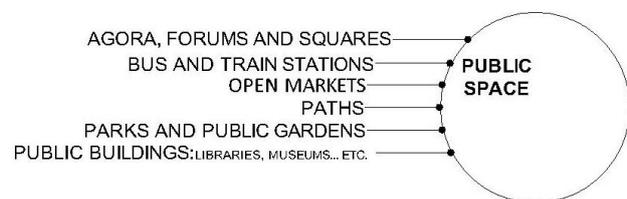


Figure 2: Types of public Space. Graphics: Khawaja

I. Agora, Forums and Squares

Starting with the Greek Agora and the Romans Forums, these were public spaces that demonstrate the absolute meaning of public space where political and commercial activities took place. These spaces were completely accessible by public and show no means of private or authority ownership determining very high level of democracy and freedom of movement, where all citizens had the liability to use it liberally. In any urbanization followed, those spaces might still physically exist for example the city of Jerash in Jordan and Tripoli in Lebanon. However, they don't function in the same way they were built for. In many cases, those spaces were used for tourism or were rehabilitated to host festivals.

Later and inspired by the roman Agora model, Squares were built in some cities of the Middle East such as Cairo and Beirut, where democracy is considerably practiced, and there are less cultural constraints than the gulf countries for example. *Al-Tahrir Square* in Cairo occupies a large area that embodies a wide circle and high conjunction road network surrounded with medium tall buildings. On the contrary, *Nejme Square* in Beirut is much smaller in scale with a clock tower in its centre, paved with bricks which make it pedestrian friendly with retail and cafes facilities. Both squares are totally different in their form, but they offer an arena for Public to liberally use the space and transform its function to meet the social demands.

The social empowerment and the availability of an open public space is not the only reasons to determine the functional transformation of the space. History, geography and economy



Figure 3: Tahrir Square during the Egyptian revolution, Cairo, July 2013



Figure 4: Tahrir Square in a normal day, Cairo, Nov 2013

are dimensions not to be missed. A thorough understanding of how and when such spaces were found, the composition of population, and the influence of daily public life on the behaviour of the people are essential standpoints to study. Taking Cairo as a case study, the scale and location of *Al-Tahrir Square* made a vital impact on the Egyptian revolution that happened in 2013, not only for being an assembly and centric point for thousands of people of different origins, but also blocking the square paralyzed the economy of the country forcing the government to yield to the will of people; the public.

II. The Open Market Space

Parallel to the square, is the open market which is a vital public open space where a big part of the social life takes place and is still considered a very attractive space for shoppers, traders and tourists. Studying the urban fabric of a random city in the Middle East, we can see that there is a strong relationship between the market and the mosque which usually centralizes the market space. The mosque has a crucial role in the daily public life; because it is a place of worship visited several times during the day, which means it will be **frequently occupied** by different people from various age groups, classes and professions creating a rich composition of population not only in the mosque itself, but also around it, in other words, in the market space. In most of cases, the market is located at the center of the city, which makes it an **accessible, lively and attractive node**. These livelihood features of the market provide users with **security** they desire which makes the market more significant. Furthermore, in most of the old cities, the market is penetrated with narrow roads and sidewalks which enforces low speed vehicle, if it was not completely dedicated for pedestrian, which makes the market space **pedestrian friendly**. The market is also known for being **relatively cheaper** than the other shopping areas in the city and more comprehensive,

focusing on the **traditional, local and popular products** which could not be normally found in the ‘modern’ shopping centers. This interesting urban and social pattern guarantees that such a space would never be abundant or eliminated as long as there will be driving forces acting from and on the space. Figures 5, 6 and 7 show three market spaces in Yemen, Morocco and Syria, successively.



Figure 5: Sana'a market



Figure 6: Marrakech market



Figure 7: Damascus market

III. Paths

The third public space is the road network and sidewalks. These are the artery of the city. In his book *Image of the City*, Lynch called them (*paths*) and described them *predominant elements creating the image of the city which is observed whilst moving through it. All the other elements are arranged and related along those spaces.* (Lynch, 1960, p. 47). The design of the Paths goes in parallel with the city's overall urban planning and districts zoning plans, which are the perceptions of authorities, planners and economists to either generate inequality and segregation, or in the contrary allure social cohesion and diversity. The construction system of Paths gives the image of the city, which reflects the economic and sociocultural relations in the present and for future. The design approaches of Paths make crucial impact on observing their function and the influence on the social, economic and political pattern. To illustrate this hypothesis, the table below presents a case study for two opposite cities in the Middle East; Dubai and Marrakesh. Dubai is possibly considered a typical gulf city –in its form- and Marrakesh is one of the most vibrant and unique cities in the region. The case study aims to examine the social/public life taking place in the Paths, showing the influence of Paths as a public space on the public and the other way round. The case study shown in (Table 1) suggests that car oriented cities will marginalize pedestrian movement and destroy the open public life of the city's streets, through shifting it somewhere else, which in our case: shopping malls and private spaces such as sport centres. The relation between the shopping space and the Paths is a key point to regulate and design the pedestrian's movement pattern in any urban form found. NB: To adjust the factors, the downtown area of both cities is chosen the area of study.

City	Dubai	Marrakesh
Region	Gulf	North Africa
Golden Age	20 th century (after Oil discovery) Until today	11 th century and later in 15 th century Until today

Path Form	wide streets, highways, tunnels and bridges, well-designed pedestrian paths	Narrow to medium width streets, and pedestrian paths
Path Function	High speed car oriented, infrequent pedestrian movement	Slow to medium speed cars, carriages pulled by horses, bicycles and motor bikes, high pedestrian movement,
Path character	Passageway for cars, socially abandoned	Dense, vibrant, dynamic and socially populated
Urban pattern	Highly fragmented	Dense
Market Space	Shopping malls	Local market
Image	 <p>Figure 8: Dubai downtown path</p>	 <p>Figure 9: Marrakesh downtown path</p>

Table 1: Comparison case study to determine approaches of designing Paths in two cities in the Middle East

IV. Public Parks and Gardens

Public parks and gardens are the optimum interpretation of public space and social life. The form and function may vary from place to another even within the same area, however, general remarks are found no matter how different the form is, such as; open playing areas, natural or man-made vegetation, benches and shaded areas. The core value of those spaces **is to be open, public and freely accessible by anyone**. In the Middle East region public parks and gardens have a different character than the ones found in the west for example, simply because the sociocultural context radically alters. The functionality of these spaces is directly influenced by the sociocultural behaviour and not by the physical representations of the space. Therefore, to achieve a successful space, it's obligatory to first understand the cultural and social cohesion of the 'public' users. Speaking about culture, the cultural constrains in most of the Middle East countries are quite higher than anywhere else and people favour the 'enclosed and contained' spaces rather than the public open ones.

This doesn't mean of course that the open public spaces such as parks and public gardens do not exist or abandoned, but the functionality highly depend on the context wherein the park is located. These characteristics have major influence on the appearance of 'Procedural space'³; spaces that act as an alternative for the public parks and public gardens and called 'hara' or neighbourhood public space (Harb, 2013). The 'hara' is kind of a liner space found along the neighbourhood housing/market and forms a common space for children to play, and neighbours to communicate and socialize, it is vibrant and dynamic life space. People in the 'hara' space feel much secure and belonging for being surrounded with familiar faces, rather than the open park that gathers people from everywhere. Also elderly favour it for being located close and attached to where they live and everybody are familiar. The 'hara' is a crucial collector space that evokes social cohesion, hosts various activities and brings everyday life to public, in parallel with the traditional spaces; parks and public gardens.



Figure 10: Park in Masqat, Oman



Figure 11: Hara in Baghdad hosting a social activity during feast



Figure 12: Hara in Cairo. Women, children and men share the space spontaneously

Now that four vital public spaces were introduced to demonstrate the hypotheses on; squares, open market, paths and parks and public gardens, section three of chapter one will introduce the threat facing those spaces. As regards of the bus stations and terminals, it shall be discussed through chapter three of this paper, and the public buildings are not to be examined for it doesn't meet the purpose of this study.

1.3 Public Spaces under Threat

The public space isn't just 'a' space of various spaces in any urban setup; it is indeed 'the' space that without it neither urban nor rural would survive; it's the beating heart of social life. The first part of this chapter introduced several terminologies of *space* while the second part focused on the public *space* particularly. Upon the triad theories explained in (Fig. 1) economy, politics, social, physical and even the mental representations of human-kind are all considered: Spaces. Spaces aren't isolated or occurred spontaneously, no matter how powerful or dominant a space was; it could not be completely dependent. Spaces are produced, they have influence over each other and they are affected by one another or even themselves. On this matter, Lefebvre' pioneer theory "*the production of space*" is considered a significant theory and been discussed among many scholars such as Elden. In his book 'Understanding Henri Lefebvre' Elden explains:

“Production then is broader than the economic production of things (stressed by Marx) and includes the production of society, knowledge and institutions... Production needs to be grasped as both a material and mental process... We have passed from the production of things in the space to the production of space itself” (Elden, Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible, 2004, p. 184)

Any production process delivers a product with deliberate features; features that impose the user of this product a certain method of employment/practices. This whole process (production) and user’s attitude eventually creates an impact on the product itself, the user and everything around. In other words, the production process is in an unceasing loop. From this standpoint comes a conclusion; **spaces are produced and spaces are influential.**

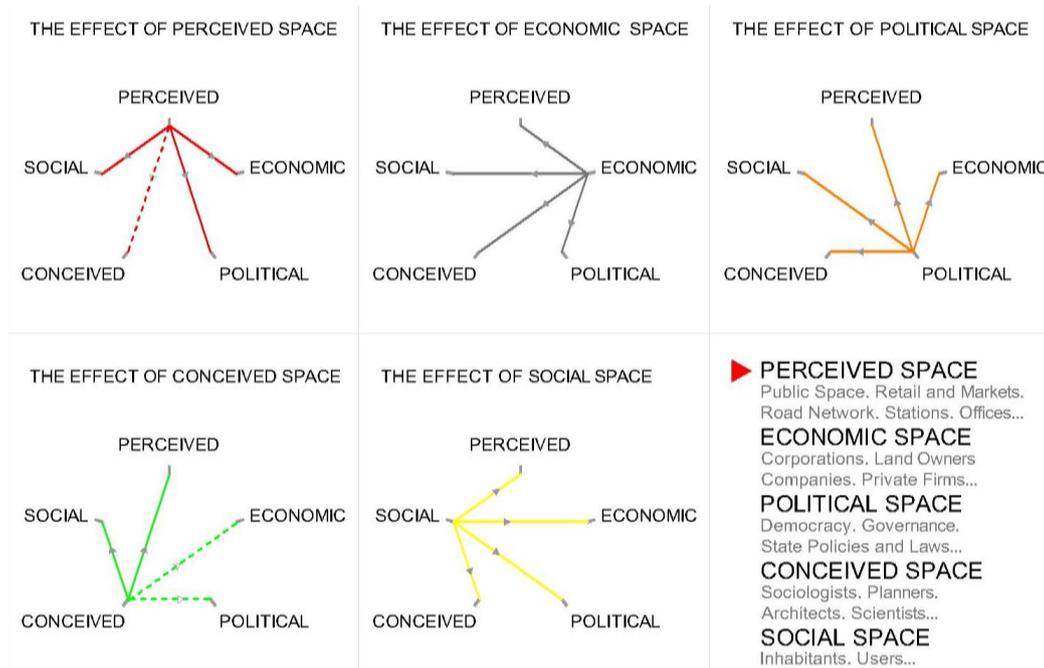


Figure 13: Effect of each Space over one another. The characteristics of those spaces are explained in part one. Graphics: Khawaja

The public space is a product of economists, politicians, planners and those who uses it, but the features of the public space are made by the producer; whoever possesses more powerful tools is the one who impose how the public space shall look like. Since the mid of the 20th century till the today, it is clearly recognized that the public space worldwide is facing a crucial threat by capitalism and neoliberalism practices and the power of the state over the public, the threats are examined as follows:

I. The Squares

Starting with the squares, and taking Cairo as a case study, what happened in Al-Tahrir Square indicate social comportment that weaves a tangled web along with economics, politics and cultural phenomena representing type of economy, system of power, state

apparatus and cultural life that mingle together. It presents the social ties at its maximum power and supremacy after being 'abused' by the political and economic practices. The square presents -to certain extent- the *polis*-public sphere concept explained by Habermas. However, as stated by Marx, **under a capitalist economy buttressed by the state, the chances to achieve liberty of social power would be impossible.** Therefore, the main objective for any state or government that supports capitalism is to reduce the freedom of social movements –which is part of the social life- and force it entirely outside their control (Held, 2006, p. 108). In such a context, and relating to the triad theories, the relation between the perceived, conceived, economic, and social spaces along with the political perception clearly suggests that the interest of making open spaces and create 'true' public space such as squares is seized to the minimum in today's planning practices because public spaces such as squares -in their abstract form- create a platform for demonstrations and riots, particularly the ones in demand of social justice, equality and fair destruction of surplus, this possibility or opportunity causes a threat to the realm (state) and economy; the economy of capitalism, and that's exactly what capitalism enforces not to happen. Therefore, within the frame of urban planning practices through planners and architects –who are also being hypnotized by capitalism just like the state-, are compelled to seize the production of spaces characterized in offering free, accessible and powerful public Space.

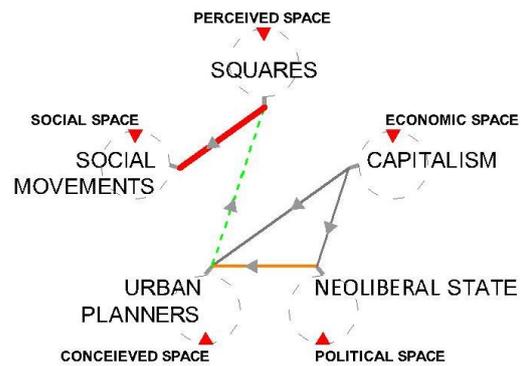


Figure 14: The power of capitalism and the state on urban planners enforcing changes in the forms of public spaces to enhance full control on the social movements. Graphics: Khawaia

II. The Market

The term of Market has different meanings and definition. In the Oxford dictionary, the market is defined either as "An open space or covered building where vendors convene to sell their goods" or "An area or arena in which commercial dealings are conducted". Accordingly the market as a public place is suited in the first definition. However, one can't determine the market only in its physical form since the perceived space of the 'market' relay on the process producing it. The production of a Market is a result of the tangled web of economy, politics, consumers, capital, commodities, and means of production... etc.. Consequently, determining the Market Space is the understanding of how the space is being produced, by whom, for whom and how.

When conceiving the 'Market' in the second definition above, Harvey had beautifully explained in his book *Seventeen Contradiction and the End of Capitalism* how the state and capitalism together exploit the market, he quoted:

"The state is, among other things, interested in the accumulation of wealth and power on a territorial basis ... The best way to do this was to unleash and rationalise

the forces of capital and the free market within its territory and open its doors to free trade with others.” (Harvey, 2014, p. 90)

The Market arena under a capitalist system is drastically different in its notion from those produced by other economic system, since under capitalism the market is seen as a fundamental tool to control both the state and the people. The market had been exposed to two main threats; 1) the purport of the market itself in terms of goods and products (the non-physical form) and 2) the emerging of neo-markets which are completely different in their principle from the ‘traditional’ open market (the physical form). Although the first threat doesn’t affect the form of Markets which remains open – public - space, however it changes the users (public) attitudes and motives of the shopping course itself, which subsequently change the life style and living conditions of the public, in other words the social space.

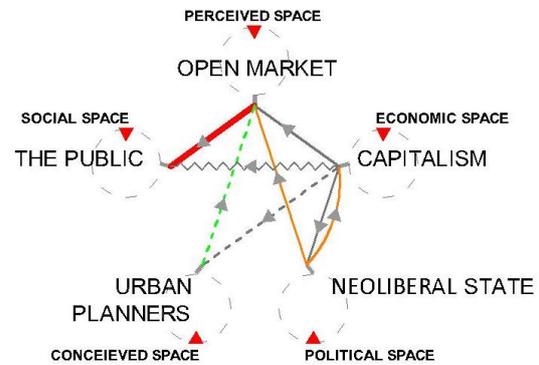


Figure 15: The dual power of capitalism and the state over the market to insure wealth and power, through planning approaches, consumption life-style... etc. Graphics: Khawaja

To elaborate more on the second threat, under capitalism, the shopping course is aimed to occupy everyday life in every aspect and create a consumer society its one and only motive is; shopping. Therefore, to enhance the ideology of a consumer society, new markets are created, markets that are enclosed, controlled and private. The goals of the new markets are creating a space for the surplus of commodities and circulate the capital in open-liberal markets. Those new markets are attractive in their form and architecture, comprehensive and secured. In chapter three of this paper, these characteristic will be studied thoroughly and how they have been used to tear apart the market space from being open to become privatised.

III. Paths

Moving to the third public space, there are at least two planning approaches for Path design: the pedestrian-friendly approach and the car-oriented one. Planners have the capability and competence to design the Path, but the visions and the implementation of the design rely on who manages the urban space. Based on the triad theories shown in (Fig.1), the planning methodology is the representation of space and part of the conceived space impressed by the power of who controls the production of Space. Under capitalism and the neoliberal values, contemporary planning discipline is highly controlled and dominated, as any other discipline. (M. Gunder, J. Hillier, 2009).

Therefore, the car-oriented planning approach is highly favoured by capitalism for many reasons, ones to mention; depending on the car as a transport tool by convincing people of its benefits and rely on it as a tool or even a need for living, is a golden opportunity to establish isolated urban projects and neighbourhood developments which are -in their nature- completely private, controlled and create segregated communities, socially isolated. One way of attaining this approach was to widen the streets (to insure frequent and smooth car flow), narrow the pedestrian path (relatively to the width of street), construct bridges, tunnels and motorways all the way **within the city** and pursue urban planning ideology of zoning plans upon function, unfair developments and social class segregation. Such a destructive ideology created urban parks and car pools everywhere, devastated the social cohesion and equality and above all limited the public, the pedestrian travellers to access the Path as a public sufficient Space to travel through from one destination to another, without the urge to buy a car or pay for transportation, which are both of course owned by the private sector or semi-public at least, especially in the absence of mature public transportation policies.

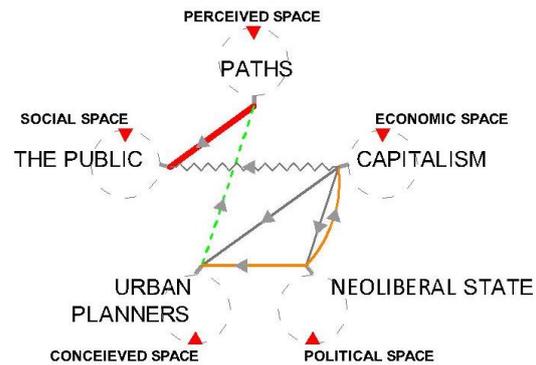


Figure 16: the dual power of capitalism and the state over urban planning approaches to attain real-estate profit, social segregation and power through planning approaches and public behaviour. Graphics: Khawaja

IV. Public Parks and Gardens

The forth public space to study is the public parks and gardens. In so many ways, and led by **land ownership and gaining profit goals**, those spaces are highly threatened by capitalism policies and the state power to enforced major transformation on the form, function, users groups, accessibility, availability... etc. of these spaces. In terms of land ownership, private ownership of land is a fundamental concept in capitalism which involves the fragmentation of land resources among multiple ownership units of diverse size and function. Only those who are capable to buy the land will control and own the land market among the majority of the public who will be forced to share the few left fragments of what so-called public land and resources (Platt, 2004). Figure 17 is a conceptual model presenting two scenarios for the dense of beneficiaries in public/private landownership.

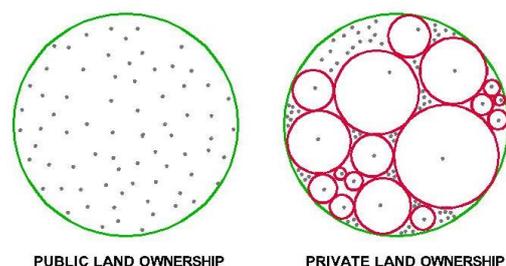


Figure 17: Dense of beneficiaries in case of public or private landownership. Graphics: Khawaja

The private ownership of land will lead to high dwindle in the public lands designated for parks and public gardens, especially if the state policies support privatization practices. The

public land is sold for individuals either for private investment purposes by the name of developments, recreational parks and leisure places, which will end up in private forms of parks with limited accessibility, controlled and not public anymore. Or lands are sold for private use with full ownership, employment and accessibility. Both scenarios (private investments or private ownership) will end up in drastic distraction in the social pattern of the society and create social discriminant between those who can pay and those who can't pay for owning the land or for using the private parks, which eventually leads to social iniquity, limited public resources and unequal developments rise.

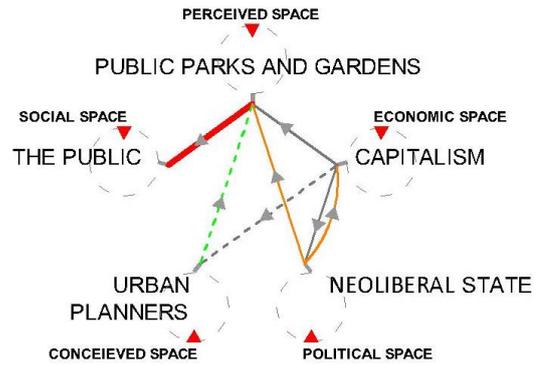


Figure 18: the dual power of capitalism and the state to privatise the lands and seize the open and free accessibility to public lands and resources. Graphics: Khawaja

Another threat faces the public spaces is accused to the state itself; the doctoral state and the idler state which lags behind its initial role in maintaining the public space and offering the adequate 'public' amenities, through privatizing the services and facilities taking place in the public parks and gardens, such as public toilets, seating areas, children playgrounds. Such practices are considered a major threat for the public parks and gardens, and create crucial influence on the urban fabric and social pattern. Chapters 2, 3 & 4 of this study shall examine the threats facing public spaces in Amman city as a case study, and the role and power of one space over another.

Chapter Two

Introducing Amman

2.1 Amman, the City and the People

Amman is a city built on hills and valleys north-west Jordan. Its significant typography played a major role in its architecture and urban sprawl, when in the nineteenth century Amman early settlements took place late along its one and only water stream. During early twentieth century it had expanded horizontally along the stream and vertically up the hills to be later called: *the city of the seven hills*. Amman distinctive location taking from the stream a starting point and expanding upwards, created significant architectural forms made of cement dwellings assembled above each other in scattered forms interposed with vegetation (Munif, 2013).



Figure 39: Amman city in the early 1950's

However, the rapid and unplanned expansion of Amman took a haphazard urban sprawl theme, which eventually led to the gradual cut-off for hectares of vegetation areas and dramatic loss of agricultural lands, turning the water stream into a dumpsite. This unforeseen growth and the insensible planning of Amman Municipality since the 1970's had led to cover the water stream rather than restore it, and was replaced with a highway street serving the commercial and residential strip along the former stream. The strategy of having highways within the city is still adopted till today, creating fragmented districts and neighbourhoods hardly accessible by pedestrians. In other words, the Path planning made Amman urban fabric a car-oriented, pedestrian unfriendly city.

Amman passed through quick growth pace; today Amman covers an area of 801 km² on over 19 hills and 22 sub-districts suited within 5 districts distinguish in the social and economic character⁴. The growth of Amman was accompanied with major developments on the political, economic, infrastructure, education, health and communication fields. However, it couldn't prevent the growth of social disparities between the various districts, where income and quality of life (QOL) radically varies, generating social inequalities and inequality of opportunities.

On the other hand, the public space was highly affected by the unforeseen and ambitious growth of the city for reasons such as; the power of neoliberalism over the land and economy, and the governance policies supporting the neoliberalism ideologies and the sociocultural practices. Such reasons resulted in the gradual transformation in the form and function of the public space and losing fragments for the benefit of private, semi-public and controlled spaces.

Through the perception of the spaces explained in the *Triad Theories* in chapter one, the contributors causing threats over Amman Public Space shall be examined within the

following features; demographic and social pattern, economic practices, Political policies and Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) Planning approaches.

I. Demographic and Social Pattern

Amman is an ever-growing city, with high population growth rate and diverse composition of population. Apart from the natural growth rate which is relatively high, several other reasons have caused the constant growth of the city, such as promising economic market, a safe zone among the unstable situations of the region, improved health care and medical treatment, and most of all the numerous waves of displacement and refugee migration from Palestine, Iraq and recently Syria, especially arriving to Amman, the capital. The table below is a study made by *Moussa Samha* examining the population growth rate and the influence of the refugee migration on Amman’s population growth (Samha, 1996). The high growth rate was represented in the enumeration population jumps, quick pace of urbanization, the expansion of Amman city and the urge of land especially for housing units.

Period	Population growth rate	Natural growth rate	Migration impact on the Population growth rate
1952-1961	10.5%	3.0 – 3.3%	7.2%
1961-1979	5.5%	3.0 – 3.3%	3.4%
1980-1990	4.5%	3.0 – 3.3%	1.0%

Table 1: Population growth rate, Data source: (Samha, 1996)

Initially, the growth of population in Amman took a centric pattern in scattered expansions; starting from the downtown of Amman and up the hills surround it, with little recognition of significant social disparities East and West the city centre (excluding the refugee camps).

As the growth of population continued in a high rate, the expansion of Amman took an axial growth pattern based on political and economic reasons -followed by the infrastructure- clearly observed since the 1960’s till today, where new areas were created and others were getting over and over crowded.

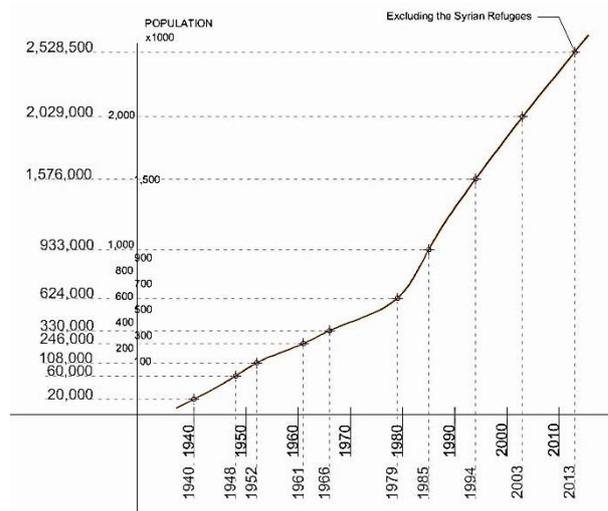


Figure 20: Amman population from 1940- 2013. Data source: (Samha, 1996) and (DOS, 2014). Graphics: Khawaja

The four main expansions axial (Figure 21) are: 1) toward the North-East of Amman creating a link between Amman and Zarqa governorates and the low income residential areas in between, in addition to the four refugee camps along Amman and Zarqa strip, 2) Toward

North-West Amman mainly housings for the middle and high class residential areas, but ends with the lower income areas at the edge of the city or the toward Balqa and Jerash governorates, 3) The South-West axial form the main industrial district; high poverty and low income areas, while the 4) South axial toward the airport is considered quite new and booming in the process of urbanization, moreover, it is nominated by GAM in the Metropolitan Growth Corridors (2008 Master Plan) for the future expansion of Amman, promoted for high and medium income mixed-use areas, agriculture lands and tower zones. (GAM, The Amman plan: Metropolitan Growth, 2008).

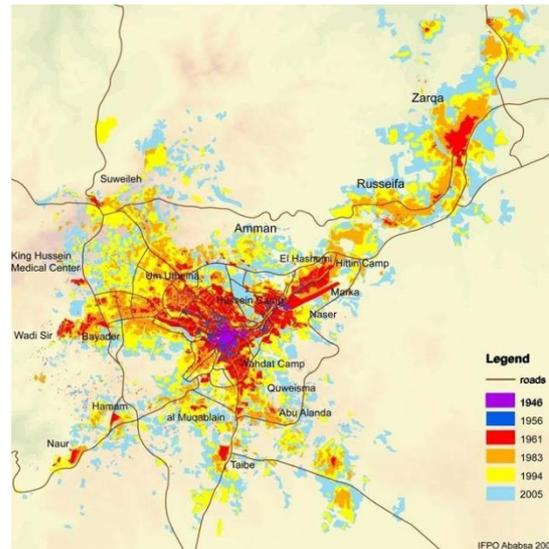


Figure 21: Amman expansion according to satellite images and aerial photographs. Source: (Ababsa, 2013)

The expansion of Amman took uneven distribution forms and irregular density patterns for several factors such as the social pattern and the mountainous topography of Amman. Determining the social pattern and class structure of Amman is crucial to understand the urbanization, political policies and economic practices, which are reflected in the Lived and Perceived Spaces of Amman. Based on a study made by Dr. Musa Shteiei (1996), he suggests that the class structure of Amman is hardly studied or precisely identified due to three main reasons; lack of sufficient and reliable data, high level of formation among the various classes and the continuous change of classes or subjected to change. Nevertheless, he based his structuring for Amman classes on the advanced societies *social classes model*, claiming that Jordan had shifted to a modern economy system integrating with the global capital system, so the class structure of Jordan is similar to other Third World societies that have experienced rapid social transformation with distorted capitalist developments. Therefore, in Amman we can consider four social classes; the Upper, the Middle, the Working and the Dispossessed class⁵, different in their formation than the original *social class model*, but they represent the class structure with internal variables and conditions highlighting the fact that the history of social class formation in Amman is the history of societal and state formation in the country as a whole (Shteiw, 1996, pp. 406-409).

The structuring of social classes in Amman is based on income wages, real-state property and family (tribe) origin. The profession and the level of education are not the only dominant factors in the structuring of wages system, and consequently the formation of the social class structure. This study however is not concerned about the origin and formation of each social class, but rather the distribution pattern of these classes within the urbanized society among Amman areas.

Considering the criteria of **income wages** as one way to determine the structuring of social classes, it is noticed that the population distribution patterns is reflected into low income classes at the eastern part of Amman, while the medium and upper classes are distributed at the western part⁶ (Figure 22). On the other hand, the population distribution pattern is also reflected in the **density of population** patterns; highly dense areas at the East and medium to low dense areas at the West (Figures 23). Over-lying both maps suggest the approximate line between the ‘two Ammans’⁷; low income classes and highly dense areas the eastern part of the city, while medium and upper classes, medium to low dense areas at the West.

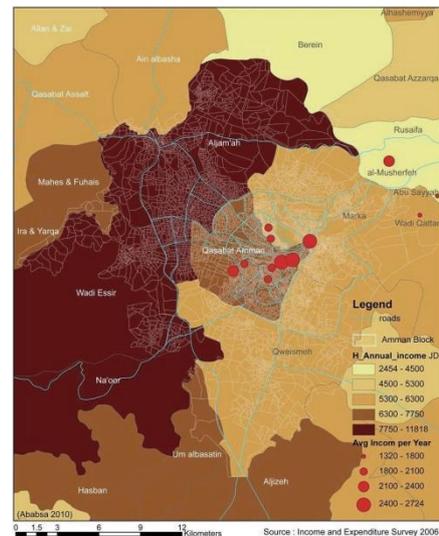
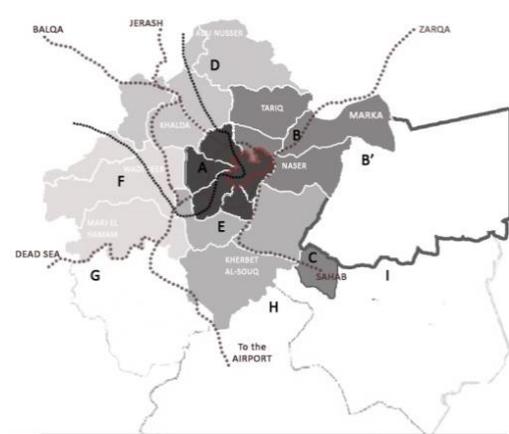


Figure 22: Mapping social disparities in Amman. Source: (Ababsa, 2010)

This hypothesis was supported by a study for the density of population particularly for the Capital district (A), and the results demonstrate that most of the population is concentrated at the eastern part with the least income wages (Figures 22 & 24). On the contrary, the population at the western part is much less and the income is much higher. For example Yarmouk area is 7.6 times the population on Zahran. Yet, beside the income wages factor there are other reasons for the population density pattern:

1. At the eastern part of Amman there are three refugee camps (*Marka, Jabal Al Hussein and Wehdat*) hosting more than 134,500 Palestinian, with very low income and high unemployment rates. (UNRWA, 2014).
2. The contour lines are spaced much closer at the eastern part of Amman, which means steeper slopes, while the slopes become relatively less steep at the western part. This significant topography was an



DENSITY OF POPULATION for Amman/ year 2013			
GAM Districts	population	area/km2	DENSITY/km2
A Capital (Al-Qasaba)	719,349	49.8	14,445
B Marka	629,915	109.63	5,746
C Sahab*	74,260	13.67	5,432
D University	363,715	122.39	2,972
E Al-Qwesmeh	334,940	123.46	2,713
F Wadi Al Seer	226,271	133.64	1,693
G Naour*	86,220	135.07	638
H Al Jizah*	54,750	75.78	722
I Muwaqqar*	39,080	245.88	159

Notes:
 - Each district is divided to sub-districts
 - B'. (Ohod sub-district) is under Marka district but is not included in the density of population calculation (new area)
 * Four districts excluded from GAM in 2014

Figure 23: Map shows density of population per district, Data source: (DOS, 2013) and GAM, Graphics: Khawaja

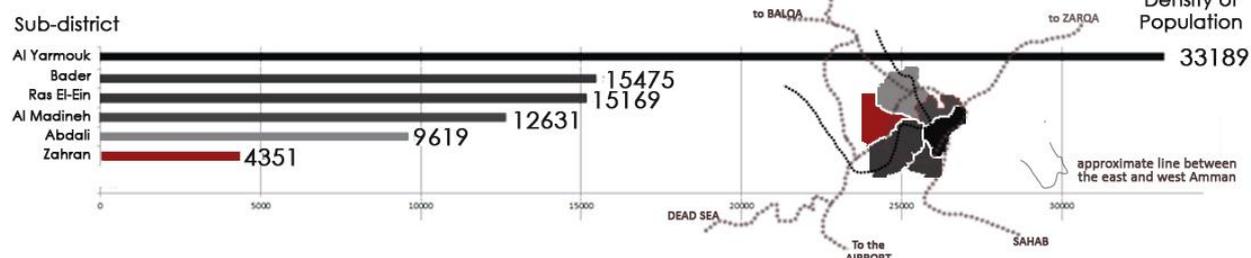


Figure 24: Density of population for the Capital district in Amman particularly. Data source: (DOS, 2013) and GAM. Graphics: Khawaja

opportunity for the vertical expansion with keeping views open (Figure 19). In addition to the typography factor, the vertical overlaying expansion scheme was due to several other reasons; the continuous increase in land prices and land's limited availability, the social bonds are strong and families prefer living together in large families, so it became a common practice to build extra floors without the urge of obtaining lands, also building vertically is well-thought-out as a real-estate investment to rent or sell.

3. The *Buildings and regulations Act for Cities and Villages*⁸, determines seven types of residential areas with specific regulations for each type, total build-up area, minimum plot area, maximum building heights... etc., under this Act, Amman was divided into zones and divisions. One of the common types was the *ordinary areas types A, B, C, and D* (Figure 25). Categories C & D embodies the highest ratio of allowable total build-up per plot, on the lowest possible ranges for plot area, and the least setbacks between the housings. This zoning strategy is realised in eastern Amman highly increases the population density in those areas and creates a crucial threat on the open public spaces reducing the available open areas within a neighbourhood.

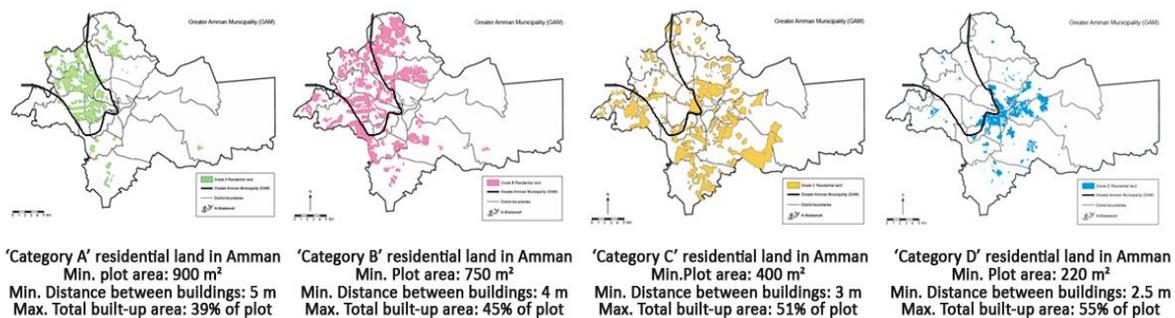


Figure 25: Zoning plans for the 4 types of the ordinary residential areas in Amman. Source: (Potter R., Darmame K., Barhamb N. & Nortcliff S., 2009). Approximate line between the 'two Ammans' is suggested by (Ababsa, 2010)

This 'two Ammans' conceptualisation the social structuring of the city is, of course, a very broad picture of its contemporary socio-economic zonation (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, J.Watts, Whatmore, 2009). While the high density of population creates extra pressure on the infrastructure, services, housing and an imminent threat on the availability and conditions of the open public space; streets, sidewalks, market, parks... etc.

II. Economic Practices and Political policies

The growth of Amman's population was accompanied with developments on the urbanization, economic and political levels. Starting from the early 1964, the Jordanian government had adopted the "free market policy" complying with the global ideologies of capitalism and liberal economy. Such policies were translated into gradual changes on the local economy and political policies nominated for weakening the public sector and the role of government in the public services reflected in the public life (Nazzal-Batayneh, 2005).

I. In the 1980's, Jordan had passed through radical changes on its political and economic structures towards political openness and economic liberalisation, especially by the end of the decade (E. George and H. Joffé, 2002, p. 1), wherein the 1989 was considered an important inflection point separating the two phases: the state of the public sector, and free-region lead by capitalism (Radicaly, 2012). That year, the governmental prudent economic adjustment processes in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, with support from the International Community, pushed Jordan to reorient its economy with emphasis on export-led growth and privatization through implementing the **structural Adjustment Program** that adopts "Trade liberalisation" and "privatisation" policies as integral elements of improving "efficiency and productivity", which was followed by the increase certain basic commodities prices such as bread, and launching consumption-based taxes such as sales tax, in addition to reducing public investments and expenders, reducing allocation for social spending and developments... etc. (Malkawi B. , 2006, p. 138). In the 1995, Jordan announced **the Investment Promotion Law** No. 16⁹ which had witnessed several amendments till today, recognizing benefits for foreign investment on several sectors; real-estate, construction, tourism, recreational projects, industrial, agricultural, services...etc. The main benefits and incentives offered by the law for any private investor were; customs exemptions, tax breaks and investment guarantees.

Starting from the 1999 (when King Abdullah II ascended the throne), the Jordanian economy stepped in a transformational phase, represented in opening the doors wide for private investment of national and international corporations and making from the private sector a real partner in developing the country (IBP.Inc, 2012, p. 117).

*"We have taken the initiative to make free markets the only norm of resource allocation."*¹⁰ (King Abdullah II, 2000)

Three Economic Consultative Councils were held in the 1999, 2001 & 2002 consecutively (Royal-Hashemite-Court, 2001- 2015) in addition to the contribution in the World Economic Forum in Davos held in the Dead Sea. Moreover, in the year 2000, the Privatization Act was signed and The Executive Privatization Commission (EPC) replaced the (EPU), giving the full responsibility for implementing **Jordan's privatization program, focused primarily on public services** (Ababsa, 2013, p. 381). The neoliberal economic policies were followed by the Economic and Social Development Program (2004), implementation of the Free Trade Agreement with USA (2001), Europe (2002) and some countries in Asia, in addition to joining the Trade Liberalization & International Trade Organizations (Etoum, 2005). This challenging economic and investments opportunities were supported by the creation of "Free zones"¹¹ giving a significant opportunity for the private investments to take place.

The government perceptions of a neoliberal economic policies lead by the private sector had emerged to an urban renaissance generating hundreds of development projects in Amman city and Jordan in general. However, the gradual and fast economic transformation

had crucial impacts on the whole public perception; public sector, public services and public lands, in addition to restructuring the urban fabric and the social pattern especially in the capital: Amman. The economic reforms at the municipal level subordinated to established patterns of political contestation among private actors who seize on investment opportunities, eventually that led into forcing the municipalities to acquire lands and issue policies that supports the emerging investments and development projects, resulting in a gradual loss of public land and public space -in their radical meaning.

II. As regards of the social pattern, a study conducted by the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan in the 2012 revealed that the middle class in the Jordanian society decayed and fell in a banner and slipping toward poverty reaching 14.4% in 2010 (WB, 2015), due to the inequality in income distribution of virtue and the rising prices and inflation, despite the economic reform policies implemented by successive Jordanian governments since 1989. In Amman, the population distribution upon income is reflected on morphology maps and demonstrates that the social classes of East Amman are living in poor conditions and even below the poverty line, while it is the contrary at West Amman (Figure 22). The influence of such impacts on the public space will be studied thoroughly in the study.

III. The land is the most important factor in any urbanization and development process. The lands registration system in Amman and Jordan in general dates back to the British colonel era (1921), where the British have replaced the 'Musha'¹² land use system by a private freehold system with clear defined individual land titles. The aim of this system was to better generate the agricultural lands through improving crop yields and increase security, and therefore, generate tax revenues. Many of the tribes, individuals and peasants had benefited from this system till today. They had submitted 'land claims' in the public fora if cultivated the land for three concessive years. However, some other tribes had refused to submit claims fearing excessive fees and taxation, but the lands were commonly known theirs. ((Razzaz, 1996), (Ababsa, 2013), (Meaton J. & AlNsour J., 2012)). In both scenarios, the land's property deprived of being public, and the private land ownerships continued to increase. This notion had left few public lands for the municipality to develop as public use especially for public garden and parks, because the ownership of private lands are in a continuous increase and the land acquisition to transform it to public services is a policy not adopted by the government who seeks to privatize the public services to a maximum extend.

III. GAM Institutional Framework and Planning Approaches

The major planning activities within the municipal areas were the responsibility of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs and the Environment (MMRAE), and most of the plans that local authorities prepare have to be approved by the ministry prior to

implementation (Malkawi F. , 2001, p. 2). Up till then, Amman had three Master Plans; **1955, 1968 and 1978 all were made by a collaborative partnership with private, international and public sectors** (Abu-Dayyeh, 2004). In the 1985 a new Master Plan was released distinct in its form, perception and formation than any other previous plans due to the transformation in the authority structure of Amman Municipality and its position to the MMRAE, wherein Amman was then conceived as a Metropolis area.

Amman has been always realized to be dealt with as a large ever-growing city, which made it pass through major transformations and setting itself on the path towards becoming a modern metropolitan capital, while the issue of local governance in the region became of particular interest. In 1985, the first manifestation of the restructuring process emerged as the various municipalities and village councils within the metropolitan area around Amman City were consolidated to form what became Greater Amman (GA), and **the metropolitan area of Greater Amman was defined and placed under the direct control of one metropolitan authority; the Greater Amman Municipality**, merging 25 municipalities and village councils. And most importantly, power was vested in Great Amman municipality (GAM) making it **independent of any control from MMRAE**, and mayor's reports were appointed directly to the Prime Minister (Malkawi F. , 2001). Also GAM has widened its services and departments to include; research and development department, GIS, quality control, information development, environmental health, finance, planning, engineering and many others.

In the 1999 when the First Economic Consultative Council was held, Jordan had boldly declared strategies that increase the role of private institutions, accelerates privatization programs and encourage Public Private Partnership (PPP). GAM was not alien from this strategy and in fact it became its institutional framework for new investments and urban developments. It had made **partnerships with the private sector (PPP)** in planning development projects (ex. the "Public-Private Partnership to Undertake the Wadi Amman Project"), providing services (ex. Solid waste management), issuing initiatives (ex. JARA), and facilitating cultural events (ex. partnership agreement with ZAIN 'telecom company')... etc. The first PPP project was carried out in the 1999 when privatizing the public transportation in Amman (Ababsa, 2013, p. 380), and later when announcing the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) project which was based on a business model publicly financed infrastructure but the operations are by the private sector (Smadi, Amman Transportation Strategy, from Planning to Implementation, 2010).

In the 2006, GAM had merged 4 new districts to its agglomeration and expanded its area up to 1600 km² restructuring the regions divisions within the metropolitan area in a **comprehensive Master Plan** released in the 2008. The goal of this plan was to accommodate the immediate demand for High Density Mixed Use Development (HDMU) in a manner that compliments Amman Vision and attract investments, while a Master Plan is developed and to provide framework for the long term sustainability of the city. Such goals

and objectives had offered an arena for the private developments to take place, influenced by the government neoliberal economic practices and privatization policies.

“This Plan will be the city’s blueprint for sustainable development and will help Jordan achieve the objectives **outlined by the National Agenda**. It will guide the growth of our community and address such issues as the built and natural environment, culture and heritage, transportation and infrastructure, and community developments...” (Eng. Omar Maani, GAM former Mayor, May 2008)

By that time, GAM had been working with BearingPoint¹³ and the World Bank to review and structure its various activities including the Master Plan which was produced by a sub-institute subordinated by GAM known by Amman Institute¹⁴ (AI). AI took over the master planning function from PlanningAlliance¹⁵, thus enabling the contract with BearingPoint to be terminated. Later, PlanningAlliance became a sub-contractor to AI and its personnel work as part of the Planning Management Unit (planning team) along with planners from GAM. (Beauregard R. & Marpillero-Colomina A., 2011).

This planning partnership between the public sector (GAM) and the private firms (International planning firms and WB) and the semi-private institution (AI) is more like “privatizing” the institutional framework, within the city’s planning policies and practices under quasi-governmental entity arenas, which leads to a gradual spin-off of government functions. This ideology works on two levels; the multi-functional team and multi-functional prerequisites -infrastructure, housing, business hubs, commercial zones, public spaces... etc. Both levels had made witnessed successes in terms of planning and creating new opportunities, but for a certain class or group and don’t imply social cohesion ideology behind it. On the other hand, it decreases the responsibility of the state being a “developer engine” and rather handles it to the private/semi-private sector. (Albrechts L., Healey P. & Kunzmann K., 2003). Leveraging state power to engage in wider networks of accumulation and influence, provided the backbone of new, quasi-formalized economic decision-making bodies, and took part in the new agencies and governance networks being supported by WB, USAID, Gulf donors... etc.

On the other hand, the PPP policy had crucial impacts on the public transportation of Amman leading to critical consequences embodied in crippling the transportation services of Amman in 2011. After the agreement between GAM and the Comprehensive Multiple Transportations Company¹⁶ to facilitate the public transportation services, and due to several financial reasons, the Company had stopped the services and threatened hundreds of staff member to be fired. This puts a question mark on the privatization policies framework and the direct threat on the public life.

2.2 The Production of Space and the Transformation to Neoliberal Developments

The distinctive demographic and social pattern of Amman, the neo-liberal economic practices, the political policies and GAM planning approaches are all represented in the spatial practices in what *Lefebvre* calls it the Perceived Space (Chapter 1.1). The public space -as any other urban fabric component of Amman- was affected by the power of capitalism and the neoliberal approaches, resulted in dominating private spaces and semi-public spaces within the city. As a matter of fact, it is hard to determine the peak because each period had brought its significant influence on the city in terms of the increase in land prices, the architectural trends, the emergence of new commercial and residential districts and the quality of the public space in general.

In the 1980s, Amman's urban identity was fragmenting and so was its public spirit, as private space prevailed over public space, new areas had emerged enabling the wealthy families abandon their old houses and move away from the centre in a villas and large apartments with private big gardens and high walls, in the contrary of the humble housings and short walls allowing the interaction between the public and the private cosy gardens found in the old district of Amman. The markets as well in the new wealthy districts (ex. Shmesani) were designed upon a European and American models, whether in the architecture type or merchandises. A major driving force was due to the gulf investments interested in turning their large sums of capital into high-density, mixed use commercial real estate projects (Daher, 2008, pp. 46-68), putting a question mark on the state role in planning decisions and the influence of the private sector on the government and urban institution framework of Amman.

The Neo-liberal urban policies are engendered by the nexus between mobile investment capital, inter-city competition, and public entrepreneurialism. It engenders comprehensive changes of institutions and organisations that are the framework of public planning (Sager, 2011). Therefore, the neoliberalism reconstitutes relationships between public institutions and key actors of market, reducing the activity of government and encouraging non-government agencies and individuals and motivating civil society to take on more activities previously done by government (Kayasu S. & Yetiskul E., 2014). Within such framework, the government become 'entrepreneurial' to join private sector and create partnerships for the benefit of both parties. Amman was not excluded from this concept and yet was captured by such a phenomenon.

In the year 2002, The National Resources Investment & Development Corporation 'Mawared' was established to further its status as a major player in real estate development and a guiding force in regional investments. Mawared is a financially and administratively independent state-owned corporation leading Jordan's drive towards urban regeneration and inner city development, with a membership of four ministries as a Secretary General, and the Jordan Armed Forces as the Financial Manager. Mawared promote itself as the ideal partner for the private sector to engage in major real estate projects since it offers vacant,

fully-serviced single-owned sites that are ready for development facilitating the smooth processing of official dealings with all the relevant authorities. In addition, Mawared offers developers various flexible partnership formulas in all of their real estate development projects (Mawared, 2010).

Establishing such an arena that performs on a spatial planning level as a quasi-governmental development entity is a key stone in the development and large scale investments, specially being considered as Jordan's largest real estate developer, with a commitment towards generating considerable investment opportunities for the private sector. It is an authoritarian approach to enforce the publicly criticized projects, for the benefit of private sector, which the government is now being part of it.

From a planning perspective, in the year 2006, the work on Amman Master Plan had begun. The process of decisions-making approach was unique and different than the previous master plans of the city. **The process was much more focused on participation than previous planning attempts**, and involved a wide range of stakeholders (Meaton J. & AlNsour J., 2012). The Amman Commission, which was made of a professional planning team, government representatives, architects, economists, and representatives from public utility services, was dissolved in early 2009 and replaced by a Design Review Committee that meets weekly and includes AI representatives in series of Mayor's roundtables to produce the final layout of the Master plan (Beauregard R. & Marpillero-Colomina A, 2011). Moreover, in the year 2009, Amman's youth were invited to attend an *open Amman Centennial Forum* with the Mayor of Amman Omar Maani, to discuss Amman's vision. This forum was being held by the Amman Institute for Urban Development (AI), at the initiative of Interruptions¹⁷.

However, this participatory image of the Master plan and the collaborative process of planning decision was 'symbolic' and didn't actually resemble in equal development opportunities for eastern and western Amman. From one hand, the *Centennial Forum* took place after the announcement of Amman Master Plan 2008, meaning after the planning process was over. On the other hand, the Master plan had focused primarily on CBDs and HDMU developments in western Amman that relay on the private sector with clear absence of any development plans for housing and infrastructure for eastern Amman. Such developments nominate a typical approach of neoliberal developments seen in the Gulf and USA ... etc., and transfers decisions about the shared urban future away from traditional institutions of collective deliberation and into arena of negotiation between capital and community stakeholders (Parker, 2009).

The role of the private sector the urbanization process was crucial; first, the implantation of the Master plan depended on the participatory role of the private sector since all the developments were neoliberal-oriented (to be discussed in the IGS plan). Such an approach was previously announced and supported within the institutional framework of the Jordanian governmental and the PPP approaches –as mentioned earlier, in addition to the

declaration made by Gerry Post, the chief planning consultant for the BearingPoint Group: “In essence, our aim is to marry investment with communal aspirations”¹⁸ (Parker, 2009). Second, the developments plans in eastern Amman relayed on encouraging the initiatives of the private sector and individuals through NGOs rather than a having a mature program held by the GAM that insure equality and fair rehabilitation programs in the city. This concept was based on the idea of corporate social responsibility, demonstrating that some beneficiaries of the system are willing to reinvest their profits into the most disadvantaged communities (Ababsa M. & Daher R., 2013). The NGOs are a fundamental tool by a neoliberal economy that results in liberating the role of the state (the municipality) from being a developer to being a guardian.

In February 2007, GAM released the first phase of its Interim Growth Strategy (IGS). The primary purpose was to regulate the development of high-rise buildings in Amman (GAM, The Amman plan: Metropolitan Growth, 2008), and based on it, the Master Plan was published in 2008 embodies three sections; 1) the overall approach and framework responding to the growth challenges, 2) a response to the growth challenges through a Metropolitan Growth Plan (MGP) and 3) the tools used by GAM, the various public sectors and the Central Government to insure the implantation of the Plan.



Figure 26: Areas A, B and C in Amman Master Plan. Source: (GAM, Interim Growth Strategy (HDMU) Development Manual, 2007)

The Master Plan is apprehended in three planning scales; Metropolitan, Planning Area and Community scales, all are being developed under seven planning phases. The fifth phase is considered the highest-scale component of the Master Plan and entitled “*The Amman Plan: Metropolitan Growth*” divided in to three phases of which Phase I: The near-Term (2008-2013) suggested an in-fill planning strategy, to develop in and around existing build-up areas to maximise the use of existing infrastructure and services and to minimise urban sprawl. Phase I focused on intensification and densification of Built-up Areas within the Urban Envelope which resulted in four concepts, ones to mentions; Abdali project –which was already starting since 2004, and the development of large areas of vacant land within the built up area inside the Urban Envelope, including ‘High-Density, Mixed Use’ (HDMU) Areas A, B and C¹⁹ -already announced in the IGS plan. (GAM, 2008).

The criticism over this proposal varies on several levels, ones to mention:

1. Area A is located at the Valley, running northwest to Southeast, and to the South of Jabal Amman when coming from Princess Basma Street reaching *Al-Qaiseyeh Scattered Settlement*. GAM development plan for this area -known as *Wadi Abdoun*, proposed a 60 meters highway road passing by the Valley connecting the City Center with the Airport, in addition to zoning plans for mixed-use facilities. The implantation of the plan however, was a nightmare for the neighbourhood known by *Al-Qaiseyeh Scattered Settlement*²⁰, who have lived on the 'public land' for the past 50 years and now they are forced to relocate, in return for an unfair compensation and land acquisition to GAM. This highlights a threat in the planning process which lacks humanitarian prospect and even uses the national law against people's right; if not for the land, for the fair compensation. Many families -especially who the road passes their houses- had moved somewhere else, while others stayed because they couldn't afford moving, however, till today (7 years later) the area is not yet developed, and all what is left are empty lands, excavations, constructions on hold and demolished houses (ARAMRAM, 2013).
2. Area B is located at Al-Jubiha, along the Jordan Road, north of Al-Shaheed Ring Road, and east of the "Northern Corridor" that runs along Queen Rania Road which serves the Jordan University District and the Al-Hussein Youth City, all of which are vital connectivity network to the city. However, Area B known as the northern Gateway will not be implemented because the lands ownership belongs to one tribe, who disapproved using their lands to implement the urban development's plans²¹. This phenomenon of private land ownership is a magnified threat on development driven by the state. Particularly if the developments were open public spaces, for they don't bring revenues back, especially when the state can't afford buying the lands or maintain them.
3. Area C is located at the right inner edge of the South axial (airport road). The site will be served by an extension of the Inner Ring Road (recently construction) as well as the new Wadi-Abdoun Road that will link Central City with the Airport, passing through area A. The major critic on the location; it's an agricultural land and a wide green open space surrounded with urban areas (from North to South). Though the typography is steep, but in good weather, especially in spring time it's frequently occupied as an open green space for relaxation and family picnics.

Towers, BIDs, CBDs and Gated Communities

Starting from with *Le Royal Hotel*, and followed by *Zara towers*, shopping malls, *Jordan Gate* and *Abdali Psc* Regeneration Project, Amman had begun to witness destructive neoliberal transformation on its urban fabric not only in the political and trading course. And when GAM had announced the (IGS) plan and followed it with the Master plan, hundreds of proposed projects were unleashed and publicly announced by foreign and local firms in Amman particularly, and Jordan in general. In the 2008 Expo Exhibition held in Amman;

Gated communities, Intensive Business Developments (IBD), Central business districts and (CBD) and new urbanism projects oriented to the elite class and foreign investments were being advertised and announced. The time line (Figure 27) shows some of the major investments taking place, it dedicates only the large scale investments, yet over hundreds of small-scale investments had changed or occupied Amman public space, causing radical changes on the urban fabric and a gradual loss of the public space.

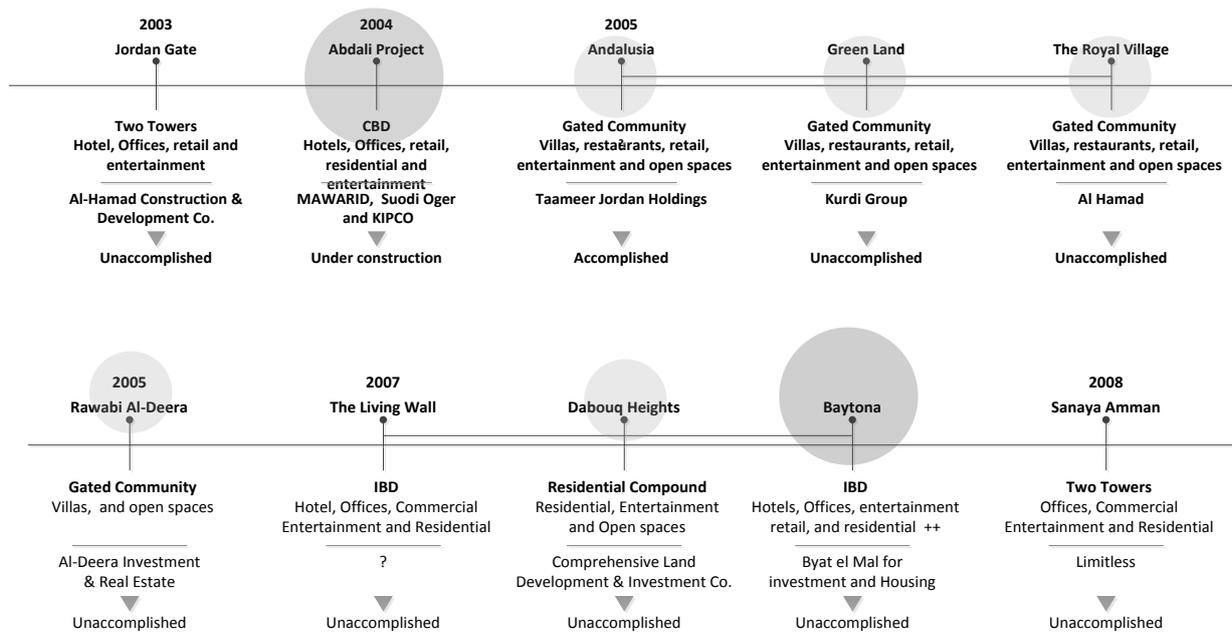


Figure 27: Time line for the major investments taking place in Amman since the 21st Century. Data Source: (Al-Faqih, 2009, pp. 135-146) Graphics: Khawaja

A thirty minutes' drive in west Amman is sufficed to present the several on-hold mega projects and unfinished construction sites indicating the mal-management and weakened fund for Amman's biggest announced developments, questioning; what are the foundations for real-estate developments in the city. When the construction boom began in the early 21st century -following the government economic approaches, mega projects were brought into the city, funded by

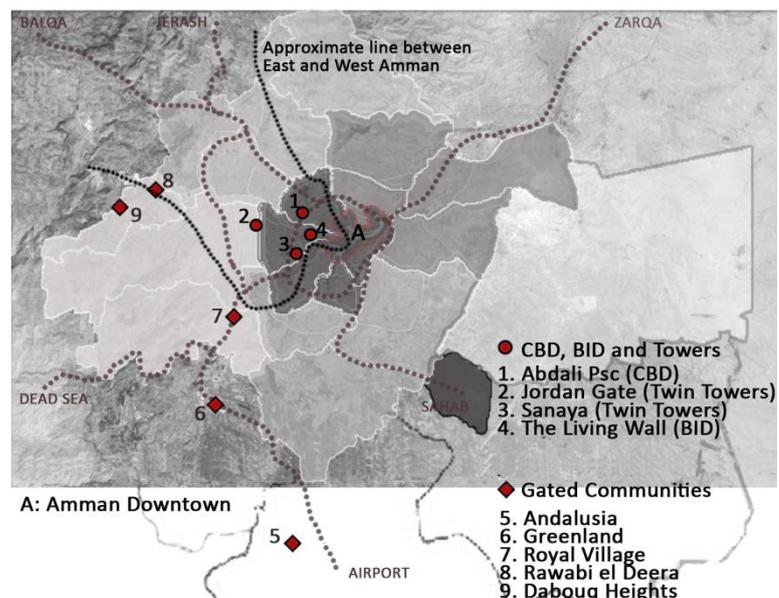


Figure 28: The major mega projects taking place in Amman since the 2004. Graphic: Khawaja

international and local corporations, addressing new type of real-estate developments designated for the elite class of Amman and the ‘designed’ type of new businesses in a modern and high-tech architectural designs following the international trends (such as USA and the gulf region) and dismantling the local architectural spirit.

Abdali Psc CBD, Gated communities, twin towers and BIDs started to emerge in the beginning of the 2003 till the 2008 when all those mega projects -except for Abdali Psc- had stopped, leaving massive excavated lands, installed cranes, construction materials and unfinished constructions fenced with billboards as the only ‘gravestone’ memoire. The reasons behind on-holding the construction of these projects are due to the global economic crises, corruption, ceased fund and/or design and construction faults. The table below shows a description of some major project, while other projects will be mentioned throughout the study.

NB: The Data source is from the projects’ official websites.

Abdali Psc	
Type of Investment	CBD
Owner	Mawared, Saudi Oger, Horizon International for Development, and KIPCO
Budget	US \$ 5 Billion
Location	Abdali, central location in Amman
Plot Area	384,000 sqm
Facilities	Residential, offices, hotels, retail & entertainment
Beginning of Construction	2006
Current status	Phase 1 is nearly completed (office building, the boulevard) towers and phase 2 on hold
End of Construction	On going
Jordan Gate	
Type of Investment	Twin Tower
Owner	Bayan & Hiktar
Budget	US \$ 300 Million
Location	Sweifeih, Amman
Plot Area	28,000 sqm
Facilities	Offices, hotel, retail & entertainment
Beginning of Construction	2005
Current status	The structure of 38 floors is completed, parts of the glass-elevations are implanted, the rest of site works and finishing are on hold
End of Construction	On hold since 2011
The Living Wall	
Type of Investment	IBD
Owner	Development and Projects Investment Fund
Budget	NA
Location	Wadi Saqrah, Amman
Plot Area	150,000 sqm
Facilities	Residential, Offices, retail & entertainment



Figure 29: Abdali Psc current status; on-hold construction work for the towers.



Figure 30: Jordan Gate current status; the whole project is on-hold, cranes and building materials remain in the site.



Figure 31: The Living Wall Project, current status; the whole project is on-hold, massive excavation.

Beginning of Construction	2007
Current status	Massive excavated area surrounded with billboards
End of Construction	On hold

Sanaya Amman	
Type of Investment	Towers
Owner	Limitless, UAE
Budget	NA
Location	Wadi Abdoun, Amman
Plot Area	NA
Facilities	Residential, Offices, retail & entertainment
Beginning of Construction	2008
Current status	Massive excavated area surrounded with billboards
End of Construction	On hold since 2009



Figure 32: Sanaya Amman Project, current status; the whole project is on-hold, massive excavation.

The Royal Village	
Type of Investment	Gated Community
Owner	Gulf Finance House
Budget	US \$ 1 Billion
Location	Marj Al-Hamam, Amman
Plot Area	443,000 sqm
Facilities	Residential, Offices, retail & entertainment
Beginning of Construction	2008
Current status	Very few office buildings for the headquarters, the land fenced area with billboards
End of Construction	On hold



Figure 33: The Royal Village Project, current status; the whole project is on-hold, fenced lands

Table 2: List of five major mega projects took place in Amman since the 2004, and the current status of each project.

1. Abdali Psc CBD Project

Amman downtown is a traditional, historical and heritage vivid part of the city, surrounded with neighbourhoods, various functions and open spaces. Area from the northwest of the downtown till the south is known by East Amman, and the left parts are West Amman. This interesting location made the Downtown a central commercial and business node for the city.

I. In the 2004, Abdali Investment & Development Psc²² had announced a project named *Abdali Psc* and advertised itself as “Amman New Downtown” that provides the city with central businesses, social and residential facilities and tourism hub, throughout the largest mixed-use development project ever constructed in the heart of Amman. Abdali Psc is developed on 384,000 sqm of land, and comprising a total



Figure 34: Proposal of Abdali Psc, Arial view. Source: (Abdali, 2004)

built-up area (BUA) of over 1.8 million sqm consisting of residential apartments, office spaces, hotels and serviced apartments, retail outlets as well as entertainment facilities. Once completed, the vision of Abdali Psc is to be the premium central business, residential, tourism, retail and entertainment district of Amman catapulting the city into the 21st century, placing it on parallel with most of the world's renowned city centers (Abdali, 2004).

Abdali Investment & Development Psc was established in 2004 out of a partnership between semi-private and private sectors; the state-owned National Resources Investment and Development Corporation (Mawared), Saudi Oger and Horizon International for Development Ltd. Co. both owned by Sheikh Bahaa Rafiq Al-Hariri²³. This joint venture was further enlarged when the United Real Estate Company, under the group of Kuwait Projects Company (KIPCO) had joined. In addition to the stakeholders: Greater Amman Municipality (GAM), Abdali Boulevard Company (ABC), Abdali Mall Company (AMC) and Jordan District Energy (JDE) and some others. The project is unique in its scale, addressed slogans and the new urban regulations came along its construction. Although the project is private, yet it's one of the special projects in the Greater Amman Municipality since the latter had carried out major part either as a contributor or as the legal authorization for the advantage of the owners, especially that GAM mayor was assigned a head of Board of Directors of the Abdali Psc.

II. Abdali Psc occupies a strategic location at the heart of the city. To the East there are major landmarks as the Parliament building, the Palace of Justice, the ceremonial mosque and two major churches in addition to the main route to Amman's Downtown. To the North is the main route going to Citadel Amman, the north-east governorates and the free zones areas, while the West and South are the neighbourhoods of Amman's rich and medium classes' society.

This location gave it a significant importance and shed the light over a crucial neoliberal presence in Amman when paralleling the high-end projects, towers, shopping malls, elite residents... etc. with the slogan of the project "The New Downtown of Amman". Such a paradigm on Abdali Psc made on a large urban scale is highly questioned; who gave the investor the right to reshape the city's urban fabric by creating a new 'Downtown'? And what kind of superior tourism is it trying to advertise? Abdali Psc slogan, concept and components was not only alien to 70 or 80% of Amman's social classes who can't actually benefit from the project (based on the income wages and population statistics), but also it had eradicated a whole historian and memory of the city's urban fabric by addressing a new downtown for a selective class of people and foreign investments.

"You only need to open your eyes and discover the world that is to become the new downtown marvel at the physical features of a setting [arranged] in complete accordance with how its residents move and make their way in every space"
promotional material, (Abdali, 2004)

The 384,000 sqm land of the project initially belonged to the General Command of the Armed Forces, Military Police School, administrative headquarters of the camps, residences for senior officers, the former General Intelligence headquarters, officers club in addition to private buildings, houses, companies and retail shops. The army land and its appurtenances were sold by the government to Abdali Psc, however, the land buildings and owners were subjected to GAM's land acquisition. Once again, the project, and in collaboration with the government, had eradicated the history of the city's urban fabric by demolishing the several buildings, houses, retail and local firms building.

In the early beginning of the project announcement, there were not much info about the status of the project except from advertisements, brochures and billboards surrounding the lands. The landowners then were asked to sell GAM their lands and properties by the name of 'Public benefit and area development', or else they will be put to acquisition. Apart from the investments and buildings constructions, the claims of land acquisitions were accused to the urge of opening streets and create new road network, which will in fact serve particularly the project and not the whole area, since the project is 'gated and controlled'. Under this circumstances, one of the prejudiced was Talal Abu Ghazaleh Organization (TAGorg)²⁴ whose lands and buildings were part of Abdali Psc project land, but who sued GAM for the illegality role announcing that "GAM is acting as a mediator between 'MAWARED and Saudi Oger' and the organizations and private owners, who are asked to sell their lands to the developer but through GAM, who took the role of infrastructure development and real-estate collector for Abdali Psc" (Daher, 2008).

In terms of law, the acts and conditions for lands acquisition published in the Jordanian official Gazette: section 3 of *Acquisition Act and Amendments No. 12 of 1987*²⁵ states: "*Real estate cannot be subjected to acquisition unless for a project achieves public benefit with fair compensation*". In the same Act, the purport of section 5 says that "*the prime ministry has the right to approve the request made by any public sector (municipalities, ministries...etc.) to use the land of acquisition however anticipated by the prosecutor (public sector), even if the demand doesn't imply a public benefit of which the former acquisition was made for*". These two laws put a big question mark on; the power of government over the public space and public benefit, the power of public sector (GAM for example) to 'seduce' the government for approving new investments and the power of economic/ private investment practices over the both, and leaving the public needs out of the government or investments interests.

III. In terms of the land use and planning, Abdali Psc is divided in to two phases, both consist of multi-use areas. The updated table of areas of phase one for the year 2015 states that 59% of lands are used for private parcels, 36% for Public Right of Way (Paths) and 4% for Public Parcels. Under GAM laws and regulations, any urban project development must register the 'areas' of the public services to the municipality, however, the maintenance are the duties of the investor. Those public parcels came under the second claim of the project's

land acquisition of providing open public spaces within its periphery. But how can a space be public if the accessibility in and out is controlled? In Abdali Psc, the public spaces apart from the Paths create 4% of the project's total area, and are technically controlled since the accessibility to the project is controlled itself, moreover, they are not more than 'wide' passage-ways, and sidewalks open green areas in between the sophisticated buildings, which tumble the notion of being *public*. In other words, the public space in Abdali Psc is technically privatized and owned with no true compensation for the 'true' public.

2. Baytona Project

Another crucial project with different variables is called Baytona announced to public in the 2007. Baytona is a mixed-use urban project in the east of Amman, with an area of 178,000 sqm, and offers hotel, offices, entertainment and retail with residential and public spaces. Baytona is located at Al-Nasr area, of which categorised under the poor-class areas of East Amman surrounded with poor pockets and very high density neighbour-hoods, at a central node of the main commercial and light-industries highway.

I. The owner is *Bayt al-Mal Corporation for Saving and Housing Investment: Baytona*, a local Jordanian corporation established in the 1983. The investor had announced the project as the new Downtown of Amman; and called it 'Our Home'. The project intentions to meets the needs of people and make them partners in Baytona investments over the chances of improving the levels of their living conditions through their contribution in the various investment opportunities proposed by the private investor. Moreover, the project promoted itself as a platform that provides the small investors tools and prospects to be owners of the project through increasing the shareholder base and partner ownerships, proclaiming that the urge of being rich to invest is outdated, and with Baytona everyone can be a contributor in the investment process.

II. On the other hand, out of naive or acquaintance one can't tell, Baytona had announced projects such as retail shops, restaurants and cafes, theatres, cinemas and 'cultural salons' in addition to a college, medical centre, a hotel and hotel-

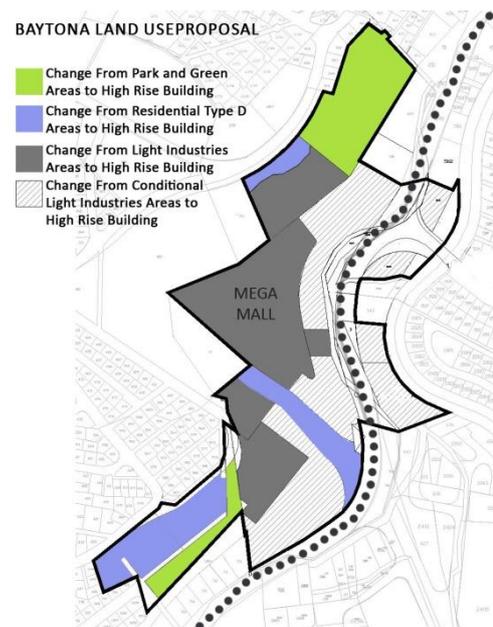


Figure 35: Zoning Plan showing the proposed land use for Baytona project. Source (GAM, 2015)



Figure 36: Baytona site and Mega Mall, constructions on-hold. Source: Khawaja

apartments. Yet, the project will include a tower of 40 m height known as Mega Mall, with an artificial river and public spaces on the roof-top (Petra, 2007). Consequently the public spaces which ought to be open and accessible by public as identified in (Figure 35) will transform to controlled and privately owned spaces.

There are crucial impacts of the project to consider; on the urban and social fabric and on the public space:

- The proposal suggests changing 24,330 sqm of park and a Green area spaces to High Rise Buildings, meaning 14% of the former land area will no longer be a public space (GAM, 2015).
- All the areas designated for light industries and residential type D will be changed to high rise buildings in addition to the Mega Mall (GAM, 2015), which will have a dramatic impact on the road network (paths) and create jams and extra loads the current infrastructure can't tolerate .
- The existing public space of the area; paths, markets and kiosks and the open areas will be totally misplaced and privatized, which will create major glitches on the social pattern and questions the new replacements, functions and owners of the misplaced/ transformed spaces (Figure 35).
- The project had announced itself as the New Downtown for the area, knowing that this location is only 4 km away from Amman Downtown, and 8 km from Abdali Psc - metaphorically. This puts a huge question mark on the uprising trend of creating CBDs in Amman, each with special character and addresses certain class of people.

What will happen to the retail and light industries shops along the stretch? How many shops and businesses are accused to shut down due to the enormous numbers of retails in the new shopping mall? Why such a project is needed in an area that is already quite sustainable –in terms of economy- while a ‘true’ public open space could have been established instead to serve the area which lacks public spaces such as parks? What quality of public space is it going to be in a shopping Mall or within the private spaces established within the project?

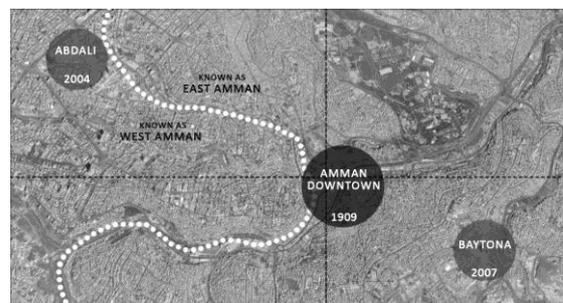


Figure 37: Location map showing Amman Downtown, Abdali Psc and Baytona projects. Graphics: Khawaja

3. Gated Communities and Residential Compounds

Amman is one of the desired and favourable cities in Jordan characterized of being dynamic and economically active, which makes it an attractive destination for its inhabitants and the inner or foreign migrations. The complex variables happening in the region in general and Jordan in particular had made Amman's population in a continuous growth, which consequently made the demand on housing in a constant need. The private sector has been

always a pioneer to comply with the housing demands, in addition to the Housing Cooperatives, the Social Security (semi-public institution), and the Professional Associations in addition to the Jordanian Armed Forces Officers Housing Fund. On the level of public sector, in 1992 the Housing Corporation had merged with the Urban Development Corporation to form one arena known by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDC) its main goal is offering affordable housing for low-income and misfortunate classes (Jwianat, 2008).

The housing solutions in Amman are variable and the individual choices are subjected to the neighbourhood's guidelines regulated by GAM and linked with some other public institutions such as the Ministry of Municipalities Affairs. Under this umbrella, enormous housing developments took place, with significant role for the private sector, proven in the technical report done by the Ministry of Planning in the 1987 stating that 53.7% of the housing investments were founded by individual contributions (private), 29% by banks and Real-estate Finance Institutions, in addition to other contributors (Al-Faqih, 2009, pp. 21-22).

One of the housing solutions applied in Amman since the 1970's was the housing compounds. These compounds were found for various social classes, but most of which were oriented to beneficiaries from specific group depending on who had financed/ co-founded the project. For example, the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDC) (Public sector) was concerned about finding comprehensive housing compounds for the low-income class that occasionally include various facilities such as schools, retail, health centre, public parks, mosque... etc. Other stakeholders such as the Professional Associations and the Jordanian Armed Forces Officers Housing Fund targeted beneficiaries who belong to their profession group, in addition to the random investors who targeted the public in general. What is fundamental to note though; whether the compounds were founded by the private or public sector, for targeted or random beneficiaries, as individual housing (villas) or multi-story buildings, **the compounds were publicly accessible, open and uncontrolled**, even if occasionally fenced for managerial reasons. These characteristics are crucial in residential compounds and reflect the degree of social cohesion in the society.

After the new investment laws and the neoliberal and open market economic policies adopted by the government, the individual contributions and the real-estate investments have transformed their initial role from being "partners in the housing development" hand in hand with the government, to became large real-estate companies and firms running by private sector and foreign investments (especially the gulf) controlling the housing market with even financial benefits from the government.

Housing companies in Jordan enjoy great influence, which enables them to obtain preferential treatment for their housing projects. They are exempt from the country's 4% sales tax, and the beneficiaries of their housing projects are exempted from 6% registration fee for the first 120m² of a property. The buyer of an old house

and used apartments or an independent house (i.e. from a private owner and not a housing company) does not benefit from this tax exemption (IBP.Inc, 2012).

In the early 21st century, a new phenomenon appeared in Amman embodied in the occurrence of Gated Communities; private urban development projects, occupying -relatively- large scale plots housing developments or 'master-planned communities', with exclusive public spaces and services for their residence (Low, 2006, p. 85). The gated community is one of the neoliberal 'finest productions' started in the USA and spread globally worldwide. The sociocultural structure and the high flex of capital were fertile market's characteristics for the gated communities to emerge in the Middle East, especially in the gulf area –and Egypt as a special case. In Cairo, gated communities were an ideal opportunity for the upper-middle income class residents to escape the deterioration of the city centre, and live outskirts the city in one's own custom-made home rather than the prototype house, in addition to the exclusive public services for the community as pools, gardens... etc. (Kesseiba, 2015). In the gulf, the goal was totally different, taking Dubai for example; only 13.5% of its population are Emirati and only 2% of them are in the labour market, and most of this population-class was extremely rich citizens. On the other hand, the composition of population in a common gulf city is a mix of various nationalities, with high percentage of its population considered to be very low-income labour, in a contrary to the tight percentage of upper-middle and high income classes (Randeree, 2009). Therefore, the social allege to have private areas, inaccessible by the public, secured, controlled, guarded and facilitated, with privately owned 'public' and leisure spaces within its boundaries was represented in the gated community; the new 'production line' of the real-estate firms of a capitalist state.

“Gated Communities are residential Enclaves demarcated physically by walls, fences and secured gate-ways, which are often patrolled by private security guards, they are also frequently governed by community associations that regulate resident' activities and design decisions. The proliferation of gates, enclaves, private GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY is generally understood to lead to the delegitimization of Public Services and is a physically manifestation of growing resistance to 'democratization, social equalization and (the) expansion of citizenship right'” (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, J.Watts, Whatmore, 2009, p. 267)

Although the composition of population and income patterns in Amman appeared to mingle in a better harmony in comparison to the disparity image of the Gulf, however, it was not sustainable enough -especially in the early 21st century- to prevent the destructive productions of the Economic Space, which pushed forward toward gated communities as housing solutions for the neo-high and upper-middle income classes in the contrary of the increase in poverty, density and social disparities in some parts of Amman. Those communities are residential-base advertised with trendy slogans compatible with the perceptions and aspirations of the 'designed' social classes.

Over five of the proposed projects (shown in Figure 27) have been announced within a short period, from the 2003-2007, the same period the Jordanian economy had witnessed radical transformation toward blunt neoliberal policies, privatization and PPP policies as explained in the beginning of chapter two.

I. The co-founders of such projects were local and international companies, mainly from the gulf, with subsidiaries companies who directly or indirectly benefit from the project. For example, Taameer Jordan Holding Company which is the co-founder of Andalusia gated community²⁶ has a subsidiary company called *Madariyoun Fabrication*, which was established to create metal works in all their forms, as well as glasswork, aluminium, PVC and woodwork (Taameer, 2015). This is a crucial point, the construction site (Andalusia) is simply being the market space for other constructed supplies to take place, which makes the profit even higher, and the actual value of the final product is examined to multiples of multiplies before it reaches the consumer (the market).

II. Selecting the location is a key-point for the success of any project, especially projects that are oriented to a certain group of people and meant to exclude others. The location of the five mentioned projects (Figure 27) were located along the expansion corridor toward the airport (South axial, Figure 21), or in the prestigious area of Amman “Dabouq” where the Royal Palaces and the richest class of Amman take place. The first impression is certainly because this ‘designed group of population living in the gated community would want to mingle with either ones from the same class, or exclude themselves from the ‘public’ population. But when analysing the impact of each project on the public space, other facts appear:

- The prices of the lands in those areas, and the neighbourhoods surrounding are expensive, or are not affordable even to the investments oriented for the lower class. This feature will expand the gap of the social disparities when locating any future expansion of population.
- All the five projects are located in areas where the public transportation doesn't reach (despite the poor public transportation system in Amman), and high probable would never reach it (based on the current public transportation circumstances) which means they will remain excluded from the public life and would only be reachable by those who have private car, in other words, those projects are car-oriented accessible developments.
- Some of those projects are far from the existing urban areas, and the infrastructure needed to be implemented will be exclusively used for the benefit of one community –if so-called community, which means that the public space, presented in the Paths, will be accused to crucial changes in its form and function on an aerial view perspective.
- The cost and the implantation of the infrastructure for the developments located out the periphery of GAM developed areas, are the investor's responsibility –if the site

was not already connected to the public road network. However, in this case, GAM has the full rights by law to resort to land acquisition for the benefit of the project, and the cost of the acquisition is paid by the investor (GAM, 1987)²⁷. In terms of the public space, if the land(s) was public then it's used (sold) for the benefit of private, and if the land(s) was private, the owner then is obliged to sell his land for the investor, through GAM. This brings a question: Is GAM becoming a tool for the advantage of the private sector?

III. In a comparison made between the recent HUDC Housing Compounds and Gated Communities established since the 21st century, it is noted that nine projects (both HUDC and gated communities), except for the Royal Village, are established in undeveloped areas or in the early stages of urbanization, which indicate the future direction of expansion pattern and consequently the infrastructure developments

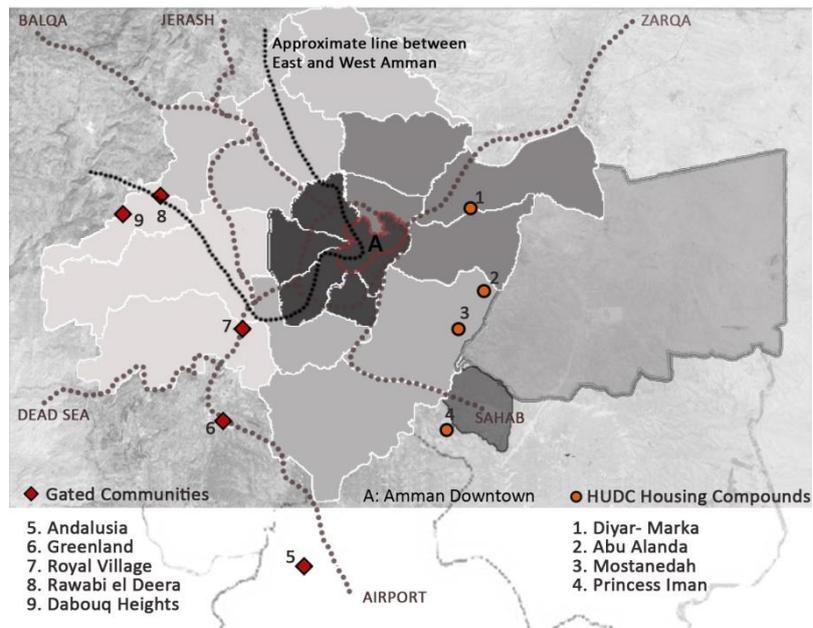


Figure 38: Locations of HUDC Housing Compounds and the Gated Communities in Amman. Data Source: Projects Official website. Graphics: Khawaja

and the influence on paths, land price, markets and services. As the map shows (Figure 38), the four projects developed by HUDC²⁸ are located at the Eastern part, while the five Gated Communities are at the Western part. In reference to (Figures 22 & 23), the Eastern part of the city is the more populated, denser and accommodates the low and medium income class. Moreover, the two projects developed by HUDC (Mosademah and Princess Iman) are located nearby or at Sahab area, which is considered a poor pocket in Amman, with a poverty rate of 14.2% in 2006 and doubled to 28.6% in 2008 (DOS, UNDP, 2012), moreover, Sahab is the second dense area of Amman (Figure 23) with 74,260 inhabitants in 13.67 km², and with the HUDC developments the density will increase in the whole area due to the development itself and the natural expansion and urbanization.

The location of the nine projects could be explained that the HUDC projects had picked those locations in order to host the population of the same class (group) together, wherein services and facilities costs fit their capabilities. On the contrary, the gated communities are placed at the western agricultural lands of the city where it is less populated, less dense and hosts mainly the high and upper-middle income classes in scattered locations. Consequently, the potential expansion patterns and the escorted 'fixed' infrastructure, land

price and living costs, will lead to a gradual increase in social disparities between the rich and the poor classes, and the social cohesion would progressively disappear (Ababsa, 2011).

However, when considering the population density of each project and its influence on the public space offered by each project, a comparison was made on one major project of each type; Andalusia Gated Community and Princess Iman Residential Compound (HUDC). The study results indicate that the density of population in the HUDC compound is 5 times the one in the gated community, plus, the ‘private’ open space for each dwelling – balcony/garden- is almost 6 sqm for the HUDC and a minimum of 100 sqm for Andalusia. This puts a huge question mark on the ratio of provided public spaces (parks and playgrounds) per population for each community, which is evident in our case study is conceived in an inverse relationship.

	Andalusia	Princess Iman Housing Compound
Plot area	800,000 sqm	156,000 sqm (approximately)
Number of dwellings	588	891 (65 Buildings)
Type of dwellings	Villa	Apartment (multi story building)
Average household size		5.6
Number of household	(588x5.6) 3,292	(891x5.6) 3,309
Density of population	0.4% (0.004)	2% (0.02)
Public services	Health Club ,Gymnasium, Tennis and Basketball courts with Walking tracks surrounded with Trees Kids club Seating areas Cafes and restaurants Clinic Swimming Pool	Park School Retail Clinic
Arial View	 <p>Figure 39: Andalusia Project plot</p>	 <p>Figure 40: Princess Iman Project Plot</p>

Table 4: Comparison study for Andalusia Gated Community and Princess Iman Residential Compound (HUDC), Data Source: (HUDC, 2015) & (Taameer, 2015)

IV. The public spaces offered by a gated community are attractive, comprehensive and diverse. However, neither the public spaces nor the community as a whole are *publicly accessible, open and uncontrolled* as characterized in the former housing compounds of Amman. This is a crucial transformation incident in the city's urban planning approach. The gated community privatizes the urban public space within its walls through controlling the entrances and exits of the compound by gates and security guards, often hired by a private company, for the exclusive use of residents. Consequently the public space within the community; streets, sidewalks, parks, markets... etc. are imposed to limited or even nought public accessibility (Ramoroka T. & Tsheola J., 2014). The policy of privatization and marketization of gated communities practiced in Amman and elsewhere, suppress the public's potential from exploring and living the quality of life in those spaces through controlling accessibility, which on the long run becomes a social segregation aspect between those who can afford paying for the public space –in its privatized form, and those who cannot.

Advertising for controlled and secured public space is a privilege often desired by those who conceive the 'public' as a threat for their privacy and property. Such private control over the public space is often justified for security reasons by creating a segregated periphery from the public life, homeless people, street vendors... etc. which are perceived as a cause of crime or 'unwanted' public. So, when the government is unable to solve poverty and crime, the social security becomes a personal responsibility (Tasan-Kok T. & Baeten G., 2012, p. 13). On the other hand, the privatization of urban/rural areas and the public spaces within the gated community is an approach used by the neoliberal government through the private sector in order to control the public space. The privatization policies adopted by the Jordanian government -and any other capitalist system globally, navigate the manipulation of the private use/ownership to lessen the public control of land which results in impoverishment of the public realm and limit access to public resources (Low, 2006, p. 84).

The quality of the public space within the gated community is often very high, to accommodate with the cost and perception of living in a comprehensive community without the urge to share the 'public' their public space, specially the parks and markets. Those public spaces are well designed and maintained, due to the efforts of the owning company who initiate a policy of obligatory maintenance fees (El-Husseinya M. & Kesseibab K., 2012). And when the government remises its responsibilities to obtain such 'qualified' public spaces, it resorts to the private sector to do it. Such policies not only cause the gradual privatization of public spaces, but also withhold the government's duties to maintain and restore public space, which therefore will be the responsibility of the residents in a gated community, through paying for private arenas.

As a conclusion, maintaining an adequate Living Space in a city requires multiple measurements and modules, ones to mention; **security (feeling secure) and qualified public spaces**, which are both theoretically the responsibility of the public sector; the government,

the municipalities and the city planners. Both the government and the public sector can achieve the 'sustainable' social life through social security programs, crime extermination, social equity and spatial planning. But, when they fail or nonfeasance their role to attain such prospects, the urge for a 'partner' become a necessity. The partner in our case is the private sector whose main goal is profit and power; power over the government to insure the maximum profit.

Therefore, the reasons for the 'production' of a gated community in Amman was justified to 1) insure security through controlling the accessibility of 'public' to the 'community' space, 2) enhance the quality of the public space through creating private public spaces, comprehensive and attractive in their functions and facilities and 3) offer luxuries housing dwellings based on international standards and modernity. As regards of the public space, the gated community insure the maintenance and the quality of the public space and securing the accessibility to public space in terms or parks, pools, playgrounds... etc. because both the government and the municipality had withdrew their responsibilities to maintain and preserve adequate open public spaces in the city, and turned to the private sector to facilitate such spaces to those who can pay for them. The threats of privatizing the public spaces by perceiving them as a 'personal' responsibility of the individuals through hiring private firms causes a gradual loss of the public space, not only within gated communities, but as a governmental strategy elsewhere, and destruct the social cohesion.

When applying the Triad Theories - examined in chapter one, on the production of Gated Community; it is produced due to the influence of the four spaces; economic, political, conceived and social on each other, in addition to the impacts being produced by the gated community itself on those spaces. The process of producing the gated community is therefore a result of all

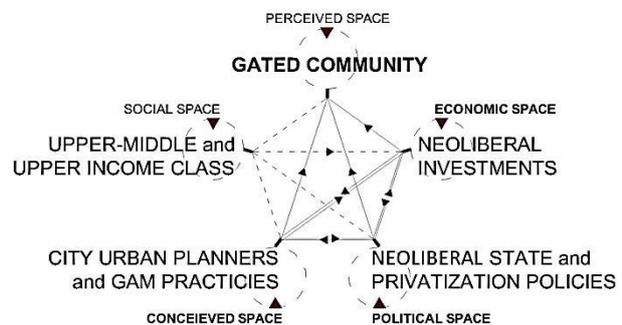


Figure 41: The spaces producing A Gated Community.
Graphics: Khawaja

components, features, powers and prospects combined; the power of private institution over the municipalities to set convenient policies, the unqualified public spaces led to producing private adequate ones, the failure of the government to achieve social equality and cohesion resulted in widening the gap between the emerged communities; the poor and the rich, and the gradual transformation toward certain type of urban developments and 'public' spaces. But why promoting a public space is important in Amman's gated communities? Answering this question can be observed through experiencing and living the public space of Amman, particularly the parks and the pathways, on which shall be elaborated on in chapter Four.

Chapter 3

Amman, Scenes of Exploiting the Public Space

The neoliberal consensus that has emerged since the 1970's in USA and later adopted by the Jordanian government provokes to withdraw the state's obligations for public provision in the various fields such; housing, health care, education, transportation and public utilities to expatriate them -instead- to the private sector (Harvey, 2014). The public Space is part and parcel of this provision, wherein the Jordanian government -under the neoliberal economic policies, enhance privatization practices through the private sector and semi-public arenas. Consequently, the public space fell in the banner between the institutional framework of the public sector and the destructive practices of the private.

In the three terminologies of Public Space described in chapter one, three *minimum* notions should be attained to call a space 'Public'; **accessible, owned and powered by the public**. If the Space loses one or more of these notions, a Public Space forfeits from its conception. The creation of new forms of 'Public Spaces' that assures the mechanism of a neoliberal localization eliminating and/or intensifying surveillance of urban public spaces, the public space in fact is facing a gradual transformation of losing its pre-conceptions (Brenner N. & Theodore N., 2002).

Under a neoliberalism umbrella, the creation of new privatised spaces, the construction of mega projects that reconfigure the land-use patterns and establishing new forms of spaces that replace the traditional notion of 'public space' through reforming the public's perception and method of employment within the neo-public spaces, are causing destructive impact through transforming the public space into private or semi-public spaces, controlled, secured, monitored with limited accessibility.

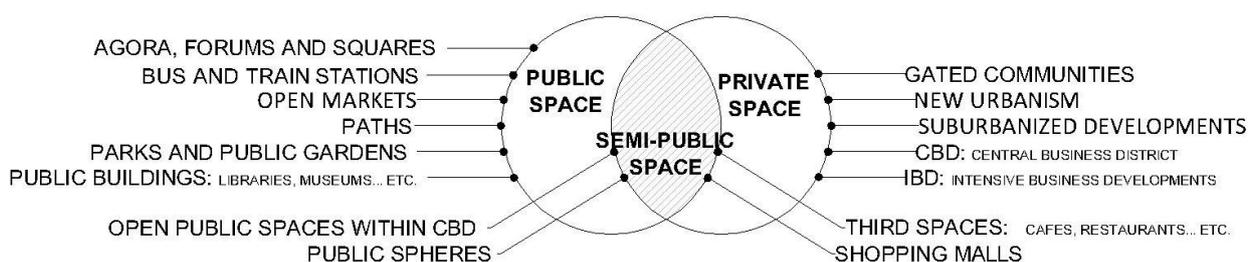


Figure 42: Illustration demonstrates examples of public, private and semi-public spaces within Amman urban fabric. Graphics: Khawaja

3.1 Squares and the Notion of Public Spheres and Democracy

Jordan had passed through several political peeks for internal and external incidents; accordingly the public life of Amman had passed through several transformations. The two peeks to mention are; first, the democratic openness in the 1989 and second when King Abdullah II ascended the throne in 1999. On the former, the year 1989 was considered an

important inflection point separating the two phases: the state of the public sector, and free-region lead by capitalism (Radicaly, 2012). The implementations of The Structural Adjustment Austerity Program²⁹ had led to violent demonstration and erupted riots spread across the country in what was called “Habbet Nisan”³⁰, which couldn’t stop the implantation of the program but had reintroduced the political life to the country through reintroducing the parliamentary elections and legalization of political parties (Ryan, 1998).

Since the 1999, Jordan had witnessed several protests and manifestation for local affairs (ex. 2011-2013: due to the big increase in oil prices, unemployment, inflation, and corruption) and regional affairs (ex. 2000-2005: Second Intifada in Palestine, 2003: Iraq war and 2006: Lebanon war). However, the political public life faces couple of disruptive policies and acts causing the weakening of the public political life in both the open public spaces, and within the political arenas. This study focuses on examining the Square as a Public Space from a political perspective, through examining the contributors affecting its production, and the transformative implementations.

Unlike Cairo and Beirut, Amman’s political life is totally different in its perception and history, weaved with lots of contradictions, transformations and ever-evolving policies. Several causes had influenced the political life and public’s interventions such as:

- The diverse composition of population whether from the perspective of their social classes or origins (Jordanian tribes, Palestinians with Jordanian nationality, Palestinian refugees, Circassians and Chechens...);
- The fact that Jordan is a Kingdom and the King represent the highest authority unlike the Republic of Egypt and the Lebanese Republic;
- Jordan geographic location surrounded by war-zones within different time laps and variables;
- The neoliberal and capitalist economic approaches and the ideologies directly influencing the political practices;
- The Acts and policies that are oriented to paralyze the political public life;
- The public’s perception of contributing in the political life through Institutions of the Civil Society, the political Parties, Associations and Union... etc.;
- The role of parliament and ministries in observing the public’ demands.

Considering the square as an open space, relatively large in scale and obtain the characteristic of a public space in terms of accessibility and ownership, Amman has two squares (Plaza); the Hashemite Plaza and the Nakheel Plaza. The Hashemite Plaza was first constructed in the 1986 in the downtown area opposite to the Roman Amphitheatre and the Odeon, facing the Citadel hill, and suited along a vivid commercial spine (Qoraish Street) and GAM former headquarters. Although the Plaza was unique and one of a kind in Amman at that time occupying an area of 11,000 sqm, however, it miscarried since its early presence to fulfil its contextual meaning, either in the cultural or the sacred dimensions as

the space was arid and tiled in white stone giving an impression of plain and bareness, and the sociocultural pattern of Amman had led to attracting the individual kibitzers and loafers rather than mature public groups (Amireh, 1996). The Hashemite Plaza was well-known of hosting ceremonial and musical carnivals, especially being an entrance to the Amphitheatre and unlike the Nakheel Plaza which embodied a 'manifestation' character.

The Nakheel Plaza is set at the end of the commercial district of downtown Amman, 1.5 km to the west of the Hashemite Plaza, making the Hussein mosque intermediating. The plaza is part of the GAM rehabilitation project for Ras El-Ein³¹ area, which covers an area over 143,000sqm, and creates an 'urban island' between the two routes going to the west or east Amman. It is located at the lowest elevation of the district, facing Jabal³² Amman (western Amman) from the North and Jabal al- Ashrafeyeh (eastern Amman) from the South. The area of Ras El-Ein was a pass-way for Amman former water stream, which was paved and replaced with a highway in the 1980's. Such location makes the plaza significant for both recreational and political prospects due to several reasons:

- It occupies considerably a large area;
- Well-connected from different directions with the sub-districts both the eastern and the western, so it functions as an intermediate collector common node;
- Accessible for pedestrian, public transportation and private cars;
- Visually connected with the neighbourhoods of both mountain sides;
- Being located within a cultural campus;
- The presence of Al-Husseini Mosque³³ made from the Plaza an assembly point for demonstrations especially in Fridays afternoon -when it is most crowded.

Elaborating on the latter, when persecution, poverty and social inequality increases, and the democratic life becomes interrogated, so the manifestation of such a powerful space (Nakheel Plaza) would offer the public an opportunity to intervene in the public political life and a 'tool' to confront against the ruling regime. Such an opportunity –granted by the plaza- could cause an indirect and/or direct threat to the regime, and dismantle the state power in controlling public's political position in its conventional conception, which consequently disrupt the affiliation with the economic space. In a case like Amman, the demonstration of the Space (Nakheel Plaza) to be an arena for participating in the political life, freedom of speech and to impress the economic practices and approaches is never accepted in a government whose political program is 'operated' by a neoliberal economy. The political program of neoliberalism as stated by Held includes:

"The extension of the market to more and more areas of life; the creation of a state stripped of 'excessive' involvement both in the economy and the provision of opportunities; the curtailment of the power of certain groups (for Instance, trade unions) to press their aims and goals; and the construction of a strong government to enforce law and order" (Held, 2006, p. 201).

Thus, under the examined political and economic umbrella, the government of Jordan had put two strategies to devastate the Life Space and the social movements in plazas through; **first legislating acts and regulation that control the public life in public spaces**, semi-public spaces, unions, media... etc. and **second securing the public space**. To elaborate briefly on the former, the Jordanian government had issued several acts that fetter the activities of political parties, labour and professional unions and the individual public, especially in a public space.

Two crucial acts that directly threat the public from liberality in public spaces are; *the Penalty Act, and the Public Assembly Law*. The Penalty Act³⁴ indicates that “the mob of seven persons or more is illegal if they had directly or indirectly violated the public security or caused fear to the people, and they are accordingly sentenced to penalty (payment or imprisonment)”. This act was supported by the Public Assembly Law³⁵ that indicates: “any public meeting or demonstration requires an approval by administrative governor 48 hours prior to the event, and the request shall include the names, addresses and signatures of the organisers in addition to mentioning the aim, the place and the timing of the public meeting or demonstration, otherwise the event is considered illegal and disobedient are sentenced to penalty”.

Under this framework, though the public space remained open, accessible and owned by public, however, the occupation of public space was sentenced to superintendence since neither the *Penalty Act* nor the *Public Assembly Law* had precisely defined what a mob or a public meeting is. In practice, all scenes of public meetings are becoming under the threat of governance -if the cause is determined illegal, or the people who have the right to object by the name of sociocultural or public morality disrupt or claim of fear. Therefore, the urge for alternative ‘public’ spaces had emerged in several formulas; third spaces, public spheres, political Salons, and cultural centres... etc. which are completely different in their form and function from the conceptual principle of the Public Space.

The emerged alternatives were found in two main scenarios to mention; governmental organizations and NGOs³⁶. Both had different prospects and workout agendas, but the goal was to **improve the interventions of public in the social life** and strengthen national cohesion around a single reaffirmed Jordanian identity but within a monitored arena. However, we shall pay tribute that these associations are devoid of political culture (Ababsa, 2011, pp. 39-64). As a matter of fact, one of the most well-known governmental interpositions was the “We are All Jordan” Initiative announced in July, 2006. The initiative presents itself:

“For a nation to achieve good governance there must be **spaces for people to express their concerns, participate in their own development and form national consensus**. “We Are All Jordan” forums are an initiative of His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein, created to **give Jordanians from all walks of life an unprecedented opportunity to speak out**. In July 2006, “We Are All Jordan Youth” Forum gathered

750 Jordanians from a variety of sectors gathered at the Dead Sea for a series of discussions and voting sessions, to create a list of the most urgent issues facing the country.” (Royal-Hashemite-Court, 2001-2015)

The popularity and success, if so-called success, of those neo-spaces were due to the concern of tearing apart the social security if the protests and demonstration long lasted with no alternative arenas to engage the public in the political life. Meanwhile the public Space was embodied with drastic laws to regulate the Life Space taking place. Such paradigms had shifted the intentions of public from rehabilitating the public space as a public political arena, to new alternatives controlled, monitored and managed by selective group of people, and as called by Habermas: Public Spheres.

The second strategy by the government aiming to devastate the life space in public spaces is through securing the public space. Such practices were well observed after the 2011-2013 protests in Amman throughout several locations. Regardless why the protests had happened, who attended, when and where they took place or how the security forces or police managed to deal with the incident, the point to shed the light on is the consequences that resulted in fencing the public space (ex. Squares) to prevent any future attempts for protests. Some recent sights took place in Al-Nakheel Plaza, Midan Jamal Abd-Naser (Dakhaliyeh Circle) and the Fourth Circle. While fencing Al Nakheel plaza was temporary and only prior to any suspected or planned protest, the case for Midan Jamal Abd-Naser and the Fourth Circle was on the contrary. Taking the later as an example, the Fourth Circle is suited along Zahran Street³⁷ intermediating Abdoun cable-stayed bridge and the Prime Ministry building, which the latter made it a destination for protests. In summer, 2012 the government had fenced the circle with high metal bars painted in black to prevent such events to take place, and prohibit the public from using the space.

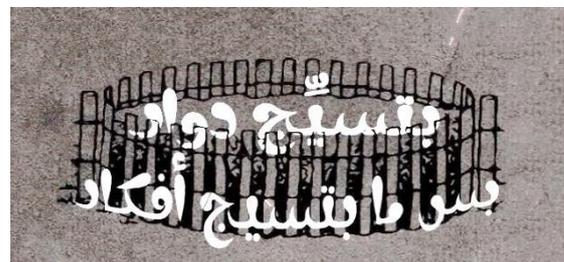


Figure 43: Graphics by Nidal Khairi demonstrates the event of fencing the Fourth Circle in Amman in the 2012. The graphics says: “You fence a Circle, but You don’t fence ideas”. (Khairi, 2012)

In a conclusion, the production of open public spaces such as squares and plazas are results of the partnership between politics and economy, and their influences on society to adjust accordingly. Thus, neoliberalism is a theory of political-economic practices that could be implemented in any module. It is understood as an accumulation strategy aimed at restoring class power and strictly limits the public liberties in any political-economic mandates. Neoliberalism had “primarily worked as a system of justification and legitimation for whatever needed to be done to achieve this goal” (Harvey, 2005, p. 19).

3.2 The Market Space and the Freedom of Accessibility

Based on the introduction made on the market space and the potential threats caused by capitalism, the market space of Amman is facing destructive transformations under the adopted neoliberal policies causing changes in daily base life-style and the urban fabric of the city. "Such policies required both politically and economically the construction of a neoliberal market-based populist culture of differentiated consumerism and individual libertarianism" (Harvey, 2005, p. 42). In this paper, two transformations sceneries are studied thoroughly; emerging shopping malls and the shopping pedestrian-boulevards.

I. Shopping Malls

Amman's commercial activities were in constant improvement, apart from the crises periods the city had passed through. The commercial use divisions in Amman were divided into; central business district presented in Amman downtown, main commercial spines (streets), secondary commercial complexes, local commercial complexes and wholesale markets (Ziod, 2012, p. 74). The commercial areas were comprehensive offering multi-use functions such as outlets, retail shops, offices, institutions, cafes and restaurants. In the 1970's, commercial complexes had started introducing new architectural phenomenon to the city presented in Multi-story and high rise buildings for offices, retail, banks, hotels and services... etc. (Al-Tal, 2006). Both the commercial districts and the mixed-use buildings were randomly distributed in Amman areas based on the natural need upon population density, with different characteristics in the form and addressed society class, but, keeping a main common character of the market to resume space open, publicly accessible and uncontrolled.

In the early 2000's, a new shopping notion has emerged represented in shopping malls. The first shopping mall opened in Abdoun, the elitist area of Amman, offering a brand new shopping approach to the city. The mall had introduced international brands to the city, exclusive for the rich social class, in addition to few restaurants, café and children playing area set up in a luxurious striking architecture, closed and secured. The mall was very successful in the beginning (before it was abandon and shut down 10 years later) which challenged similar 'productions' to emerge, started with Mecca Mall, opened in 2003.

Mecca mall is considered the first mega shopping mall in Amman, revolutionizing the concept of shopping through introducing massive indoor areas with various facilities that meets all age groups, different social classes, for shopping and entertaining facilities in addition to a large food court (first time presented in Jordan). The success of both projects had opened the doors wide to ever-growing shopping malls phenomena in Amman till today. The table below present some well-known shopping malls in west Amman.

Name	Construction date	Location	Area (sqm)	Facilities
Abdoun Mall CLOSED	2001	Abdoun	25,000	Retail shops, children area, cafes & restaurants
Mecca Mall	2003	Khalda	195,000	Retail shops, children area, Entertainment, Cinema, fitness centre, supermarket, cafes & restaurants, car parking
City Mall	2007	Khalda	160,000	Retail shops, Cinema, children area, hyper market, cafes & restaurants, car parking
Baraka mall	2008	Sweifeih	40,000	Retail shops, Cinema, cafes & restaurants, car parking
TAJ LIFESTYLE MALL	2011	Abdoun	150,000	Retail shops, Cinema, Super- market, indoor/outdoor spaces, cafes & restaurants, car parking
Galleria Mall	2013	Sweifeih	NA	Retail shops, Entertainment, Hyper market, cafes & restaurants, car parking

Table 5: Popular Shopping Malls in West Amman. Data source: Official projects websites.

In addition to the listed shopping malls, there are over 30 shopping malls in Amman found in different forms and offering various functions addressing shopping and entertainment facilities for various social classes; either as complex multi-story building combining retail, grocery and entertainment facilities, or so-called shopping malls that simply offer different retail facilities with common indoor circulation area announcing itself as a 'shopping mall'. Therefore, it's hard to determine the number of shopping malls since it gets more and more tangled with the notion of hypermarkets, commercial centres and the emerging commercial chains announcing themselves as shopping malls. Nevertheless, the purpose of the study is to indicate why this phenomena had emerged and how does it threat the public space of the city.

First, the definition of a shopping mall varies from a one scholar to another, and in many countries the term 'mall' is replaced with 'centre' depending on the context. Nevertheless, there are common terminologies in both terms defining the shopping mall-shopping centre;

"A shopping centre is a group of retail and other commercial establishments that is planned, developed, owned and managed as a single property". (ICSC³⁸)

The rise of shopping malls is not solitary phenomenon of Amman. Among the Middle East, Dubai's model of urbanism had offered exceptional examples of progressive urbanity that had eluded other urban centers in the region (El-Sheshtawy, 2010). Such a model of

urbanism taking place in Amman begging of 2000's was represented in the various representations of neoliberal economic practices in the city, such as; gated communities, commercial districts, exclusive CBDs, towers, business parks... etc. which was strengthened by the social structure and the political approaches of Amman. Theoretically speaking, the shopping mall represents the 'dream-world' of capitalism (Benjamin, 1982/1999), where life revolves around consumption; 'I shop therefore I am', and possessive individualism together construct a world of pseudo-satisfactions that is superficially exciting but hollow at its core (Harvey, 2005, p. 170). Moreover, it provides a model of neoliberal spatiality addressing an identical image of shopping life-style worldwide. This can be read within the slogans and advertisements; "Let the Shopping Begin!" *Abdali Psc billboards*, "One shopping destination" *Mecca Mall*, "The Ultimate One-Stop Destination for All Shopping Lovers" *City Mall*. And no surprise it meets the orientation of shopping course globally such as "Your stores. Your place" *Lincoln Mall, USA* and "Makes you feel like shopping" *White Oaks Mall, Canada*.

When analysing Amman's shopping malls, whether in their luxurious and modern or the moderate popular forms, general characteristics are observed which consequently represent why the shopping mall had become an ever-growing trend and threat at the same time. The characteristics are embodied in:

- Indoor space, covered, climatically-controlled;
- Monitored place, controlled accessibility with security guards;
- Blocking the visual connectivity with the city unless through private shops' windows;
- Reliance on international brands and imported commodities;
- Large Food courts served with food chains restaurants;
- Prototype layout; retail shops are accessible from a common circulation area, with no private access (except rare);
- Retail, general services, recreational and entertainment facilities;
- Car parking

1. Unlike the gulf region, where the urge of shopping malls as a climatically-controlled space was justified due to the extremely hot weather and high humidity, Amman climate is considerably moderate with high possibilities of walking outdoor throughout the different times of the day/month/season. However, the justification for closed spaces was also linked with the character of controlled accessibility for social and security reasons, precisely emerged after the 2005 bombing in Amman³⁹. A classic image of a shopping mall entrance is provided with a gate, a detection alarm check-point for security reasons and security guards whose responsibility is to authorise the 'welcomed' and exclude others by practicing a 'no entry policy' for the unwelcomed candidates, typically the young males whether in groups or as individuals unless accompanied with a female, or family. Such a practice was favoured by parents or individual females who believed they are better 'protected' and safe from

potential verbal or physical abuse while shopping since the accessibility is controlled and the space is monitored through CCTV in addition to security guards.

2. A study made by the JordanTimes⁴⁰ indicates that Amman is non-pedestrian friendly city, which can be easily identified when experiencing obstacles, holes and badly paved sidewalks. Therefore by offering a paved, clean, wide, well maintained and unpolluted pedestrian path within an indoor space, the mal design and unmaintained outdoor sidewalks of the city are overcome. On the other hand, pedestrian (shoppers) find themselves in a safe place avoiding the vehicles and motorways hazards, especially that the city doesn't strictly apply a pedestrian policy to control low speed (less than 40 km/h) or even sufficient crossing lines. This is a crucial point behind the popularity of 'mushrooming' shopping malls in Amman for both low-income or elite classes and different age groups.

3. The shopping course by itself is not sustainable to generate the popularity and full occupancy of the shopping mall. Therefore, the aspiration of making it occupy everyday-life was strengthened by offering various activities and services that attract shoppers and non-shoppers. Taking the dining area as a fine example; large seated food courts surrounded with variety of restaurants offering fast food -symbolizing the ultimate scenery of globalization, in addition to the traditional and international cuisine. The food courts were applauded with high popularity and success for several reasons; the possibility of serving the same table with different menus offering a wider range of prices and choices for different age groups and backgrounds. Such a concept wouldn't occur elsewhere, neither in the traditional market space nor in the intermittent restaurants.

In terms of the obtainable facilities, almost all the shopping malls -mentioned in the table 5- offer banking services represented in customer service and ATM machines from 9 am till 9 pm, namely after-working hours, which is not found except in the shopping mall (the customer service). Another vital characteristics are the entertainment facilities offered for various age groups; cinema halls, children playing areas, theme parks, bowling, gaming and even fitness centres, in addition to the general services such as; telecom, laundry, pharmacy... etc. Also, the shopping mall offer public worship space, in addition to public toilets. Such facilities had attracted thousands of people, shoppers and non-shoppers, making from the shopping mall a vivid, lively and dynamic place favoured by different generations. Consequently, since the retail shops and services are accessible from a common circulation area, the notion of shopping had arisen through implanting kiosks, fast-to-shop commodities and attractive window shopping articulated within the various facilities.

From an economic perspective, under capitalism, the shopping mall had implemented a dream-world of wealthy and individually glamorous community, even though in the case of Amman the phenomenon had tackled both the rich and the middle class community. Yet, "it provides a different kind of 'collective dream', one that connects the idea of happiness and community to that of material consumption: from storefronts, posters and enticing cafes,

everything points to fashion, food and relaxation as the ultimate source of both individual and collective happiness” (Pusca, 2009). From a social perspective, shopping malls are functioning as, commercial, recreational, entertainment, as well as social centres in one space. Such comprehensive, clean, huge, and secured place was favoured than the city’s poorly maintained public spaces, outdoor retail sidewalks, few public entertainment spaces... etc., giving a shopping mall a significant feature, and shifting its notion from an exclusive space for shopping to Life Space.

Under this umbrella, the public space of Amman was under direct and indirect threats. First, the urban fabric represented in paths has been devastated since the accessibility to shopping malls -especially those located in western Amman- highly depend on private cars (the public transportation is poor and barely connecting the major highways). The enormous numbers of cars arriving and departing 7/7 had caused immense traffic jams on secondary roads, highways and the entire City networks.

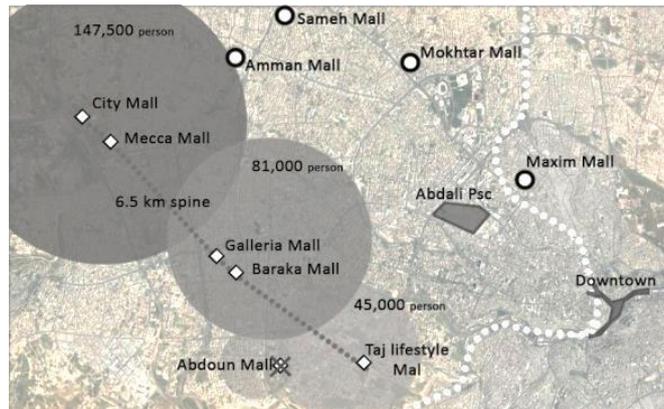


Figure 44: The six studied shopping malls are aligned on a 6.5 km spine with total population of 282,500 people (the population refers only to the areas each shopping mall belongs to). Population Data source: (DOS, 2014) Graphics: Khawaja

On the other hand, each shopping mall provides abundant underground or outdoor parking spaces, enabling thousands of cars to park. For example, Mecca mall, that is suited in a residential area, provides a ‘parking tower’ for up to 600 cars in addition to 300,000 sqm of open parking spaces from the four sides (Koshbani, 2011), and just 600 meters away from the City mall that provides indoor parking space for up to 2000 cars (City Mall website). This consequently caused car pools, pollution, noise and pressure on the infrastructure especially that majority of these shopping malls are not suited in commercial areas but within residential neighbourhoods, or nearby.

Second, transforming the Shopping Space into Life Space create social and cultural changes mainly related to consumption patterns where shopping becomes a way of spending free time, even if the act of ‘buying’ wasn’t the major activity (Heffner K. & Twardzik M., 2014).

Third, offering wide varieties of third places⁴¹ in a single indoor space for people to come together in their free times to meet, eat and socialize, would pull-out the public from the originally integrated third places within the open public space of the city’s urban fabric, into enclosed, private, controlled and secured places.

Fourth, the shopping malls are functioning as an entertainment, cultural and recreational centres throughout cinema ballrooms, bowling halls, fitness centres, children playing areas...

etc. which all together form an attraction factor to different age groups but mostly the young generation. Pulling the young generation away from the city's public social-life into secured closed spaces would upsurge the distinction of the social pattern and create a monocular social-fabric, especially between those who can afford paying for private cultural and entertainment facilities, and those who can't.

Fifth, relying on the private sector to 'produce' cultural and recreational facilities in addition to adequate children's playing areas indicates that the public sector represented in GAM and Ministry of Culture are remising their initial role of creating and maintaining sufficient similar public spaces. This notion is observed through examining the popularity of such private spaces, especially in western Amman, in contrast to the poor conditions of open public spaces. The fourth chapter of this study shall elaborate more on the quality and perception of Amman Public Spaces, through a survey made on designed population indicating their experience.

It is well conceived that shopping malls are a result of socio-economic transformation and since a neoliberal economy and political principles are tangled together, implanting the culture of shopping and consumption as a life-style would restructure the Life Space in its radical notion. Moreover, such frameworks were in parallel with the political and economic framework -explained in chapter two, that dramatically have increased poverty and high costs of living, leading to gradual shifts in the notion of belonging and citizenship from public affairs to individual affairs, to insure the daily-life basic needs, which end up in causing legitimization of the role of self-interest in the public's political life.

II. Shopping pedestrian-boulevard

Note: the analysis of this project relay to a big extends on the Demographic and Social Pattern analysis introduced in chapter 2.1, examining the social patterns of eastern and western Amman).

In the 2007, GAM had announced for an urban rehabilitation project named: *Wakalat Street: the first pedestrian-only street in Amman*. Wakalat Street is located in the commercial district of Sweifeih⁴² and was formerly an asphalt paved street with narrow sidewalks and commercial shops on both sides for a length of 375 meter, and width between 16-30 meters. The objective of the project as stated by the designer is "to create a street that is inclusive, welcoming people from different parts of Amman and at the same time, creating a vibrant urban space that wins back public life from shopping malls to the "real" Streets of the City"⁴³ (Daher, 2013). As a matter of fact, the project had provided a pedestrian-friendly street, where people can move freely and safe from the menace of automobile traffic, and enjoy the urban life of the neighbourhood, through designing a paved street, interlocking concrete units, trees beds, fixed benches and assembly nodes consists of street furniture or sculptures all surrounded with the kiosks, cafes, restaurants

and various retail shops on the ground floor, offices and firms in the multi-story buildings in addition to cultural and entertainment public events.

As any urban project, Wakalat Street had its lovers and opponent distracters, successes and failures. The study is based on a hypothesis: Wakalat Street had passed through two phases; a glisten phase followed by a deteriorating phase, based on the socio-economic impact on the Wakalat Space and vis-à-vis. Derived from its name Wakalat, which mean: "Agencies", the street initially embraced expensive third places and international brands (ex. Zara, Mango, Geox, Adidas...etc.) first introduced to Amman even before the creation of shopping malls, thus, the potential social class benefiting from the commercial features of the project is the upper-middle and the high class. Therefore, to create equality and generate social cohesion, the initial design had offered public benches, decks, terraces, assembly points in addition to the stairs to enable the public use and live the experience of the urban space (in its abstract notion beyond the fact it is in a commercial district). These features were the successes of the project –glisten phase- as a public space, and at the same time its failure as a commercial space – deteriorating phase⁴⁴, at least as claimed by the investors and businesses.

Starting with the positive impacts, the project had successfully improved the sociocultural life by bring people together; people from different age groups, origins, genders, socio-economic backgrounds and cultures, where they all share a common space any time of the day whether experiencing the space from a café outdoor tables, or the street public benches. Wakalat had offered an inconsistent model with the stereotype of the socio-economic segregation characterizing Amman public life for the past years. Moreover, the trees beds along the street and the vendors' initiatives of providing vegetation surface had created a unique cosy and intimate atmosphere, adding a special character to the whole neighbourhood and the culture of enjoying an urban public space.

On the other hand, Amman mightily lacks open public spaces integrated within its urban fabric, of which Wakalat had succeed to offer a safe and comfy pedestrian-friendly space apart from public parks and gardens. Therefore, Wakalat space had attracted cultural and recreational events to take place, benefiting from the car-free and large open space (relatively), especially during summer time, which was one of the most important reasons behind the success of the project.

However, the successful experience of the social life had imposed 'unplanned' pressures on the economic life and the traditional sociocultural mentality, causing dramatic transformations on the whole neighbourhood, the Lived Space and Economic Space and Wakalat Street itself. As a matter of fact, the whole socio-



Figure 45: Wakalat Street location, Parking lots and the three shopping malls in the neighbourhood. Graphics: Khawaja

economic setup was questioned and criticized by both parties causing neo-alternatives of restructuring and reproducing the public space of Wakalat Street.

First, it is crucial to point out that Amman is a non-pedestrian city; neither in adopting the culture of walking nor in providing sufficient walking sidewalks and open public spaces. Hence, owners of the commercial shops (with exceptions to the cafes and restaurants) were the first to attack the project, claiming that their 'customers' who are accustomed to the notion of drive-to-shop, find Wakalat Street inadequate and hindering their shopping habits. Such claims can't be justified for several reasons, to mention:

- There are over five open parking lots integrated nearby the Wakalat Street, in addition to GAM first automatic car-parking building with capacity for 260 cars, which both sum up in numerous car parking lots;
- In a simple equation, the time required to shop in a shopping mall -from the parking moment till destination- could take much longer than the time needed in Wakalat due to the availability of nearby parking;
- GAM had even offered 'Valet Parking' service at both entrances of Wakalat, minimising the walking distance to 187.5 meter (375/2).

Second, the prices levels whether for the commodities or cafes/restaurants meet with the purchasing power of the upper class, whose social behaviour patterns dramatically distinguish from those who come just to hang around (mainly the low income or lower-middle classes whose purchasing power is less). Consequently the latter group remained repulsive, excluded and unwelcomed, causing radical impacts on the whole system and experience. Therefore, based on businesses, social and even security demands the whole public space was threatened by a restructuring procedure as follows:

- Benches, decks and any potential setting public areas was removed by GAM;
- A Police kiosk was placed for security reasons;
- Street vendors and beggars were strictly monitored and banned.

Such destructive socio-economic practices made on the public space had changed the whole concept and image of the initial design and objectives, turning it into exclusive space for the 'fortunate' beneficiary class. Yet, neither succeeded in freshen the economy nor enrich the social cohesion, simply because most of



Figure 46: Wakalat street initial design presenting the lockouts. Source: (Aljafari, 2014)

the brands and shops had already opened new branches in the shopping malls (previously mentioned) by the time the latter became the premiere choice for shopping. Namely, the shoppers had simply shifted their destination entirely whether Wakalat was pedestrian or not, and this is proven when analysing the economic growth of Amman commercial areas, either through profit or the number of commercial stores⁴⁵ (Ziod, 2012).

Nevertheless, disqualifying the public space as precedence in GAM's practices and policies was even clearer in the latest adjustment applied on Wakalat Street in 2014, whereas it re-opened one lane for cars to access through Wakalat. The project is criticized for the following reasons:

- GAM practices failed to preserve the public space, favouring investment interest over the public interest;
- GAM plays a negative role in the social life of the city by emphasizing on social segregation through urban planning, instead of restoring public spaces and recreational projects that could strengthen the social cohesion;
- GAM claims that allowing cars to cross Wakalat would improve the economic growth along the strip; however, the designed car movement allow one lane car to pass, prohibiting car parking and limiting parking lots for loading and unloading. How can such a design achieve economic growth, wherein it performs no more than car passageway, penetrating the pedestrian space;
- By the time the project was completed, another 'superior' shopping mall was already opened 150 meters away, raising the number of shopping malls up to three along 830 meter length. Mainly all the brands in Wakalat have branches in the new Galleria Mall.



Figure 47: Wakalat Street under reconstructions, opening one lane for cars and removing all benches. Source: (Alghad newspaper, 2014)

The consequences of implementing the project (since its former version) made disagreeable influence on the neighbourhood public space by creating numerous pool parks and traffic jams either by to those who head to Wakalat or to the neighbourhood in general, and this is certainly not the fault and of the project. The objective of raising the awareness and culture of walking to experience the city's urban space, whether for shopping or entertainment, wasn't actually associated with spatial planning policies to improve public transportation and pedestrian sidewalks in Amman in general. So, even if Wakalat Street remained pedestrian, still the accessibility from and to the site remained primary dependent on cars. This puts a question mark on the competence of GAM spatial planning policies.

As a conclusion, although Wakalat Street had functioned as an open space, however both the socio-economic pattern and the sociocultural pattern of Amman had pursued impulsive

practices embodied in the non-acceptance and exclusions one another, which unfortunately the public space of Wakalat couldn't go beyond and improve. In the contrary, it had stressed the ideology of shopping and consumption by recreating a shopping pedestrian-boulevard.

The latest adjustment applied on Wakalat Street put a huge question mark on the planning approaches of the city that is obviously supporting privatized spaces that looks public, but secured, controlled and powered by private investors, unlike the open urban spaces that remain open, accessible and public elsewhere like the downtown.

3.3 The Paths and the Deflecting of Public Space

Setting up Paths is a the most crucial part in the process of urban planning; it is followed by infrastructure, buildings, functions, circulation and method of movement in the city... etc., therefore, it the most challenging part to change or restructure after being implanted, street and road pattern is the most permanently city feature, more so than the lot structure or the built environment (Tonnelat, 2010). Paths also determine the relationships between several components of the urban fabric, their influences on one another, and the possible future amendments. It's the future image of the space, the present and the past where everything evolve around it, therefore the decision making is critical, substantial and must insure sustainability. The aim of this study is **to illustrate the *image of the city* through its Paths as a public space**. Moreover, **elaborate on the role of the various spaces** (explained in the Triad Theories; perceived, conceived, social, political and economic spaces) **in producing the Paths, and the threats facing it due to the mal forethought planning and practices**. The methodology shall examine the several policies and practices taken and their influence on the public space (paths), the resultant circulation pattern and consequently the impact on the public life.



Figure 48: Major Street in East Amman. No sidewalks or street furniture. Source: Khawaia



Figure 49: Major Street in West Amman. Availability of sidewalks and street furniture. Source: Khawaja



Figure 50: Major Street in Elite-West Amman. Well maintained sidewalks and street furniture. Source: Khawaia

In Amman, the urban planning and the Paths infrastructure construction works are primary the responsibility of the GAM, while the Ministry of Public Works and Housing collaborates in mega and/or specific projects. Also, in some cases, GAM resorts to NGOs and the private sector for technical and financial assistant. Regardless who was the actual implementer,

living in Amman and experiencing its neighbourhoods via a vehicle or by foot, a person could perceive several perspectives of the city; it's a car oriented city, pedestrian unfriendly, developed road network and infrastructure (relatively to a city in a developing country), pedestrian sidewalks are immature, public transportation is limited and modest (relatively to the city's size, population growth, quality of service and coverage range), ever-growing traffic jams specially in Summer time and peak hours, the several on-hold construction sites that occupy strategic locations in the city causing traffic jams, detours and deforming the image of the city. Moreover, one could observe a huge paradox in the quality of public space embodied in the Paths particularly between East and West Amman, and within the west areas themselves. There are several reasons behind this scenery; the institutional framework and practices of GAM and related Ministries, the conditions of public transportation and the role of private sector and NGOs of which shall be examined throughout the study.

On the other hand, GAM had developed several strategies for developing and maintaining the Paths network through partnerships with the NGOs or reliance on the private sector. One crucial policy of financing Infrastructure and Services is published in Amman Master Plan: GAM Development Charge Policy:

“Requires project developers to pay a proportional share of the infrastructure and urban service capacity that is required for their projects. **The cost of infrastructure and service upgrades and extensions will be recovered from the users of those services in proportion** to the demand that each user or project places on the service networks” (GAM, 2008, p. 76).

I. The Institutional Framework and Practices of GAM

The efforts of GAM to maintain the road network and expand city connectivity are obvious, especially with the latest Master Plan wherein major expansion corridors were nominated and themes for intensifications and densification were put. However, the institutional framework and policies were not fully efficient and competent in terms of the relation between sidewalks and street, giving the city a fragmented image, pedestrian unfriendly and having indiscriminate in organization, listed below are some major reasons:

- GAM follows the Road Categorization Policy published by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, however in GAM's detailed plans, specifications and detailed drawings for the exact widths and relationships between streets and sidewalks are missing. Consequently, it leaves the door open for individual interpretation when constructed. (Manasrah, 2014, p. 110)
- The ratio of sidewalks width to the street's width detailed in GAM regulations does not coincide with the Jordanian National Building Council (JNBC). For example, in

GAM's FAQ and regulations if the car-path width is 3.25 meter (one lane), the pedestrian sidewalks shall be 1.5 meters each side (total street width 6.25 meter). However, according to JNBC providing a sidewalk is not obligatory for street less than 8 meters width. (JNBC, 2008, pp. 18-2). As a result, regardless which regulations were followed, in practice the sidewalks are undeveloped or adequate for pedestrian and left for individual interpretation when constructed.

- GAM Sidewalks Law⁴⁶ handles the responsibility of implementing the sidewalks along the property to the real-estate owner, without indicating the material and design of the sidewalk itself, and leaving the door open for individual's interpretations when constructed (Manasrah, 2014, p. 117). On the other hand, the JNBC indicated that sidewalks materials shall maintain the same characteristics of the ones used in the neighbourhood. (JNBC, 2008, pp. 18-2)

The threat caused by such a policy cause a deformation for the image of the public space especially in the residential areas (dissimilar paving materials, various type of trees... etc.). Moreover, it enhances unequal developments (the richer is the area, the more maintained the sidewalk) and trespass on the sidewalks.



Figure 51: Comparison between Common Side-walk in East/west Amman successively. Source: Khawaja

Figure 52: Examples of sidewalks within the same neighbourhood in west Amman demonstrating the mal maintenance, obstacles and individuality in design and construction materials. Source: Khawaja



In terms of designing and constructing Paths, GAM inconvenient practices caused direct threats of Paths for the following main points:

- Adopting the policy of widening the streets -whether within a neighbourhood or on a larger scale area- to insure fluent car flow had caused segregated areas and functions;
- Designing wide streets enhanced higher car speed, and walking became unsafe especially for children and people with disabilities;
- The width and design of the streets didn't take in consideration present or even future strategies for public transportation, yet design is completely reliable on private cars or taxis;
- Absence of secondary paths for non-motor vehicles;

- The Paths design was not associated with developing and maintaining pedestrian sidewalks, which were too narrow with many obstacles on the way, not subjected to regular maintenance or not designed for people with different capabilities (children trolleys, handicapped, old people... etc.);
- In many locations -within the city neighbourhoods- sidewalks are completely absent;
- Lack of safe crossing paths (zebra lines, bridges or tunnels);
- Unregulated 'private use' of sidewalks by the public for commercial and trading purposes in a way that hinders the pedestrian movement.

One fine model of such practices is presented in Abdoun cable-stayed Bridge fully constructed in the 2006. The Bridge is 417 metres long and connects Zahran Street (Jabal Amman area; 'Embassies neighbourhood') with Abdoun (Elite area in Amman). The bridge is considered significant in its form and high mobility efficiency, offering high speed motor way (80 km/H) within four lanes. However, the pedestrian sidewalks were completely missing from the design and strictly prohibited, compelling pedestrians to walk down/up the valley to cross from one side to other, stating a bold segregation policy and marginalization for pedestrian life.



Figure 53: Abdoun cable-stayed Bridge.
The sidewalks are completely absent from the design and walking the bridge is risky.
Source: Khawaja

II. Conditions of Public Transportation

Amman main transportation system is based on motor-vehicles; private cars, taxi, shared taxi Public buses (with limited routes), and recently the motor bike is becoming popular. There is clear absence for non-motor transportation means or possible dependency on a pedestrian life-style, and no clue for tram ways or trains. Such system is of course a result of the Paths design itself (as explained above) and the government dereliction in providing sufficient public transportation.

On the latter, providing sufficient public transportation reflects to certain extend the equality and social justice in the city, wherein everyone has the right of accessibility and mobility, thus it's a production is a process of all the spaces combined (Triad Theories). As a matter of fact, the public transportation of Amman is public in terms of accessibility, but owned and powered by private sectors or individuals and regulated by the Land Transport Regulatory Commission (LTRC) ⁴⁷. Considering the bus is the main public transport in Amman, and the shred taxi⁴⁸ is the secondary, the public transportation is facing malfunctioning practices due to the planning practices and Paths infrastructure of GAM and the LTRC policies for the following reasons:

- Absence of dedicated lanes and stuffiest bus stops;
- limited Bus coverage route map and lacking routes covering west Amman area;
- Bus/ public taxi terminals are poorly maintained and regulated;

- Scarcity of transport means (1.2 Bus for every 1000 person)⁴⁹;
- PPP policies and the threat of privatizing the public transportation (chapter 2.1)



Figure 54: Bus waiting area in east Amman. Lacks Bus stop features; canopy, bench, signs... etc.



Figure 55: Al Mahata bus terminal. Entrances are blocked by street vendors and private use of terminal plot.



Figure 56: Bus stop point at University of Jordan Street. Absence of Bus Stop features and chaos in vehicle lanes.

III. The Case of Downtown: Rerouting Paths and the role of NGOs and Private Investments

Note: the data source is based on announcements made by GAM published in local newspapers and official website, interview made with Eng. Mayor Omar Maani (former GAM Mayer) published in *Addustour Newspaper*⁵⁰, JICA reports, *Al-Sijill newspaper*⁵¹, open lectures by *Studio X Amman Lab* plus Personal interviews and observations.

Examining the Paths of Amman and its influence on the public space and public life require an analysis from a historical perspective since Paths create the base-stone in the formation of city's urban fabric and are most permanent in the process of urbanization. As a matter of fact, the first crucial scenery of transforming the Paths was when Amman Municipality decided to conceal the water stream⁵² as a mean of urbanization, and replace it with a highway. Along the former water stream (Qoraish Street today), historical sites and commercial functions takes place; the city Mosque (Al Hussein), the Roman Nyphaeum, Amphitheatre and Odeon, the Citadel and Raghadan Palace (both suited at the hill facing the stream), Hashemite Plaza, cultural and café houses in addition to businesses and commercial activities... etc., creating the *Amman Downtown Tourist Zone*.

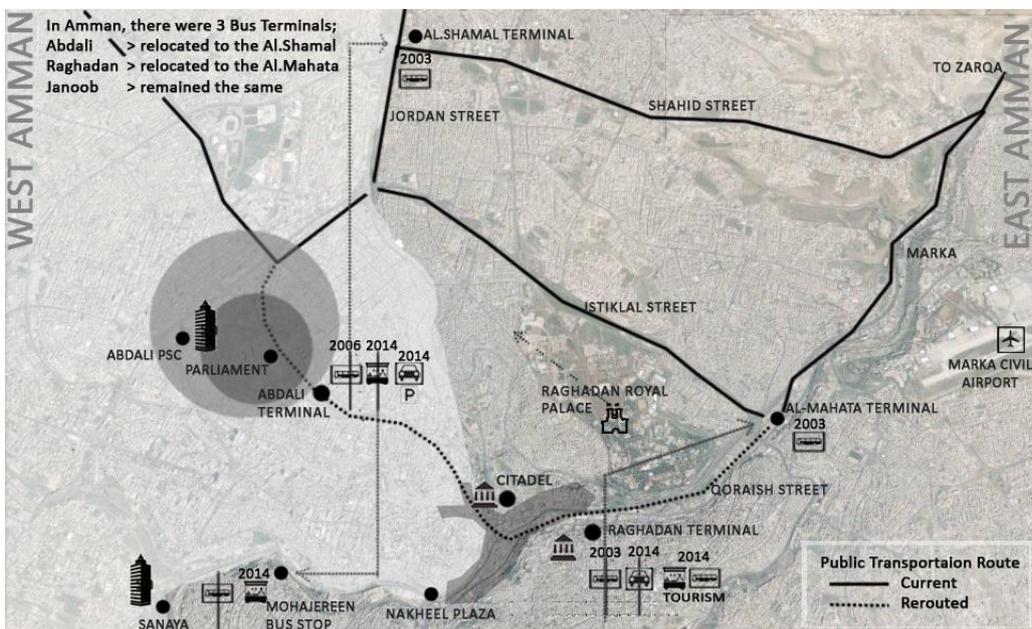


Figure 57: Map of Amman showing the major landmarks, Downtown, Abdali Psc and Sanaya projects. It demonstrates the history of bus terminals and their relocation. Also it examines the rerouting of Paths. Graphics: Khawaja

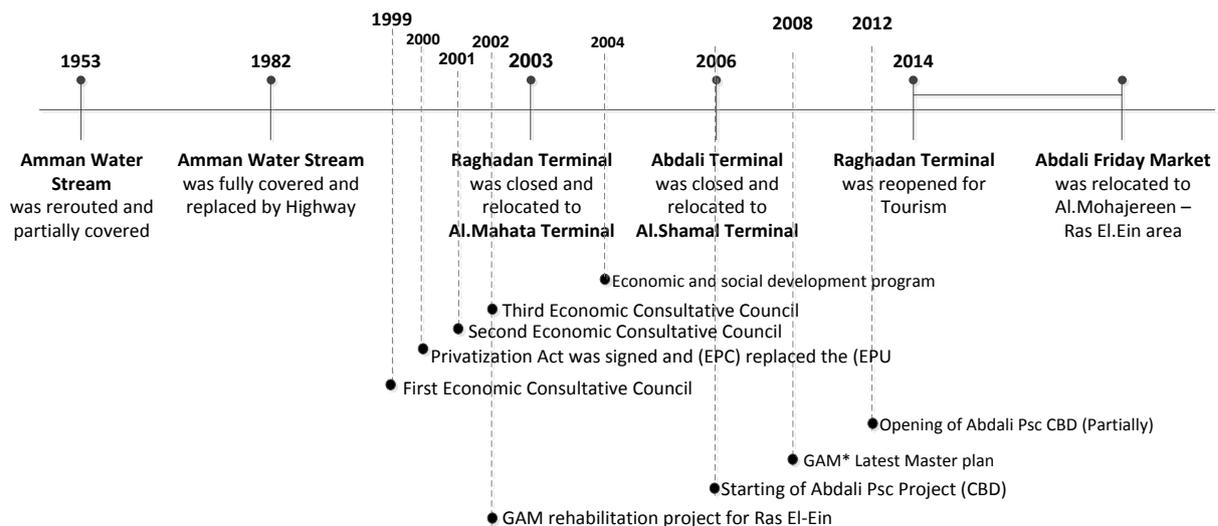


Figure 58: Timeline for Amman city centre Paths highlighting the major events and practices on the political, economic and urban planning levels. Graphics: Khawaja

Since the 1999, Jordan, and particularly Amman had passed through transformational phases on its economic, political, social and urbanization domains. And based on such crucial characteristics of the downtown area, its development processes have passed through several urban planning decisions, constructive and destructive, wherein the Paths and mobility were mostly affected and buildings were most conserved. This study will offer two major projects that will be discussed through a detailed timeline with high lighting the major events.

1. Raghadan Bus Terminal

In the 1999, JICA⁵³ had made a study for Tourism development policies in Jordan, on which recommendations to GAM were to develop *Amman Downtown Tourist Zone*. After several amendments, the Master plan was released to public in the 2001, with a cost of 7.45 million JD, where JICA finance 80%. The motives of the project were dedicated to revive the touristic life through rehabilitating the historic sites and reform the circulation movement to/from downtown. Accordingly, the project Paths design framework was to:

- Temporary relocate Raghadan Bus Terminal⁵⁴ to Al-Mahata terminal to the east of Amman downtown;
- Renovate the former terminal and make it more efficient and modern;
- Renovation the Hashemite Plaza;
- Constructing a monumental stairway to assert on the relation between the Hashemite Plaza and the Citadel through (from the downtown valley and up the hill);
- Rehabilitate Tourist street stretches for 1,200 m in the heart of Amman downtown.

And so, in the 2003, Raghadan Bus terminal was relocated to Al-Mahata terminal ‘temporary’ location, causing the first transformation sign on the Paths with ‘expected’ mobility chaos and rerouting all means of transport and pedestrian. After 3 years, in the

2006 the renovation works of Raghadan Terminal were completed, but few days before the reopening GAM had announced the impossibility of relocating Al-Mahata terminal back to its former location. The justifications by GAM were; 1) the unforeseen vehicles increase with a ratio of 17% made it difficult to relocate the terminal to the heart of downtown touristic zone, 2) Al-Mahata plot area is 2.6 times Raghadan terminal hence it is sensible to remain in its location, 3) projects in downtown area ought to perceive a historical and cultural agendas rather than a transportation hub, and consequently 4) GAM announcement for *Wadi Amman*; a new project aims to regenerate the downtown area as a touristic zone offering an adaptive reuse for Raghadan Terminal.

"This ambitious downtown regeneration project will bring massive socio- economic benefits to areas where our capital started". (Eng. Omar Maani, GAM website)

As a matter of fact, Downtown Development Projects had reformed the Paths and vehicle circulation pattern in the narrow periphery of downtown touristic and commercial area bringing safe and enjoyable pedestrian experience wherein the pedestrian sidewalks were renovated, street furniture was added (info panels, lighting fixtures, bollards, litterbins... etc.) in addition to several architectural improvements on the facades. But apart from the successful developments, the equivocation and flounder by GAM in rehabilitating the Hashemite Plaza, Raghadan Bus Terminal and the overall Paths network, changing their functions several times within long delays timeframe, had threatened both public's lives; the commuters who were mostly affected by the disadvantages of the rerouting, mobility chaos and extra transportation fees specially if wanting to access the downtown, and the local market which was partially abundant for years after rerouting the 'public' and shifting the life space elsewhere, away from downtown area.

After years of development amendments, Raghadan terminal was finally opened in the 2014 with a new name **Raghadan Touristic Terminal** with restricted function; station for few 'shared taxi' lines, touristic shuttle bus terminal (the bus loop route is from Ras El-Ein till Raghadan) and car rental offices, in addition to offer kiosks for leasing and market space for touristic purposes, while Al-Mahata remained the major public transportation terminal of east Amman. Based on this datum, this study shall elaborate on two readings of the relocation reasoning; the first is made by Arch. Saba Innab⁵⁵ who analysed the project from a socio-political perspective, and the second is based on a socio-economic analysis by Eng. Ayman Smadi⁵⁶.

Innab had studied the development of Amman thoroughly and the reasoning behind relocating its terminals, public spaces, landmarks... etc. within different time laps and political frameworks. In her study: *Reading the City from the Edge*, Innab suggests: "The effects generated from the twin processes of gentrification and displacement is a natural consequence of capital accumulation everywhere. But in the case of Amman, a political dimension reveals itself in parallel to these practices, where a layer of 'targeted' gentrification appears as a form of reclamation of places after abandonment public spaces

in particular” (Innab, 2015). Accordingly, by identifying the location of Al-Mahata terminal and its users, Innab suggests that the users belong to the poor and lower-medium classes of Amman and commuters from other governorates like Zarqa, Marka, and Russifeh (mainly low-income population). Therefore, relocating the terminal away from the city centre to the ‘edge’ embodies a gentrification aspiration of moving away these classes outside the city by rearranging its Paths and shifting mobility elsewhere. Consequently, the right of using the city is changed and could be proven when determining the new users of both sites; the local people and commuters in Al-Mahata and the tourists and shoppers (consumers) in the city centre –Amman downtown.

On the contrary, Smadi had offered different perspective of reading the site embodied in the notion of a City Centre. Smadi defines the Centre of the City “where the commercial, business and services activities take place, for different type of population; students, labour, employees... etc.”. By this Smadi suggests that Raghadan former terminal was sufficient 15-20 years ago when Amman Downtown was the Centre of the City and the distributor pole. However, today the centre has shifted elsewhere in Amman and the Downtown is merely conceived as a centre for the preliminary commercial activities mainly for retail and ‘traditional’ commodities. Accordingly, beside the fact that Raghadan renovation project had failed to connectivity, the justifications behind relocating Raghadan terminal *permanently* were: Al-Mahata terminal is almost triple the size of Raghadan and could tolerate connecting several routes within Amman and other governorates for thousands of daily commuters. Moreover, Raghadan terminal sits in a condensed area with limited possibility for expanding the road network in comparison with Al-Mahata which is connected with wide highways and convenient infrastructure that ensures better mobility and under-controlled traffic jams. Smadi added that based on a study made by GAM to identify the users of Al-Mahata terminal, most of whom don’t urge to access the Downtown for daily regular bases since the ‘centre of the city’ has already been relocated and could be better accessed from Al-Mahata, which would in conclusion reduce the undesired traffic jams in the Downtown (caused by Raghadan Terminal) and restrict the accessibility only to the actual beneficiaries; tourists and shoppers (consumers).

The debate between both readings embraces different meanings and dimensions on several aspects of Space Production and the quality of life offered by planners, economists and politicians. Nevertheless, the important question to examine is; what are the consequences of restructuring the Perceived Space on the Life Space of Amman and who owns the power of the production of Amman Space?

II. **Abdali Terminal**

Perfecting with the parameters analysed throughout chapters 2 & 3 (Amman Demographic and Social Pattern, Conditions and Users of Public Transportation, Abdali Psc Project) the analysis of Abdali Terminal is a continuity of the hypothesis; *sceneries of transforming Amman Public Space under the eco-political perceptions*. Beginning with the site analysis,

Abdali Terminal was located in strategic location at Abdali area at the heart of Amman, 1.7 km away from the Downtown and 1.0 km away from *Abdali Psc* north entrance, along the same route (Figure 57). The terminal served as a major regional and international transportation hub till 2006 when the decision made by the GAM and the governance to relocate it to the North of Amman. The major characteristics of the site nominating Abdali as strategic central location are:

- The governmental and recreational functions within its neighbourhood; the Parliament, the Palace of Justice, the ceremonial mosque and two major churches, the Royal Convention Centre, the Islamic Hospital... etc.;
- Serving as a local, national and international Terminal for connecting Amman with other governorates and with Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and KSA, through facilitating local and international taxi, buses and shared taxi;
- Represents an entrance to Amman downtown and Al-Weibdeh area;
- Provide connection routes with Raghadan & Mahata terminals wherein connects with the entire city.

The location's high flex and functionality enhanced efficient commuting mobility to/from the site and surroundings, vibrant economic life for the local community (travel agencies, retail, hotels, restaurants... etc.) and attracting thousands of daily commentators. Such scenery seemed a challenge and threat at the same time to *Abdali Psc Project* due to the high contradiction of social patterns and prospects addressed in both site. Moreover, by propositioning the slogan: *The New Downtown of Amman*, Abdali Psc aimed to reform the perceptions of 'a Downtown' through advertising new quality of life addressed to the high class and superior tourism similar to ones created in the gulf region under the neoliberal umbrella, which is in contrast to the character and composition of population of Abdali terminal.

Therefore, to ensure the success of Abdali Psc visions and the ease of accessibility in addition to overcome the contradictory characteristics with the area's reality and social pattern, both GAM and the governance -influenced by the economic agenda- made a decision to **relocate Abdali Terminal to the outskirts of the city centre**, at an intermediate node between the ever-growing expansion to the north-east (Tariq, Marka and Zarqa) and along Jordan Street that connects east Amman with its far north. As a matter of fact, the decision of relocating the Terminal came along a socio-economic and eco-political framework, with bold intensions to reform the social pattern and the image of the city perceptions through its Paths, mobility and Life Space.

Relocating the terminal to the north of the city was also parallel to massive infrastructure developments creating two bridges that serve the project from its west and south sides. The restructuring of Paths embodies socio-political dimensions presented in:

- Rerouting majority of the public transportation away from the city centre and limiting the accessibility except for some shared taxi lines (figure 57);
- By this, it meant to restructure the social structure eligible to access the area, by shifting the low and medium classes, students and labour away from the city centre to assembly points at the outskirts;
- Metaphorically, the Parliament House distant itself from the ease access of public, and linked itself with the elite, high-end and sophisticated business, residential and commercial facilities embodied in Abdali Psc.

The consequences of moving the terminal was most appreciated by car-users who now gained an easy quick access to the city centre, and least appreciated by the public who are obliged to extra fees due to the urge of making multi-changings, in addition to the businesses ran by locals along the rerouted path who no longer can benefit from the daily commuting movement, or at least it highly reduced. The clearance of city centres deprives the urban poor of access to the benefit of specific groups moreover; the 'relocating' strategies by the name of Urban Modernization linked to the notion of mobility as a valued characteristic of urbaneness, carries unequal development and questions the concept of "Freedom of Movement" (Shami, 1996).

3.4 Public Parks and Privatising the Public Space

Since the early 2000's, several eco-political attempts were made to advertise Amman as an international city, competing with the Middle East's major cities, such as Dubai. The privileges given for the foreign and local investors in addition to the privatization and PPP⁵⁷ policies had stimulated the construction boom causing gradual reshaping for the City urban fabric through creating new notions of landmarks (towers, CBDs... etc.) and reshaping the Paths to redefine the city's socio-economic patterns. The urban planning policy and architectural approaches in the past 20 years can be determined through the evolving architectural types and trends, and introducing high rise buildings, shopping malls, gated communities, segregated areas and mega projects addressing certain beneficiary groups with bold social-exclusions practices. Consequently, the influence of the economic approaches, the population density pattern and the sociocultural behaviour had caused crucial transformations on the Public Parks and Gardens as public spaces in terms of accessibility, ownership and power. The study shall examine sceneries of transformations and the threat caused by the acting forcing suit throughout two dimensions; creating so-called Public Parks within new urbanism and mega projects, and partial or entire privatization of public parks lands.

I. Public Parks within New Urbanism and Mega Projects

New urbanism projects such as Abdali Psc and Sanaya Towers embodies spaces so-called public for promotional and ecstatic values, which are in fact controlled and secured but namely Public. Taking Sanaya Towers as a case study, Sanaya is located at the centre of Wadi Abdoun strip; the Central –Intensification ‘Area A’ proposed in Amman Master Plan (Figure 26), wherein the eastern side of the strip is perceived as the ‘edge’ between of the high-class area of Amman (Abdoun) and the medium-poor area (Jabal el Akhdar). The Central–Intensification ‘Area A’ proposed by GAM re-zones the lands along Wadi Abdoun with new functions, mainly for commercial and high-rise building as part of the intensification visions of the city and means of creating new ‘landmarks’. Carried out by UAE investor, Sanaya landmark towers occupies a centric location at the intersection node of east/west Amman (Figure 57), and metaphors as an entrance to west Amman with its sophisticated image of a city entry, attracting the elite class and high-end businesses. The project offers 200 meters split towers separated by a soaring shaft of space and light, and its central space will be the **open park public space** promoted as “a vibrant urban square with areas to socialize, shop and relax” (Limitless, 2008).



Figure 59: 3D image of Sanaya project showing Abdoun area in the background.

Under the institutional framework of GAM, Amman Master Plan had changed the initial lands zoning of the project plot and periphery from ‘open green spaces’ to HDMU⁵⁸ that integrates open public spaces to optimize the use of existing infrastructure and services. However, since the financial capabilities prevent the municipality of paying for land accusation to provide the proposed public spaces, GAM aimed to relay on private investments to provide such open spaces within project’s periphery by issuing the *Regulatory Law for Special Projects and Investments Developments* which obliges the investor to provide a ratio up to 8% of the total land plot for open public space under the category of Public Services. Hence, private investments (Sanaya in this case) buy the lands (willingly from the owner or under the umbrella of Land Acquisition of the Municipality) and design its own perception of integrated public spaces. However, the investor in this case is not obliged to offer the space for ‘true’ public and yet has full rights to power the space and regulate accessibility based upon particularism, and all what matters to the municipality is offering the 8% (Al-Awamleh, 2015)⁵⁹.

Within this framework and in order to enhance the optimum popularity and success of Sanaya visions, the open space of Sanaya addresses high quality of urban life and landscapes within a lushly landscaped park and fountain-cooled park and recreational stairway. But, based on the context and location of the project, promoting for such a space socially accepted, open, modern and comprehensive for shopping and relaxation inevitably requires the space to be controlled and guarded for two main raisons; security and accessibility

control, and accordingly privatised public spaces can achieve its success through regulating the eligible social classes accessing the space so-called public.

The privately owned public space promoted by Sanaya is a result of the socio-economic practices embodied in social inequality and sociocultural diversity within constant increase of 'hot spot'/'cold spot' pattern in the city. The economic reproductions -under the eco-political perceptions of Amman- for this new notion of public spaces within the urban environment are spaces that meet the ambitions and sustain the image of social prestige apart from the deprived public. The threat of privatizing public spaces and offering it for designed social classes within the urban tissue of a city along the high social-class conflicts enhances the 'hot spot'/'cold spot' pattern which is already an entrenched part of the urban landscape.

In his writings, Katz made a study on the social reproduction in USA under the power of neoliberal political practices of privatising public spaces, one of the conclusions made was:

“The uneven developments and the care for these spaces in contemporary cities, suggest that the wealthy do not view these spaces as expendable-for themselves-but the private ways by which the privileged increasingly secure their own access to the outdoor environment ensures that safe, attractive outdoor spaces will become a luxury for working class and poor neighbourhoods in the city”.
(Katz, 2006, p. 112)

Moreover, privately owned public spaces within Amman urban pattern create other threats embodied in;

- GAM's refrain of performing its duty to produce sufficient public spaces that enhances social cohesion;
- Reposing on private sector to produce the city's scape leads to unequal developments of public spaces;
- Ensuring the profit goal of private investments, public spaces are reproduced in forms that embodies consuming functions;
- Associating the paradoxes of 'shopping' and 'relaxation' in one space;
- Raising the issue of security and guardian on public spaces.

In Jordan, State policies are gradually moving away from regional politics and elaborate social agendas into adopting neoliberal agendas of privatization and a state where most vital assets and sectors had been rented or sold to the outside (e.g., water, telecommunication, power) (Daher, 2013, pp. 273-295). The consequences of privatizing policies of public services had also resulted in the formation of new forms of private public spaces; parks in our case study. The concept of "privately owned public parks" within private developments is a brand new culture of planning rising in Amman since the PPP policies and practices took place. Wherein the private participatory role in urbanizing public spaces (parks) making

from the private sector a permanent partner in the cycle of development and urbanization rather than a contributor.

II. Partial or Entire Privatization of Public Parks Lands

Beside the practices of putting the public parks under the power and ownership of the private sector, in the early 2000's public parks lands were fully or partially sold out to private sector for investments purposes fully deprived from public means. One of the fine examples is the *Jordan Gate Twin Towers* project located along Zahran Street aiming to create a landmark of Amman as an attractive city for investments. The twin blue glass-elevations towers, 38 stories each, facilitate a hotel, office, retail and entertainment facilities on a land plot of 28,000 sqm **originally designated for a public park**. The land plot originally belongs to a Jordanian citizen whose land was put under GAM land acquisition in the 1959 with the purpose of making it a public park and water tank, when in 2003 GAM sold the land to the Gulf Finance House in order to build the twin tower; Jordan Gate (Roya, 2014)⁶⁰. The criticism over the project goes beyond changing the original purpose of the land's acquisition from Public Park to twin towers investment for the following:

- Selling a land designated for a public park to private investment is a bold trespass on the public's right of space. It is also important to note that the park itself was never been developed since the 1959 –when GAM possessed the land, which even reflects the extent of dereliction by GAM of developing public spaces, and questions the legitimacy and credibility of land acquisition practices;
- The location of project along Zahran Street on one of the highest elevations of the city's hills over-expose and over power the entire landscape of the city (Al-Kodmany K. & Ali M.M., 2013, p. 81), representing the ideology of both the investment itself and GAM's perceptions of the city's image it's demonstrating for the present and future;
- Jordan Gate high-end development is based on the maxim that "bigger is better", seeking to emulate iconic buildings (such as ones found in Dubai) yet essentially have a negative impact not only on the city's skyline (with an average of 3 floors buildings except for the Amra Hotel 15 floors), but also on the quaint residential neighbourhoods that Amman is famous for (Daher, 2013) , creating destructive representational productions for the urban environment on social, ecological, architectural, and economic dimensions;
- Similarly to the threat of privatising public parks spaces, Jordan Gate reveals GAM's refrain of performing its duty to produce sufficient public spaces that enhances social cohesion;
- A crucial threat would occur on the whole image of public space when the towers actually get to function, specially the Paths which suffer severe jams and overloads. (Figure 60) demonstrates that the area paths network is mainly roads 2-4 lanes width and population of 31,082 (Sweifeih and Um Uthina areas only)⁶¹.

Jordan Gate symbolizes insensitivity to Amman's public space and urban fabric, and the ambit role of municipality and government in reshaping the city scape. Mega projects such as Jordan Gate and Sanaya are not a 'spontaneous' impulsive productions of private investments, they are however better understood as a part of an on-going



Figure 60: Location of Jordan Gate, Amra Hotel and Taameer high rise buildings, and their relation with the surrounding road network width. Graphics: Khawaja

contemporary globalization processes in the city lead by the government policies and economic space practices. Elden writes in understand Lefebvre; "the notion of everyday life suggests that capitalism, which has always organised the working life, has greatly expanded its control over the private life, over leisure. This is often through an organisation of space" (Elden, 2004). And Harvey elaborates:

"The role of finance was crucial, and the role of the government was to support the finance, at all costs, and if there was a conflict between the well-being of the financial institutions and the well-being of the people, you chose the financial institution and you screw the people" (Harvey, 2008)⁶²

This brings back the Triad Theories and the relationships between the Spaces and the influence of each space over one another, which resembles clearly the power of economic 'so-called developments' over the conceived and perceived spaces, parallel to the successions of economic forums toward free markets, neoliberal investments and type of investments opportunities the governance is promoting.

Chapter Four

Experiencing Amman Public Space

4.1 The Perception of 'True' Public on Amman Public Spaces

As examined throughout the study, the institutional framework of GAM and the eco-political policies and practices have direct influence on exploiting the public space of Amman, and resulting in creating new private and semi-public spaces (Perceived spaces). Those new spaces had tangled within the urban fabric of Amman and mingled within its Life Space who perceived it either as an acceptable conception of public spaces even if it lacks the terms of being 'public', or have criticized and rejected them. Thus, and along the theoretical analysis of exploitation Amman Public Space, it is ought to be examined in the perception of 'true' public; the users, in order to determine the threats caused by the manifestation of the production of the Space.

In this chapter, a study about "the perception of 'true' public on Amman public spaces" is presented based on a survey took place in Amman in February & March, 2015. The survey is based on a **qualitative research methodology** that aimed to examine the quality of Amman Public Spaces through evaluating the experience of living the public, semi-public and private spaces as consequences of eco-political practices and determine how the transformation had occurred.

The candidates of whom the survey was made-on was the most critical part to achieve inclusive and comprehensive outcomes that reveal the social pattern of Amman within its various areas and consequently the candidate's perception on the Public Space. Therefore, selecting the candidates was based on the study made in chapter two: *Demographic and Social Pattern of Amman*, wherein the 'designed' groups followed the structure of Amman's composition of population based on: age group, income rate and density of population. To demonstrate on the latter as a model; candidates were *randomly* selected within *methodical* groups designed upon on the distribution pattern determined throughout datasheets from GAM and Department of Statistics and thru congruence with age group and income rate.

Building-up the structure of the survey was completed on two phases; phase one was a *demo* questionnaire on 100 candidates followed by phase two which was a detailed qualitative survey made on 211 candidates whom were filtered and settled for a **total of 195 candidates** who met the *Demographic and Social Pattern* criteria. The aim was to determine the criterion influencing the experience in public spaces (embodied in paths, markets, parks and bus terminals) and the experiencing in the new forms of Privately owned so-called public spaces (embodied in shopping malls, theme parks, third places... etc.).

To elaborate more on phase one; (Figure 61) demonstrates the *demo* questionnaire model. The questionnaire aimed to; first find out the relations between living area, profession,

shopping destinations and spare-time destinations, and second to determine the inquiries and observations made by candidates when asked about the quality of Amman Public Space. Accordingly, Based on the results, it was well observed that:

- There is a strong relation between the living area and the shopping and spare-time destinations;
- The relation between the profession and the shopping and spare-time destinations couldn't be precisely determined due to the missing 'income rate' inquiry in the questionnaire;
- The criterion of evaluating the Public Spaces in section III; Pedestrian sidewalks, Parks/Gardens/Green areas and Bus terminals/stations, was vogue and require specified variables.

Amman Public Space					
This questionnaire is part of a Master Thesis study. The questionnaire aims to estimate the quality of the Public Spaces in Amman.					
*****This questionnaire is for educational purposes only*****					
Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Female			
Age (years)	<input type="checkbox"/> < 18 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 18 - 23 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 24 - 49 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 50 - 65 years	<input type="checkbox"/> > 65 years
Living area					
Work/study Area					
Profession					
I. Most favourable destination in spare time?					
	<input type="checkbox"/> Public parks/playgrounds	<input type="checkbox"/> Malls	<input type="checkbox"/> café/restaurant	<input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)	
II. Most favourable shopping destination?					
	<input type="checkbox"/> Friday Market	<input type="checkbox"/> Malls	<input type="checkbox"/> Downtown	<input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)	
III. How do you evaluate the following Public Spaces in Amman					
1. Pedestrian sidewalk		<input type="checkbox"/> very good	<input type="checkbox"/> good	<input type="checkbox"/> bad	
Why?	<input type="checkbox"/> good planning	<input type="checkbox"/> poor maintenance	<input type="checkbox"/> pollution	<input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)	
2. Parks/Gardens/Green areas		<input type="checkbox"/> very good	<input type="checkbox"/> good	<input type="checkbox"/> bad	
Why?	<input type="checkbox"/> good planning	<input type="checkbox"/> poor maintenance	<input type="checkbox"/> pollution	<input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)	
3. Bus terminals/stations		<input type="checkbox"/> very good	<input type="checkbox"/> good	<input type="checkbox"/> bad	
Why?	<input type="checkbox"/> good planning	<input type="checkbox"/> poor maintenance	<input type="checkbox"/> pollution	<input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)	

Figure 61: The demo questionnaire model. The questionnaire targeted 100 candidates, and took place in Feb, 2015. Made by: Khawaja

Therefore, based on the observation made in phase one, phase two aimed to over-come the missing inquiries and build stronger data-base structure to examine the **hypothesis suggesting: there is a relation between gender/ income rates/ living area verses the evaluation criteria of Space and consequently the quality of public space.** The foundation of the data-base structure is:

- Demographic data analysis,
- Public, semi public and private spaces evaluation analysis
- Short-answer inquiries that questions the 'transformation' of public space based on the study made in chapter three.

The survey (Figure 62) therefore is expected to find the following relations:

1. Relation between Gender VS. Shopping destination and Spare-Time destinations;
2. Relation between Age Group VS. Shopping destination and Spare-Time destination;

3. Relation between Living areas VS. Shopping destination and Children Playing Area;
4. Relation between Living areas VS. the evaluation of Pedestrian sidewalks, Public Parks/playgrounds and Bus terminals;
5. Relation between Income Wages Rates VS. Shopping destination

A study for Amman Public Space					
This survey is part of a Master Thesis study. The survey aims to estimate the quality of the Public Spaces in Amman. *****This questionnaire is for educational purposes only*****					
First: Demographic data					
Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Female			
Age group (years)	<input type="checkbox"/> 18- 23	<input type="checkbox"/> 24- 29	<input type="checkbox"/> 30- 49	<input type="checkbox"/> 50-65	<input type="checkbox"/> + 65
Martial status	<input type="checkbox"/> Single	<input type="checkbox"/> Married	<input type="checkbox"/> Other		
Number of siblings <18					
Number of siblings >= 18					
Living area					
Work/study area					
Education	<input type="checkbox"/> Elementary	<input type="checkbox"/> High school	<input type="checkbox"/> Collage/Univ.	<input type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate	
Profession					
Monthly income	<input type="checkbox"/> < 500	<input type="checkbox"/> 500 – 1000	<input type="checkbox"/> 1000– 3000	<input type="checkbox"/> >3000	
SECOND: Most favourable shopping destination?					
<input type="checkbox"/> random shops	<input type="checkbox"/> downtown	<input type="checkbox"/> Shopping Malls	<input type="checkbox"/> Friday market	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	
THIRD: Most favourable activity in spare time					
<input type="checkbox"/> watch TV and social media	<input type="checkbox"/> social visits	<input type="checkbox"/> reading	<input type="checkbox"/> shopping	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	
FOURTH: Most favourable destination in spare time					
<input type="checkbox"/> public parks	<input type="checkbox"/> Street Walking	<input type="checkbox"/> Shopping Malls	<input type="checkbox"/> Cafes/Restauran	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	
FIFTH: Main children playing area					
<input type="checkbox"/> public parks	<input type="checkbox"/> the neighbourhood	<input type="checkbox"/> theme parks	<input type="checkbox"/> other		
SIXTH: Evaluating Amman Pedestrian Sidewalk					
Safe for Children and Elderly	Frequent Maintenance	Sufficient sidewalk width	Clean and Hygienic	Sidewalk Free of Obstacle	Other
<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	
SEVENTH: Evaluating Amman Public Parks/playgrounds					
Safe for Children and Elderly	Frequent Maintenance	Sufficient Plot Area	Clean and Hygienic	Fairly Distributed among Amman	Other
<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	
EIGHTH: Evaluating Amman Bus terminals					
Safe for Children and Elderly	Frequent Maintenance	Sufficient Plot Area	Clean and Hygienic	Appropriate Waiting Areas	Other
<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	
NINTH: Do you recommend having more shopping malls rather than open markets? Why?					
TENTH: Now days, Do you preceive shopping malls as Public Spaces (rather than Public Parks, markets, squares... etc.)? Why?					
ELEVENTH: Did you notice changes or trnasformations on Amman Market Space within the past 15 years? How do you describe it?					
Thank you				Hadeel Khawaja	

Figure 62: The survey model. The survey targeted 211 candidates, and took place in March, 2015. Made by: Khawaja

1. The Relation between Gender VS. Shopping destination and Spare-Time destination

The relationship between the gender versus the shopping destination helps better recognize the perception of the Space for the user. However, the study doesn't aim to determine the ratio of female going to e.g. Friday market versus male, rather than it aims to examine the ratio within each gender in choosing the shopping destination based on its characteristics being either **Open** Public Space (random shops, downtown, and Friday market) or privatised **closed** so-called public space (shopping mall).

The 195 candidates, who met the criteria of the research, were 71 female and 124 male from the different areas of Amman. The results (Figures 63 & 64) demonstrate that 35% of males prefer closed spaces (shopping malls) while the 65% prefer open public spaces. While in the females the ratio is 59% to 41%. There are at least two reading for the results; either for purely economic reasons or because the Shopping Mall Space embodies attractive features favoured for a shopping experience; physical (clean, maintained, closed... etc.) or sociocultural (secured, controlled, guarded... etc.) as analysed in chapter three.



Figure 63: Ratios of choosing shopping destination according to Males

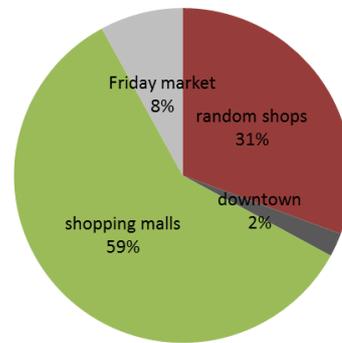


Figure 64: Ratios of choosing shopping destination according to Females

On the other hand, the relationship between the gender versus Spare-Time destination is also examined upon the ratio within each gender, and the results (Figures 65 & 66) demonstrate that only 10% of males prefer going for shopping malls versus 33% to third places (Cafes and Restaurants) and 52% to open public spaces. While in the females the ratio reaches up to 22% for shopping malls versus 35% to third places and only 36% to open public spaces. Upon the observations made by the female candidates -while filling the survey, the reasons for avoiding public spaces is due to sociocultural reasons (exploitation by young males) in the contrary of the secured spaces of the shopping malls and third places.

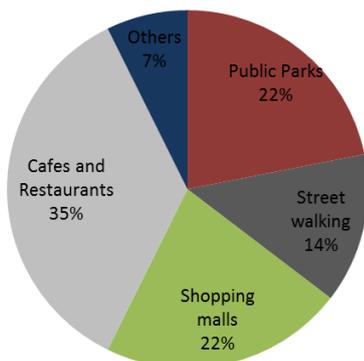


Figure 65: Ratios of choosing Spare-Time destination according to Males

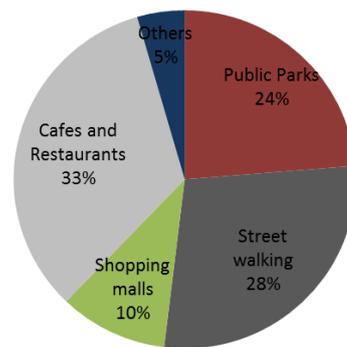


Figure 66: Ratios of choosing Spare-Time destination according to Females

2. The Relation between Age Group VS. Shopping destination and Spare-Time destination

Note: the age group less than 18 years was excluded from the survey to focus on age groups who experienced the transformation.

The relationship between the Age Group versus the shopping destination would determine the impact of the transformations made on the market Space on various generations. First, the study had considered the year 2003 (establishing Mecca Mall: The first Mega shopping mall) an approximate Border Line between those who had started witnessing the Shopping Malls in in the teen-age verse those who witnessed them in adulthoods. The results (Figure 67) show that the ratio of those who favour the shopping mall is the highest for the age group 24-29 (54%), followed by (45%) for the age group 18-23.

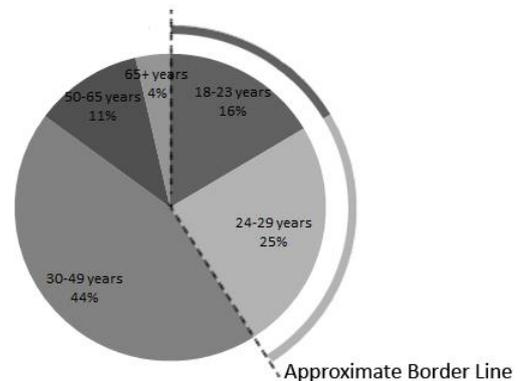


Figure 67: Percentage of each age group included in the survey, and configuration of the approximate Border Line of Shopping Malls Birth.

Particularly the age group 24-29 is important because it embodies the fresh graduates who started their professional experience (only 4% doesn't work according to the survey), meaning starting having wages. This would explain the current occupation pattern of the market space (Figure 68), and the future pattern for the 'growing' age groups. Consequently, it would predict the potential threats on the open public markets under the economic impulsive transformations to generate private market spaces; shopping malls.

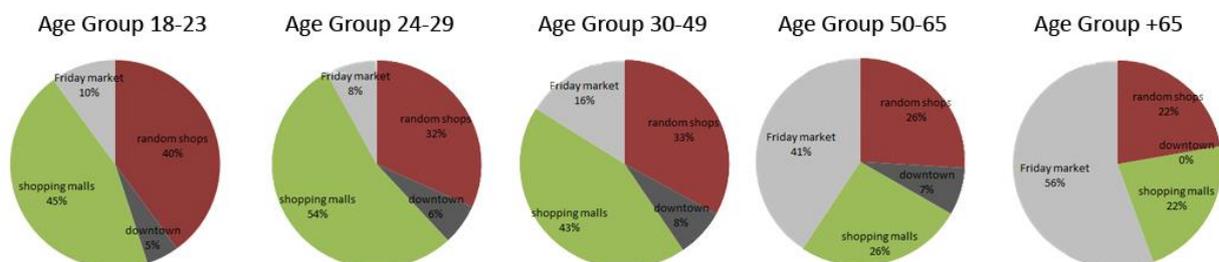


Figure 68: Ratios of choosing shopping destination upon Age groups

Successively, the relationship between the Age group versus Spare-Time destination is crucial to determine the occupation of public parks versus shopping malls, which would help determine the impact caused by the new private spaces (shopping malls) as places of entertainment for the public life. The results (Figure 69) shows that favouring the shopping mall as a destination for spare-time is higher between the young generations 18-23 year (18%) while the public parks is most favoured by elder generations 50-65 years (38%) who have not been raised on the notion of shopping malls when being a teenage.

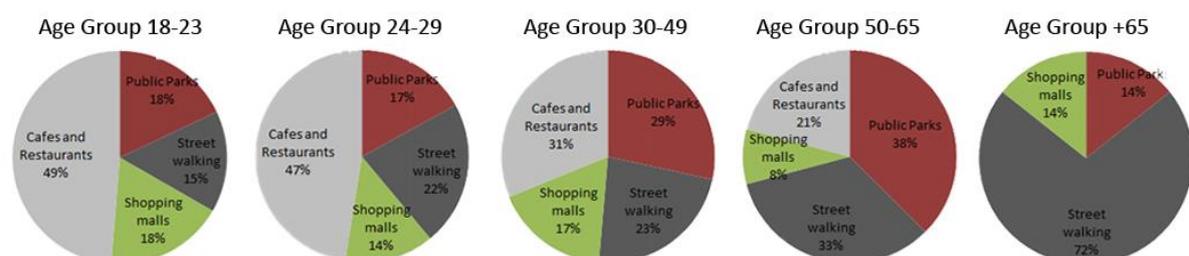


Figure 69: Ratios of choosing Spare-Time destination upon Age groups

On the other hand, the ‘no entry policy’ for the unwelcomed users, typically the young males is boldly reflected in the survey results; the ratio of females to males is 5:1 between the young age (18-23 year), wherein becomes almost equal for elder generations. This is a critical sociocultural threat for the formation of social pattern in so-called public spaces caused by the security and control policies by the authority of shopping malls.

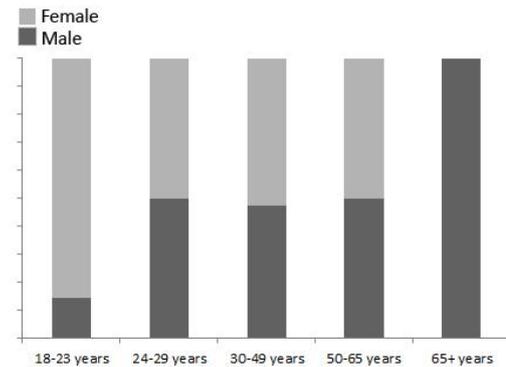


Figure 70: Ratio of Females versus Males choosing shopping malls for Spare-Time destination

3. The relation between Living areas VS. Shopping destination and Children Playing Area

Based on the analysis made on east and west Amman, the living area is crucial for analysing where the Life Space takes place and the form of Perceived Spaces within the urban fabric. The survey was conducted based on the population density map (Figure 23) as follows:

- The highest percentage was *randomly* chosen from the most populated district: The Capital, and followed by Marka district;
- The third group was from University district although Al-Qweismeh is more populated because the Space characteristics of the latter are similar to Marka, and both are in east Amman;
- Sahab area was excluded from the survey because it's a poor pocket and excluded from GAM agglomeration in 2014;
- Outside Amman refers to those who work in Amman but uses its public spaces for daily regular bases. And it constitutes 4% of the survey;
- Within the Capital and in proportionately to (Figure 24), 70% of candidates were from east Amman verses 30% from its west.

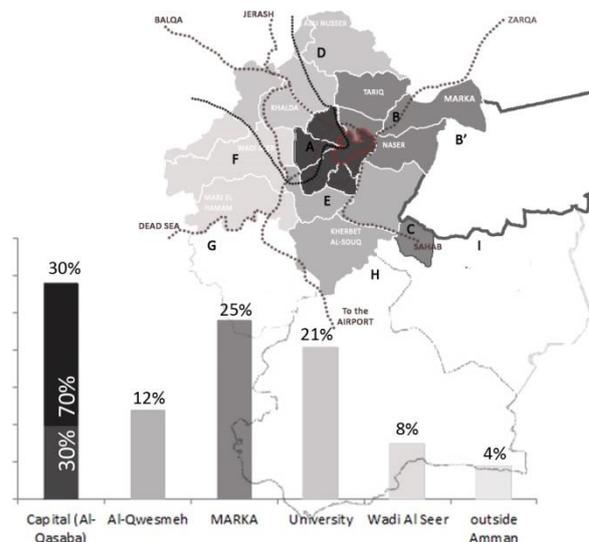


Figure 71: Survey Groups Distribution Pattern, with percentages according to the density of population of Amman

The relation between Living areas verses shopping destination suggests the pattern of market space in the neighborhood, and its influence on inhabitants. The results (Figure 72) show the shopping mall is most favored at areas west Amman (west Capital, University, Wadi Seir) (50% -70%) and Marka district in the east (52%). Yet, when analyzing the data sheets to determine the risen of shopping malls in Marka as being low, medium class areas, it was noted that shopping malls are mainly grocery hypermarkets or shopping complexes

so-called shopping malls that radically different in their notion that those in west Amman (that follows the global type) but popular since being closed and comprehensive.

On the other hand, it was observed that the popularity of Downtown is decreasing and the open public market space (Friday Market and Downtown area) is under the threat of the socio-economic transformations of the shopping course.

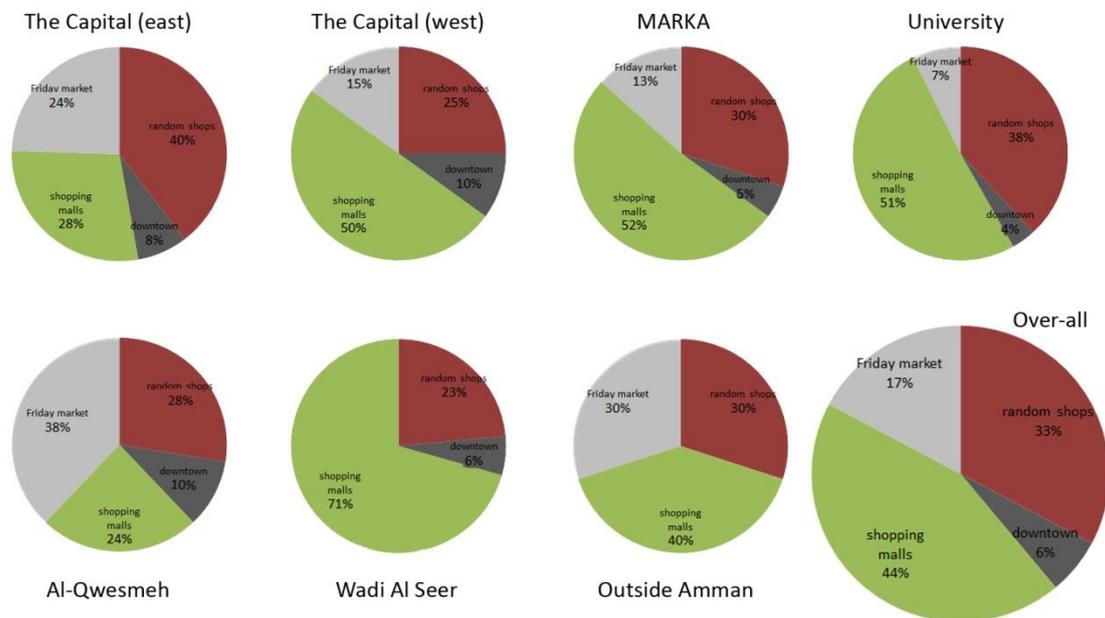


Figure 72: Ratios of choosing shopping destination according to Living Area

In terms of children playing areas (Figure 73), it was noted that the overall experience favoured parks and 'Hara'⁶³ public spaces versus private spaces (theme parks), with notable popularity for private playing area spaces in west Amman. However conditions of Amman public parks -within its different districts, and its relation with income wages (social class) and living area are independent studies to examine.

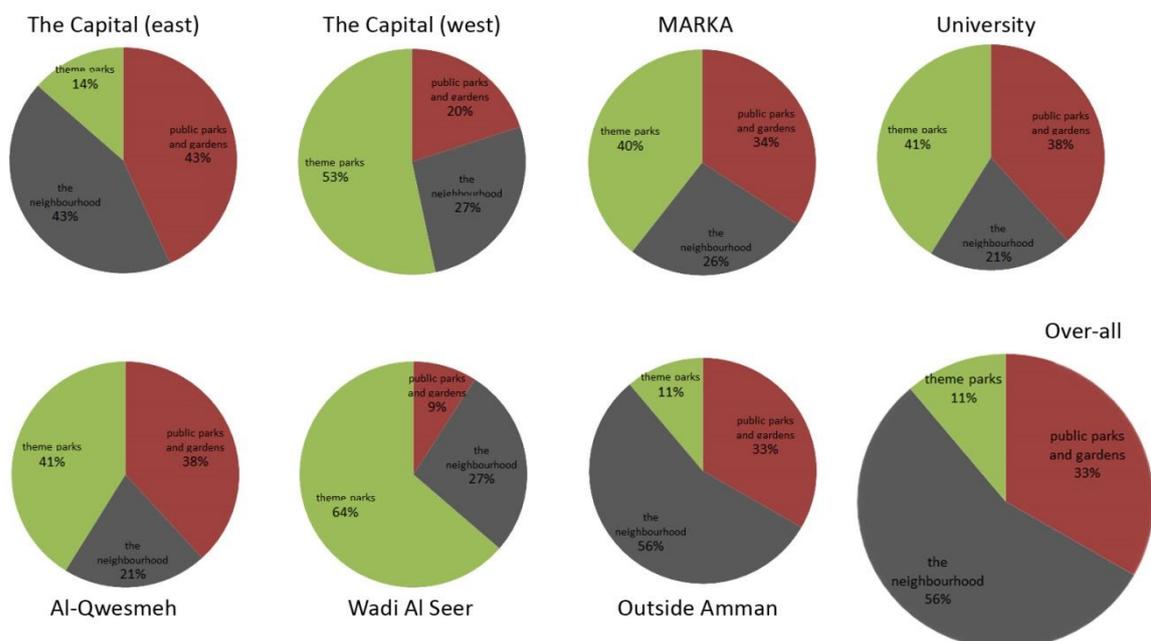


Figure 73: Ratios of choosing children playing area destination according to Living Area

4. The relation between Living areas VS. Evaluation of Pedestrian sidewalks, Public Parks/playgrounds and Bus terminals

The 6th, 7th and 8th inquiries of the survey question the evaluation of Public spaces embodied in Pedestrian Sidewalk, Public Parks/playgrounds and Bus terminals. The evaluation analysis was qualitative and concerned about the ratio of the overall experience rather than numeric ratios, taking in consideration the varied number of candidates within each group (area distribution model).

Based on the results (Figure 74), the general image for sidewalks indicate negative experience within the various districts of Amman for two main reasons; infrequent maintenance and obstacles on the sidewalk. Moreover, despite the various characteristics of each district, the ratio between satisfied experience verses the dissatisfaction and the When configuring these results with the analysis made on Paths in chapter 3.3, the threats cause by 'GAM Sidewalks Law' to handle the responsibility of implementing the sidewalks to the real-estate owner is boldly revealed when experiencing the public space; the Paths.

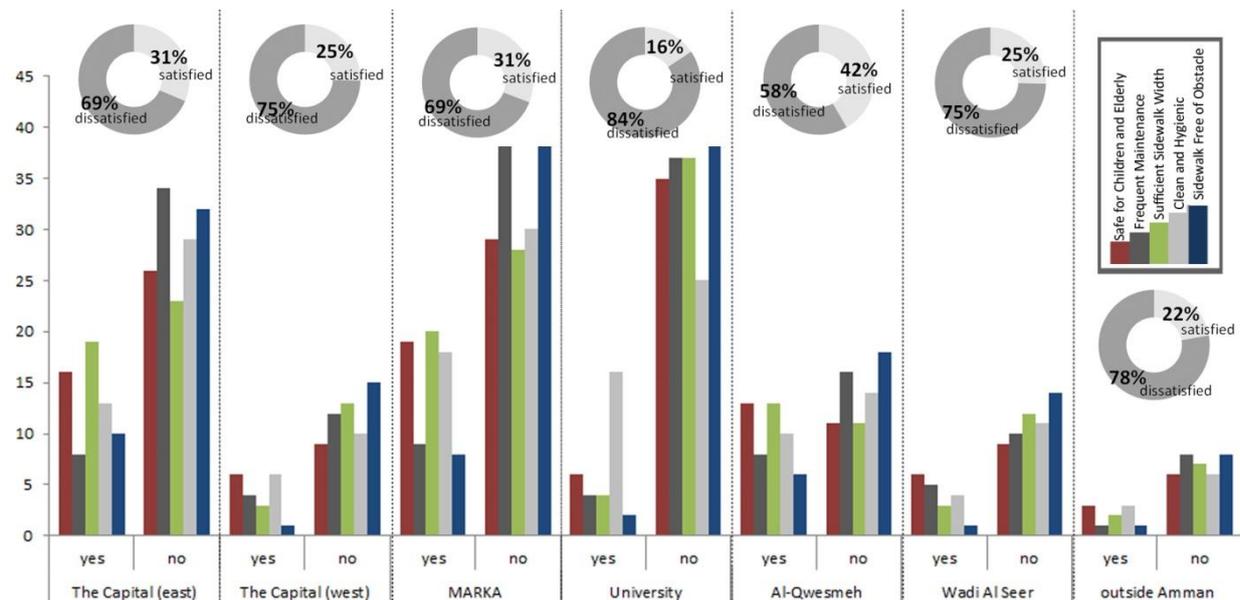


Figure 74: Analysis of experiencing Amman Sidewalks upon districts, indicating the ratio of satisfaction and dissatisfaction

As regards of the relation between the living area verses Public Parks/playgrounds, a relevant study was made to appraise the overall scenery of public parks within Amman districts, without examining the *forms* of each park and with excluding areas outside Amman (verifying parks is inapplicable). The study (Figure 75) demonstrates the numbers of

District	Total Number of Parks	Total Parks Plot Area/ km2	Population	District Area/ km2	Density of population/ km2	Parks area/ Density of population
The Capital (east)	20	0.352	531570	24.98	21280	0.0000165
The Capital (west)	19	0.103	187780	24.82	7566	0.0000136
MARKA	30	0.277	629915	109.63	5746	0.0000482
University	24	0.181	363715	122.39	2972	0.0000609
Al-Qwesmeh	24	0.249	334940	123.46	2713	0.0000918
Wadi Al Seer	7	0.063	226271	133.64	1693	0.0000372
outside Amman	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Figure 75: A study examining numbers of parks per area and the total plot area of parks per area with comparison to the density of population. Primary Data Source: (GAM, 2014) and (DOC, 2014). Data Analysis: Khawaja

parcs per area and the total plot area of parks per area, which compared with the density of population per area. It was noted that both figures; the 'Total Number of Parks' and the 'Total Parks Plot Area' were the lowest at The Capital (West) and Wadi Seer (both are Districts in west Amman), which could explain the lowest ratios found in (Figure 73) for choosing Public Parks as children playing area destination for the same areas. On the other hand, when reading the former results in conjunction with the 'satisfaction and dissatisfaction ratios' in (Figure 76) it was well observed that the highest dissatisfaction criteria in both areas was: Insufficient Plot Area and unfair Public Parks distributed among Amman areas.

As a matter of fact, the main threats facing the Life Space -specially identified in Western Amman due to higher income social classes- is the asylum for privatized 'public' space such as theme parks, sport centres, private parks and playgrounds to compensate the absence of adequate public parks in the city as a result of GAM institutional framework rely on private sector for developing and maintaining 'public' spaces.

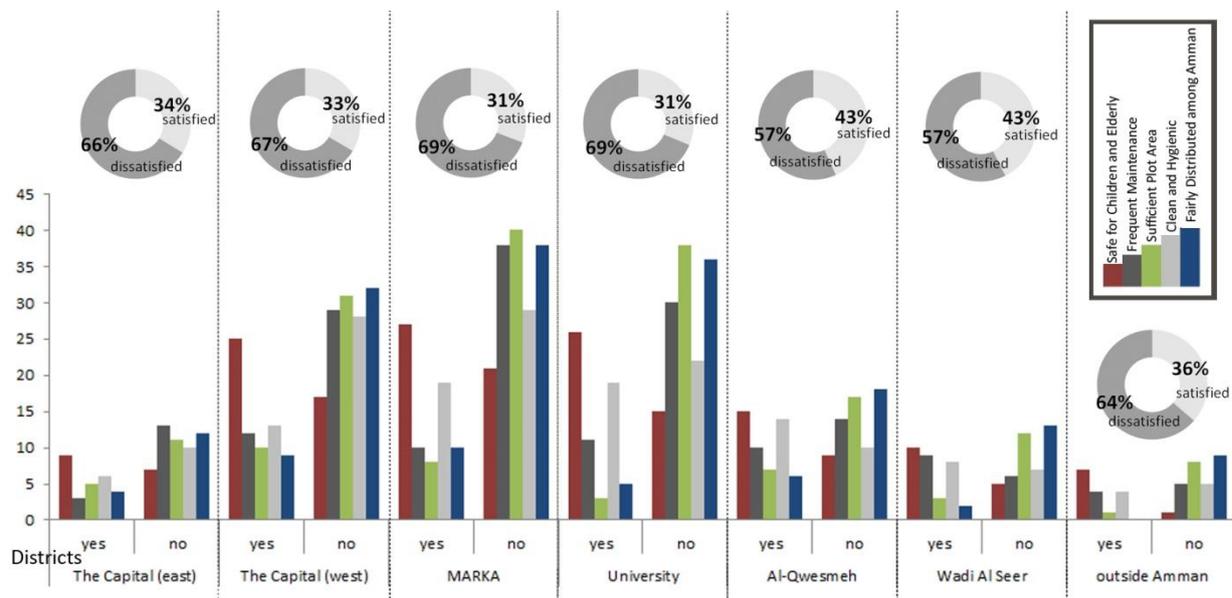


Figure76: Analysis of experiencing Amman Public Parks and Playgrounds upon districts, indicating the ratio of satisfaction and dissatisfaction

The third relation under this section was between the 'Living Area' verses the evaluations of Bus Terminals, as being part of the Paths fabric. The results (Figure 77) demonstrate very high dissatisfaction experience. The threat of having poor public transportation increases the dependency on private car as a singular mean of transportation, which creates pressure on the Paths infrastructure, pollution, inequality and segregation. A note to mention, 26 candidates had never experience public transportation and were not included in the survey results.

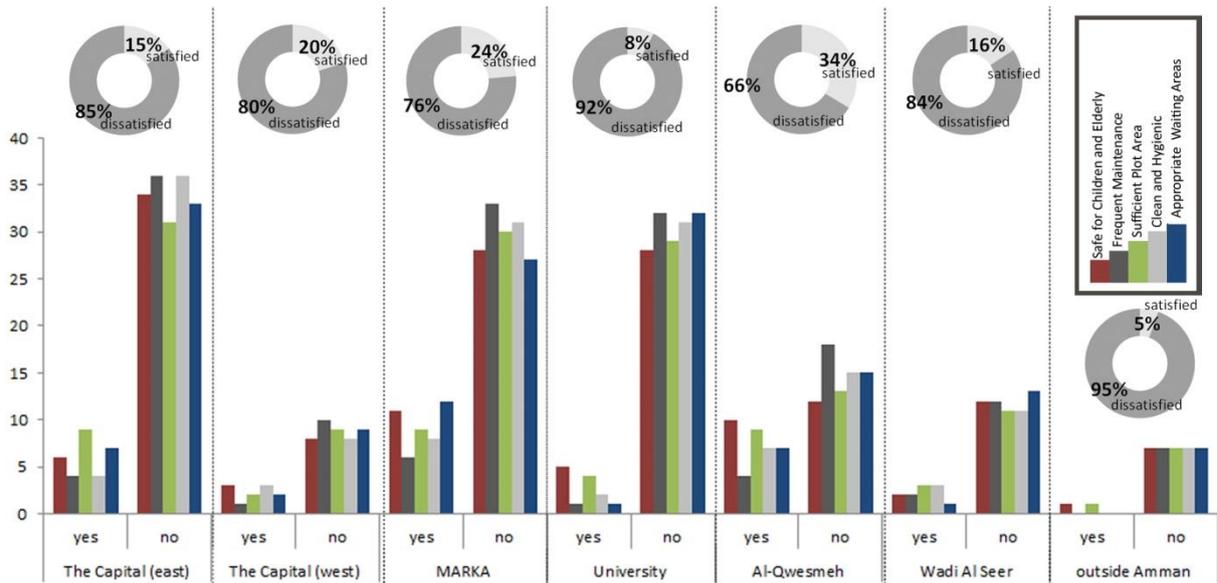


Figure 77: Analysis of experiencing Amman Bus Terminals based on living area, indicating the ratio of satisfaction and dissatisfaction

5. The relation between Income Wages Rates VS. Favourite Shopping destination and Spare-time destination

The fifth analysed relation showed in (Figure 78) analyses the relation between monthly income wages -categorised upon age group- verses favourite shopping destination. The motive of this analysis is to examine whether the income wages (economic aspects) determine the market space or is the market space being influenced by the age groups (demographic/social aspects).

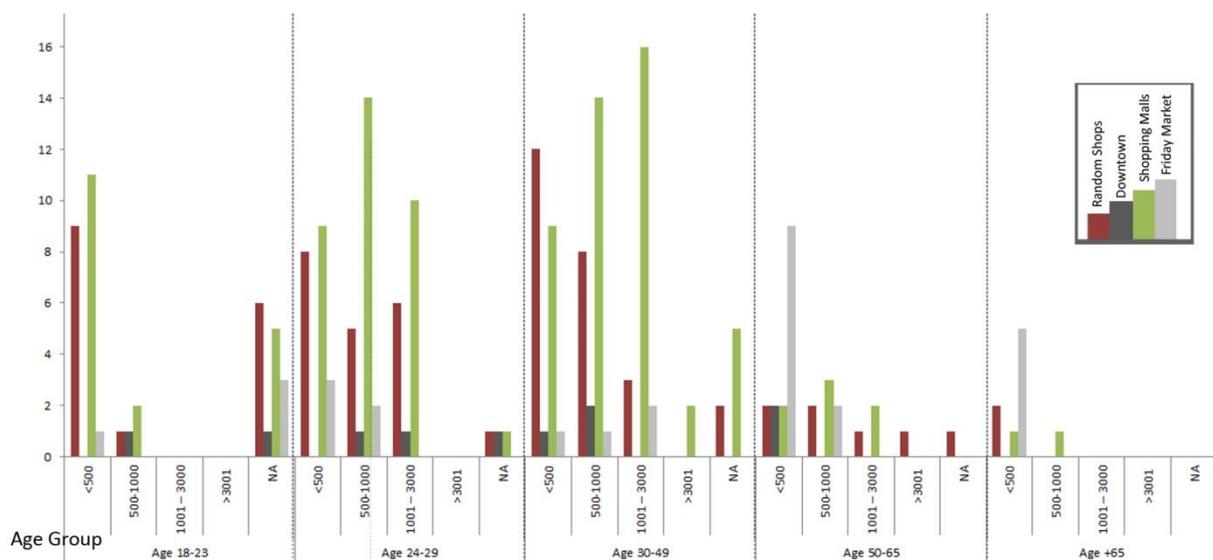


Figure 78: Relation between favourite shopping destination versus monthly income wages -categorised upon age group

To examine this hypothesis, I have adjusted the *monthly Income wages* as the fixed factor, and demonstrated on wages less than 500 JD/month since it represents the highest ratio of the study (43%). The results (Figure 80) shows the interest in shopping malls decreases as

with age, and successively the interest in open marks increases (NB: fixed income wages). There are at least two readings for this hypothesis; 1) the culture of shopping is influenced by age groups and social states, wherein younger ages are more attracted to the new modern forms of 'privatised' market spaces, and 2) the motives of shopping is a dominant factor when determine the 'favourite' shopping space; family shopping-needs varies from individuals and young ages needs.

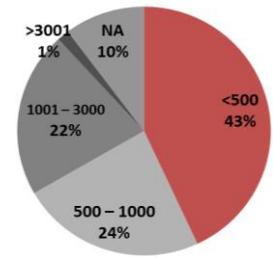


Figure 79: Percentage of Candidates' monthly income wages in the survey

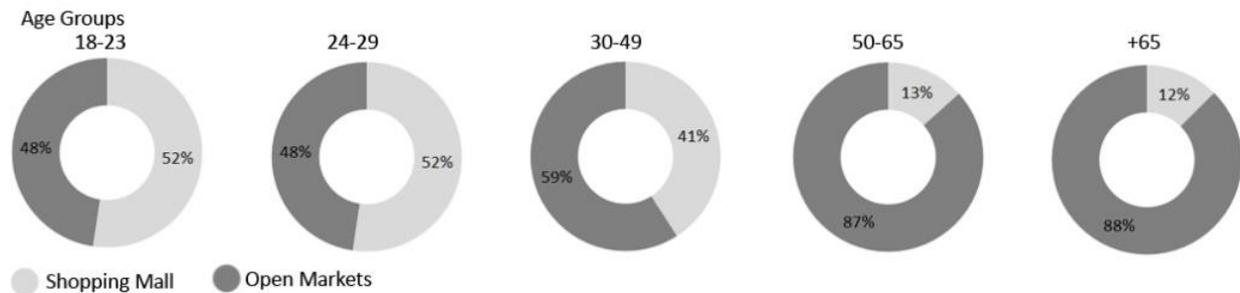


Figure 80: The percentage of candidates categorised per age and of who have monthly income wages less than 500 JD, and chose shopping malls verse the open market spaces

As for the relation between income wages verses favourite Spare-time destination, it was observed the satisfaction over the public parks decreases as the income wages increases, clearly detected throughout the results of choosing public parks as a favourite destination. As a matter of fact, particularly on this subject, several factors take place; sociocultural, forms, quality and safety of parks (design wise), distribution of parks within areas of Amman and the alternative emerging spaces that compete with public parks in users' perception.

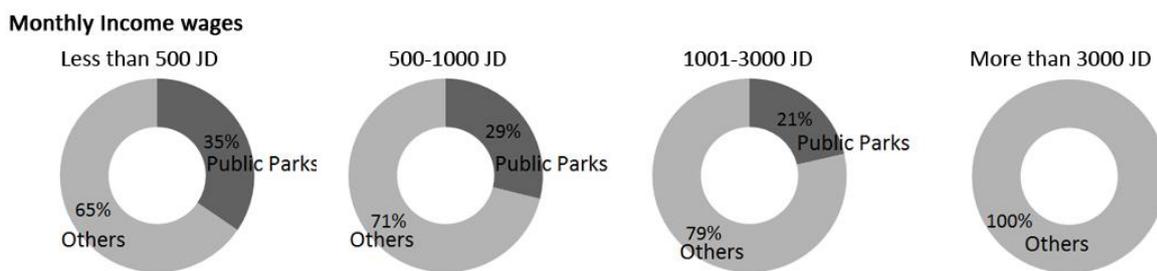


Figure 81: The percentage of those who favour public parks as a spare-time destination verses other destinations, based on monthly income wages.

The last part of the survey aimed to collect qualitative data findings to determine the reasons and causes of such practices through examining three inquiries:

1. If recommended to have more shopping malls and why (Ninth Inquiry);
2. If shopping malls are perceived as Public Spaces and why (Tenth Inquiry);
3. If Amman Market Space went through transformations within the past 15 years and how (Eleventh Inquiry).

Starting with the first inquiry, the results shows that 56% of candidates do not recommend having more shopping malls rather than open markets, versus 44% who recommend. Yet, the figures were compared with 'Favourite Shopping Destination' (Second survey inquiry) to determine their justifications. In (Figure 82) results show that only 66% of those who recommend having more shopping malls actually go there versus 34% who recommend shopping malls but go to open markets. The justifications were similar in terms that shopping mall is comprehensive, clean, closed, and safe for children and families wherein shopping is easier since its more organized, however within the 34% category it was recommended only if it suits all social classes and meets the various income ratios. While within the 66% justifications for recommendation presumed it enhance social segregation making the space comfy and private; shopping malls are modern and well designed in addition to availability of parking spaces. On the contrary, 56% who do not recommend having more shopping malls agree that it became a repetitive notion in the city quickly spreading and creating traffic jams, plus they are overcrowded and some expressed economic justifications of being expensive and exploiting the customers. Moreover, within the 54% who prefers open markets argued that shopping malls are pulling the public away from the market open space and cause negative economic transformations on the local market.

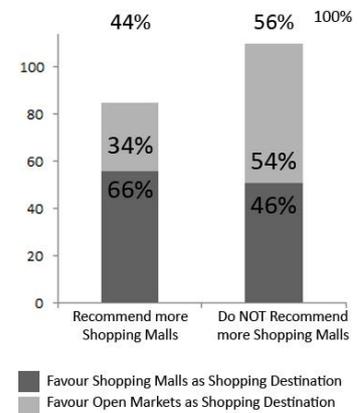


Figure 82: Ratio of recommending and not recommending having more shopping malls upon type of user

The tenth inquiry examines how the shopping malls are perceived whether in practice or theoretically. The results (Figure 83) show that 51% perceives them as Public Spaces in the contrary of the 45%. Moreover, within the 51%, only 25% actually use shopping malls as public spaces (based on the fourth inquiry) while 44% often go to third places in spare time, and 31% go to public parks or practice walking outdoor for spare time but yet consider shopping malls can be Public Spaces. The major justifications for the YES category were subjected to the cleanness, safe, closed and secured environment of the Shopping mall, plus having parking spaces. Moreover, within the overall 51% noted absence of public parks and sufficient children playgrounds in the neighbourhood, so the asylum for shopping malls was coercive rather than facultative.

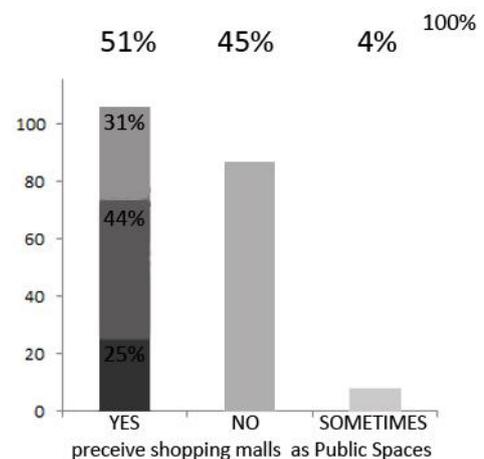


Figure 83: Perception of Shopping Malls whether perceived as Public Spaces or not

The last inquiry (examining transformations on the Market Space) has three objectives:

- Along the theoretical observations made throughout the Study, the eleventh inquiry aims to examine the Study from the experience and observations of Public;

- To drive the Candidate’s attention on their practices and come up with observations;
- To evaluate the transformation from the social satisfaction perspective.

Most answers agreed on witnessing transformations expressed in positive and negative observations (Tables 6 & 7), on the other hand, some of the observations were not criticising the market space itself but the experience of shopping.

NEGATIVE OBSERVATIONS			
Social Impact	Economic Impact	Impacts on Paths	Impact on Market
crowded	Downtown less popular	traffic Jams	interests in developing shopping malls more than public open markets
social inequality	Consumption culture		more shopping malls
	follow the global trends		repetitive
	upper class oriented		

▲ **Table 6: Compiled analysis perceiving negative impact of transformations on the Market Space**

Table 7: Compiled analysis perceiving positive impact of transformations on the Market Space ►

POSITIVE OBSERVATIONS			
Social Impact	Economic Impact	Impacts on Paths	Impact on Market
comprehensive shopping malls	comprehensive markets	developed to serve markets	Well designed and modern Market Spaces
Shopping Malls are good places to socialise	competitive		shopping malls are fairly distributed in west Amman
high class shopping districts	close to residence areas		Renovations
shopping malls offer leisure	international brands		More shopping malls
Shopping malls are fun			shopping malls are more organized, clean and secured
			Bigger size and more in quantity
			shopping malls are more organized, clean and secured

Conclusion

As the Public Space appears to be a creation of planners, Lefebvre (1991) in his book 'The Production of Space' argues that Space is shaped through political process, not as scientific object as planners claim; hence Space is a social and political product (Elden, 2004), and the role of planners in producing Spaces –of which the public Space is part of- is merely a procedural role of planning practice more or less the same regardless of where it is practiced (Friedmann, 2005). On the other hand, the correlation between economy and politics is exceedingly tangled and ought to be read in parallel, especially under neoliberal economy which had become the dominant political ideological for of capitalism globalization (Brenner N. & Theodore N., 2002), wherein both (economic and political approaches) contribute for mutual benefit as examined throughout the study.

Determining Public Spaces major characteristics are embodied in being publicly owned and accessible to enhance the public power over it ((Lofland, 1985), (Altman I. & Zube E., 1989)). The study examines how the public ownership over public spaces of Amman is being threatened by the governmental economic policies adopting neoliberal ideologies that enhance privatization practises over public facilities, resources, services and Spaces, resulting on the latter in new forms of so-called public spaces that are semi-private or completely private, controlled and regulated. Consequently, threatening the notion of being 'publically accessible' since accessibility is measured in both physical and psychological perspectives (Joseh, 1998), and public accessibility is "what guarantees the free circulation of persons and goods, allowing the emergence of collective representations wherefrom images of the city are produced" (Tonnelat, 2010), and within the new emerged forms of privatized 'public' spaces, the freedom of movement becomes questioned.

Such bilateral relation between governmental and economic privatization practises in correlation with Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) framework lead to transformations over several notions of Public Spaces; Squares, Markets, Paths and Parks, and to emergence of neoliberal developments and CBDs. Abdali Psc as a case study, addresses eclectic elite social classes and exclude others, resulting in enhancing social inequality throughout limiting the freedom of accessibility within the same urban fabric. Moreover, the formation of gated communities is conceived as "a microcosm of the larger spatial pattern of segregation and separation, throughout geographic separation and further exacerbating differentials in income and wealth" (Ellin, 1997, p. 96), carries out a true threat not only on the Life Space but also on the whole perception of Perceived Spaces represented in paths, open spaces, market space... etc. On the other hand, privatised 'public' parks spaces within gated communities are considered an attractive factor to the elite social classes, who are not satisfied with experiencing Amman public parks and seek refuge elsewhere (observations of public survey), which puts the public parks under the threat of privatization practices to ensure good quality maintenance and services.

The privatization practices in the past 15 years over Amman Market Space resulted in finding Shopping Malls that are radically different in their concepts, forms and functions from the market space, addressing new concepts of consumption culture through; shopping in closed and climate controlled environments, socializing within shopping arenas and third places of shopping malls, and offering entertainment spaces for various age groups within controlled and private spaces. On the other hand, the overall analyses of experiencing shopping malls, young ages and families with children find them popular, attractive, sufficient and comprehensive spaces for a regular life-style prospects thus enhancing adverse effects of shopping malls presented in the idea that controlled and guarded spaces of shopping malls cause a threat on the Life Space of the city and its sociocultural ties specially when adopting the exclusion 'no entry policy' for the unwelcomed users to access shopping malls, and the social segregation policies.

The modalities of the eco-political intervention of Amman and Jordan in general, advanced by neoliberal market oriented modalities of inquiry, provide power to the political and economic elites of Amman society, and lead to geographies of inequality in the city through the formation of urban islands of excessive consumption (Daher, 2013). "This is not simply because neoliberal reforms enable the reconstitution of class power by articulating it to networks of finance, government and expertise that span the planet (e.g. (Harvey, 2005)), but also because such global engagements have been there all along" (Parker, 2009). The impact of such modalities on the spatial practice represented in public spaces are direct, influential and dominant, leading to reformation on sociocultural patterns, urban patterns and socio-political manners. Therefore, the planning conservations and developments of public spaces requires active participatory in different economic, social and political levels to ensure equality, inclusiveness and public salvation.

NOTES

¹ According to *Webster New University Dictionary*, Capitalism is “An economic system marked by open competition in a free market, in which the means of production and distribution are privately or corporately owned”

² *Dialectic* is terminology expresses the perpetual resolution of binary oppositions, a metaphysics most closely associated in European philosophy and social thought with G.W.F. Hegel (1770–1813) and Karl Marx (1818–83)

³ Procedural spaces are a public spaces that are practices and experienced but whose legal categorization as public is not met or is ambiguous, terminology used by Dr. Mona Harb

⁴ In 2006 Greater Amman Municipality has merged with 8 sub-districts suited within four districts (Sahab, Mowagar, Jizah and Na’oor) increasing Amman area up to 1600 km². However, in the 2014 the plot area was resized again to 801 km² and excluded the merged districts. This study is based on the statistics and figures of the former plot of Amman (1600 km²), in order to examine Amman’s municipality development and planning visions.

⁵ The Upper Class controls over the most important economic and bureaucratic institutions, and controls resources and other classes.
The Middle Class has substantial autonomy over their own work and intermediate authority over others. The Working Class has no control over neither its own work, nor the work of others. The Dispossessed Class can’t participate effectively in the market place because it represents the irregular employed or unemployed group. (Shteivi, 1996, p. 408)

⁶ East and West Amman is a metaphoric expression determines the two opposite sides of Amman upon class, income wages, and conditions of infrastructure and services levels.

⁷ The approximate line between the ‘two Ammans’ is suggested by Myriam Ababseh (Ababsa, 2010)

⁸ The Buildings and regulation prescript for Cities and Villages, No. 19 of the year 1985, issued upon article 67 of The Regulation Act for Cities and Villages, No, 79 of the year 1966. Section Four in the prescript mentions seven types of residential areas: special areas, ordinary areas types A, B, C, D and H, attached residential areas, popularity-residential housing areas, green areas rural areas and high-rise areas.

⁹ This Law was published in the Official Gazette issue No. (4075) dated 16/10/1996, and amended in the Law No. (13) Of the year 2000 published in the official Gazette issue No. (4423) dated 2/4/2000

¹⁰ Quoted by his Majesty King Abdullah II in a speech presented in the “World Economic Forum in Davos”, Jordan Times, 31 January 2001.

¹¹ The private free zones were established to enhance the kingdom’s relationship with the private sector, and companies are encouraged to run their own zones.

¹² Musha is a communally owned land

¹³ *BearingPoint* is an international management consulting firm that was then working in Jordan.

¹⁴ *Amman Institute (AI)* was established in July 2008 by the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM). The genesis of the Institute came from the success of the Amman Plan, an initiative undertaken by GAM for planning the growth of the city through 2025.

¹⁵ *PlanningAlliance* is an international planning and design firm from Canada headed by John Van Nostrand.

¹⁶ Comprehensive Multiple Transportations Company is a Jordan-based public shareholding company engaged in the provision of public transportation services

¹⁷ The initiative of Interruptions is an experimental architectural/cultural publication that was started by a group of enthusiastic students in 2008.

¹⁸ Interview, Amman, April 2008. Post was lead author of the Master Plan (which won the 2007 World Leadership Award in Town Planning). Post is also setting up the Amman Institute, an urban observatory dedicated to establishing and advancing regional benchmarks of urban governance.

¹⁹ All the three areas A, B and C are within the original periphery of Amman and not within the four merged districts.

²⁰ *Al-Qaiseyeh Scattered Settlement* is located in Abdoun Valley and hosting over 170 families. In 2008, GAM had alerted the settlers to must leave the area in return of 80 JDs/sqm at the beginning, and later it was raised to 750 JDs/m². However, those who lives in informal 'shelters' will end up with no compensation at all.

²¹ Data is based in interviews done with some of GAM employees in 11.03.2015

²² Abdali Investment & Development PSC is a privately-owned land development company established to develop and manage mixed-use urban developments.

²³ Sheikh Bahaa Rafiq Al-Hariri is the eldest brother of former Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri. Al Hariri family are the project founder of planning and redeveloping Beirut Central District, named Solidere Beirut. The Abdali project in Amman is known as a twin-project to the Solidere.

²⁴ The Talal Abu-Ghazaleh Organization (TAG-Org) is a local organization and considered the largest global group of professional service firms in over 40 fields, operating out of 80 offices worldwide.

²⁵ Acquisition Act and amendments No.12 for the year 1987, published in the Official Gazette issue No. (3468) dated 01/04/1987, page 655. Replacing Acquisition Act and amendments No.6 for the year 1980. Section Five: State property and the acquisition.

²⁶ Andalusia gated community is the first gated community in Jordan established in the 2005 and completed in 2013

²⁷ Provisions of the Regulation and Buildings Located in the Undeveloped Areas of GAM, decision No. 535 issued on 19.12.1987, under the Regulation Act for Cities and Villages, No, 79 of the year 1966, Published in the Official Gazette issue No. (3534) dated 25/02/1988, page 414.

²⁸ The four projects by HUDC were established to comply with the King Abdullah II national initiative for housing under the name "Decent Housing for Decent Living" in an effort to promote social and

economic security by providing a wide range of citizens appropriate housing in all the provinces within the five-year plan beginning in 2008 (Royal-Hashemite-Court, 2001-2015)

²⁹ Refer to chapter 2.1: Economic Practices and Political policies

³⁰ Habbet Nissan: The Peace, Bread and Riots, took place on the 15th April 1989 due to the implementation of the IMF program which resulted in crucial economic crises such as the increase of bread prices. The demonstrations had started in the South of Jordan and gradually moved up till the North governorates. These demonstrations quickly evolved to public claim of freedom and to overthrow the government and to legalise the law of the political parties.

³¹ The rehabilitation project of Ras El-Ein had started in the 1998 and finished in the 2002 in an initiative from Gam to develop the area and restore the public life and cultural presence in the city. The project includes; Nourin Mosque, the City Hall, GAM headquarters, the Nakheel Square, Al Hussein Cultural Centre and the Music Conservatory.

³² Jabal in Arabic means mountain

³³ Al Hussein Mosque is suited at the heart of the downtown Market space, and considered one of the most popular mosques in Amman especially in Friday's where prayers come from several neighbourhoods to pray, shop and socialise.

³⁴ Article 164, third chapter of the second book: Crimes, entitled: illegal mobs and other public disorder offenses. Under the Penalty Act, No. 16 of the year 1960, published in the Official Gazette issue No. (1487) dated 01/05/1960, page 374.

³⁵ Amendments of the Public Assembly Law, No. 05 of the year 2011, published in the Official Gazette issue No. (5090) dated 02/05/2011, page 1746. (Former of Public Assembly Law, No. 07 of the year 2004)

³⁶ NGO: non-governmental organization

³⁷ Zahran Street is considered the main spine of west Amman branching out to the various neighbour-hoods and areas. The spine is 7.5 km long, divided into 8 segments, on each node there is a Circle and a landmark. Historically, Zahran Spine has been the most significant street in west Amman since the 1950's, where the major landmarks of Amman took place; five stars hotels, Ministries and governmental buildings, embassies...etc. in addition to major firms and institutions and the prior elite residential areas.

³⁸ International Council of Shopping Centers

³⁹ In the 2005, Amman witnessed a terrorist bombs ripped nearly simultaneously through three popular hotels here on Wednesday night, killing dozens and wounding more than 100. Source: The New York Times, November 10, 2005: 3 Hotels Bombed in Jordan; At Least 57 Die.

⁴⁰ Khalid Neimat. (2012). 'Amman still unfriendly to pedestrians'. JordanTimes. <http://jordantimes.com/amman-still-unfriendly-to-pedestrians>

⁴¹ Third Place is a notion used by Ray Oldenburg of which he refers to the public places where people can meet and interact. In contrast to first places (home) and second places (work), third places allow people gather in either civic places or businesses open to the public, such as cafes, bars, and clubs (Oldenburg, 1998). Although the third places are not considered public spaces since they are owned by private owners, however in their common forms, are interposed within the open public space of the city's urban fabric, and that's why considered semi-public space.

⁴² Sweifeih is a district located in western Amman, since the late 1980's it became one of the city's high-class urban districts, and reached its commercial activity peak in 2006, it is well-known to host international brands retail shops and businesses. (Ziod, 2012, p. 105)

⁴³ Dr. Rami Farouk Daher is a co-founder and a principal of *TURATH: Architecture & Urban Design Consultants* (1999-present) and *Metropolis: Cities Research Council* (2008- Present), the research arm of *TURATH*. *TURATH* had worked on several leading urban regeneration and adaptive reuse projects in Amman and in the region including the urban regeneration of Rainbow and *Wakalat* Streets in Amman

⁴⁴ In the 24.03.2011, a group of merchants had carried out a sit-in and hanged signboards entreating the government to re-open Wakalat Street to cars as it was before 2007, claiming that paving the street has caused them considerable economic losses. Source: local newspapers

⁴⁵ In her book published in 2012, Ziod thoroughly explains the development of the commercial districts in Amman from 1950 to 2009, by studying the number of licenced shops and the reasoning it.

⁴⁶ Sidewalks Law in Greater Amman Municipality area, Law No. (29) For the year 2014 published under the article (40) from Municipalities Act No. (13) For the year 2011.

⁴⁷ The LTRC was created to replace the Public Transportation Regulatory Commission (PTRC), and entrusted to number of tasks that will organize road transport different Pattern; passengers public transport, goods transportation on roads and rail transportation in addition to overseeing the services and control and encourage investment in the road transport sector in line with the objectives of economic and social development.

⁴⁸ The shared taxi is a white cab, with capacity up to four passengers. The taxi is privately owned but regulated by the LTRC.

⁴⁹ Based on the Quarterly Report to for July, August and September 2014, published by LTRC official website

⁵⁰ Interview published in Addustour Newspaper on 27.Nov, 2006

⁵¹ al-Sijill online newspaper, Issue No.8, Feb, 2010 <http://www.al-sijill.com/mag/pdf/issue%208.pdf>

⁵² Amman Water Stream was considered one of the most important features of Amman urban life and space. It was fed by the water streams coming from west Amman, creating a main water stream along Muhajireen- Downtown-Zarqa spine. The stream was surrounded with agricultural lands, with scattered dwellings on both sides and wherein many businesses had took place along the stream, or the surrounded neighbourhoods (Bukhari, 2009, p. 97). Initially, the stream defining old Amman was rerouted in 1953, and covered with a concrete roof and asphalted, over several stages when it was

fully concealed in 1982 and replaced with a highway. Several reasons had led to this end; the gradual dehydration of the stream due to the installation of a treatment plant at one of its arteries from the west, discharging the effluent of the stream (Haddadi, 2006, p. 83), the oil boom and the automobile evolution, engineering and sanitation reason and above all a Municipal decision that favoured the erection of an automobile highway (Qoraish Street) instead of restoration.

⁵³ JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency

⁵⁴ Raghadan Bus Terminal was originally located to the east of the Amphitheatre and Hashemite Plaza, along the commercial spine and at the heart of the Downtown, facing both Citadel Amman and Raghadan Royal Palace.

⁵⁵ Saba Innab is an artist and architect whose work is concerned with urbanism and processes of space production and re-production. Her readings of Downtown Amman was presented during a workshop held by Studio X-Talk, Amman Lab 2014, with Columbia University's GSAPP and the Columbia Global Centers | Middle East, in the 10th Aug, 2014.

⁵⁶ Eng. Ayman Smadi is the Director of Transport and Traffic Management in GAM. His analysis of Raghadan terminal was noted throughout data sheets and personal interview made at GAM in the 15th Feb, 2015.

⁵⁷ PPP: Public Private Partnership

⁵⁸ HDMU High Density Mixed Use Development

⁵⁹ Personal Interview with Eng. Murad Al-Awamleh the Director of Special Projects & Investment Department in GAM, dated on 15 Feb, 2015.

⁶⁰ Documentary made by Roya TV in the 2014, 3 years after the project has stopped. The documentary reviews the history of the project from the administrative prospect of GAM, interviewing Eng. Murad Al-Awamleh 'Director of Special Projects & Investment Department in GAM', Eng. Anour Manasrah 'Director of the Sidewalks Department in GAM' and Eng. Ahmad Al-Tarawneh 'Head of Jordanian Constructions Contractors Association'.

⁶¹ Data from Department of Statistics, 2014

⁶² Radical Urbanism, The Right to the City, concluding panel: uploaded on YouTube on Dec 16, 2008. "Peter Marcuse, Margit Mayer, Susan Fainstein, David Harvey, moderated by Neil Smith, as the concluding panel of all day Radical Urbanism conference December 12, 2008 at the City University of New York Grad Center offering insight about the pending fall of capitalism, the degeneracy of our culture and political institutions, how the people can retake power, particularly in cities".

⁶³ Refer to *Hara* space mentioned in chapter 1.2, IV Public Parks and Gardens

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Public Spaces under Threat: Scenes from Amman

Abstract:

The research study aims to shed the light on practices and policies threatening the Public Spaces of Amman based on three theories on Space by Lefebvre (1991), Friedmann (1988) and Habermas (1991), and throughout appointed time, through examining; the factors contributing in producing the Public Space, and the factors influencing the practices among the Public Space within a hypothesis structure that implies a transformation on Amman Public Space due to neoliberal policies of privatization in correlation with the political, planning, cultural and social aspects.

L'objectif de l'étude de recherche est de répandre la lumière sur les pratiques et le politique menaçant les espaces public d'Amman. Base sur trois théories d'espace par Lefebvre (1991), Friedmann (1988) et Habermas (1991), et à travers un temps nommé et d'examen; les facteurs qui contribuer sur la production d'espace public, et les facteurs influencer les pratiques parmi les espaces public dans la structure hypothèse qui implique une transformation sur les espaces public d'Amman en raison de politiques néolibérales du privatisation en corrélation des aspects politiques, planification, culturel et social.

Keywords :

Public Space, Private Space, Production of Space, Neoliberalism, Privatization, Urban Transformations

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