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**THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATION
ON THE SUBVERSION OF THE CITY:
A CASE STUDY OF ALEPPO**

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Master's Thesis

Supervisor
Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Çetin

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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATION ON THE SUBVERSION OF THE CITY: A CASE STUDY OF ALEPPO

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Segregation is a multifaceted social phenomenon characterized by the separation or exclusion of various groups based on race, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, or other factors. Urban segregation is one of the most critical features of cities where segregation is a problem when a group of people is excluded from society and the use of services, public activities, and even job and education opportunities. Some cities are separated by socio-economic differences where urban policies are a significant part of the problem of segregation. This thesis reviews the history of segregation through the ages, how it developed according to place and time, and the nature of its application in societies. This thesis provides analysis of segregation, encompassing an exploration of its theoretical underpinnings, an assessment of the impact of government policies on its prevalence, and an investigation into its social and cultural aspects in contemporary societies. This thesis reviews the formation and development of urban planning in the city of Aleppo throughout history and the implementation of plans that contradict the formations of the historic city, which led to socio-economic class divisions at the neighbourhood level. The thesis focused on assessing the socio-economic divisions in the city and its role in the civil war and the concentration of conflict areas.

Keywords: Segregation, Urban Development, City Of Aleppo, Informal Housing, Old City.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Segregation has long been a prominent feature of urban landscapes, with deep-seated social, political, and economic roots. The effects of segregation are far-reaching, impacting not only the individuals and communities directly affected, but also the wider urban fabric. This thesis seeks to examine the impact of segregation on the subversion of the city, with a focus on the case study of Aleppo.

The historical context of segregation provides a foundation for understanding the ways in which it has shaped urban environments. From its origins in racial and class-based exclusion, to its more recent manifestations in urban planning and development, segregation has had a profound impact on the spatial, social, and political dynamics of cities. As such, this thesis situates segregation within the broader historical and theoretical framework of urban studies.

Segregation in architecture refers to the physical separation and unequal treatment of different racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic groups in the design and layout of buildings, neighbourhoods, and communities. This can include separate entrances, elevators, and living quarters, as well as discriminatory zoning and housing policies that limit access to certain areas. It has been a major factor in the perpetuation of social and economic inequality throughout history, and continues to be a major issue in many cities today.

Using Aleppo as a case study, this thesis examines the impact of segregation on the city's development and evolution. Aleppo, with its rich history and complex urban fabric, provides a valuable case study through which to explore the interplay between segregation and urban subversion. The thesis examines the historical development of Aleppo, from its earliest settlements to the present day, with a focus on the ways in which segregation has shaped the city. The thesis draws on a range of theoretical perspectives to explore the impact of segregation on Aleppo.

These include spatial and social dimensions of segregation, as well as its ramifications for urban development and the production of space. Through a detailed analysis of the city's evolution, the thesis examines the ways in which segregation has impacted Aleppo's urban fabric and typologies.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND AIM OF THE THESIS

The main focus of this thesis is to answer two key research questions. Firstly, thesis aims to examine the history of segregation in Aleppo and how it has impacted the city's urban development. Secondly, it seeks to investigate the impact of segregation on the subversion of Aleppo.

This thesis delves into the intricate issue of segregation and its influence on both society and urban development, with a particular emphasis on the city of Aleppo as a case study. Drawing on examples from modern and ancient societies, the thesis aims to demonstrate how segregation can give rise to conflicts and wars within society.

The thesis aims to shed light on the complex issue of segregation and its impact on society and urban development. By utilizing the case study of Aleppo, it provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of segregation and its influence on the destruction of the city.

1.2. METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis methodology combining archival research and mapping has been employed to examine the impact of segregation on the city of Aleppo. A variety of primary and secondary sources have been consulted, including historical archives, census data, and contemporary urban planning documents, in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the spatial and social dynamics of the city.

The study focuses on income-based segregation in Aleppo, using data from the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) for the year 2008. By projecting these results onto the plans for the destruction of the city, the study aims to highlight the differences between destroyed and healthy neighbourhoods, shedding light on the impact of segregation on the urban fabric of the city.

2. SEGREGATION

At first, the segregation was classified according to two levels, religious and social. According to religious segregation in architecture is the division of neighbourhoods or communities along religious lines, with different religious groups living in separate areas and often having their own places of worship, such as churches, mosques, or synagogues. This type of segregation can be seen in cities around the world, including in Northern Ireland, where Catholic and Protestant communities have been divided by physical barriers such as walls and gates. It can also be seen in the Old City of Jerusalem, where different quarters are designated for different religious groups, including Jews, Muslims, and Christians (Schnell, 2019: 40).

While the social segregation in architecture is the design of public housing projects in many cities, where low-income families and individuals are isolated in separate, often high-rise buildings, that are physically and socially removed from the rest of the community. This type of segregation can lead to a lack of access to resources, limited economic opportunities, and perpetuation of poverty. Another example is redlining, a discriminatory practice in which banks and other lending institutions refuse to invest in or provide loans to people living in certain, often minority-dominated, neighbourhoods. This can lead to disinvestment and physical decay in these areas, further perpetuating social segregation and inequality (Weyeneth, 2005: 11).

Segregation is a complex societal issue and it's hard to define it with just one theory. This issue started receiving attention in the early 20th century and was seen as an urban problem. Urban theories vary in their depiction of socio-spatial separation, depending on their analytical focus, from behaviour and process to structure and form. Segregation can manifest in many fields and dimensions, including:

- i. Residential: Separation of groups based on race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status into different neighbourhoods or housing developments.
- ii. Educational: Unequal distribution of students of different races, ethnicities, or income levels across schools, leading to a lack of diversity and unequal educational opportunities.

- iii. Economic: Unequal distribution of economic resources, such as jobs, credit, and business opportunities, causing unequal outcomes and perpetuating poverty.
- iv. Political: Unequal representation of groups in the political process, including government representation, voting rights, and access to political power.
- v. By race: Physical, social, and economic separation of people based on their racial or ethnic identity.
- vi. By class: Physical, social, and economic separation of people based on their socioeconomic status or income level.
- vii. By religion: Physical, social, and economic separation of people based on their religious beliefs or affiliations.

These are just a few examples of the multiple fields and dimensions in which segregation can occur. Regardless of its specific form, segregation remains a complex and multifaceted issue that continues to impact social and economic inequality in many societies (Caner & Bolen, 2013: 153–155).

Also, the description and understanding of urban segregation forms differ from one geographical area to another according to the different fields. Also, Americans have class differences, and Europeans have racial and social differences, while differences between the immigrants of the first and second generations of Australians. And even moving to a smaller scale, there is segregation at the level of the city and the suburb to the neighbourhoods and the house (Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011: 128–129).

Recent studies show the spread of segregation in various sectors, for example, work, education, health, and transportation, including ethnic and physical segregation and even the housing market. By moving to the city's area, there is segregation as separating residential groups within larger housing groups (Bolt et al., 2013: 1-3).

Spatial segregation is vital because the level of segregation between groups in a city has been an effective index of social trust. High segregation means low social trust. Low segregation means high interaction. In his Johan Skytte Prize Lecture, Robert Putnam suggested that ethnic diversity tends to reduce social solidarity and capital. His US evidence suggests that

residents of all races tend to 'hunker down in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods.' That trust (even of one's race) is lower, altruism and community cooperation rarer, and friends fewer (Boal, 2005: 62-64).

While Social exclusion is linked to the distance between residential groups, mixing policies were applied in city neighbourhoods to eliminate the increasing segregation and isolation in cities that may lead to a more inclusive and interactive society. These policies were issued after several discussions about social integration in the sixties of the last century (Calthorpe & Fulton, 2011: 360).

Peach (1996: 216) notes that integration is good while separation is terrible. It is a simple view of the city. Sometimes segregation imposes itself in some cities, and minorities live in concentrated areas as they see the chances of recognition increase and the preservation of social ties outside their region. However, the latest research indicates that when the neighbourhoods of minorities who prefer isolation are located in a place of streets and communal neighbourhoods, it can be a hypothesis of social integration in the environment.

Vaughan & Arbaci (2011: 128-129) indicated that segregation should be expanded to include a broader idea of inequality because it is not only a housing problem related to poverty and exclusion. Regardless of religion and orientation, people focus on inequality. In contrast, the increase in inequality in a society indicates a lack of opportunities for different groups of society, so focusing on segregation is essential to understanding interrelationships.

The widening of the segregation gap severely affects the economy's stability and growth. In addition, the separation may lead to a lack of better use of the productive capacity of societies. In talking about inequality, Musterd and Andersson points out that the interest in inequality is driven in one way or another by the way it expresses itself spatially (Musterd & Andersson, 2005: 761-763). Inequality means that there are people who have better incomes and therefore live in different geographic areas than their peers in the same city. This spatial exclusion or segregation is more severe in large cities than in small cities and small municipalities (Behrens et al., 2014: 507-508).

As part of the relationships may arise and develop in more integrated and diverse places, the mixing of social groups leads to more tolerance, peace, and recognition towards others, even

without direct contact between the parties to the groups. It means that living in neighbourhoods that contain social and economic groups from different groups generally contributes to tolerance, coexistence, and acceptance of the other but that it does not necessarily mean the relationship in the neighbourhoods to be this strong only that different people live next each other, which increases the tolerance towards other groups (Legeby, 2010: 11-12).

Nowadays, the surrounding environment has become more transparent and detailed in understanding segregation and distinction. However, the difficulty and complexity lie due to the multiplicity of dimensions and mechanisms of urban separation, which highlights the need for detailed multidisciplinary research.

2.1 HISTORY OF SEGREGATION

The Latin word *grex* means “flock.” From it comes the word segregation, or “to separate from the flock,” which means separating some people within society from others. Sometimes segregation is a tradition in a society, where in some religions, men and women are separated in different places of worship. Maybe the segregation may stem from the will of the person, as some people who have interests or particular hobbies prefer the same similar social group (Eduardo & Zonta, 2017: 11–15).

However, the principle of segregation is mandatory separation from the group. Based on this principle, segregation can preserve the social, economic, and political privileges of one group without the whole. Historically, segregation bases on the class of kings and enslaved people, which entails forcing a group to separate in an area, and the use of separate facilities and institutions, where the separation focuses on the ethnic level of an individual's political, economic, and social discrimination often accompanies policies of forced segregation (Eduardo & Zonta, 2017: 11–15).

In our contemporary world, discussions and government policies focus on segregation, which has become more prevalent in many disciplines and fields. While segregation through history is not a new phenomenon, it has existed since pre-modern times. Prototypes of segregated ancient cities were visible in one of the first ancient Egyptian cities ever to be discovered and excavated, the town of kahun, known as lahun. Lahun, in contrast to the cities

that were revealed, Lahun was not intended for the general public but rather was a site for workers and artisans who were building the pyramid of Lahun. The history of the city's construction dates back to 1895 BC during the reign of King Senusret II (Thinkafrica.net, 2018).

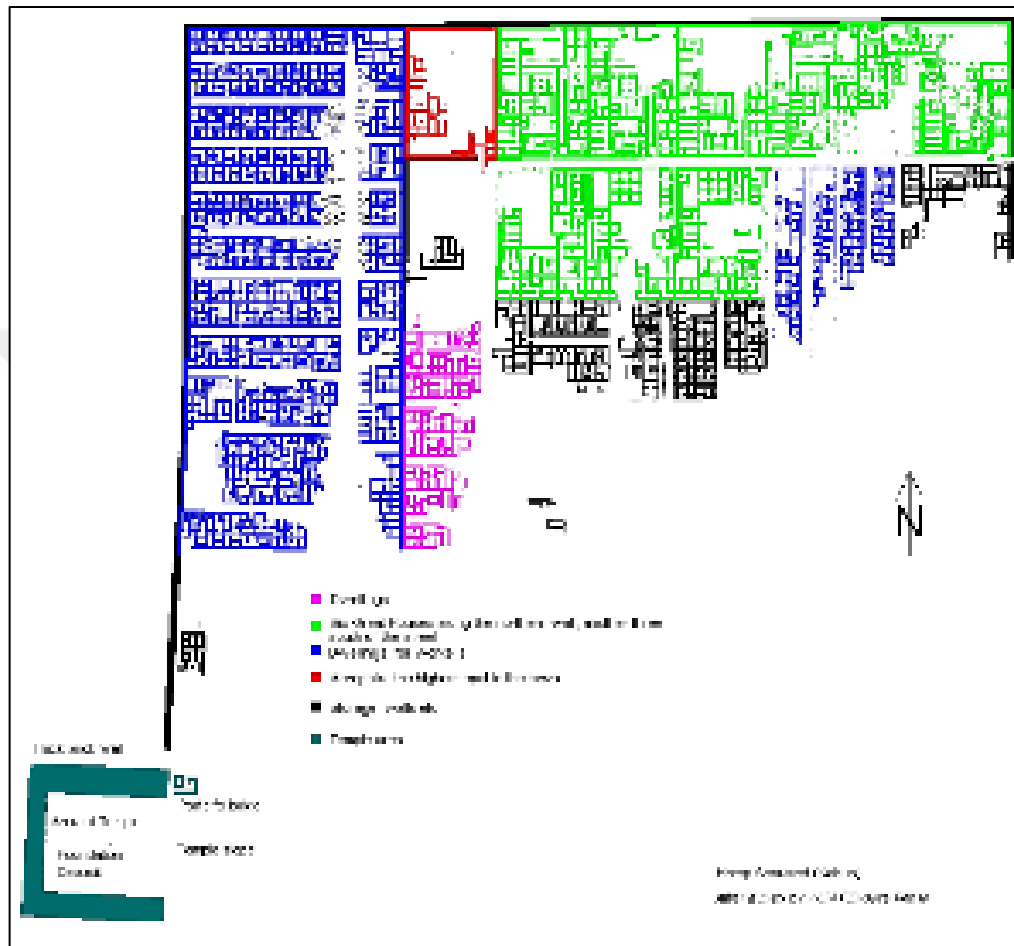


Figure 2.1: A Map Of Kahun Produced By Its Excavator, Flinders Petrie (Thinkafrica.net, 2018).

Lahun was surrounded by a wall that was 400 meters long and 350 meters wide, taking the shape of an almost rectangle. That is, it covers a land area of about 140 dunums. It was divided into two separate quarters, with a thick wall between them, and the wall that surrounded it was built of mud. It has two gates, one of the neighborhoods was designated for the wealthy class, and the second neighborhood included housing for the poor and workers. A wide main street crossed the first district where the houses lined up on both sides, and its floor was pierced in the middle by a narrow canal whose sides were lined with stone. The area of one dwelling in the wealthy neighborhood covered about 70 rooms, warehouses,

and a hall. Thus, it was equivalent to about 50 poor houses with no more than four rooms. The width of the main street in this city is about nine meters, and small lanes numbering 11 intersect with it, and the width of each does not exceed 4 meters. Gardens were also scattered within the city (Thinkafrica.net, 2018).

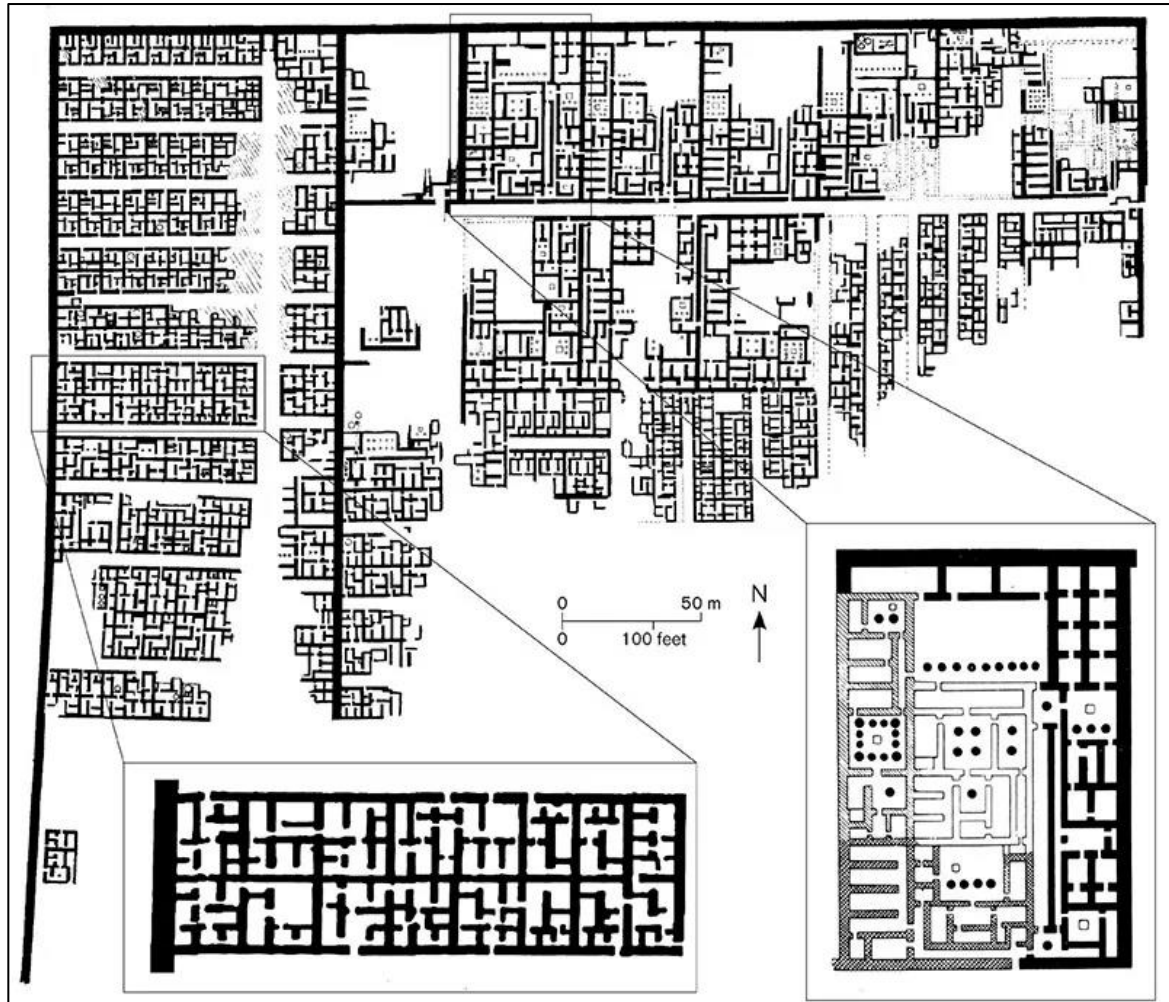


Figure 2.2: Plans of Two Different Types of Housing; Worker Dwellings (Left) and Great Houses (Right) (Thinkafrica.net, 2018).

On the other hand, China worked to develop theories of urban planning for the first time in 1600 BC during the Shang Dynasty, where China was an essential axis in the development of civilization for 3600 years. Urban planning was developed by the Shang Dynasty government, considering it a political and cultural issue, as planning became one of the most important traditions of controlling the state structure as they used planning to ensure social order and internal control over the policy of the state of China as a whole. As a result, the

urban planning system was directly and closely linked to social control and the enforcement of the power of politics that forced the conquerors of the Chinese state to become Chinese in order to achieve their victories both the Mongols and the mechanisms (Nelson, 1986: 17–21).

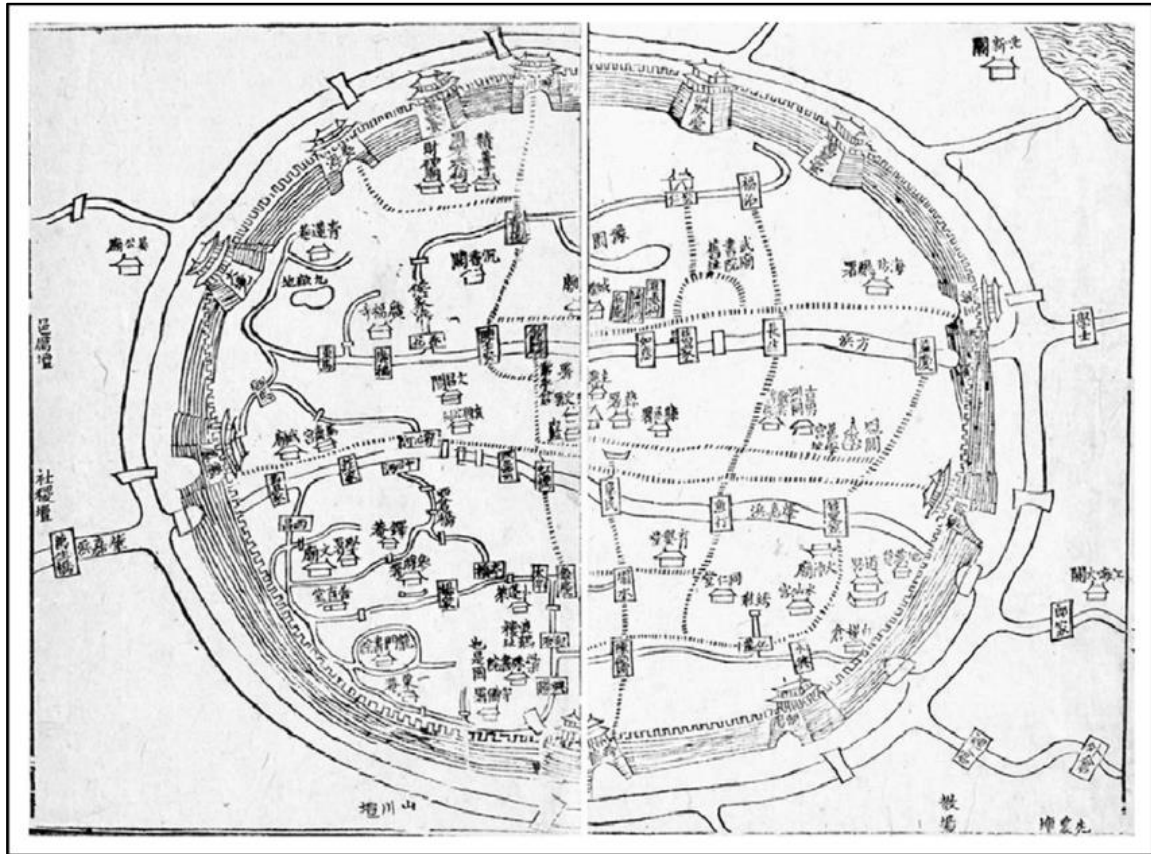


Figure 2.3: A Plan of Shanghai Walled City Showing the Basic Traditional Planning of A Chinese City (Arkaraprasertkul, 2010).

The ancient word for city is Yi, which signified "urban center," "capital," or "ceremonial center" during the Shang period. Chinese cities represent a renaissance that is the first of its kind religiously and politically rather than an advanced innovation at the technical level. The strength of the capital for authority and religious ethics represents the state as a center of strength for the capital in the strength of the surrounding wall in the city. While on the level of individuals, kneeling represents the submission of all people to the authority of the state and their distinction from the ruling class (Nelson, 1986: 17–21).

Cross-history segregation was not limited to income and social class but extended to the ministerial level in Hong Kong and Bombay.

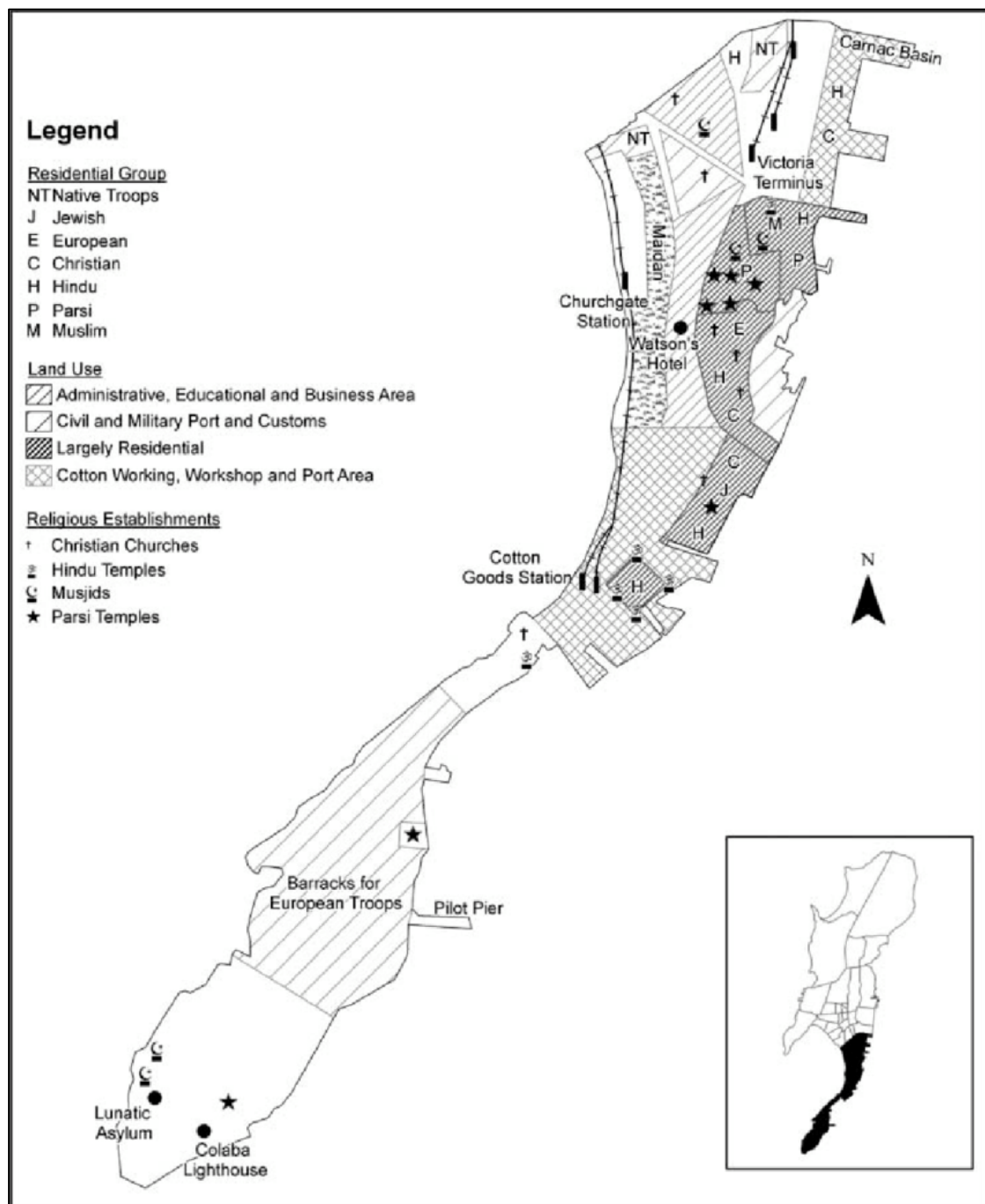


Figure 2.4: Different Levels of Segregation in Hon Kong and Bombay (Harris & Lewis 2013).

Separation policies did not stop in our modern age but continued to include different groups of society on ethnic, religious, and even political bases. For example, popular groups in some German neighbourhoods demanded that local councils erect steel barriers and isolate the

neighbourhoods to deter and reduce crime at the request of the local population where most of whom are white. These barriers were called the Berlin Wall in the New Orleans neighbourhoods in 1987. After a while, the municipality's mayor stated that "they could not imprison my people," and the checkpoints were removed one week after their construction. In the 1960s, the chains of steel gates that separated the predominantly African-American neighbourhoods in the South Side of Chicago in a public housing project from the white areas, where the iron curtain, became a distinctive feature of the project, as these gates were removed after the movement of the President of the United States Commission on Human Rights in 1982 (Travieso, 2020: 236-249).



Figure 2.5: Shows the Orleans Mayor Sidney Barthelemy Statement (Travieso, 2020).

The reference to the "Berlin Wall for Blacks" in Shaker Heights, Ohio, is a metaphor for the racial divide and segregation that existed in the area at the time. The banners hung by the protesters were meant to highlight the barriers that prevented African Americans from

accessing the opportunities and resources in the suburban area. This incident highlights the ongoing struggle for racial equality and integration in the United States. Between 1990 and 1991, banners were spread on both sides of the highway in the suburb of Shaker Heights in Cleveland, Ohio, saying, “Enter the apartheid areas in Shaker.” The banners were hung by a group of protesters who struggled to remove barriers between the city and the suburb where the incident became known as the Berlin Wall for Blacks (Travieso, 2020: 236-249).



Figure 2.6: Shows the Atlanta S Berlin Wall (Travieso, 2020).

In our time, segregation is most evident in the city of Johannesburg, one of the country's largest economies. People from other African and south African cities immigrated to it. The city was established to make it a centre for gold mining as it is today the most important economic centre in South Africa. Hence, it became a centre of attraction for cheap labour. The white miners-built palaces that became a part of the city's wealthy areas, where black workers were stationed south of the city in poor housing conditions. Most of the time, these distinctions are well visible in a literal sense between parts of the city divided according to the material conditions of the individuals as black families are unlikely to live in wealthy

and even middle-class areas, and segregation still exists in the square to this day (Maganga, 2021).



Figure 2.7: Show The Inequality in Johannesburg, South Africa (Maganga, 2021).

2.2 SEGREGATION IN URBAN THEORIES

“Segregation itself is not the problem,” Goodman said. “Segregation is just people of different races living in different communities. The issue with segregation is that it often causes inequality.” (Bethea, 2015).

Academics often distinguish between segregation and residential distribution when studying urban separation, regardless of the measurement indicators or other measures used. According to Massey, there is a practical and theoretical difference between the various aspects of segregation (Massey & Denton 1988: 281-284).

While any increase or decrease in residential groups between cities is defined as a separation of population structure at the neighbourhood’s level. The separation is formed by differences

in the formations of neighbourhoods but rather the proportion of other neighbourhoods. This separation indicates the high rates of residential concentrations of groups of residents in specific areas in the city. However, this method refers to the spatial demographic spread of residential groups across specific areas of the city compared to other residential groups in the same city, as the population segregation of residential groups reduces and disrupts opportunities for community participation and development, which is reflected in all aspects of life and forms of civil exclusion (Musterd & Andersson, 2005: 761-764).

Segregation exists everywhere in transportation systems, labour markets, health care, sports, education, entertainment, and the housing market. However, segregation is always linked to the spatial differentiation of individuals, where housing is the main factor in the formation of many urban areas. From another point, segregation spreads at the hierarchical level between different social groups because it is not limited to different groups of neighbourhoods where segregation defines the boundaries between the groups of society and places the complex in a hierarchy that affects the cooperation and interaction between social groups (Legeby, 2010: 15-16).

The resistance to change and separation is strongly associated with social polarization in building societies which becomes an easy ground for political conflicts. In this context, segregation can be defined as the social distance through physical separation. However, if separation is limited to individuals and groups, it is not antithetical to social integration, but sometimes, segregation is needed to keep the community healthy. In architecture, segregation can refer to the physical separation of different functions or spaces within a building or area. This can be used to increase efficiency and organization, such as separating public and private spaces, or to create dedicated spaces for specific activities. This type of segregation can be seen as positive in terms of practicality and functionality. However, it is important to note that this type of segregation is different from the segregation based on race, ethnicity, or other personal characteristics, which is inherently discriminatory and harmful (Legeby, 2010: 18-20).

However, researchers stress perseverance and partnering with universities, medical centres and major companies to revitalize the city. “We must not only remain vigilant against all

forms of discrimination in housing, but also promote and celebrate diversity in our neighbourhoods and communities,” (Bethea, 2015).

Segregation, understood as a pattern of spatial differentiation, is a phenomenon that can be measured, provided that there exists some criterion for classifying individuals, and information on the population composition in different sub-areas based on this criterion. Measures of socio-economic segregation use criteria based on some kind of indicators of socio-economic status, e.g., income, employment status, level of education, benefit dependency, or occupational status (or combinations of two or more of these). In studies of ethnic residential segregation, the classification is generally based on racial or ethnic belonging or origin, or on a division between majority and minority status, or between natives and immix-grants (Massey & Denton 1988: 281-284).

In practice, government policies are the primary driver of racial segregation in the city through related decisions in the use of space or the provision of public services and neighbourhoods’ infrastructure. The battles for control of space are directly related to the government's general policies, and spatial segregation can also play a significant role in racial segregation. Also, there is another aspect of segregation according to the hierarchy of society and the strength of the social polarization of the neighbourhoods. This thesis analyses the theories of segregation into spatial, political, and social.

2.2.1 Spatial Segregation

Spatial segregation in architecture refers to the physical separation of spaces within a building or area for specific functions or uses. For example, in a school building, classrooms may be separated from administrative offices, libraries, and lunchrooms to create dedicated spaces for different activities. This type of segregation can improve the flow of people and resources, increase efficiency, and provide a clearer sense of identity and purpose for each space. It can also enhance safety, as certain areas may be restricted to authorized personnel only. Spatial segregation in architecture is not meant to discriminate or separate people based on personal characteristics such as race, ethnicity, or religion (Gould & Lewis, 2012: 113-115).

However, the forms of segregation are the cases of spatial, cultural, and socio-political exclusion of individuals who are deprived of society. As De Souza clarified that spatial segregation is one of the results of urban separateness, which refers to segregation, and this leads us to the difference between issues of distinction, connection, and even choices about apartheid (Boal, 2005: 62-64).

But segregation is the separation from the whole as the separation is spread in food markets, education systems, health care, transportation networks, and even in housing markets and sometimes in sports where the separation exists in many areas, but the prevailing concept is still the meaning of the link in the spatial separation where housing constitutes the leading player in the definition of such terms (Massey, 1994: 86–88). As cities allow residents to get acquainted and establish relationships with society as a result of interactions and experiences in private and public places because the urban environment leads individuals to the outside and enables them to see each other (Giddens, 1986: 163–169).

Harris (1984: 454–457) indicated that three main thinking lines are used in preparing urban planning theories: design, form, and classification. Where the first approach is characterized by urban design in dealing with the urban form as it is subject to control and directed to a variety of uses, but with technical progress and the maturity of society, this approach faded, which gave the field to the second approach that focuses on the urban form. In these times, the economic theories about the effect of the surrounding space on the site's environment were slowly developing, where a theory focused on describing the urban form as a succession of the view of nature appeared in the nineteenth century. One of the actual results of this type was the need to focus on construction processes. This approach led to the developing of a third trend that describes urban classification in explaining the urban form. According to Harris (1984: 460–464), to protect all aspects of the city, work must be done to create a perspective of different aspects and dimensions that can produce a general urban theory. This change in orientation to focus on socio-spatial processes rather than toward design processes has markedly changed the city. Where segregation has become an explicit part of urban theories and one of the biggest problems that resulted from this shift in operations (Caner & Bolen, 2013: 153–155).

The repercussions over the past 100 years have affected rather the various theoretical assumptions related to urban separation, including:

i. The sociology of the School of Chicago in the first decades of the 20th century:

The sociology of the School of Chicago in the first decades of the 20th century was marked by a focus on empirical research and the study of urban issues. The Chicago School of Sociology was centered at the University of Chicago and its members sought to understand the social, economic, and cultural factors shaping the rapidly growing urban areas, particularly in Chicago. The researchers in this school were known for their use of innovative research methods, such as participant observation, to study urban life and human behaviour in the city (Bulmer, 1986: 1-4).

Some of the key themes studied by the Chicago School sociologists included immigration, urbanization, social disorganization, and the formation of social groups. They were also interested in exploring the dynamics of race, class, and gender in the urban context. The work of the Chicago School had a significant impact on the development of American sociology, and its theories and methods continue to influence sociological research to this day (Bulmer, 1986: 1-4).

ii. Urban Marxist Sociology in the 1960s and 1970s:

Urban Marxist sociology in the 1960s and 1970s was characterized by a focus on the critical analysis of urbanization, urban development, and the role of capitalism in shaping cities. This perspective saw cities as key sites for the production and reproduction of capitalist social relations and saw urbanization as a process of capitalist expansion. Urban Marxist sociologists sought to understand how the built environment and urbanization processes were shaped by and served the interests of the capitalist class (Harvey 2010: 195–198).

iii. The paradigm of Global Cities, whose major characteristic is the social and spatial duality:

The paradigm of Global Cities refers to a concept in urban studies that highlights the central role of a select few cities in the world economy. Global cities are characterized by their social and spatial duality, meaning they have both a rich and wealthy population as well as

a disadvantaged and marginalized population. These cities are often centres of finance, business, and cultural exchange, and they play a key role in the global economy (Sassen, 2001: 197–200).

The paradigm of Global Cities highlights the role of these cities in shaping the world economy and the lives of people across the globe. It also raises questions about the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities in these cities, and the impact this has on the lives of marginalized communities. This paradigm continues to be relevant in understanding the complex and interconnected nature of cities and their role in the global economy (Sassen, 2001: 197–200).

2.2.2 Social Segregation

Olsson says that the differences in the labour market related to spatial segregation reflect the differences between the different social groups in the city's neighbourhoods. Segregation can be defined as a form of social distancing that results in physical separation. Segregation consists of a hierarchy of social levels in different sectors of the population where boundaries separate groups and put individuals in a hierarchy which affects the cooperation and interaction between all social sectors. As the force of segregation increases with the strength of social polarization and rejection of change, societies become an easy ground for political conflicts. However, segregation should not be considered against social integration, even at the level of individuals and societies (Legeby, 2010: 21-23).

Different forms of segregation appear between rich and poor in the city or region and between religious and ethnic groups where segregation has been studied as a phenomenon. In politics, there is a tendency to impose specific terms about segregation in different neighbourhoods. For example, this tendency tends to hide the features and characteristics of racial segregation and relational character in affluent areas. Where the separate regions (the poor regions) depend directly on social welfare benefits as they suffer from severe levels of unemployment in addition to low levels of educational attainment as well as a high rate of drug and alcohol abuse and crime (Musterd & Andersson, 2005: 761-764).

The naming itself can hurt the neighbourhoods, so it is not surprising that these effects are formed as a result of calling an isolated, separated, deprived, or exposed neighbourhoods

and even at risk, which leads to a negative impression of the neighbourhoods in the long term. Such designations may indirectly affect the residents of the area and the latter of such neighbourhoods. For example, in Sweden in the sixties of the last century, the spread of a million homes areas as these areas were linked in the names of disadvantaged areas, and it was an unfortunate result of classifying the suburbs in this way. All of these designations can hide necessary conditions about different areas that have similar spatial characteristics, as this way of describing neighbourhoods relates to different levels in the segregation issue (Legeby, 2010: 23-24).

In the early twentieth century, the Chicago School developed an approach to the social analysis of space based on research conducted by Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, who worked on understanding the population distribution in cities by assuming the social environment. As the cities are designed centrally, they are occupied by the industrial, administrative, commercial, and residential centres, where this design is the main feature of the cities. Segregation is locating social groups different from others and then viewed as spatial distance describing social distance. Where ideas and beliefs prevailed, that individuals belonging to ethnic communities and people of social status follow the policy of segregation to protect against personal effects resulting from urban clusters. As a result of this, segregation is the selection of individuals as a result of ocean influences (The American Sociological Society, 1926).

According to various Marxist sociology, social segregation of places reflects the unfair allocation of services and land by the various social classes. Because of the social struggle as a result of the unfair distribution of housing and services in its various forms, it became believed that the housing separation is directly linked with the communities of high financial levels (Caner & Bolen, 2013: 153–155).

While the new thinking considers individuals' choices and capabilities are the main factors in determining specific locations for spread within the city. Where the urban Marxist sociologist emphasized that the government is the main player and the most important social factor in contributing to the formation of the civilized. Consequently, the differences between rich and poor areas, urban segregation, and capitalist production processes became

common and important topics studied by urban planners (Van Der Meer & Tolsma, 2014: 459–462).

The impact of globalization on cities has caused an increase in spatial segregation according to the latest analyses, where the economic factor in cities is seen as one of the most important reasons behind social segregation in urban areas, internal and external migration, which added a new dimension to the formation of cities in addition to the role of the traditional organizational institutions of the state which were marginalized as a result of poor and misused materials. Globalization is referred to as an increase in the operations of people, goods, and money, and its rapid growth is the working processes of globalization work to increase and intensify the physical and social relations of cities, such as financial, political, cultural, and social processes. All of this aroused a direct interest in the dynamics of segregation and its effects on cities in a renewed way (Giddens, 1986: 163–169).

For example, the process of redesigning the global structure of the economy is an important opportunity to increase the demand for skilled labour, and therefore one of the most important characteristics of this stage is the increase in the growth of demand for services and service jobs to meet this process that requires skilled labour in particular but the demand for labour may be a failure; as a result, existence of old labour and a failed attempt to fight unemployment. These differences will lead to an increase in the rates of differences and divisions between social groups at the expense of increasing social integration and exclusion of other social sections as the disadvantaged social group loses the reasons for access and participation in labour markets and society in general as a result of lack of participation in the labour market, weak social status, low political participation, and lack of social, cultural participation reflect patterns of social divisions. Where Sassen clearly expressed his view that it is the state of cities. These cities are considered an incubator environment for low-wage jobs and high-income jobs due to the nature of their economy based on broad tasks and specialized administrative services. They have become a major direction for immigrants due to this strange structure. These cities are double polarized and divided into social and ethnic grounds (Shulman & Wilson, 1987: 103–105).

The mismatch theory is one of the most fundamental theories that revolve around social inequality and the re-design of economic restructuring. The post-industrial society greatly

needs groups of highly educated people to look at inequality, and there is a problem that lies in the formation of a weak working class that is tolerant of social pressures consisting of people with a weak educational level who are commensurate with industrial qualifications. However, they need to be commensurate with the increasing qualifications required by the economies of modern cities as these individuals face problems in the cities where they live due to the spatial mismatch concerning the economies of modern cities (Shulman & Wilson, 1987: 103–105).

There are many differences with Sassen's theory, where there are few job opportunities in the markets. The people at the bottom of the social hierarchy are enslaved and exploited as unemployed. If they work, they are far from being promoted as a result of their educational conditions. Several statistics indicate that liberal countries are prosperous, which are characterized by government interference in housing and various social fields. These countries are distinguished in social welfare programs, as these policies generate more discrimination, social inequality, and social exclusion than welfare states based on population redistribution (Musterd & Deurloo, 2002: 487–490).

However, harmonies differ in the labour market structure, where the decrease in demand levels leads to high levels of unemployment in the welfare states. At the same time, the policies of these countries affect the structure of the labour market and levels of equality and social participation in the social consequences of globalization according to the differences in different institutional or other contexts (Musterd et al., 1998: 1–4).

In short, theorists make it possible to understand the undesirable negative transformations in urban places due to growth and change in the urban field.

2.2.3 Political Segregation

Political segregation refers to the separation or division of people based on their political beliefs, views, and affiliations. This can occur in various forms, such as in the spatial segregation of neighbourhoods or communities based on political ideology, or in the separation of political parties and factions within a society. Political segregation can also occur in the workplace, schools, or other institutions where people with different political beliefs are separated or excluded from each other. Political segregation can lead to a lack of

diversity in political perspectives, which can limit critical thinking and stifle democratic processes. It can also contribute to the development of a divisive political culture, where different groups are seen as adversaries rather than as partners in finding solutions to common problems (Oliver & Wong, 2003: 567–575).

Segregation is seen as a pure housing problem related to the poor and the rich. However, it should extend to include more comprehensive ranges in the urban field of inequality, as it became necessary not to define segregation as a purely residential phenomenon it also includes the political aspect and its repercussions on society house (Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011: 128–129).

According to Franzen, segregation creates a divide not only between people but also in regards to authority and the housing sector. He argues that segregation reinforces hierarchies and differences between the least advantaged groups, particularly in regards to race and class. The illegal aspects of segregation lead to exclusion and differentiation, both internally and externally, and hinder people's ability to participate in society and familiarize themselves with diverse environments. Segregation extends beyond physical space and affects various forms of geographical and social segregation, limiting interaction between individuals in economic and social fields. This further confirms the unequal status of marginalized groups in society, emphasizing the need for inclusive housing policies that promote spatial integration and equal opportunities for all members of society (Legeby, 2010: 24-26).

Scientists supposed that the prevailing belief about segregation is a natural phenomenon as it is believed that segregation is a natural accident of growth, changes, and similarity of the urban, a natural state produced by cities as a natural phenomenon as a result of cooperation and competition in the city (Caner & Bolen, 2013: 153–155).

Marx's writings on the urban political approach and the Chicago school were the first general model for vegetative sociology, that used these writings to understand the conceptual tools of residential segregation and focus on the processes of racial and ethnic segregation across segregation lines (Ruiz-Tagle, 2012: 388–390).

The concept of a "culture of poverty" in sociology has been criticized for perpetuating urban segregation and perpetuating the marginalization of the poor. Lewis highlighted the feelings

of isolation and lack of belonging among poor communities, contributing to the idea that poverty was not solely a result of individual characteristics but also a product of systemic factors. In response, civil rights movements emerged to challenge this notion and promote policies aimed at combating racial segregation. These efforts led to the creation of public policies aimed at ending segregation, including the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s (Lewis, 1959: 276–280). These policies aimed to address the root causes of poverty and improve the lives of marginalized communities, marking a crucial step toward promoting social and spatial integration. The impact of these policies highlights the importance of considering cultural and systemic factors in addressing poverty and promoting equality.

The attention towards the issue of poverty in urban centres gained prominence after the Civil Rights Movement. The ideas of the Chicago School, which emphasized the negative impacts of social segregation, led to a new wave of research on the role of neighbourhoods in shaping social problems. This research led to the development of new insights into how the concentration of economic disadvantage in certain neighbourhoods impacts life opportunities (Lees et al., 2013: 39–45). This shift in understanding has significant implications for policy-making, as it highlights the need for targeted and comprehensive approaches to address poverty and promote equitable access to opportunities and resources across all neighbourhoods. The emphasis on centre poverty and the influence of neighbourhoods has driven the development of policies aimed at mitigating the effects of economic segregation and promoting social and economic equality.

During those periods, attacks on poor communities increased due to the re-development of the relationship between poverty and culture. Two crucial points must be emphasized when described as the perpetual culture of poverty. First, Putnam pointed out the nature of the poor, which loses them social capital, while at the higher levels of society, there is a quality closeness that enhances the type and quantity of social networks in looking at the concept of the geography of opportunity as it is natural that quality and services are not available in poor neighbourhoods but rather than they are available in wealthy neighbourhoods so from here the laws of life of spatial segregation were formed (Putnam, 1995: 664–668).

In this context, new policies have developed that call for population mixing and the redevelopment of housing systems in a generation of integration policies that are interested

in social mixing projects, where mixed housing appears to consist of four main assumptions (Makoni, 2007: 254–259):

- i. Social networks and social capital.
- ii. Social control and social organization.
- iii. Sole models.
- iv. An improved political economy of the place.

These assumptions form the basis for policies aimed at promoting equitable and integrated communities, which recognize the importance of a diverse and inclusive environment in promoting social, economic, and political stability. The focus on social mixing projects emphasizes the role of housing in shaping communities and the need for policies that prioritize access to quality housing for all residents, regardless of their social or economic background.

Such policies allowed moving as these programs worked on mixed housing and integration into the environment through housing programs of a diverse nature for different groups of society and spatial gatherings of the poor and the rich (Brock, 2010: 41–46).

So, segregation has far-reaching impacts across social, political, and spatial domains, and it is important to consider these implications when developing policies and programs aimed at reducing segregation and promoting integration.

In conclusion, segregation in urban theories refers to the study of the physical and social separation of different racial, cultural, or ethnic groups in urban areas. The ramifications of segregation, or the effects of segregation, are the real-world consequences that result from this separation. Urban theories on segregation help to explain why segregation occurs and the ways in which it affects individuals and communities, including unequal access to resources, perpetuation of prejudice and discrimination, limited exposure to diverse perspectives, entrenchment of existing power imbalances and inequalities, preservation of cultural identity and heritage, strengthening of community bonds within segregated groups, and a sense of safety and security for members of a group in a separated setting. Thus, the

relationship between segregation in urban theories and the ramifications of segregation is that the former helps to understand and explain the latter.

2.2.4 The Ramifications of Segregation

Segregation refers to the separation of different races, cultures, or ethnic groups. While it can lead to preservation of cultural identity and foster a sense of unity and belonging among members of a group, segregation can also have negative impacts such as unequal treatment, perpetuation of prejudice and stereotypes, limited exposure to diverse perspectives, and reinforcement of existing power dynamics and inequalities (Little, 2014).

According to the 'voluntary ethnic clustering frame of explanation, then, spatial concentration to the minority enclaves continues because minority group members choose to remain closely together even when they have a choice to move to other parts of the city. The reason for this is that the ethnic enclave brings a number of advantages to its residents. The ethnic enclave can function as a territorial base for mutual support and for the development of ethnic institutions and businesses, it can serve as a base for the preservation and promotion of the members' own cultural heritage, traditional cultural patterns and group identity, and it can function as a base for political action (Brama, 2006: 15-18).

On the other hand, under multiculturalism, the ethnic agglomeration perspective emerged to criticize the point of view of the assimilationist urban environment framework, as all members of minority groups wish to be assimilated within the dominant cultural majority. Assimilation will be socio-economic, in the sense of a proportionate distribution of income, jobs, education, and the integration of behavioural patterns of society. The perspective of multiculturalism depends mainly on understanding all aspects that may be undesirable by one of the members of the groups (Dunn, 1996: 503–507).

While failure in socio-economic integration is called in the United States by the processes of inclusion, as this process reflects inequality in employment and housing opportunities, where many negative socio-economic consequences of apartheid have been recorded, despite the attempts of governments, many negative aspects of racial segregation between neighbourhoods have been documented. For example, black people in America who live in areas separated from society have high levels of poverty and even low educational

conditions. When segregation in cities is carried out based on race, these processes create stark divisions in the categories of residential societies. They develop into other lines of spatial divisions and create intolerant societies that cannot compete with each other. The political and social conflict in the divided cities can reach very high levels as a result of the spatial separation as these cities are unable to reach a consensus but in addition to low levels of urban development from streets to infrastructure and programs to help the poor people (Trounstone, 2018: 3-5).

The permanent population concentration of economic and social groups has many repercussions. According to much literature where many types of research indicated that the decrease in interaction and the formation of relationships between different population groups is due to spatial residential segregation, which has effects on the quality of personal networks at the level of people and also the increase in poverty and exacerbation of social problems among urban areas its causes are likely to be the residential-spatial segregation between economic and social groups, as these forms of segregation between groups result in an increase in social unrest, problems and a decrease in trust between economic and social groups in addition to an increase in the crime rate (Trounstone, 2018: 3-5).

While ethnic divisions play a much more significant role than demographic divisions at the level of politics, where political priorities and voting in municipalities are based on these divisions. In contrast, in municipal administration, class and party ideology play essential roles in determining voting and support since ethnic conflicts are prevalent between groups. These divisions are more heterogeneous and more pronounced in places with the most racial segregation at the population level. Separate cities are more politically polarized. At the same time, researchers say more diverse cities have higher levels of spending on public goods (Bolt et al., 2013: 1-3).

The difference of opinions in population societies, as a result of the sharpening of the division across ethnic groups, is expected to be more pronounced than in integrated societies as a result of residential priorities. Racial intolerance and racial isolation are linked to a high degree between residential groups due to interactions and choices between people. So, when people have intolerant, racist tendencies to determine where they want to live, they look for people with similar traits and tendencies as they weigh their choices and associate poor-

quality neighbourhoods with poor services in terms of hygiene, education, health, and crime, or because they are looking to reduce their contact with different race groups. From another point of view, it is possible to live with different types of individuals with different orientations, which leads to a change of views. In socially and politically speaking neighbourhoods, the interaction between neighbourhoods' members works to confront the negative stereotype prevailing about some neighbourhoods (Oliver & Wong, 2003: 567–575).

In conclusion, segregation can have both positive and negative impacts. On one hand, segregation can lead to preservation of cultural identity and the development of a sense of unity and belonging within separated communities. It can also provide a sense of safety and security for members of a group who feel threatened or marginalized. On the other hand, segregation can result in unequal treatment, opportunities, and resources for different groups, perpetuate prejudice and discrimination, limit exposure to diverse perspectives, and reinforce existing power dynamics and inequalities.

2.3 RIGHT TO THE CITY

The Right to the City is a concept that asserts that all citizens have a right to access, participate in, and shape the cultural, social, economic, and political life of their city. It recognizes that cities are public spaces, not just commodities, and that all people should have a say in how they are planned, developed, and governed. The Right to the City movement calls for a democratization of urban spaces and an end to exclusionary and unequal policies that benefit only a privileged few. The goal is to create inclusive, equitable, and sustainable cities that meet the needs and aspirations of all residents (Harvey, 2012: 15-21).

Theoretical reflection must revisit and clarify the functions, forms, cultures, and structures of city politics and economics. It's crucial to understand the natural needs of urban communities, which are often manipulated rather than recognized and precisely defined. These needs, rooted in anthropology, encompass aspects such as safety, security, work, organization, openness, adventure, and the unknown. Rather than squandering these unique energies, societies should harness them and apply them to sensory experiences and various pursuits, such as sports, art, politics, and knowledge, to foster unity. By doing so, can

approach city and life needs from a more open, advanced, and transparent perspective, leading to a more developed and peaceful existence (Purcell, 2002: 99–103).

The French sociologist Henri Lefebvre was the first to introduce the concept of the "right to the city" in his 1968 book, *"Le droit à la ville."* In this work, Lefebvre argued that cities should be seen as a shared resource and that all citizens have a right to access and shape the cultural, social, and political life of their city. He viewed the right to the city as a means of challenging the dominant forms of urbanization and promoting a more democratic and inclusive approach to city planning and development. Academics and social movements embraced this idea in resistance against the capitalist City to express inequality between the classes of society. Whereas in the 1973 book *Social Justice and the City*, one of the most vocal supporters of this idea, the geographer David Harvey, pointed out the inability to separate lifestyles, relationships, social ties, values, and technologies from the type of City that is desired, so the "right to the city" is much greater than the unique freedoms and even the right to changing ourselves is the way to change the City (Harvey, 2012: 15-21)

The common reasons for the emergence of capitalism are a process of urbanization rather than a practical increase in the circulation of capital, so urban areas are created and shaped as a result of the influence of societies on them. If they believe that the development of architecture in cities is an urban revolution must develop a way to understand the city (Lefebvre, 2003: 135–141).

To think is a must about providing new and practical solutions to the problems of segregation in the city while increasing attention and focusing on the "right to the city." Cities have become in need of a broader democracy as a result of restructuring in the last round, so this need became very urgent (Purcell, 2002: 99–103). While Haussmann indicated that the goal of his mission was to solve and develop the problems of unemployment and increase capital through urbanization

Today, cities still live in fragmented, and conflict and societies. Although the production and use of surplus money and people are controlled by democracy," the right to the city" is a popular trend, movement, and a way to stand up to neoliberal urbanism and give power and control to the urban population. Where Lefebvre's writings on the "right to the city" indicated that it is a renewable and transforming urban life that cannot be described except

in this way it is not a return to cities nor a visit, so it is not that simple (Lefebvre, 1996: 63-66).

The right to build and redevelop the city's urban environment in a modern and collective way is one of the concepts of the right to the city developed by David Harvey in his writings. He pointed out that the "right to the city" is the right to develop and change ourselves during the change of the city, as the current and prevailing concept of the right in the city is limited. It revolves around the elites of society, from economists and politicians. The central role in urban change is the leading players in it. The establishment of modern urbanization through the withdrawal of urban spaces is considered an exemplary political example of expressing the "right to the city," but in addition to building and developing social movements and democratizing this right enhances and preserves its strength (Harvey, 2012: 15-21).

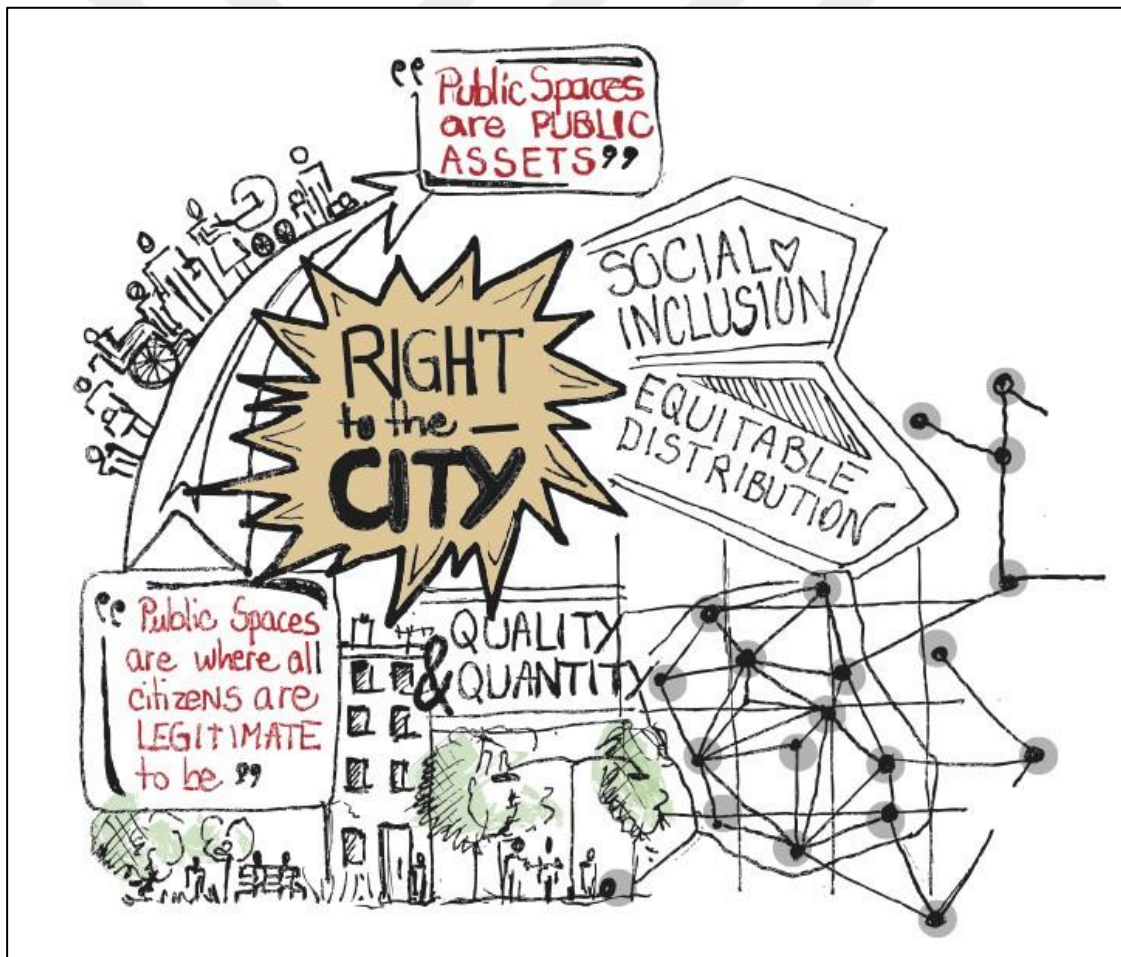


Figure 2.8: Sketch Shows the Relationship of the Right to the City (Parcitypatory, 2020).

2.3.1 Production of Segregation in Space

The production of space refers to the process by which social and economic forces shape the physical and social landscape of a city or region. This production of space can result in both positive and negative outcomes, including the creation of inclusive, vibrant, and diverse communities, as well as the production of segregation and spatial inequality. Segregation in space is the spatial separation and unequal distribution of different social groups in a city or region. This can result from various factors, including economic, political, and social factors that lead to the unequal distribution of resources, services, and opportunities. Therefore, the production of space and the production of segregation in space are closely related, as the former can lead to the latter, creating a spatial landscape that reflects and reinforces existing inequalities.

The social, cultural, and political components are a simplified definition of the concept of the city. While the concept of collective living is a development of the concept of the right to the city since the concept of university living includes participation, connection, communication, and cooperation. It is a much greater right than primary rights, where the participation of people in the formation and creation of urban spaces and the rights of ownership in the use and occupancy of urban spaces are the essential elements of the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996: 63-66).

However, the question remains how to view the space. So, the space has been divided for ease of understanding into three main groups:

- i. Spatial practice: society interactions within the framework of its space.
- ii. Representation of space: conceptual space for thinkers and producers.
- iii. Representational spaces: symbolic overlay of physical space.

These three concepts of describing space affect each other directly in addition to having social and political characteristics and their dependence on the experience of social practices and the imagined space. Where scientists, engineers, and even civilians depend on understanding the socio-spatial practices of individuals and societies, this process is called the perception of space and its dependence on spatial expectations. These processes control

design space and direct it toward the future, but instead of relying on strategies, these spaces can be summarized as spaces for residents and users. It is a representative space through symbols and images associated with it rather than the space where residents and users live directly. It consists of the interactions between the three essential elements: the living space, the perceived, and the imagined. The space production process contributes to spatial practices and the overlap of representative spaces according to their characteristics and different patterns of social and historical conditions. Since the relationships are neither simple nor regular nor are they harmful or contradict the positive, all of this affects the living space, perception, and concept (Lefebvre, 1996: 63-66).

Theories have been considered to understand the ideas of space. Concerning social work, the importance of capital, and the role that urban space plays in its accumulation, with interest in understanding the functioning of the metropolitan city as a contradictory place of the unbalanced increasing processes of social preparation and mass consumption (Cassiers & Kesteloot, 2011).

On the basis of these principles Massey revealed her perceptions about the divisions in the labour market, economic growth goes in parallel with investments that create opportunities for new divisions in the labour market and then the spatial arrangement of the individuals in the regions is on the basis of a geological metaphor where each class of layers indicates the period of the emergence of space (Massey, 1994: 86–88).

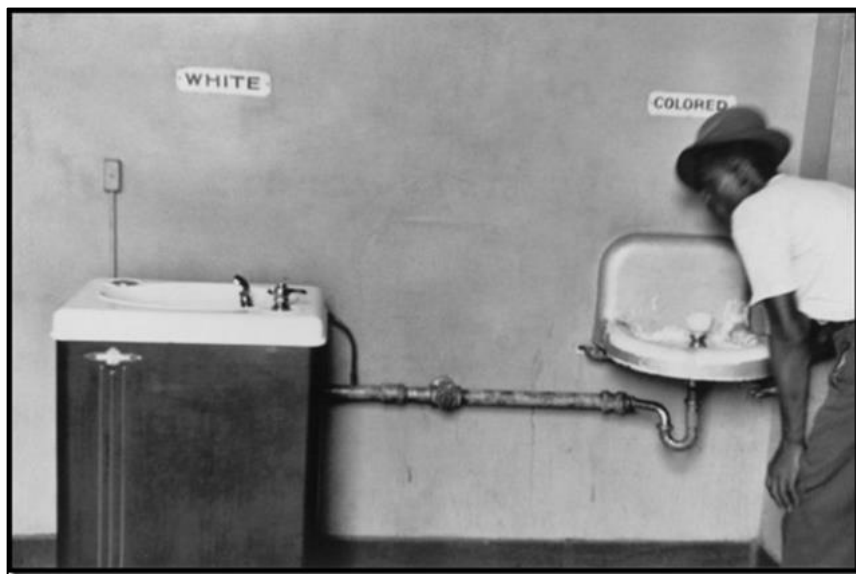


Figure 2.9: Shows the Segregation in Space Between Black and White (Erwitt, 2013).

Going back to the essential conceptual components and deconstructing the concept of segregation, segregation makes it more complex and destructive by separating and disconnecting resulting in the absence of forms of cities and suburbs. The separation turns things more complex, such as a difference of opinion, while the separation destroys all social structures through proximity and distance. It results in a difference in the forms of segregation and leads to a lack of form and isolated information (Lefebvre, 1996: 63-66).

The five elements of urban design - environmental, infrastructural, visual, facility, and morphological - shape the way urban spaces are divided and formed. These divisions can result in segregation, which is expressed as the unequal distribution of different social groups within a city or region. For instance, physical barriers such as walls, racist graffiti, and limited access to resources can contribute to spatial separation between groups. Despite the desire for distinction between communities, communication and movement have reduced the use of dividing walls in cities and countries. However, walls still exist, such as the Berlin Wall, the security wall between the US and Mexico, and the Peace Wall in Belfast, among others. These walls were built to divide and isolate residents and groups from each other, resulting in smaller-scale segregation such as that seen between whites and blacks in US neighbourhoods (Low, 2003: 187–190).

In conclusion, the division in cities can be seen through the infrastructure, such as trains and roads, as well as the morphological divisions of different social groups. These divisions result in an unclear spatial separation, where changes in street and neighbourhoods' patterns, population, and architecture restrict the movement of people between neighbourhoods. This restriction contributes to the production of segregation in space, where different social groups are separated from one another, creating unequal and divided cities.

3. ALEPPO CITY IN FOCUS

Aleppo is the oldest inhabited metropolis in ancient history. UNESCO reported that the city's age dates back to 12,200 years, which is more significant than Damascus and Antakya. The city was named Aleppo when it was the capital of the Amorite kingdom of Yamhad in about 1800 BC, and this name is said to be an Arabization of the Syriac word Aleppo which means white, while some said it is Aramaic (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992).

On a network of trade routes in the north of Syria lies the city of Aleppo (Figure 3.1), one of the oldest in the world, inhabited in terms of population and ruled by the Ottomans, the Mamluks, the Umayyads, and other great kingdoms throughout history. The unique urban fabric and the traces of these kingdoms and their civilizations are still visible in the city. This development has resulted from a rich cultural heritage that contains khans, baths, schools, and mosques, in addition to the most famous symbol of the city's history, surrounded by walls located on the highest peak in the city, the castle. For several years the city of Aleppo has been a centre for the silk thread trade as the city contains 13 km of shops in the largest covered market in the world called the city market "Al Madina Souk," which is located even near the castle (Britannica, 2023).

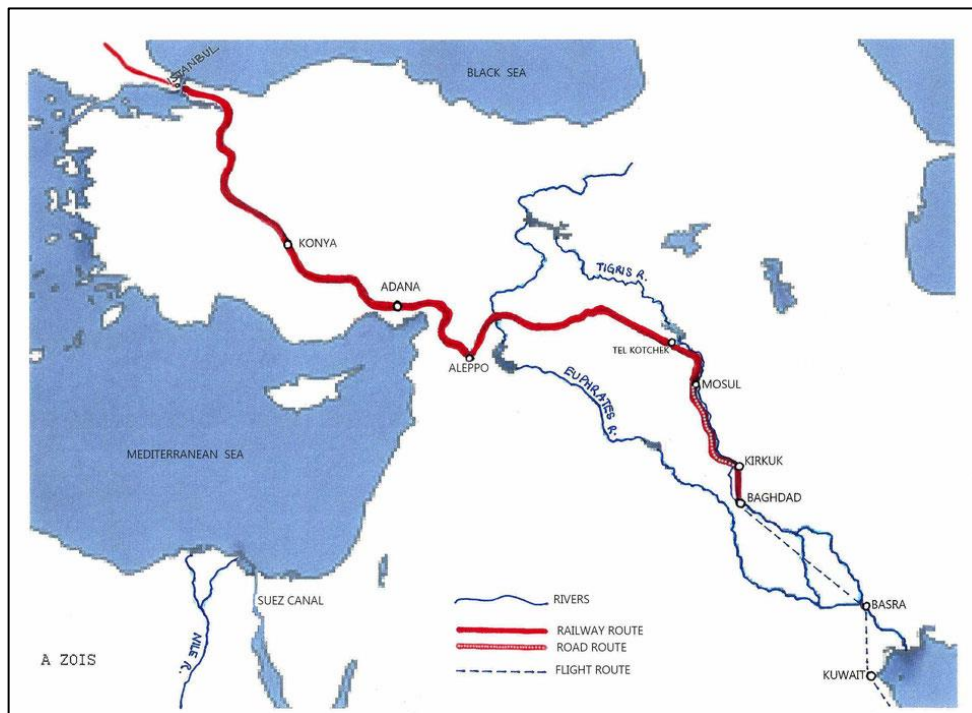


Figure 3.1: Map Showing the 1936 Tauria Express Train Route (Zois, 2022).

Through its essential geographical location, Aleppo became receptive to external influences through international trade as the city contains diverse cultures and religions, including Muslims, Christians, Turkmen, Alawites, and Kurds. In 2010, the city's population was estimated at 3.5 million, which constituted 30% of the population of the Syrian Arab Republic, as the city contains 125 regular and 22 informal neighbourhoods. Like any city in the world, Aleppo was subjected to several invasions throughout history and natural disasters, but it returned to its prosperity and strength again, but in 2012, the civil war in the city led to many repercussions on the urban and social level 2012 (Tharoor, 2012).

During the past seventy years, significant changes occurred in parts of the city, from constructing new highways, destroying and removing historical buildings, and constructing new buildings that emulate development and modernity. With that, the global value of the historic city through the remaining group of buildings, markets, and residential corridors led to the cohesion of the city's outstanding urban character. The successive peoples of the ancient city of Aleppo reflected its rich and diverse cultures on it, and consequently, the architectural fabric of the city was affected during these many periods of history as many diverse historical buildings were reflected in the social, economic, and cultural aspects, mosques, houses, schools, and even the castle when it was once One of the wealthiest cities in the world (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992).

3.1 HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ALEPPO

The location of Aleppo was distinguished on a steep hill, where the name of the city of Aleppo was mentioned for the first time in 2250 BC in tablets. The city was dominated by many successive ancient civilizations throughout its history, as it was the capital of the Kingdom of Yamhad in the second millennium BC. However, the impact of the Kwik River on establishing trade routes between the cities through which it passes was the beginning of the emergence of trade routes credited with the commercial activity of the city, where the city of Aleppo was an important regional market. At the beginning of the millennium BC, during the era of the Hittites, religion ruled the city from 1600 to 1200 BC. Also, the city became the capital of many cities, including the Persians, the Romans, the Seleucids, the Assyrians, and the Arameans. The last occupation of the city was in the year 440 as a result of the conflict between the Persians and Byzantium, and in 636, the Islamic conquest of the

city came. The castle was built during the Zanki and Ayyubid periods as an example of military architecture, but the Umayyads re-fortified it between 1183 and 1260 (Britannica, 2023).

The Mamluks took control of the ruins of the city of Aleppo due to successive conflicts over the city. In 1260 the Mongols attacked the city of Aleppo, and in 1400 Aleppo was attacked by Tamerlane. However, Aleppo benefited from the control of the Mamluks at the level of construction and construction as they built many schools and mosques and developed the city's markets, so Aleppo became one of the most critical regional commercial centres for Asian products and gave it a priority in the region. Aleppo became under Ottoman control after the defeat of the Mamluks in 1516 at the hands of Sultan Selim; where the Ottomans had the most substantial influence on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, including Egypt and Syria, where Aleppo ranked third in the Sultanate after Istanbul and Cairo and was an important commercial centre. The Ottomans continued the local administration of the existing organizational system of the Mamluks without problems in the administrative system. Ottoman rulers were appointed in Aleppo from Istanbul, where many improvements and developments were made in the infrastructure of trade, especially in the sixteenth century when the city depended heavily on commercial activities. It is considered a period in the nineteenth century that changed all economic and political aspects. However, in the year 1822, devastating earthquakes in the city led to its destruction and its decline, but Aleppo continued as an economic, commercial centre and an important regional market for the empire because the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 led to the entry of the French occupation in 1920 and 1946 Aleppo became the capital of Syria under the control of the French Mandate (Britannica, 2023).

3.2 URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY ALEPPO

The city of Aleppo can be defined and described as an inner city superimposed on the roman plan of the city. According to Lynch, everything in this city is fenced and closed with gates from the public roads to the city's side streets that lead to alleys and basements resembling narrow capillaries to secret doors and courtyards. It also discussed the typical plan of the city with overlapping Islamic characteristics where the layout of uneven roads and the market residential neighbourhoods spread next to each other. This policy led to the merging of two

different systems to overlap and the merger of the city in a heterogeneous way. The Islamic structure built in the Roman period gradually transformed and adapted to the city's residents throughout history, giving a distinctive character to the city. Where the urban growth of the city based on geography and function led to the transformation of the city in the nineteenth century into a central nucleus around the citadel (Figure 3.2), as a result of its functional location where the Kwik River contributed to preventing the city's encroachment towards the west, but the activity in the eastern and western sections contributed to the increase in expansion and growth while the southern section cemeteries dominated it as these are the main reasons for the growth of the city (Stefano A et al., 1980: 11-15).

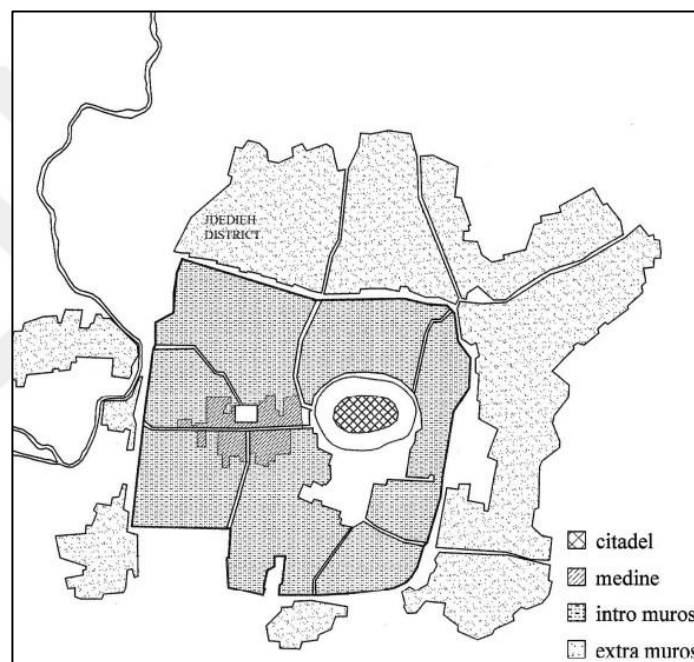


Figure 3.2: Map of Aleppo in The Early 17th Century Redrawn by José Luis Argüello (Watenpugh, 2005).

The urban form of the city centre was determined according to the three settlement patterns: residential centres, commercial activities, and suburbs where the main centre of the city consists of commercial and economic activities and activities in the market area, which constitute the shopping centres and the most important religious and cultural activities are located in it. Residential neighbourhoods ranked second, then the secondary activities and events in the suburbs on the outskirts of the city in (Stefano A et al., 1980: 11-15).

The castle is still standing and forms the central hill of a group of surrounding hills that make up the city of Aleppo, dating back to the sixth millennium BC. The inside of Aleppo city was formed mainly from walls for fortification and protection, and then from the outside, it was characterized by a dense building in which the shared public spaces were reduced. It is a typical Islamic urban fabric, as Aleppo was placed on the list of the UNESCO World Terrace in 1986 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992).

3.2.1 Period Before Establishment of Administrative System (6000 BC)

The administration of urban affairs and public services for the city of Aleppo was managed with minimum government intervention and according to Islamic Sharia. The urban administrative system of the city was managed without central plans and no interference from the municipality, as there were no laws related to the management of cities. The systems consist of social relationships that depend on personal and informal networks. The groups consist of the leader, the head of the neighbourhood's union council, and the head of neighbourhood's officials from ethnic and religious groups representing an area in the form of administrative units under the supervision of the neighbourhood's leader. The primary function of this organization was to secure direct contact between the government and the residents of neighbourhoods in the city's districts. As well as to maintain security, impose control without the administrative system's interference, and hear the residents' demands and concerns, as the importance of these groups was in the formation of homogeneous social units. These groups were located in specific neighbourhoods according to the importance and location of the neighbourhoods in the city. So, the leader of the neighbourhoods and the officials and workers under their supervision were the central local administration of the neighbourhoods. In this way, the population's management and affairs were mainly controlled (Marcus, 1989: 194–196).

The main city structure of city of Aleppo was formed according to Islam. Considering the city was governed by Islamic law, the Islamic city is model for stability between neighbourhoods and away from the material distinction between members of the neighbourhoods where the city is divided according to the divisions of society. This informal organization that connected the population had a more significant influence than the central

authority as sub-communities of the Muslim population spread within the city spaces (Lapidus, 1969: 47–50).

The Ottoman cities before the establishment of the central planning structure were not mainly managed by the Sultanate, as they were groups of neighbourhoods that depended mainly on local forces in managing the local forces. This structure of the city was widespread solidarity of individuals that have collectively defended themselves against other groups of society due to the unique characteristics of socially homogeneous areas that include groups of religious, ethnic, and professional individuals. These groups constituted tools for governmental control, organization, and control as the neighbourhood's leader was a crucial player in the neighbourhood's administrative policy and mediator between the government and other population sectors (Marcus, 1989: 194-196).

The society in the city of Aleppo formed social and political solidarity and geographical blocs that constituted the basic units of the society. The essential ties such as the family, customers, religious, ethnic, sectarian beliefs, religion, and common origins lived in those neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods are headed by a commander who replaces the governor and assists the government in maintaining neighbourhoods order implementing police laws, and representing neighbourhoods at citywide political events. Neighbourhoods were similar communities, even a village within the city in a network of neighbourhoods (Lapidus, 1969: 55–57).

3.2.2 Period After the New Administrative System (1831-1868)

After 1831 the change took place from the neighbourhood's leader system to local councils, the most prominent cultural transformation. It coincided with the adoption of new administrative regulations at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where the regulations of local councils adopted in France were applied. The new council consisted of officials, merchants, neighbourhoods' notables, and representatives of sects away from a religious orientation. Where it was necessary to make island changes in the urban system to meet the population's needs in dealing with the city's administrative and judicial affairs helped form the new urban planning system. Janissary was abolished in 1826 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, and the modern municipal system was established and implemented, the main objective of which was to control better the centres of neighbourhoods run by semi-

independent groups and turn them into the centralization of power. In 1829 an institution called the Mukhtarik "muhtarlık" was established, responsible for the administration of the districts that appointed district chiefs. As this system spread to the provinces of the empire with the impact of an administrative system (Ma'oz, 1968: 87–90).

The urban form was affected by the administrative system's new urban laws and regulations. The first legal document on the abolition of closed and narrow roads and the expansion of public streets and sidewalks was published in 1848. Where the content of the document was also related to the re-division of urban land and the planning of new buildings, these documents were believed to be specific to the city of Istanbul, the empire's capital. However, they were taken into account through new regulations and laws such as the "Truk and Abanya" law, which had comprehensive content related to the urban form of the cities of the empire. In general, all the new laws and documents between 1848 and 1891 stipulated the foundations and principles of city planning and the new systems for street widths, and then the western system was introduced to the Ottoman cities where the idea of different uses of land grid division and islands for plots of land, street networks, and public places was applied (Ma'oz, 1968: 95–99).

In conclusion, the period after 1831 witnessed a significant cultural transformation in the Ottoman Empire, as the neighbourhood's leader system gave way to local councils. This change coincided with the adoption of new administrative regulations, inspired by the local council system in France. The new councils were composed of officials, merchants, neighbourhood notables, and representatives from non-religious sects, aimed at centralizing power and better controlling the semi-independent groups that governed neighbourhoods. Additionally, the establishment of the Mukhtarik institution in 1829 further contributed to the spread of the municipal system to the provinces of the empire. These changes in urban planning and administration reflected a shift towards centralization of power and adoption of new systems to meet the growing needs of the population in dealing with administrative and judicial affairs in Ottoman cities. Further research and exploration of this period's impact on the urban landscape of the empire could provide valuable insights into the transformation of urban governance and planning during this era.

3.2.3 Period of Regulations in Aleppo (1868-1877)

The inception of the newly-formed city of Aleppo occurred within the framework of the Western system. The Aleppo Municipality was established in 1868 (Figure 3.3), but its legislative and operational functions were not initiated until 1877. Following this, reforms were introduced under the leadership of French engineer Charles, who served as the mayor. One of the most significant interventions in the city's urban planning was the creation of a secondary city center, which deviated from the traditional core. This transformation was a crucial undertaking for the city and was executed according to contemporary technological standards. It included the designing of street networks suitable for cars and trams, resulting in enhanced connectivity with the external world. Similar progressions and enhancements were observed in Istanbul and Aleppo (Dalachanes & Lemire, 2018: 262–265).



Figure 3.3: the Municipality of Aleppo (Dig-doc.org, 2006).

3.2.4 Period of French Mandate (1918-1945)

The city of Aleppo has undergone numerous transformations throughout its history, with significant changes introduced during the Ottoman and French periods. During the Ottoman era, new territories were established, and the city expanded with the construction of various types of buildings. However, it was during the French period that the city witnessed significant changes that transformed its urban landscape, characterized by the shift from the traditional city plan towards modernity and development, with similar trends observed in Europe. This era marked a transitional phase for urban design patterns, as it highlighted the contrast between the conventional city style and modernity in urban planning. The French introduced operational planning and modernity in urban design, aiming to preserve the old city and its centres without significant developer interventions. The focus was on developing new areas (Figure 3.4) of expansion in the modern European style while separating the old city from the modern city by open spaces referred to as the "Belt of Order" (Neep, 2012: 131–135).



Figure 3.4: A Picture of King Faisal Street in Aleppo in 1954 (Dig-doc.org, 2006).

The French approach to urban planning in Aleppo aimed to preserve the city's cultural and historical heritage while integrating modern elements into its urban landscape through the introduction of new building types and functions. Additionally, the French emphasized the development of new areas that adhered to modern European urban growth patterns, with streets designed to accommodate cars and trams (Figure 3.5). Despite resistance from traditionalists, the French successfully implemented their approach, which contributed significantly to the city's urban growth and development (Neep, 2012: 131–135).

In conclusion, the French period in Aleppo marked a significant transition in the city's urban design patterns. The introduction of modernity and development transformed the city's landscape, while efforts were made to preserve its traditional character. The French approach to urban planning in Aleppo continues to influence the city's urban growth and development to this day.



Figure 3.5: Tram Line, Put Into Operation in 1929 (Dig-doc.org, 2006).

3.2.5 Evolution of The Urban Fabric and Typologies

The city of Aleppo, located in northern Syria, has a rich history spanning over millennia. The city's pattern has been culturally coherent, owing to its organic growth over time.

However, the reliance on independent plans and their partial implementation led to distortion of the city's historical centre. The implementation of the city's first structural plans began in the early 1890s with the opening of a 14-meter-wide road, flanked by old houses and markets. This expansion led to the demolition of the northern wall of the city's historical centre in 1893, resulting in a significant loss of cultural heritage (Dalachanes & Lemire, 2018: 262–265).

The modern planning of Aleppo began in 1925, based on Western urban planning principles. This approach marked the first systematic mapping of the city at the regional level. In contrast, the first major organizational plan for the city from 1931 to 1938 was dominated by European planning principles. The French approach to urban planning in Aleppo aimed to introduce new building types and functions while preserving the traditional character of the city. The French sought to maintain the city's cultural and historical heritage while integrating modern elements into its urban landscape. They also emphasized the development of new areas that adhered to modern European urban growth patterns, with streets designed to accommodate cars and trams (Neep, 2012: 131–135).

Despite the success of the French approach, the city faced challenges during its transition to modernity and development. Resistance from those who favoured the traditional city plan hindered progress. However, the French succeeded in implementing their approach, contributing significantly to the city's urban growth and development. Unfortunately, in 1950, the city's authorities relied on new and harmful master plans that neglected the centre of history and the urban fabric of the city in particular (figure.3.6). This decision led to the demolition of many historical buildings and neighbourhoods, resulting in significant loss of cultural heritage. The implementation of these plans caused further distortion of the city's pattern and caused long-term damage to its urban fabric (Neep, 2012: 131–135).

In 1974, Banchoya-David proposed a masterplan aimed at mitigating the effects of the glutton's masterplan. Unfortunately, the partial implementation of this masterplan resulted in the destruction of almost 20% of the historic urban fabric. This was due to the proposed construction of a new north-south highway that would have cut through the historic fabric, demolished more monuments, and further segregated traditional quarters. In response to this proposed plan, public and private parties in Aleppo acted against it, and the Ministry of

Culture eventually halted its implementation in 1979. Following this event, Dr. Stefano Bianca, a UNESCO expert, conducted lengthy research on the historic city, which led to a report in 1983 that highlighted Aleppo's cultural value. In recognition of this value, the historical city was registered as a national monument on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1986. The registration was based on the city's unique testimonies to cultural traditions or civilizations and outstanding examples that illustrate a significant historical stage (Stefano A et al., 1980: 11-15).

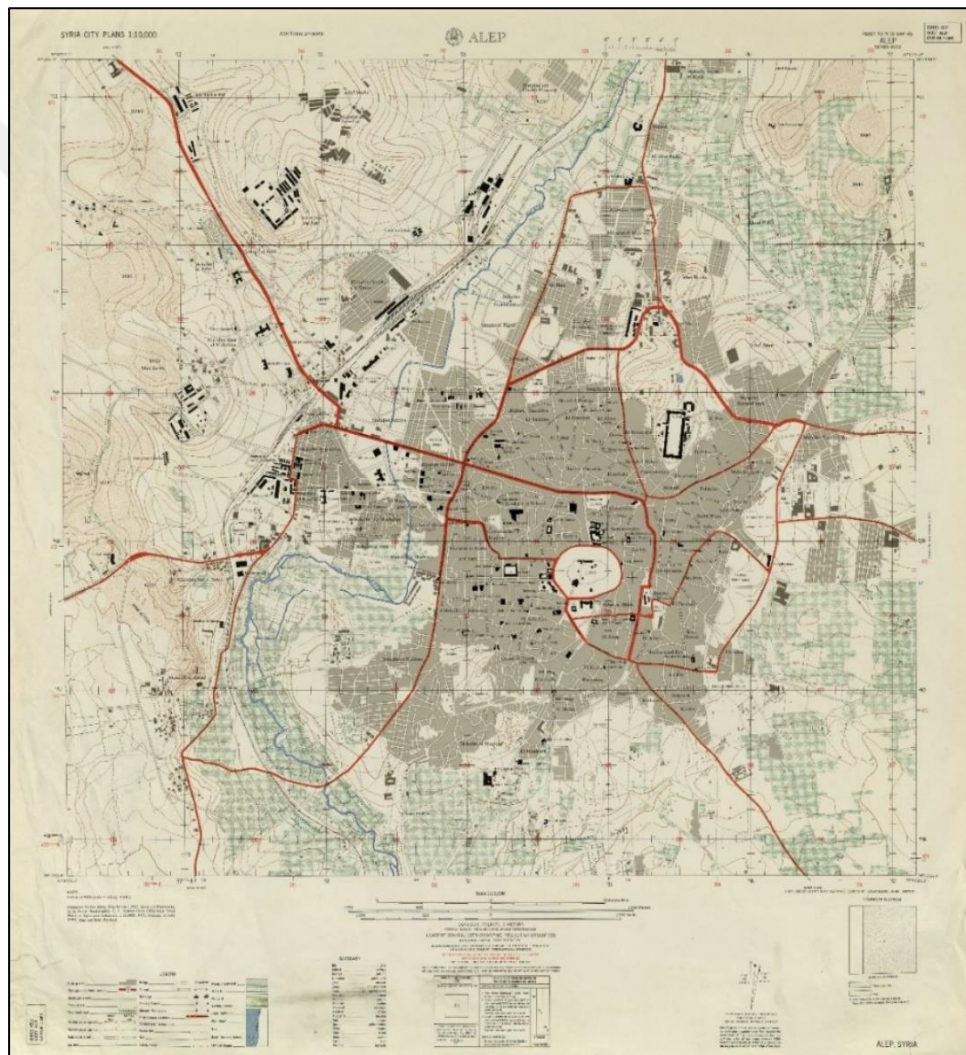


Figure 3.6: Aleppo Master Plan in 1950 (the University of Texas at Austin, 2012).

Subsequently, a rehabilitation project was launched to restore and preserve the historic center, which was completed in 1998. As part of this project, a buffer zone was created around the historic core aimed at isolating it from its surrounding areas to preserve and protect it from further degradation. Unfortunately, the buffer zone failed to achieve its primary goal, and instead, it was utilized as parking lots, garages, and building material storage areas. The failure of the buffer zone to achieve its intended purpose can be attributed to several factors. First, there was a lack of clear guidelines and regulations governing the use of the buffer zone (Figure 3.7). Second, there was a failure to engage and involve the local community in the rehabilitation project. Third, there was a lack of alternative development plans that would have provided economic opportunities for the local population, reducing the pressure on the buffer zone (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992).

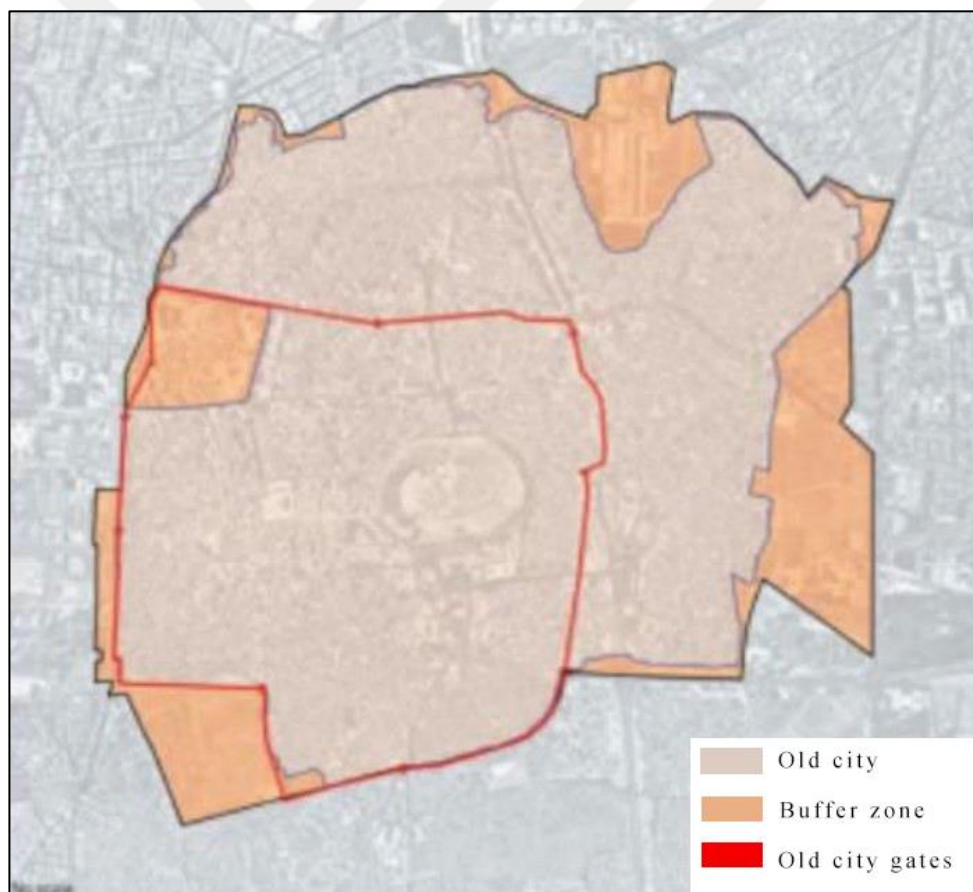


Figure 3.7: Aleppo Old City Buffer Zone (Salkini et al., 2016).

4. CASE STUDY OF ALEPPO

After the French period, from 1945 until the war in 2012, urban development and expansion of the city of Aleppo differed in the east and west of the city (Figure 4.1). The city's expansion was heading towards the west due to the desire of the residents to benefit from the winds that blow over the city in the summer. In the western regions, urban planning and the regular division of neighborhoods were developed, but informal settlements (slums) with poor living conditions occurred in eastern neighborhoods. The population of the city of Aleppo in 2009 reached about 2.4 million people, and half of them live in 22 different informal settlements. The city of Aleppo grew in the early 1950s to a large extent due to immigration from small towns and rural areas, mainly from east and north Aleppo. After that, the city's growth rate decreased relatively, and the growth rate in 2009 was estimated at approximately 2.9% per year. Because of immigration, the growth size was concentrated within the low-income groups, most of whom live in irregular city areas. These irregular areas grew at a rate of 4% per year, which requires about 150 new homes per week (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).

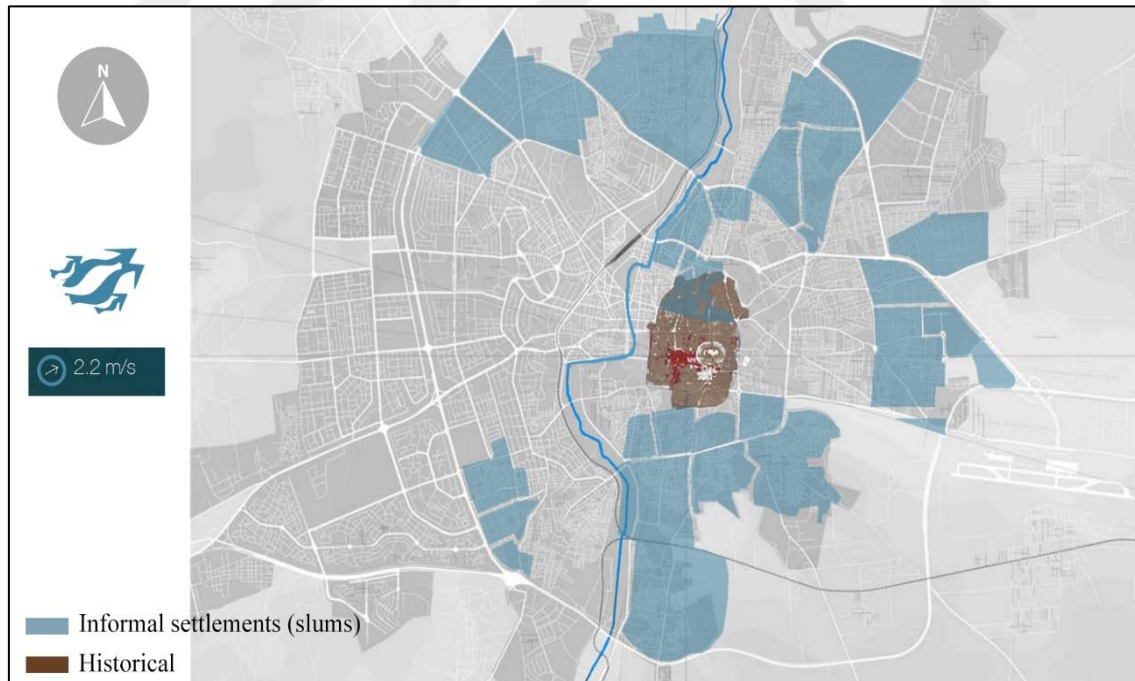


Figure 4.1: Urban Development of Aleppo City (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).

4.1 ALEPPO CITY (1945-2012)

Until 2012, low-income families of Aleppo and those displaced from abroad settled in the old city while middle and high-income families settled in the new parts away from the old city. The areas in the city's old neighbourhoods are divided into three sections: Public, semi-public and private. Public areas contain markets and mosques, semi-public areas consist of sub-alleys, and private areas are houses. Neighbourhoods consist of many streets, which are emerged organically over time and used only by pedestrians and animals. These streets' social and historical structure plays a significant role in society. Many streets have doors controlled by families who have social and economic relations in their lifestyles. At the beginning of the twentieth-century western side of the city had a powerful architectural renaissance, but this renaissance did not go along with the nature of the old city, so it led to the move of most of the wealthy families from the old city to the new neighbourhoods which built in the western style (Makoto, 1995: 96–101).

From 1945 to 2012, low-income families who could not afford to move to wealthy neighbourhoods and new immigrants from the countryside bought some of the homes of wealthy Aleppo families. The other part of the houses was converted into workshops and stores. The original inhabitants see the old city as a poor and lousy place rather than a wealthy neighbourhood. Despite the absence of the original inhabitants, the feelings of belonging to the old city were strong, even for the inhabitants of the new areas as their original home. Feelings of belonging to this deeply rooted Alepines society were strong as they knew Aleppo by themselves and distinguished them from the residents of the rest of the regions. As a result, the 2012 period was characterized by the spatial segregation between the modern and wealthy neighbourhoods of Aleppo and the old city, and the spread of slums and violating neighbourhoods (Makoto, 1995: 96–101)

At the beginning of 1993, Alepines in the new neighbourhoods sought to revive relations with their old city through a restoration and development project as a result of cooperation between the German Agency for Technical Cooperation, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and the Arab Fund between 1993 and 2000, where the ancient city of Aleppo was included on the World Heritage List in UNESCO World Heritage in 1986. These projects motivated

many investors to convert some of the old houses into hotels, restaurants, and cafes, which helped to commemorate the old city (Stefano A et al., 1980: 11-15).

In the past 100 years, it has been examined that the old city is located in the center, including commercial, industrial, residential and religious spaces. During the city's development, residential neighborhoods were planned on the western side, which is the good side due to the dominant wind direction. At the same time, informal settlements (slums) were widespread in the north and south of the city (Figure 4.2).

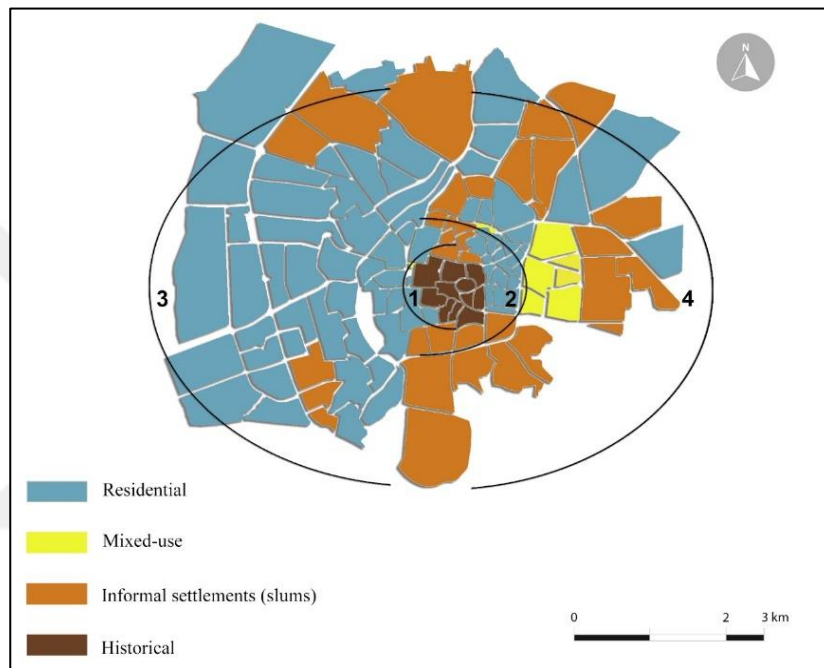


Figure 4.2: Land Use Map Analysis of Case Study Area 2012 (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

So, the districts in Aleppo can be considered into four categories (figure 4.2):

- i. Old quarters inside the walls of the ancient city (1).
- ii. Old quarters outside the walls of the ancient city (2).
- iii. Modern neighbourhoods, including a newly developed area called The New Aleppo (3).
- iv. Informal settlements (4).

4.2 INFLUENCES ON THE EVOLUTION OF RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN ALEPPO CITY

The modifications that transpired in the design of architecture were influenced by an assortment of causes and factors, both objective and subjective in nature. Objective factors were quantifiable, encompassing economic and legal considerations. On the other hand, subjective factors were linked to the perceptions and experiences of designers and users, pertaining to cultural and social factors. The interpretation and affective response to these factors are liable to vary among individuals, a phenomenon that becomes especially pronounced in the domain of residential architecture, given the vast disparities in personal aspirations and orientations (Krier, 2009: 25–28).

The fundamental objective of residential architecture is to cater to the housing requirements of the populace, necessitating its responsiveness to demographic variables such as population growth rate, rural-urban migration, age of the community. These variables have a direct bearing on the entire spectrum of the architectural process, from planning to design, including the acquisition of land to meet the escalating demand for residential structures, and determining the minimum spatial requirements for a typical household in terms of the average number of occupants (Krier, 2009: 25–28).

Observably, the majority of the population growth witnessed in Syria during the twentieth century occurred in its latter half, akin to other developing nations that attained their independence after the culmination of World War II (1939-1945) and initiated ambitious modernization and development programs through state intervention in sectors like economy, education, healthcare, and housing. The country's population burgeoned by approximately 80% from 1950 until the turn of the twenty-first century (Figure 4.3), compared to its size at the onset of the twentieth century. Over the period of 1905-1947, the population of Syria almost doubled, necessitating approximately forty years to achieve this feat. The country's population increased from 3.082 million to 4.565 million individuals, implying that the magnitude of population growth realized in merely thirteen years was almost equivalent to that achieved during the preceding forty years (The World Bank, 2022).

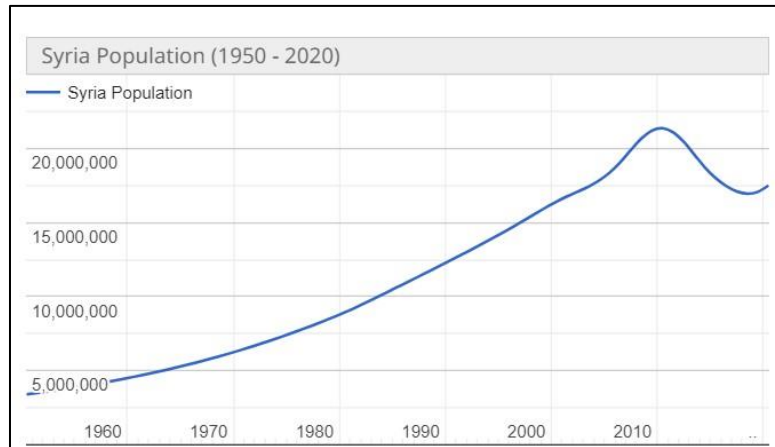


Figure 4.3: Population Increases in Syria 1905-2007 (The World Bank, 2022).

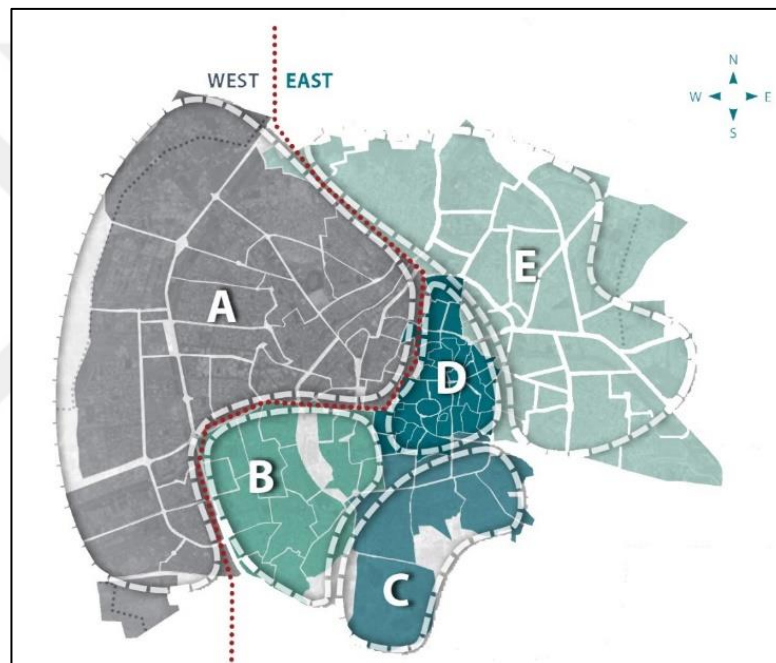


Figure 4.4: Spread of Density According Neighbourhood Analysis for Aleppo (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

Area A: low-density modern housing area.

Area B: very high-density mixed residential and commercial area.

Area C: low-density informal housing area.

Area D: medium density ancient old historic city and the traditional surrounding.

Area E: medium-density residential areas.

This large and rapid increase has imposed a challenge on workers in the housing sector, to secure adequate housing to cover the growing needs, so what is known as residential suburbs appeared, which were implemented by private companies and public sector institutions. Where the mechanisms that were followed in securing housing were in their entirety aimed at focusing on the quantitative aspects rather than the qualitative aspects and this is evident in privet housing projects (Neep, 2012: 131–135).

Due to migration from the surrounding countryside in the city of Aleppo, the size of the growth can be considered within the low-income groups in the city at a rate of 4% per year. About the history of the development of the urban plan in the city of Aleppo from 1700 to 2011 (Figure 4.5), how did the city's neighborhoods develop in a way that contradicts the expected urban fabric as a result of the spread of informal settlements in the city, especially in the eastern parts of the city. The emergence of these neighborhoods dates back to 1940 due to the illegal appropriation or residence of private or public lands. However, the most common violation is the illegal appropriation of multi-use lands such as parks, service buildings, public facilities, or industrial development areas, and illegal settlement in lands, making it difficult to install neighborhood infrastructure. The increased density of informal settlements has led to an increase in land occupancy and unhealthy levels of overcrowding (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).

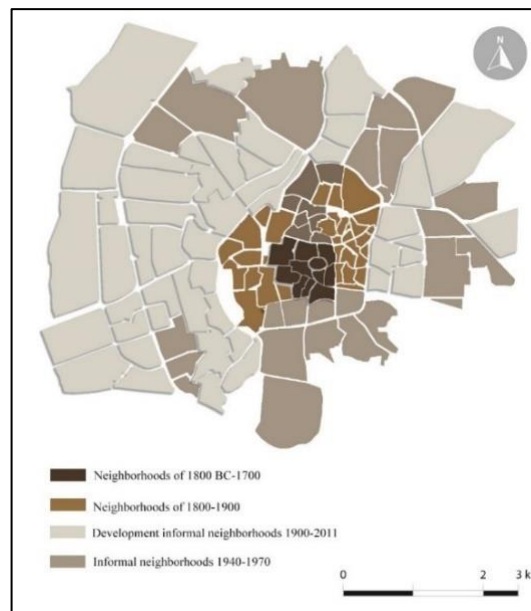


Figure 4.5: Aleppo Neighbourhoods' Development (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).

As a result of the population increase and the spread of the desire for independence from the large family. as well as the general tendency among the various classes of society to own homes instead of renting them. the issue of urban expansion became a vital and necessary issue at the same time. which led in the case of the city of Aleppo, for example this led to the emergence of two types of planning for the new residential areas:

- i. +The initial style of architecture is notable for its distinctive approach towards site selection and urban planning. For instance, areas such as Al-Sabil and Faisal Street (Figure 4.6) located in A zone, characterized by the prevalence of middle-class residents and the affordable nature of housing options available to the populace.



Figure 4.6: Part of Western Neighbourhoods Located in A Zone in The City of Aleppo.

The second architectural style is in close proximity to the historic city and has been deeply influenced by it in terms of both planning and the incorporation of architectural elements. Illustratively, neighbourhoods like Al-Jamiliyah, Al-Hamidiya, and Al-Sayyid Ali (Figure 4.7) located in D zone are emblematic of this style, which predominantly caters to the housing needs of the lower-income strata of the population.



Figure 4.7: Part of Eastern Neighbourhoods Located in E And D Zone in The City of Aleppo.

The emergence of social classes in society is influenced by various objective and subjective factors such as economic, legal, cultural, and social considerations. In urban planning and residential architecture, the primary objective is to meet the housing needs of the population. Population growth and rural-urban migration are significant demographic variables that impact this task. Aleppo, Syria, experienced significant population growth, resulting in the emergence of residential suburbs to address the growing housing demand. However, the mechanisms used to secure housing tended to prioritize quantitative aspects over qualitative ones, resulting in different architectural styles catering to different income strata in the city. Aleppo witnessed the concentration of social classes into three distinct categories, influenced by factors such as income level, location, cultural, and social orientations.

The upper-class, primarily composed of merchants and industrialists, was strongly influenced by European architectural style. As a result, multi-story buildings were erected, each floor comprising a single apartment complete with its own amenities and services. The traditional house design was altered by enclosing the inner courtyard and converting it into a covered hall with an open view of the public street, similar to Western architecture, as illustrated in (Figure 4.8) (Kandakji, 2013: 45-47).



Figure 4.8: Example For House From the Upper-Class Neighbourhoods in Aleppo City (Kandakji, 2013).

The middle class, comprising primarily of salaried employees and self-employed individuals, predominantly resided in two to four story apartments. These apartments were characterized by a central hall around which the rooms were situated (Figure 4.9). Alternatively, some middle-class individuals opted for apartments with an entrance hall, demarcating the division between their day and night routines, which were designed to be open towards the outside (Kandakji, 2013: 50-53).



Figure 4.9: Example for House From the Middle -Class Neighbourhoods in Aleppo City (Kandakji, 2013).

The low class, which primarily comprises workers and artisans, mostly migrated from rural areas and other cities, and took up residence in the neighbourhoods that catered to the lower-income strata of the population surrounding the city. These neighbourhoods predominantly feature apartments consisting of two to three rooms, a salon, and basic amenities. Additionally, the popular class also resided in multi-story residential buildings, as depicted in (Figure 4.10) (Kandakji, 2013: 54-60).



Figure 4.10: Example for House From the Low -Class Neighbourhoods in Aleppo City (Kandakji, 2013).

The state institutions, in their quest to address the housing crisis and cater to the housing needs of the lower-income groups, encountered several challenges. These obstacles pertained to the organizational and planning aspects of the new urban expansions, as well as their practical implementation. As a result, there was a considerable delay in the issuance of the necessary decisions and plans required to facilitate the expansion and construction of housing. Furthermore, the issue of rapid population growth and the influx of migrants from rural areas to the city rendered the state's objective of providing adequate housing to all citizens nearly impossible. The outcome was a significant escalation in housing prices, rendering housing unaffordable for many. Consequently, unauthorized settlements and irregular housing patterns emerged as a consequence of the unavailability of legally constructed housing (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).



Figure 4.11: Informal Settlements in Eastern Neighbourhoods (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).



Figure 4.12: Western Neighbourhoods (Dig-doc.org, 2006).

Table 4.1: Life Quality Between Neighbourhoods of The City According to (figure. 4.3) (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

Area	Infrastructure	Municipal buildings	Security	Quality of buildings	Public spaces
A	high	high	high	high	high
B	medium	medium	medium	medium	low
C	low	low	low	low	low
D	medium	low	medium	medium	low
E	low	low	low	low	low

The city of Aleppo had a large share of the impact of informal settlements, as it was a direct cause of obstructing planning and studies for new urban expansions, especially in the eastern side, which led to delays in the issuance of many decisions and plans necessary to conduct constructive expansion operations (Figure 4.13). Instead, it directly affects the neighbouring neighbourhoods in the infrastructure and development processes, which made them have low levels of (services, health, and safety). That contributed significantly to the destruction of the city, especially the surrounding neighbourhoods, during the war (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).

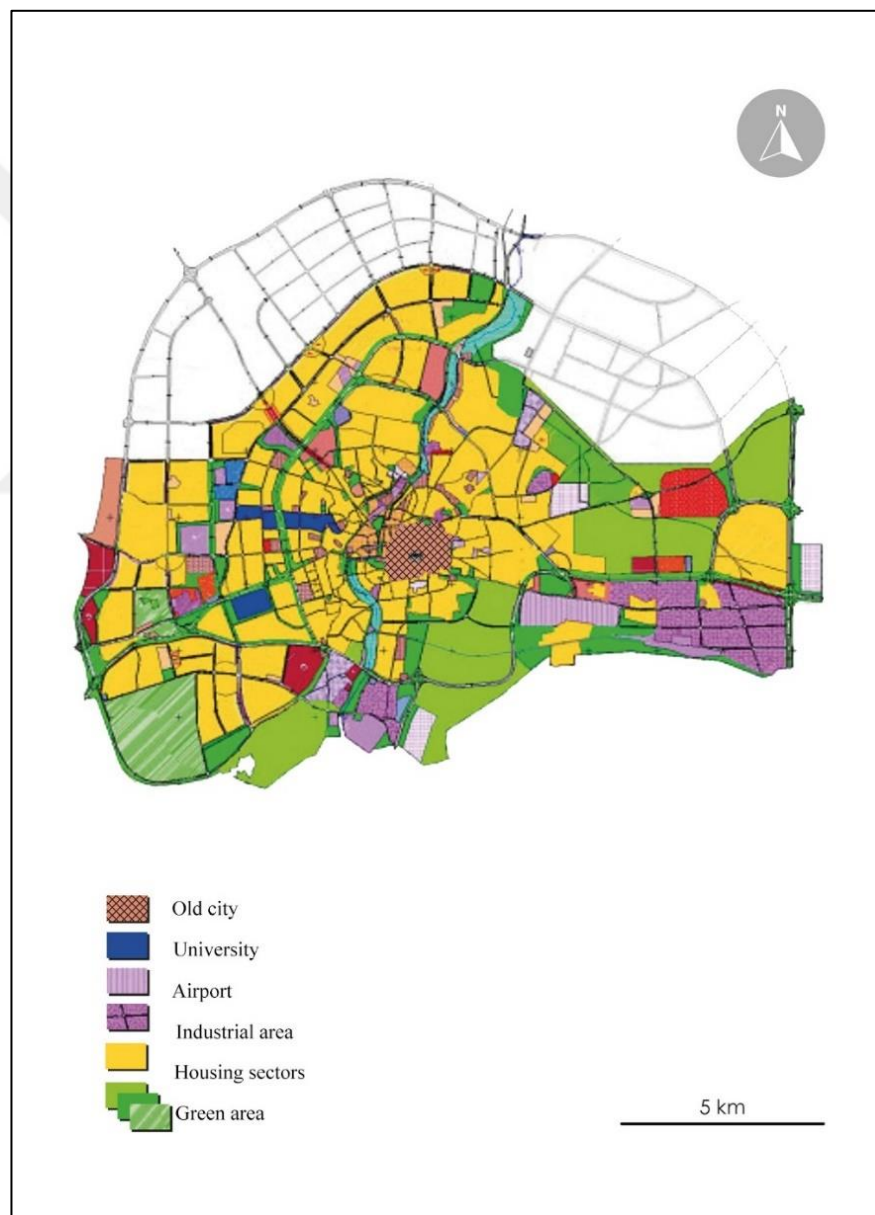


Figure 4.13: Expected Development Map of Aleppo 2012 (Hajjar, 2018).

Aleppo could not fit the results of the changes, so it had to adapt to the city's social, economic, and cultural changes. The increase in the request for housing and because of its lack of availability helped in the spread of informal settlements. The eastern side has become a home for informal settlements, leading to the isolation of many neighbourhoods from developments in the city (Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009).

What is the nature of the informal settlements (slums) in Aleppo?

- i. Ownership of the disputed land or not legally registered.
- ii. The area violates the legislation of the land use regulation plan and the general regulatory plan.
- iii. Non-compliance with planning principles.
- iv. Non-compliance with the standards and controls of the building system in the city.

However, informal settlements tend to convey harmful social stigmas, such as criminality, lousy infrastructure, unhealthy pollution, lack of civic awareness, and antisocial behaviour. At the same time, these characteristics may be found in some areas of irregularities or some common areas and not the characteristics of all irregularity areas. To understand why the level of damage is high in these areas. Also, the effects of a low and high-income area in comparison to damage. The study argues that architects should search for the reasons that separate the city and the neighbourhoods in this way and transform them into a battlefield by measuring the damage through the spread of informal settlements (slums) and their effects on the surrounding areas.

4.3 IMPACT OF SEGREGATION ON ALEPPO CITY

The city of Aleppo, known for its long history of wars, battles, earthquakes, and disasters, has undergone various transformations throughout time, including socio-economic segregation, with neighbourhoods segregated based on income before the Syrian Civil War; however, the conflict has intensified this pattern of segregation, causing neighbourhoods to evolve into de facto enclaves, serving as physical borders between the city's eastern and western regions, impeding the free movement of people and causing heightened tensions and violence between different communities, thus exacerbating pre-existing patterns of segregation and economic and social inequalities within Aleppo, ultimately resulting in devastating consequences for the city and its residents.

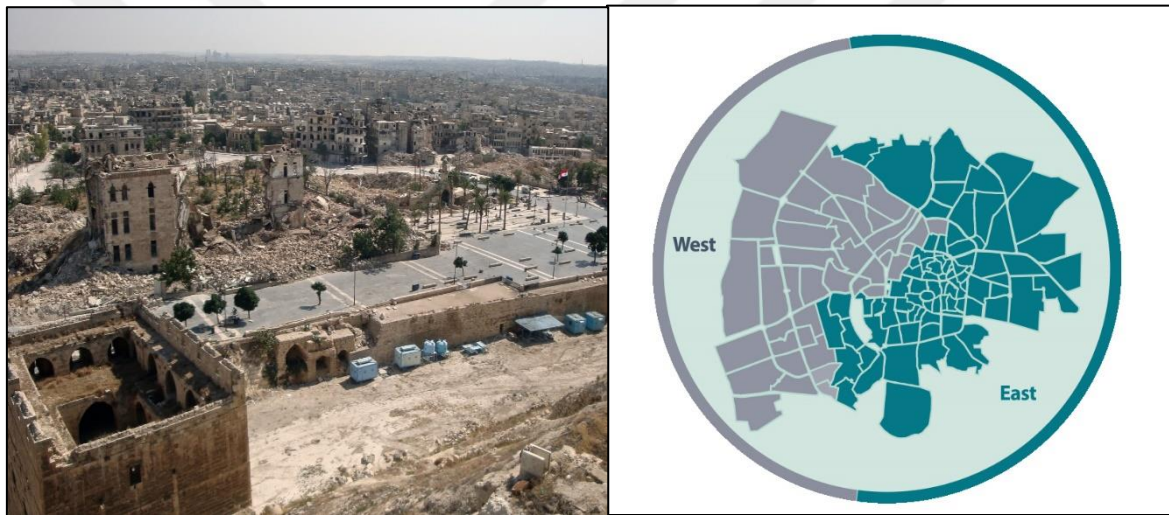


Figure 4.14: A View Over Central Aleppo from The Citadel, Showing Some Destroyed Areas Such As Old Municipality and The Old City After The War 2019 (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

To understand the emergence of segregation in the city of Aleppo, it is necessary to trace the root causes and investigate the factors that led to the concentration of destruction in specific areas of the city. The city of Aleppo exhibits a distinctive urban fabric, characterized by a diversity of neighbourhoods spanning from historic districts to contemporary developments and informal settlements however, due to its attractiveness to rural migrants and its subsequent population growth, a significant proportion of the city's inhabitants, roughly 40%, reside in informal areas as a result of the city's inability to accommodate this expansion, leading to pronounced socioeconomic disparities between neighbourhoods accordingly

(Aleppo Urban Development Project, 2009). This thesis centres on the impact of the war on the city's informal settlements and impoverished neighbourhoods.

Social scientists commonly use three factors education, income, and occupation to measure socioeconomic status. The modified Kuppuswamy scale is typically employed to measure socioeconomic status in urban societies. This scale was developed in 1976 and provides a composite score based on the education and occupation of the head of the family, along with the family's monthly income, resulting in a score of 3–29. The modified Kuppuswamy scale categorizes the study populations into low (3–10 score), middle (11–24 score), and high (25–29) socioeconomic status (Singh, 2017: 32-35). This thesis investigates the socioeconomic segregation of the city of Aleppo by utilizing research conducted by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in 2004, UN-Habitat, and UDP-Aleppo. The collected data is then applied to the city of Aleppo's planning in order to assess the segregation between neighbourhoods.

Table 4.2: Population and Socioeconomic Characteristics in Aleppo 2008 (Almohamad et al., 2018).

Socio-Economic	Number of Neighbourhoods	Area			Population		
Classes	Number	%	Km2	%	Population	%	Population Density (person/Km2)
High	15	15.2	22.8	28.5	192,899	8.1	8448
Middle	30	30.3	15.2	18.9	425,910	18	28,079
Low	54	54.5	42.1	52.6	1,751,613	73.9	41,605
<u>Sum</u>	99	100	80.1	100	2,370,422	100	29,592

In the fields of economics and sociology, socio-economic groups refer to categories of people based on their income and occupation, which are associated with various social patterns and values. Within the city of Aleppo, which is composed of 125 neighbourhoods, 99 of these areas have been analysed and categorized into three distinct socio-economic

classes. High-class neighbourhoods, which have a low population density of 8.1% and occupy 28.5% of the city, are the least common. In contrast, middle-class neighbourhoods are less prevalent, occupying only 18.9% of the city, but have a higher population density of 18%. Finally, lower-class neighbourhoods are the most populous, constituting 73.9% of the population density and occupying 52.6% of the city (Almohamad et al., 2018: 706). These findings were derived from an analysis of data collected by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in 2004, UN-Habitat, and UDP-Aleppo, and provide insight into the socio-economic landscape of the city of Aleppo.

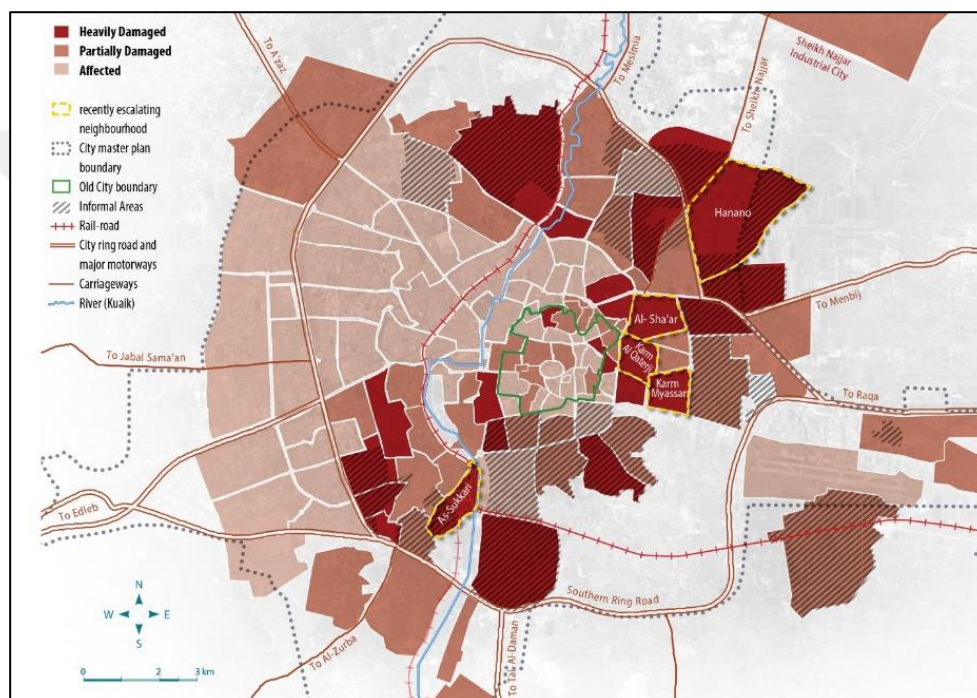


Figure 4.15: Level of Damage in Aleppo After 2014 (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

From a perspective of area damage (Figure 4.15), the report reveals that out of the 125 neighbourhoods in Aleppo, 20 of them have suffered extensive damage, with most or all buildings being damaged or deemed structurally unsafe. 61 neighbourhoods have sustained partial damage, with heavy destruction limited to specific areas or blocks, while other buildings remain habitable or have been repaired. Of the partially damaged neighbourhoods, the majority were residential and consisted mainly of multi-story housing buildings. Furthermore, 44 neighbourhoods have no or minor damage. Notably, 67% of the heavily damaged neighbourhoods were informal housing areas. The damage has not only affected

residential areas but also commercial and industrial areas, leading to a loss of livelihoods and income. In fact, 71% of the industrial areas have been partially damaged (Figure 4.16).

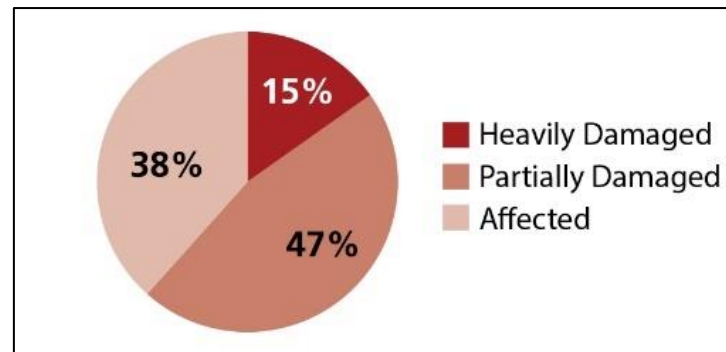


Figure 4.16: Neighbourhoods Per Damage Level (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

The examination of the destruction plan focuses on the historical old city and eastern neighbourhoods of the city. These neighbourhoods were identified as a breeding ground for social and economic disparities, leading to their isolation from the rest of the city. This isolation became more pronounced after mid-2012. The frontlines of the conflict were situated along the east-west boundaries within the Old City of Aleppo. Certain neighbourhoods were geographically part of the western section of the Old City, but politically aligned with the rebel-controlled area (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

The historical city of Aleppo, located in northern Syria and acknowledged by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site, has been the site of prolonged armed conflicts that lasted over four years, leaving a lasting impact on its cultural landmarks and heritage, including the ancient citadel, gates, and markets that were once key tourist attractions, and a thriving community, which have been reduced to remnants of burnt buses, sand barricades, debris, and stray cats. In 2012, the city has been partitioned into eastern and western neighbourhoods (Figure 4.17), with the old city serving as a line of demarcation as the features of segregation in the city began to appear in physical form.

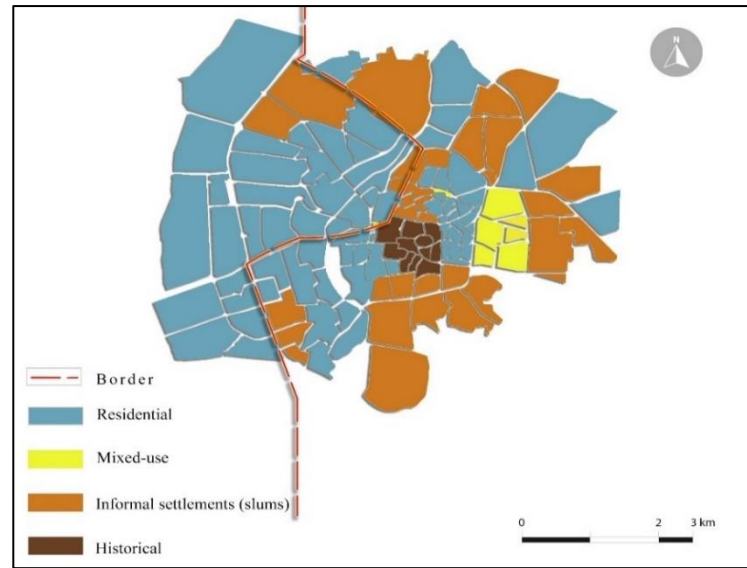


Figure 4.17: The Borders of East and West Aleppo During the War (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

The conflict has caused significant damage to the city's cultural assets, including the medieval covered market and the Great Mosque's 11th-century minaret, which collapsed in April 2013. Moreover, 121 cultural assets, including houses, mosques, churches, Khans, markets, and open space monuments, have been reported as damaged, destroyed, looted, or burned (Figure 4.18). However, the actual extent of the damages to cultural assets is believed to be underreported in the Ancient City of Aleppo. The violence and conflict have also led to a mass exodus of the population, with nearly 80% of the old city's population fleeing to the western part of Aleppo. The shops in the old city have been burned or looted, and the city's services and infrastructure have been severely damaged (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).



Figure 4.18: Damage in The Old City of Aleppo (City of Aleppo and Destroyed Building in Syria, 2021).

According to statistical data (Figure 4.19), the slums of Aleppo have been subjected to the greatest level of destruction. The causes behind this phenomenon are likely related to the intrinsic characteristics of such areas, which are typically characterized by high population density and a lack of effective urban planning. These factors, have likely contributed to exacerbating the extent of the damage inflicted upon these neighbourhoods.

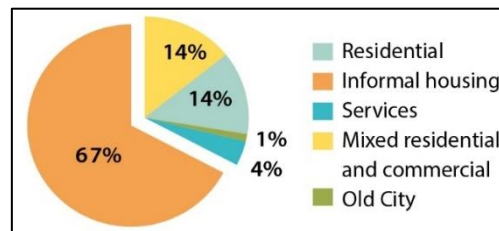


Figure 4.19: Distribution of Heavy Damage Per Land Use (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2015).

The map of the levels of social and economic characteristics of the city of Aleppo (Figure 4.20) clearly shows the spread of low-income people in the east of the city by more than 50%, This segregation in the city at the level of socioeconomic characteristics contributed significantly to giving a different face of the war in the city.

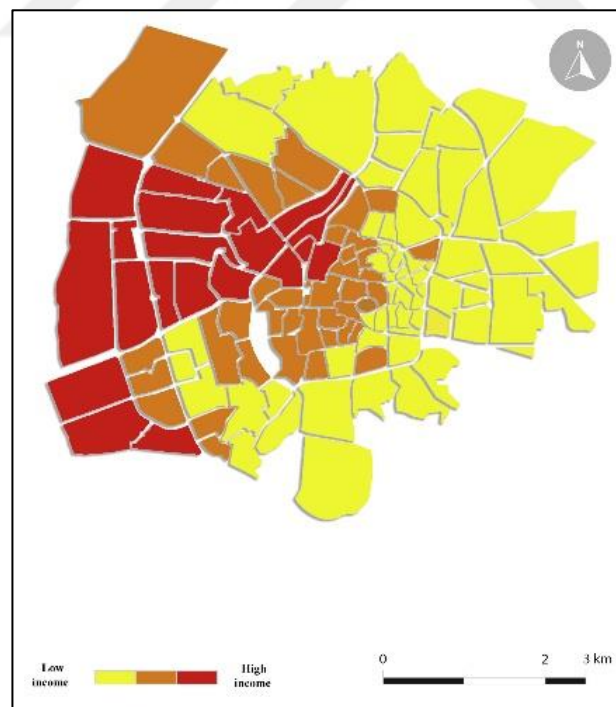


Figure 4.20: Neighbourhoods and Socioeconomic Characteristics in Aleppo 2008 Socioeconomic Characteristics in Aleppo 2008 (Almohamad et al., 2018).

Where the centre of the city constitutes the historical part of it, a mixture of middle to low-income individuals, while the eastern part of the city consists of low-income individuals, but the western part of the city constitutes the most significant part of the middle-to-high incomes, as these neighbourhoods are characterized by development and the absence of slums. These socioeconomic differences in the city did not pose a threat to it before 2012. However, with the start of the war in the city, this division became evident and led to bad results in terms of services and safety.

The expansion of the city of Aleppo since 1950 had a significant impact on the city's social and economic structure. The increase in demand for housing, due to migration from outside the city, led to the spread of slums in the city. The lack of availability of affordable housing in the city has contributed to the growth of slums, which now constitute 52% of the neighbourhoods in Aleppo. The growth of slums has had a detrimental effect on the social and economic development of the city, as the residents of these areas face significant challenges in accessing basic services such as water, sanitation, and healthcare.

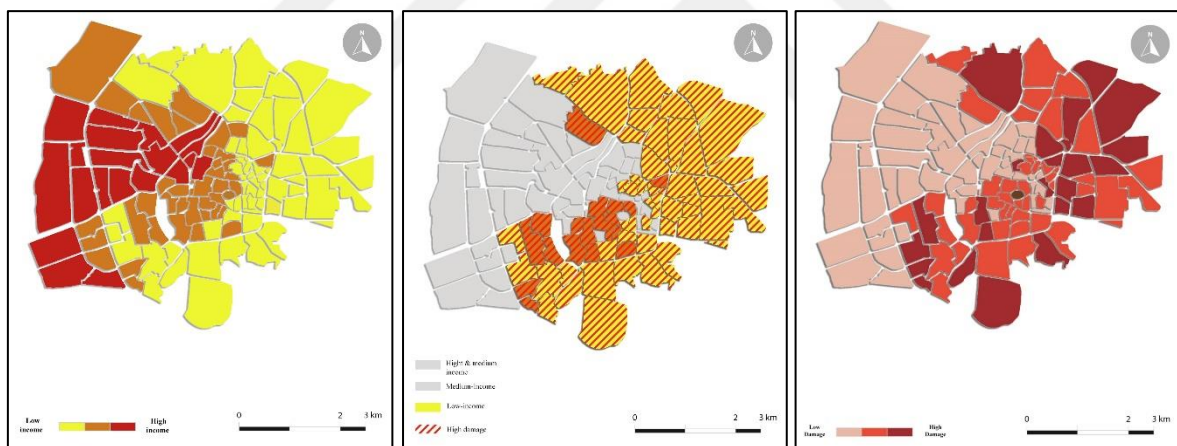


Figure 4.21: Damage Level Plan Analysis of Slums Through the Socio-Economic Class of The City.

The battles that took place in Aleppo at the beginning of 2012 had a negative impact on the city at all levels, exacerbating the problems faced by the city's most vulnerable populations. The concentration of destruction was in the middle and low-income areas of the city, of which the slums constituted the most prominent part. The analysis of the plans related to the destruction with the land use in the city (Figure 4.21) shows that the concentration of

destruction was more significant in the slums and their neighbouring areas that spread in the eastern side of the city, compared with the western parts.

The segregation that resulted from the destruction of neighbouring neighbourhoods affected varying degrees of destruction. The destruction of slums and low-income areas has further marginalized vulnerable populations in the city, exacerbating their living conditions and making it difficult for them to recover from the effects of the conflict. The destruction of infrastructure and homes has also led to a significant loss of cultural heritage, further erasing the features of civilizations that have arisen through the ages in the city of Aleppo.

The rapid spread of slums in the city of Aleppo at the beginning of 1940 was driven by a combination of factors, including the lack of affordable housing and increased immigration. The concentration of slums near the historical walls of the city contributed to the spread of low-income communities in these areas, leading to a stagnation of urban development in areas close to the old city, particularly on the eastern side. With time, the old city became a commercial and tourist centre, while many industrial workshops spread on the eastern side, making it more challenging to address the challenges faced by these low-income communities.

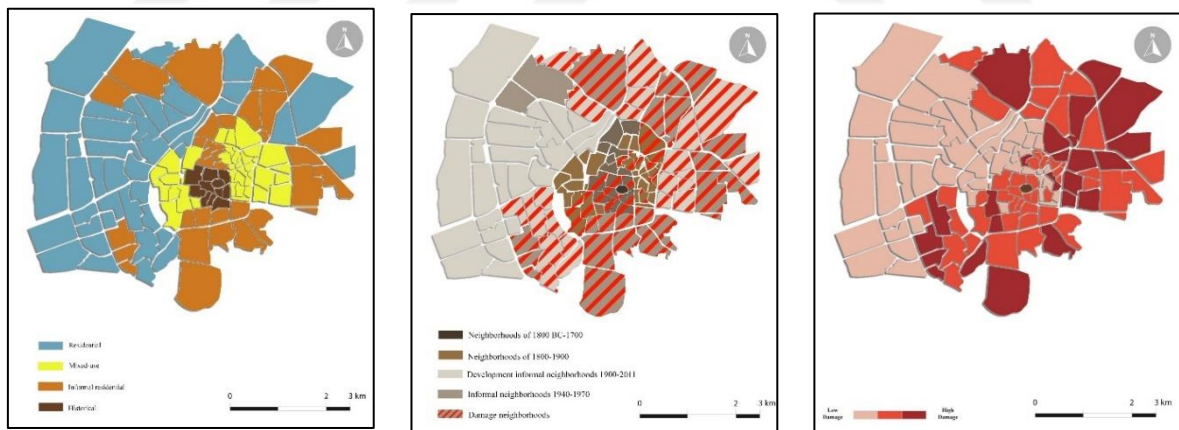


Figure 4.22: Damage Level Plan Analysis of Slums Through the Development of the City From 1800 To 2010.

The lack of planning in these neighbourhoods, such as poorly planned streets and inadequate infrastructure, made them more vulnerable to destruction during times of conflict. The nature of these neighbourhoods, combined with poor building standards, contributed to significant damage during the battles that took place in the city. The level of destruction in the city's

western neighbourhoods (Figure 4.22), where there is modern urban planning and infrastructure, was significantly lower compared to the eastern neighbourhoods. This difference in the level of destruction highlights the importance of good urban planning in promoting resilience and mitigating the impact of conflicts on vulnerable communities.

The destruction of old Aleppo and its eastern neighbourhoods had varying levels of destruction, with some areas suffering significant damage while others were relatively untouched. The destruction of the city's cultural heritage, including ancient buildings and historical monuments, has had a devastating impact on the city's identity and its people. The loss of cultural heritage and the displacement of communities have long-term implications for the city's social and economic development.

Aleppo, historically, has been a melting pot of different cultures and religions, which has contributed to its richness and diversity. The city's strategic location at the crossroads of major trade routes has made it a hub for cultural and commercial exchange. Throughout its history, Aleppo has been home to Arabs, Aramaics, Kurds, Armenians, Circassians, and Turks, among other ethnic groups. Despite the diversity of its population, Aleppo has been known for its tolerance and respect for other cultures and religions. The city has a long history of coexistence between different religious and sectarian groups, and this has been reflected in the architecture, art, and culture of the city.

However, it is important to note that Aleppo, like any other city, has had its share of social and political problems over the years. The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011, had a devastating impact on the city, leading to the displacement of thousands of people and the destruction of many of its historic landmarks. While Aleppo's people have shown great resilience in the face of these challenges (Lor 2001).

5. CONCLUSION

Segregation is a multifaceted social phenomenon characterized by the separation or exclusion of various groups based on race, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, or other factors. Its existence has persisted throughout history and remains a significant issue in numerous communities worldwide.

The impact of segregation on the subversion of cities has been an area of increasing concern for urban planners and policymakers in recent years. This thesis has sought to examine this issue through a case study of the city of Aleppo.

The thesis reviewed the history of segregation and its different forms in urban theories. This theoretical framework provided a foundation for understanding the different ways in which segregation can manifest in urban areas, including spatial, social, and political segregation. The thesis demonstrated the ramifications of segregation on urban development, including the production of segregation in space, which creates physical, social, and cultural barriers that can limit access to opportunities and resources for certain groups of people.

This thesis has examined the issue of segregation in Aleppo, its history, impact, and ramifications on the urban fabric, society, and civilization. Through archival research and mapping, the thesis has provided a detailed analysis of the spatial and social dynamics of the city and identified key sites and structures that have been impacted by segregation. This analysis has revealed that segregation has been a major factor in the subversion of Aleppo, and its impact has been felt in various aspects of life, from job opportunities to housing and education.

In summary the finding of the thesis can be summarized:

- i. The introduction of Western-style urban planning in Aleppo disregarded the historical, cultural, and social context of the city, leading to a mismatch between the planning approach and the existing urban fabric. This disconnect has had a negative impact on the city's character, social dynamics, and heritage preservation.

- ii. The long-hidden history of segregation in Aleppo has exerted a significant and enduring influence on the city's urban development. Evident through residential, commercial, and cultural divisions, this segregation has profoundly shaped the spatial distribution of communities and infrastructure. Moreover, it has exerted influence over access to resources, economic dynamics, and the preservation of distinct identities within the city.
- iii. The presence of social segregation in Aleppo has had notable ramifications on the accessibility of social and economic opportunities for diverse groups. Particularly, the eastern areas of the city have witnessed a significant rise in slum areas accompanied by a dense population. Moreover, these slum areas have been burdened with distinct social stigmas associated with poverty, marginalization, and perceived culpability for societal issues. This was notable in Aleppo's E zone (medium-density residential areas) and C zone (low-density informal housing area) based on the spread of density distribution and neighbourhood analysis of Aleppo city.
- iv. During times of war, social segregation in Aleppo led to the city being physically divided into two halves. From 1945 until 2012, the eastern parts of the city experienced challenges in urban development, characterized by the proliferation of slums and an influx of rural migrants. Additionally, the prevailing winds in Aleppo played a role in driving urban expansion towards the west, further shaping the city's spatial dynamics.

The case study of Aleppo provided a detailed analysis of the impact of segregation on the city's evolution and the residential architecture in the city. The thesis analysed the damage level plan in the city through the socio-economic class of the city and the development of the city from 1800 to 2010. This analysis highlighted the challenges faced by the city in promoting social and economic integration and the ways in which segregation has affected the city's evolution over time.

Overall, this thesis demonstrate that segregation is a complex issue that has significant implications for society, urban development, and civilization. In the case of Aleppo, segregation has played a major role in the city's subversion, leading to its destruction and the displacement of its residents. The thesis has also highlighted the importance of the right to the city as a fundamental human right and emphasized the role of urban planning in perpetuating segregation.

In conclusion, this thesis calls for a renewed focus on the issue of segregation in Aleppo city, highlighting the need for urban planning that takes into account the historical, cultural, and social context of the city.



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