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**THE IMPACTS OF URBAN PROCESSES ON SOCIO-SPATIAL
SEGREGATION AND INEQUALITIES – THE CASE STUDY OF AMMAN,
JORDAN**

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FOREWARD

This study has been completed as part of a master's degree thesis presented to the Istanbul Technical University's department of Architecture. The study is focused on creating a comprehensive analysis of the socio-spatial segregation and inequalities that exist in the city of Amman, Jordan.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

WHO World Health Organization

GAM Greater Amman Municipality

CBD Central Business District

USAID The United States Agency for International Development

MAWARED The National Resources Investment Corporation

AID Abdali Investment and Development

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SUMMARY

This study investigates the influences of urban processes and changes in the social, economic and political aspects of the city of Amman, Jordan on the urban morphology and socio-spatial segregation and inequalities in the city. The study is carried out through an in-depth analysis of the different lifestyles in East and West Amman which are considered as being two cities in one due to the inequalities and isolation both ends experience from one another. The aim of the research was achieved by studying the patterns of different migrants such as Palestinians, Iraqis and Syrians, of which many were refugees, into Amman which were caused by the political imbalances in the region. The study aims to understand and explore the effect of the changes in the city's political decisions such as the economic reform, globalization, and neoliberal processes. Case studies of both contemporary megaprojects in Amman and of the historical Downtown were investigated to reach the findings aimed for by this study. Research methods include reviewing applicable theoretical work, historical and contemporary resources on Amman including primary and secondary research with the usage of both qualitative and quantitative research. Site visits were conducted in order to interview several stakeholders and also to observe the different lifestyles between East and West Amman. The study concludes that although segregation is inevitable in any city, it only become abnormal when each segregated side live different lives from one another and end up isolated from each other. This isolation is displayed in Amman and through the research it was concluded that these inequalities are a joint result of several processes. Such inequalities are mainly due to the geopolitical changes in the region that resulted in ongoing sudden influxes of migrants into Amman which was difficult to control therefore significantly transforming the city's built environment and influencing the city's morphology and social well being. This, combined with other processes has all resulted in the excess attention to the upper class West Amman at the cost of the neglect of the lower class East Amman. As a segregated city was eventually formed, it lead to almost complete isolation between the residents of East and West Amman where they attend different schools, shop from different places, have different views on life and are therefore unwelcoming to each other.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Ürdün'ün Amman şehrinin sosyal, ekonomik, politik yönlerindeki kent süreçleri ve değişimlerinin kent morfolojisi ve sosyo-mekansal ayırım ile şehirdeki eşitsizlikler üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektedir. Çalışma, her iki ucun birbirine karşı yaşadığı eşitsizlik ve izolasyondan ötürü tek şehirdeki iki ayrı şehir olarak düşünülen Doğu ve Batı Amman'daki farklı yaşam tarzlarının derinlemesine analiz ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmanın amacına, bölgedeki politik dengesizlik nedeniyle pek çoğu mülteci olan Filistinli, Iraklı ve Suriyeli gibi Amman'a gelen farklı göçmenlerin motifleri üzerinde çalışarak ulaşılmıştır. Ayrıca, bu araştırma şehrin ekonomik reform süreci, küreselleşme süreci ve neoliberal süreçler gibi politik kararlarındaki değişim etkisini anlamayı ve keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Hem Amman'daki güncel mega projelerin hem de tarihi şehir merkezinin vaka çalışmaları bu çalışma ile hedeflenen bulgulara ulaşmak için incelenmiş ve gözden geçirilmiştir. Araştırma yöntemleri, uygun teorik çalışma ile mümkün olduğunca çok veri toplamak amacıyla hem niteliksel hem de niceliksel araştırmaların kullanımıyla birincil ve ikincil araştırmaları içerecek şekilde Amman ve yapılaşmış çevresinin tarihi ve güncel kaynaklarının gözden geçirilmesini içermektedir. Çeşitli paydaşlarla görüşmeler yapmak ve Doğu ve Batı Amman arasındaki farklı yaşam tarzlarını gözlemlemek üzere alan ziyaretleri yapıldı. Çalışma, herhangi bir şehirde ayırımın kaçınılmaz olduğu ve dünyadaki hemen hemen tüm şehirlerde yaşansa da, bunun; yalnızca her bir ayrılmış taraf diğerinden farklı hayatlar yaşadığından ve taraflar birbirinden izole hale geldiğinden olağandışı hale geldiği sonucuna varmaktadır. Bu izolasyon Amman'da görünür haldedir ve bu araştırma ile söz konusu eşitsizliklerin birden fazla sürecin müşterek sonucu olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu tür eşitsizlikler temel olarak, kontrol etmesi zor şekilde ve bu nedenle de şehrin yapılaşmış ortamını kayda değer derecede dönüştüren ve şehrin morfolojisini ve sosyal refahını etkileyen sürekli bir ani göçmen akımı ile sonuçlanmış bölgedeki jeopolitik değişikliklerden kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu, küreselleşme ve neoliberal süreçlere ilaveten şehirdeki ekonomik reformlar gibi diğer süreçlerle bir araya geldiğinde, alt sınıf Doğu Amman'ının göz ardı edilmesi pahasına üst sınıf Batı Amman'ın yükselişi ve aşırı ilgi görmesi ile sonuçlanmıştır. Nihayetinde ayrımlanmış bir şehir olduğundan, farklı okullara gidilen, farklı yerlerden alışveriş yapan, hayata bakışların farklı olan ve bu nedenle de bir birilerine karşı tahammülü olmayan Doğu ve Batı Amman sakinleri arasında neredeyse tam bir izolasyon ortaya çıkmıştır.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Overview

“Any city, however small, is in fact divided into two, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich; these are at war with one another” (Plato, 427-347 B.C.). For almost 2500 years since this quote was stated, almost all cities in the world have experienced some sort of inequalities and socio- spatial segregation between the rich and the poor. Segregated cities have been apparent since prehistoric times. As an example, Egypt’s cities of Kahun and Amarna demonstrated several factors of spatial segregation since 2670 BC where the city of Kahun’s east and west side districts were separate by a thick wall. The east side was where the wealthier resided in very large houses reaching up to seventy rooms per house. The western side belonged to the poorer residents with smaller houses and more crowded neighborhoods (Silverman, 1997; Marcuse, 2002).

Today, greater cities which have higher levels of urban development witness greater inequalities and segregation between the lower and upper classes. Urban differences within cities is a normal occurrence, as it provides different options and alternatives for residents with different income levels and financial abilities, different backgrounds and different beliefs. However, once these urban differences reach a certain limit where they push each side away from each other and cause each class to live separate, unequal lives from one another causing unequal distribution of services and infrastructure does it become an abnormal situation leading to the isolation of residents. This phenomenon is often referred to as *spatial segregation*. By definition, the term segregation refers to “*the separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory means*” (Merriam Webster dictionary)¹ Urban growth and development are directly linked to encouraging globalization² processes which in general have a significant role in increasing socio-spatial segregation. This is due to the fact that many social

¹ Several other definitions to segregation are to be reviewed and explained in the next chapter, including tools for measuring segregation.

² Globalization in this paper refers to “*the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital, and the tapping of cheaper foreign labor markets*” (Merriam Webster dictionary).

entrepreneurs such as planners have great visions for what the city should become and often always produce plans without considering the consequences of such plans on society and without taking into consideration the integrated actors of the city that must be thought of as one big machine. They often aim at developing their cities and competing with other global cities as to who can produce the biggest, most global environment. They turn to mega projects and multinational names to develop their cities and make them more “modern”. The lack of regard for social, cultural and environmental aspects lead to further degradation of the city moving it further away from the opportunity of being a just city³.

Over the past few decades, scholars have been giving increasing attention to the studies of the relationship between urban processes⁴ with spatial segregation. Much of these studies has been focused on this relationship either as a general outlook, or have been focused within a specific case study area in the developed world. Recently, some studies have been giving more attention to spatial segregation in the developing world as these countries are increasingly becoming affected by urban processes as in the developed world. Studies with regard to the Middle East and especially with regard to the city of Amman, Jordan are still limited. Amman itself is a modern city that has been experiencing several changes in its physical urban morphology in addition to its social, political, economic and cultural aspects. Today, Amman is being converted into a globalized city. Megaprojects, high-rise buildings, gated communities, and extensive shopping malls have become the prevailing type of architecture and design forms in the city’s skyline (Musa, 2013, p. 2).

The city of Amman, Jordan has shown signs of socio-spatial segregation ever since the period of 3000 - 1200 BC when the Ammonites resided in the city⁵. The upper class residents resided on the hill tops where the lower class community settled in the valleys at the bottom. This pattern of division was the first division shown in the city

³ The scholar Susan Fainstein's concept of the "just city" encourages planning officials to combine community participation as an approach to achieve a better quality of urban life based on equity and wellbeing (Fainstein, 2010).

⁴ Urban processes refers to the term urbanization which is defined as a population shift from rural to urban areas, and the ways in which society adapts to the change (National Library of Medicine, retrieved 2014). These processes also include other terms such as urban growth, globalization, neoliberalization, migration and modernization which will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁵ The Ammonites, as displayed in biblical sources were the first residents of Amman. Chapter 3 will discuss the history of Amman in detail.

and it continued to exist until this day where the city is very evidently divided into two distinct axes; East Amman and West Amman. The west residents enjoy lavish lives with large apartments and houses, easily accessible services and properly functioning infrastructure where on the other side of the city, less than 10km away are the poorer neighborhoods with residents living in small houses in densely built environments reaching up to 20,000 inhabitants per square kilometer (Ababsa, 2011, p. 213). The east Amman residents suffer from pollution, lack of services and lack of sufficient infrastructure.

This study is therefore aimed at investigating the role of urban development and of urban processes in general in increasing the socio-spatial segregation in the city of Amman. It aims to study the history of the city's development and link it with what the city has developed into today. It also aims at studying the different opinions and ideas of both the east and west residents in understanding their views on the role of urban development and how pleased/unpleased they are with the city's urban morphology. The goal of this research is to draw the light on the relationship between the urban processes and the spatial segregation and inequalities that exist in the city and also to conclude by suggesting policies on how to reduce this division and how to integrate the different sides with one another (Figure 1.1).

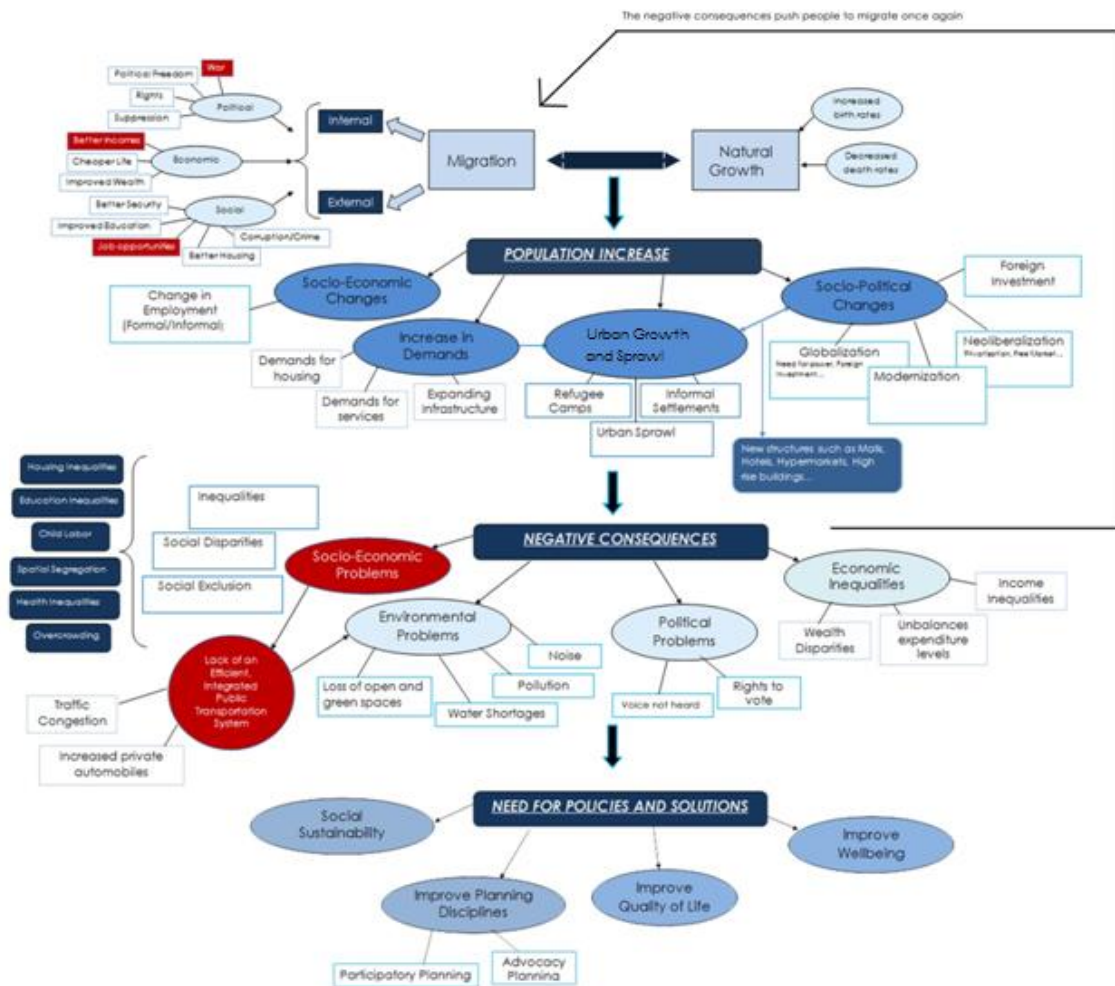


Fig 1.1 The Contextual Framework of the Research (Produces by author).

1.2 Statement of Problem

The goal of this thesis is to investigate and understand the influences of urban processes especially urban development on Amman's spatial morphology and socio-spatial segregation. The socio-spatial segregation that exists in the city of Amman has caused the society to live in two contrary worlds under the same location status. East and west Amman are often referred to as 'the two Ammans.' Inhabitants of each side live in different neighborhoods, work in different places, attend different schools, and go to different places for recreational purposes. The two rarely integrate and if they do, it is not of personal choice. Both sides do not accept or understand each other very well and although they all belong to one city, one history and one country, they still seem to have each come from a completely different world. Although class differences are inevitable in cities, as there will always be the rich and the poor, it only becomes a problem when the different classes are so isolated

from each other, as in Amman. These differences as the research is to investigate are the outcome of rapid urban development and uncontrolled planning that has occurred in the city.

Amman itself is a modern city and unlike any other in its growth patterns. The city has always grown suddenly due to the lack of political stableness in the region and has always experienced sudden booms in population due to waves of immigrants mainly seeking refuge in the country of Jordan. These waves of population booms caused the city to sprawl rapidly leading to the poor to seek shelter in affordable areas, and the richer to escape these areas that suddenly become over crowded, and move to quieter, cleaner areas away from the city center. These patterns, over the course of several decades lead to the development of the two axes that exist today; 'East and West Amman'.

Although this phenomenon might seem like a normal happening as in any other city, it is indeed a problem. The residents of the east and west side have unequal lives that go beyond the normal limits. West Amman residents rarely worry about access to services. Electricity, water, heating/cooling and waste collection services are always available. Children go to prestigious schools and adults have secure jobs with monthly salaries and secured insurance. Density is not an issue, neither is overcrowding, pollution or noise. On the contrary, the east residents suffer much more difficult lives with lower standards of living. Access to services is an issue they constantly worry about as electricity, water and waste collection services are not always available or are very costly to obtain. Children suffer from poor education levels where many don't attend school or drop out from school at a young age to support the family. Child labor is clearly visible as families cannot afford their living expenses. Adults as well do not have secure jobs. Most employees work in the informal sector with many working seasonal jobs that don't provide a fixed monthly income. Houses are crowded, neighborhoods are dense and inhabitants experience high levels of pollution and noise in their environments. In addition, from a social aspect, the residents of both sides rarely integrate causing further disparities and isolation.

This problem therefore needs to be studied as to why the city of Amman has developed into such an uncontrolled segregated city. The root cause must be investigated and suggestions with regard to solutions must be sought for. The aim of this study does not seek to suggest ways in which an ideal city may be created with absolutely no class differences, as that is a near impossible mission. However, community rights and wellbeing must be sought to provide a better standard of living with more integration and less isolation.

1.3 Significance of the Research

Urban development is inevitable within cities. Planners and planning theorists have always seemed to address the problem of social injustice with regard to urban development. However, there seems to be insufficient results. The theories are put through but cities aren't improving in terms of social aspects. The gaps between different classes only seem to increase. Today, planners have become more interested and devoted to developing the city in terms of creating more "modern" buildings which give a globalised image of the city. They aim at creating a skyline of high rise buildings, shopping malls, luxury hotels, gated communities and other functions to attract people from the upper class community and to attract even more foreign investment. These new city schemes have no place for the poor. They push the lower class society to the city outskirts in order to make way for even more mega projects. Therefore, there needs to be a significant and comprehensive study as to why this cycle is happening and why is there being no intervention. In the city of Amman especially, no certain study or investigation has been entirely devoted to the reasons of these disparities and spatial segregation and how to overcome them by successful planning policies. There needs to be suggestions on how to efficiently use and take advantage of urban spaces not only for economical purposes but also for social, cultural and environmental purposes. Urban spaces must be used efficiently to decrease this segregation rather than increase it. Studies in Amman are limited and do not cover comprehensive aspects in this subject. Although there have been several scholars⁶ who have studied the inequalities and segregation in the city, this research

⁶ Several scholars such as Myriam Ababsa who is a Research Associate at the French Institute of the Near East in Amman, Jordan and Rami Daher who is a practicing architect and an academician in Amman, Jordan have written papers with regard to Amman's social disparities and urban processes which are to be studied and cited in this study.

is solely devoted to their relationship with urban processes and if the root cause of these segregation patterns are the urban processes which the city has and still is undergoing. Do the reasons behind this injustice rely on political aspects? Or do they have other factors as well? Is society comfortable with each class living separately from each other or do they want to see change? Are there any implemented strategies to address this issue or is it merely just suggestions on paper? All these questions require answers; therefore there is a need for an in-depth study and investigation to tend to these questions. In addition, this research might open up new agendas and strategies for further research, future projects and an improvement in the chaotic planning of the city.

1.4 Research Questions

The way a city develops, its growth patterns, planning policies and master plans affect greatly the way the socio-economic status of the city develops. They are two interrelated matters that affect each other within a continuous cycle. Changes in the urban morphology of a city create changes in the spatial and socio-economic status as well. In order for these changes to be more positive than negative, the planning processes in addition to the urban processes must be carefully studied, organized and well planned for. Cities that focus on economic achievements as a priority for their growth will eventually isolate and segregate their inhabitants.

This research is mainly focused, as mentioned, on the relationship between urban processes and increased socio-spatial segregation. The main research question to be answered therefore is: *How can different urban processes affect and increase socio-spatial segregation and inequalities within the city of Amman?* In addition to this main question, other questions to be addressed in the research include; *what are the consequences of such segregation and inequalities on society?* And *what suggestions can be used in bridging the gap between different residents in the polarized city of Amman?*

1.5 Thesis Structure

The second chapter of this thesis is focused on the theoretical context and review of important literature with regard to the main terms and subjects discussed in the

article including theories of urban form, urban sprawl including its causes and effects in addition to globalization and neoliberalization theories. Chapter three displays the research context by elaborating to the reader the demographic and general structure of the city of Amman in addition to the history of the city and its development in terms of urban planning, population, growth and impact of refugees in the city. The next chapter is divided into three main themes including 1) searching for the roots of disparities – the role of urban planning, urban sprawl, globalization and Neoliberalism which is to be analyzed side by side with the literature review by applying the concepts on the case study of Amman, 2) the experiences of socio-spatial and economic differences and finally 3) the attitudes and opinions with regard to this socio-spatial segregation. Chapter 5 begins by questioning the main findings of the research. It then discusses whether there is a possibility of socio-spatial equity in Amman in addition to the limitations of the study and the recommendations for future research.

1.6 Methodology

The research relies on both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection. Qualitative methods are used *“to answer the whys and hows of human behavior, opinion, and experience information that is difficult to obtain through more quantitatively-oriented methods of data collection”* (Guest et al, 2013). These methods are used when investigating how the inhabitants of Amman react and cope with the socio-spatial segregation and how it affects their daily life patterns. In addition to both East Amman and West Amman’s residents’ experiences and opinions with regard to their general well being, quality of life, access to services, economic abilities and access to rights. On the other hand, quantitative research is *“Explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematically based methods (in particular statistics)”* (Aliaga and Gunderson, 2000). Numerical data to be collected include statistics and demographics supplied from other publications and also from governmental organizations to determine population numbers, housing expenditure levels, employments levels, density levels and other statistics that are to be useful when comparing and studying different living standards between East and West Amman.

The research methods combine different techniques of both primary and secondary data to collect data and to reach the desired results. Field work data was also conducted in Amman, Jordan in January 2015 to acquire the needed information. Primary data include in depth interviews and informal conversations with both the East and West inhabitants of Amman, in addition to interviews with planning officials, university professors and students. Secondary data to be used include historical maps and documents, comparative methods between historical and contemporary images and maps, published data such as books, magazines, newspapers, dissertations, and articles. The historical maps to be studied are based on the main population boom phases⁷ in Jordan that were influenced by the waves of refugees coming into the city due to the political imbalance in the region. In addition, other secondary data will be used to collect statistical information from the Department of Statistics in Jordan. Studies and data collected by myself several years ago during my Bachelors Degree in Architecture were also used as references during the research. Several sites were visited to compare the living standards in the different districts of the city in addition to site visits to the mega projects that have been developing recently within the city's skyline.

The process of interviewing was based on quality rather than quantity. In depth semi-structured questions were used to interview academic professors, students, residents, and planning officials. The questions used were flexible based on the length of interviews and how well they responded. The language used during interviews was either English or Arabic depending on the interviewee.

⁷ These phases include 1948, 1967, 1990 and the 2000's. The three phases are especially important to Jordan since they are when huge waves of refugees entered the city following wars in the region such as the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, the Six-Day Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the 1990 Gulf War and the Iraq war in the 2000's in addition to the Arab Spring which began in December 2010.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focuses on reviewing the literature that is to be used throughout the thesis and sets the outline for the theoretical sources and ideas that have been studied to make use of in this research. Topics that are to be reviewed begin with discussing how views with regard to urban space have evolved and developed over time. Other terms will also be elaborated such as urban processes, urban growth and sprawl, globalization, neoliberalization. In the scope of these sections, each section will briefly describe its relation to social problems.

Space and its society have no longer become the key issue or worry in contemporary urban planning. As cities become more politically active, more economically powerful and more interested in reaching global standards; spatial issues are becoming less of an issue to worry about and planning for equity and social justice is becoming an old book on the shelf. Urban geographies are what create and form society's relationships. One cannot detach the role of the environment and urban setting on society as they are two very interrelated subjects. Space affects society and in return society affects space. As Park (1992, p. 1) stated:

The city is a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of organized attitudes and sentiments that in here in this tradition. The city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature and particularly of human nature.

Therefore, as the city changes and as urban geographies evolve, social relationships develop as well. How and why urban geographies evolve, how well and by which stakeholders this development is controlled, and to what goals do they aim for are what define whether social relationships degrade or upgrade. They define whether a city's status changes over the long run for the better or for the worse.⁸

⁸ The city's status which is meant in this sentence is the city's socio-spatial status in terms of social justice and equity.

2.1 Theories of Urban Form

The contextualization in this thesis of how social problems arise is based on three interlinked factors; urban growth and sprawl, globalization and neoliberalization and society. These factors are all built upon the understanding of the city or of “space”.

2.1.1 Beginnings of society and space relationship

Theories that focused on the city often viewed the city as a detached object unrelated to its people, society and social processes that influenced its growth. In the words of Santos and Slaner (1977) “The role of space in relation to society has often been discounted by geography”. Theorists especially geographers view the city as a product of the soil, not of society. They see the city as a form rather than a formation and as an object rather than a process. This is often because space is considered as a local notion where as society is a global concept (Magda, 2003). Theorists assumed that the city followed a certain urban model such as the work of Burgess Model which viewed urbanism as a natural process which could be inherited by any city in the world. It also suggested that people adapted to this urban model regardless of other forces. The Burgess Model which was developed by the Chicago School of Urban Ecology identified the two main natural processes of urbanism as concentration and decentralization. Burgess claimed in his theory that cities, similar to nature based environments were affected by many forces similar to those of the Darwinian Evolution of which the most important factor was competition. This natural process caused people to seek for land therefore leading to the division of urban space into “natural areas” holding people with similar traits (As cited in Park, 1992).

Two other significant theories focusing on urban space are the neoclassical economics theory and the critical theory extracted from Marxist analysis. The neoclassic approach, unlike the prior theory, assumes that urban space is driven by market forces which produce and organize this space. They see that the tendency of choosing locations for such markets depends on their nature and behavior which therefore leads to the assumption that geographies are dependent on the location decisions and types of markets (McCann, 2001). As economies grow or decline, they affect these markets causing them to grow or to slow down which in return determine

how much cities grow and to what extent do they reach (O'Sullivan, 2003). It is therefore the supply and demand process in addition to other external forces such as governmental intervention which shape the city. This "market" fails when the city is unable to provide services such as proper healthcare facilities, affordable housing and job opportunities to its residents and it is therefore the government's duty to intervene and attend to these market failures. Neoclassical economist theorists developed certain theories with regard to how cities cluster into different gaps. The "spatial sorting process" in their eyes is controlled by market forces which are defined in this case as the housing market. The richer residents have the abilities to live in wealthier housing markets which therefore lead to the exclusion of the poorer residents. Spatial sorting may also be by ethnicity, abilities and lifestyle preferences (Wassmer, 2002). The sorting eventually leads to the development of upper class neighborhoods and lower class ones as well which are usually developed further away due to the tendency of lands to be cheaper.

The Marxist theories or the critical urban theory is the work of several urban scholars during the post 1968 period such as Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Manuel Castells and Peter Marcuse. Through their works, they shifted from studying the significance of the city as an outcome, to studying it as a process of urbanization. An urban space is therefore a tangible spatial result of the urbanization processes of social forces including class struggles, industrialization and state regulation (Brenner, 2009). They rejected previous urban theories related to natural and market oriented cities which did not regard society as being a main force of cities and rather developed a perspective that was based on the "fetishism" of space. In their perspectives, space (which is the city) is directly linked and influenced by social relations (Harvey, 1996). Brenner (2009) wrote in his article about the critical urban theory: "It emphasizes the politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested and therefore malleable character of urban space—that is, its continual (re)construction as a site, medium and outcome of historically specific relations of social power." Space and society therefore became two related terms which are affected by one another.

2.1.2 Production of space

Henri Lefebvre was one of the first scholars to identify the term of “production of space”. He saw that society and social processes are what produce the space itself. Every society produces a space of its own independent from the other society’s space (Lefebvre, 1974). Lefebvre categorized the different levels of space ranging from absolute or natural space to the more intricate and complex space which he defined as socially produced space. Society produce space and space in return produces society. These two are therefore much linked dimensions which cannot be studied in isolation from one another. It is important to study the relationship of society and space in order to understand space itself. As a Marxist theorist, he exemplified how it was possible for economic forces to be used in the analysis of cities. He associates space similar to commodities, money and capital as being influenced by global processes. “In addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control and hence of domination of power” (Lefebvre, 1974). Edward Soja, influenced by the works of Marxist theorists, developed ideas revolving around the rejection of social determinism as seeing that space is simply the results of societal processes. In his work of *The Socio-Spatial Dialectic* (1980), he expressed:

The structure of organized space is not a separate structure with its own autonomous laws of construction and transformation, nor is it simply an expression of the class structure emerging from the social relations of production. It represents, instead, a dialectically defined component of the general relations of production, relations which are simultaneously social and spatial.

Space therefore is created and modified by people who in turn are influenced by and modified by the same space they created. Spatial patterns and social processes are dialectic and not a mere cause and effect phenomenon.

2.2 An Overview on Urban Growth and Urban Sprawl

Urban sprawl, another space related phenomenon is believed to also be the product of society. It is important to begin by defining this term and properly understand it, as it is one of the main dimensions to this research. Urban growth and urban sprawl as defined by UNICEF (2012) are:

Urban growth is the (relative or absolute) increase in the number of people who live in towns and cities. The pace of urban population growth depends on the natural increase of the urban population and the population gained by urban areas through both net rural-urban migration and the reclassification of rural settlements into cities and towns.

Urban sprawl; also 'horizontal spreading' or 'dispersed urbanization'. The uncontrolled and disproportionate expansion of an urban area into the surrounding countryside, forming low-density, poorly planned patterns of development. Common in both high-income and low-income countries, urban sprawl is characterized by a scattered population living in separate residential areas, with long blocks and poor access, often over dependent on motorized transport and missing well defined hubs of commercial activity.

As seen by the above definition of urban growth, a city's growth may be either a natural increase; meaning the rate of births per year exceed the rate of deaths per year, or it may be by population gain through internal or external migration. Urban growth can either be spatial or numerical where spatially the area of an urban area increases and numerically the number of the urban population increases. Although both value and area are related, meaning as an urban area's population increases, the area it covers will inevitably increase as well, this is not always the case as some cities such as cities in Europe have witnessed declines in the levels of population and still grew spatially with increased number of households (Haase et al, 2013). Urban growth is significantly linked to urbanization and the rate of urbanization which is defined as the increase in the proportion of urban population over time, calculated as the rate of growth of the urban population minus that of the total population (UNICEF, 2012). Urban sprawl is a more difficult term to define as it is referred to as both a noun (when studying the condition) and a verb (when studying the process). Bhatta (2012), concluded in his research regarding urban growth analysis (through the analysis of several literature pieces) that urban sprawl although difficult to define is often related to land use patterns, land developments processes, behavior related to land use and the outcome of land use related behaviors. Ewing (1994), defined urban sprawl as being undesirable land use patterns. He stated that sprawl is new patterns in human settlements which comprise automobile privatization, low density housing and commercial strip development. Many researchers have debated over an accurate and comprehensive definition of sprawl and although most scholars see sprawl related in one way or another to density, each one of them refer to it from a different perspective.

For as long as cities have existed, they have been experiencing urban growth and sprawl. In the last few decades however, these processes have reached dramatic values and today over 54% of the global population live in urban areas (WHO, 2014). This is partly due to the increase in automobile accessibility where people can reach further distances in shorter periods of time, but it is also due to the population boom that has occurred in the world, where more people have become concentrated in urban areas causing cities to expand their territories to support the growing numbers of population. Up until the industrial revolution cities grew at normal rates keeping distinct differences between rural and urban settlements. Cities were compact and lacked the appearance of automobile usage; they were dominated by pedestrian functions. In addition, cities lacked the distinct variations and separations that exist today between upper and lower classes. With the onset of the industrial revolution, the development of cities began to shift from compact to sprawl and from pedestrian oriented to automobile oriented. With the introduction of new productions and new methods, functions began to become greater and more widespread. In addition, population numbers began to greatly increase causing increase in density levels and increase in spatial areas covered by cities (Altinok and Cengiz, 2008).

2.2.1 Concepts of urban growth and sprawl

Urban growth and sprawl although very much interlinked cannot be defined as one term. Urban growth is a broader term and from it branches out the term “sprawl”. Sprawl is more specific and is defined under unplanned or uncoordinated growth (Batty, 2004). Although sprawl is generally viewed as being negative, urban growth on the other hand, is not necessarily a negative phenomenon. Infill growth for example, is a positive type of growth and is often looked to when searching for alternatives to sprawl (Bhatta, 2010).

From here, it is important to create a clear understanding of the different types of urban growth and sprawl as identified and categorized by scholars. Wilson et al. (2003) classified urban growth into different types including infill, expansion, and outlying growth. Outlying growth is further branched out into three types; isolated, linear branch, and clustered branch (Fig. 2.1). Infill growth often used as an alternative to sprawl is the building of new developments within vacant lands in already built up areas. It creates denser environments, compact cities and increases

contiguity in the urban center. Extension growth often referred to as growth *at* the urban fringe (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001) is described as the outward expansion of the urban area into undeveloped areas along the border outskirts of the area. This growth leads to low density development and is often uncontrolled. Outlying growth is the next level of sprawl where land is developed away from the urban area and from the urban fringe but rather at a further distance into rural lands. It may also be called growth *beyond* the urban fringe (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001) Isolated growth is described as being the development far away from existing ones. An example could be a new construction such as a house with no adjacent built on lands. Linear branch growth is the development of a new construction some distance from already developed lands; however it differs from isolated as the form follows a linear pattern similar to that of a tree branch. This may be a new road or an urban corridor. Clustered branch growth is different from isolated and linear branch as it includes a large group or large “cluster” of a development such as a complex or new neighborhood (Wilson et al, 2002).

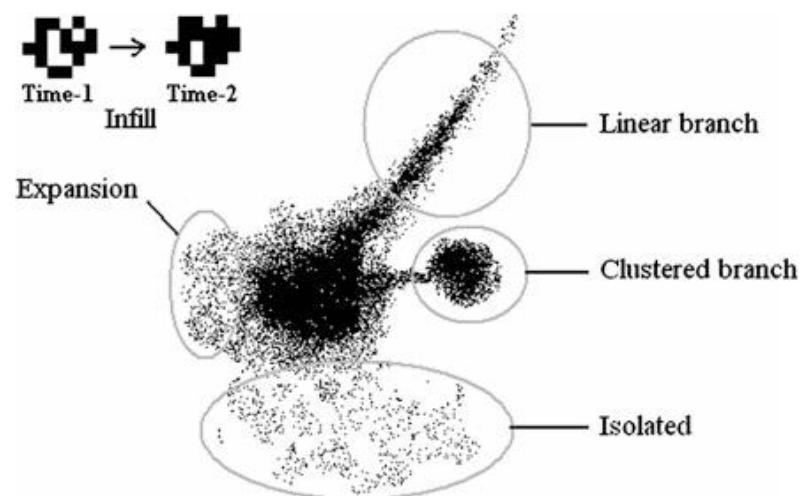


Fig 2.1 Schematic diagram of urban growth pattern (Bhatta, 2010).

Urban sprawl is often categorized into four types; low density development, strip development, scattered development, leapfrog development (Ewing, 1992). Galster et al. (2001), identified the eight dimensions of sprawl as density, continuity, concentration, compactness, centrality, nuclearity, diversity, proximity. In addition, sprawl is seen as both a pattern and a process. It may be a pattern when studying the causes or a process when studying the consequences of such patterns. The study of

the pattern and process of urban sprawl must be however distinguished from the causes and consequences of such patterns (Galster et al, 2001). The patterns of urban sprawl are seen as a static phenomenon where as the process is a dynamic phenomenon with regard to developing such patterns (Bhatta, 2010).

2.2.2 Causes of urban growth and sprawl

The drivers that lead to urban growth and urban sprawl cannot be separated from one another as they are very much interconnected. The causes of urban growth may occur without the necessary occurrence of sprawl however, growth is needed as a key factor in order for sprawl to occur (Bhatt, 2010). It is not possible to outline one single factor as being the sole cause of all cases of urban sprawl. The foremost and most widespread cause of urban sprawl is population growth. As cities grow numerically, the need to develop more housing and services such as schools hospitals entertainment facilities and social facilities increase as well. Population levels in cities is continuously growing as the natural population grows and also as migration to urban areas increases. In our modern age, cities have become the attraction of almost all residents as they have better opportunities of jobs, education, healthcare and general well being. Residents are encouraged to migrate from rural areas into urban areas within the country or city. In addition, migrants coming in from different countries often seek better lives (pull factors) or migrate when escaping conditions in their own country such as war (push factors). Migration alone can have extreme effects on a city's form and development as the migrants that enter the city, especially refugees who have escaped war conditions and seek new areas to settle in, are unplanned for. Master plans and growth strategies often do not take into account the measures to be taken both spatially and financially, in the case of waves of migrants entering the city. This therefore leads to several consequences and negative effects on the city's morphology and general wellbeing.

As cities experience urban population growth, the city becomes more diverse with different ethnic groups, races and classes. A diverse population means different abilities in terms of economic perspectives. The poorer residents will seek cheaper and more affordable housing where as the richer residents will seek larger more luxurious houses. The cost of living in inner cities is often greater than the costs of

living on the outskirts of the cities. Poorer residents therefore tend to move out of the city center due to the lack of affordable housing and high living costs. The countryside on the other hand is more inexpensive therefore causing the development of the city's countryside in order to support the population. In addition, richer residents who are able to afford transportation costs to and from the city center will choose to move outwards where land plots are larger and neighborhoods are safer, quieter and cleaner leading to the development of single family homes that covers more horizontal space than vertical space.

Latino and Congas (2008) state in their paper that sprawl due to population growth may be a "bidirectional supply and demand cycle." Meaning as supply is provided to meet the increasing demands of population growth, more people are attracted to the newly developed areas therefore resulting in increased population growth which in return leads to increased demand causing the cycle to begin once again.

Stakeholders including governments and private entrepreneurs compete with other cities and urban areas to seek to create big and powerful cities. They compete to create mega projects such as shopping malls, multinational projects, high-rise buildings, high ways which all require vast amounts of land which is often unavailable in the city center causing them to resort to the urban fringe (Çamur and Yenigül, 2009). They often have the authority to make decision independent of other stakeholders. They aim to develop as many functions as possible on vacant lands causing their cities to grow and become more global. This case is emphasized with cities that are not properly planned and lack a comprehensive master plan.

As economies strengthen, the wealth of individuals increase which in return increases the demand for housing, services and job opportunities. Residents often look to invest in larger plots of land and housing. In many cases vacant lands within the urban area are already privately owned and left undeveloped therefore causing infill growth to be difficult (Harvey and Clark, 1965). This causes new developments to rise along the urban fringe. As new developments are constructed, especially

industrial functions⁹, more jobs move away from the CBD out into the urban fringe therefore increasing the housing needs for these employees.

Burchfield et al. (2006) use the monocentric model¹⁰ as a framework for understanding sprawl. In this model it is believed that cities that are built with an efficient public transportation system as the main mode of transport are more compact than cities with automobiles being the dominant form of transport. The lower the transportation costs are, the more people will be encouraged to live outside the city center leading to a widely spread sprawled city. In addition they see that cities experience fewer sprawls if they are comprised to a specific sector such as business services. They state that it is important to increase the significance of the CBD to prevent people from sprawling outwards and creating a decentralized city. The more centralized employment patterns are, the less the city will sprawl outwards. The next assumption of monocentric cities is that faster growing cities will often sprawl less. Stakeholders in faster growing cities will often want to develop lands quicker therefore they turn to the option of developing plots further out into the suburbs which will need more infrastructure development and therefore take more time. Societies which are unsure about the urban growth patterns in the future lead to greater sprawl levels especially leap frog type sprawl.

In addition to all the above mentioned factors, the physical structure of an urban area has a significant effect on the way it sprawls. Cities that have water aquifers and agricultural sources on their outskirts often attract new developments around them in order to reduce costs of extending from such sources into the city center (Puga, 2008). Mountainous areas on the other hand discourage sprawl as it more costly to develop new settlements along highly sloping rocky lands (Puga, 2008).

Furthermore, the monocentric model sees that cities with temperate climates are more likely to experience sprawl than those with extreme climatic conditions.

⁹ Industrial functions especially, are one of the leading causes of sprawl as they require larger land plots and grow horizontally rather than vertically. They are often located out of the city center due to the higher availability of land and lower land values.

¹⁰ The monocentric model created by Alonso 1964, Mills 1967, Muth 1969 and Wheaton 1974 assumes that business centers are clustered in central business districts (CBD) causing most jobs to be concentrated in the city center where as residential areas are on the outskirts of the cities. Residents living in monocentric cities make one round trip daily between their workplace and their home.

Temperate climates encourage the development of higher levels of public and private open space such as backyards and neighborhood gardens (Burchfield et al. 2006).

2.2.3 Effects of urban growth and sprawl

Urban sprawl has adverse affects on environmental, economical, social and cultural perspectives. Although most scholars see sprawl as a negative phenomenon, some state the contrary and believe that sprawl has many benefits to the city. Gordon and Richardson (2000) criticized the critiques that see sprawl as being solely negative and argue that urban sprawl has been successful in increasing job and housing opportunities. They argue against scholars by proving how ineffective claims are with regard to the negative effects of urban sprawl. Urban growth on the other hand may be interpreted both positively and negatively depending on how it is looked at.

Glaeser and Kahn (2003) believe that sprawl has several social benefits as it provides residents with larger houses and shorter travel times. They state that when sprawl first began pushing cities outwards, people lived outside the city along the suburbs and worked inside the city. However, as cities grew, the jibs also moved outwards and “followed the people” which created a benefit in terms of decreasing commute times. They also believe that the more a city is sprawled out, the less segregation it experiences. This is directly linked, in their opinion, to the variety of transport modes, meaning that when a city grows outwards, the most dominant form of transport will be the automobile, causing both the rich and the poor to use the same kind of transport whereas in a city with a wide choice of transport modes, the poor will live in areas closer to public transport and the rich will be able to move further away due to their ability to afford high transport costs. Although sprawl may have positive effects when it is properly planned and controlled, this is not always the case and at most times, urban growth and sprawl is uncontrolled and uncoordinated therefore leading to many negative consequences both on the society and on space.

From an environmental perspective, sprawl affects the quality and leads to the fragmentation of the agricultural lands and green areas on the urban fringe. As the city sprawls it cuts through patches of natural systems such as equal systems and affects the ecological balance within the countryside causing the destruction of

plants, forests, species and farmland (Harvey and Clark, 1965). These losses in return affects the city's economy as the loss of local fresh produce decreases and cities turn to importing their produce (Bhatta, 2010). Loss of land also means increased temperatures. Frumkin (2002, p. 202) explains in their study the phenomenon of "urban heat islands" where urban areas are warmer by 3.5 – 4.5 degrees Celsius than suburban areas. This is mainly due to the dark surfaces such as roads, pavements and roofs absorbing excessive heat and also due to the lack of sufficient vegetation to provide shade and decreased temperatures. As cars travel longer distances in sprawl cities, they therefore, use up more energy than when travelling in compact cities where driving distances are much less. This leads to increased energy consumption and eventually leads to higher levels of traffic congestion (Ewing, 1994). In return, pollution levels rise and air quality levels fall as green house gases increase. The cycle continues, leading to decreased plant growth, acid rain and global warming which contribute to many health problems (Bhatta, 2010). Such cities, suffer from increased levels of surface water which increases the risks of floods and water pollution due to the runoff water being contaminated from chemicals in urban areas (Bhatta 2010).

Sprawl in itself regardless of all other consequences is a costly phenomenon; it is economically costly both to society and to its users (Harvey and Clark, 1965). The need to extend water pipelines, electricity and telephone lines, infrastructure and services is a difficult process and needs a large amount of capital as opposed to compact cities where all services are constrained within a certain radius. The extra production of fossil fuels due to increased demands is also economically costly. As more of people's time is wasted waiting in traffic, the productivity levels of urban areas decreases as well.

The social affects also worsen as sprawl increases. The class differences are emphasized as poverty, depravation and discrimination increases. Different classes begin to be separated by the ability to pay for high transportation costs and privatized automobiles. Wheeler (2006) states in his study that residents living in less dense suburbs (which contain a variety of high and low range of workers) are more spatially segregated in terms of education and income levels. He studies the housing patterns of high wage workers living in gated communities and secured villas. Such

communities have become one of the greatest dilemmas for metropolitan isolation and destruction as they confine people in a private area away from social interaction. In addition, as the city grows it will provide more choices and diversity in terms of jobs, education, housing and schooling and although some see this as a benefit, (Wassmer and Boarnet, 2001) it actually leads to increased socio-spatial fragmentation. As the upper class society are more willing to pay higher amounts to live in good neighborhoods, pay for reputable schools and seek high standard medical care, lower income groups are not as willing which causes both economic and social segregation (O'Sullivan, 2009). Sudden urban growth also creates negative social-spatial consequences. As masses of people enter cities, housing demands increase and when supply fails to meet these increasing demands, or when lower class residents are unable to afford such housing costs, they resort to setting up squatter settlements. This type of housing is unavoidable and uncontrolled (Altinok and Cengiz, 2008). Social fragmentation is further highlighted with the development of gentrification projects creating isolation corners in the city. As cities continue to grow, there becomes a clear line between the different classes; upper classes prefer to reside in newer, more luxurious neighborhoods, whereas the poorer residents turn to squatter settlements, low quality housing and smaller more cramped apartments.

Proper planning policies and design schemes are suggested when attending to the negative consequences of urban growth and sprawl. Policies such as smart growth planning, compact cities and participatory planning have been successful policies in other cities when attending to such problems.

The richer residents of cities are usually the first to escape the dense urban centers as they are more capable of having privatized automobiles and are also more capable of supporting themselves in newly developed areas which often have high financial demands. Urban sprawl, especially in developing countries has usually little to no planning. Such cities grow with lack of consideration for environmental, social and cultural perspectives and often show patterns of informal settlements, imbalance in the distribution of services and high levels of corruption... As planners and investors aim to create attractive housing and functions in the newly urbanized areas, the older areas often get neglected and lack maintenance to keep up with the newly developed areas. This leads to the separation of upper and lower classes and the upper class

become less fond of living in such neglected areas and decided to move to the new and healthier settlements. It is important to state that one cannot always assume that urban growth is a negative phenomenon. Many cities have been growing at successful rates and patterns with no experiences of major negative outcomes. This depends greatly on the city's growth patterns and processes and how well they are planned for in a successful and integrated manner. Urban sprawl cannot be solely studied as an urban process and is greatly related to other processes such as globalization and neoliberal processes which are all interrelated in affecting and changing the urban morphology of a city.

2.3 GLOBALIZATION AND NEOLIBERALIZATION

Globalization has become an increasingly popular term since the late 1970's as a result of the industrial revolution. It may be described as a multidimensional phenomenon that covers political, economic, cultural and social perspectives. As Held et al. explained:

Globalization can be thought of as a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact –generating transcontinental or inter regional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power.

The fall of communism was an important force that initiated the move of globalization. The key driver however, of globalization remains to be the neoliberal processes that occurred amongst the world's most developed countries. The transformation of businesses from traditional bureaucracies to fluid, flexible networks (Ritzer, 2012) able to compete in global markets in addition to the technological breakthroughs, economic liberalization which allowed economies and societies to enter world markets and deregulating restriction to market forces are some of the main characteristics of this phenomenon. Furthermore, the most significant economic trend that the wave of globalization brought along is the restructuring of economic processes, the decline of the manufacturing sector in the 1970's and the rise of the services sector, transnational corporation and financial institutions (Ismail, 2010). Neoliberal theories, similar to those of globalization claim a free market economy and free individual choice in addition to maximized

economic performance in terms of effectiveness, economic growth, technical progress, and distributional justice. This theory views the state as having minimum control over the economy, being limited only to property rights, contracts and regulating money (Kotz, 2002, p. 1). Harvey (2005, p. 40-41) defined Neoliberalism as:

A theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free market and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.

Held et al (1999) discussed in their works the three different perspectives on theories of globalization. These are divided into the hyperglobalists, skeptics and transformationalists. Hyperglobalists and skeptic theories see globalization as an outcome of economic processes. The hyperglobalists see globalization as a new epoch in human history. This new epoch has evolved by the decrease in significance and authority of nation-states and the denationalization of economies due to the economic concept of global markets. Scholars in the skeptical perspective view global capitalism as a myth. In their opinion globalization is nothing new, they see that earlier periods of history have witnessed similar interconnecting activities, and that we have always lived in one world. The third and final perspective sees that there is no single cause for the development behind globalization and it is rather caused by multiple forces and that the effects and processes of globalization are unprecedented.

The relationship between Neoliberalism, global processes and social problems is a very significant relationship. Scholars and organizations including the United Nations have sought to explain the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that occur and the polarization that happens within cities due to these forces. Daher (2008) demonstrated through his work how global and neoliberal transformations have affected the urban reconstruction especially in Middle Eastern cities. He argues how neoliberal developers have aimed to create mainly consumerist utopias such as high rise towers and gated communities. The neoliberal urban restructuring projects, he argues, lead to polarized cities and geographies of inequalities and social exclusion.

In addition, such projects use catching slogans which promise these urban utopias where in reality they only cause the defragmentation of society. They displace low income groups out into the outskirts of the city, into areas lacking proper services and infrastructure to make more room for the upper class society. Daher (2013, p. 104) quotes the words of Skalar (2001, p. 6) to further elaborate this phenomenon:

Global capitalism thrives by persuading us that the meaning and value of our lives are to be found principally in what we possess, that we can never be totally satisfied with our positions (the imperative of ever changing fashion style), and that the goods and services we consume are best provided by the free market, the generator of private profit that lies at the heart of capitalism.

Urban fabrics are therefore affected by such global networks where they penetrate urban cities bringing along new types of employment, lifestyles and prototypes of how life should be. The wealthier become part of this network leaving the less fortunate behind. They enter the network where they evolve into young professionals adapting to globalized habits of consumption and living (Keyder, 2005, p.124). Such urban areas are soon polarized into two extremes ends – one of the rich and global and one of the poor and vulnerable. In Keyder's (2005, p.124) words: "the structural tendency toward polarization threatens to evolve into a potentially explosive situation of social exclusion."

Within this context it may be seen through the analysis of literature that social segregation in addition to the causes to inequalities within urban areas is not limited to one phenomenon or one process. They are rather consisting of multidimensional, interrelated processes that happen together, side by side affecting the city and the social standing of the urban area all together.

3. CONTEXTUALIZATION

3.1. Local Context

The city of Amman is the capital of the Hashemite of Jordan and is the country's largest city in terms of population, with 4 million inhabitants in the year 2014. Amman's population is youthful. In 2008, 37.3 percent of the Jordanian population were under the age of 15, 3.3 percent were above 65, and 59.4 percent were between 15 and 64 (Department of Statistics, 2009b). The city covers an area of 1,680 km² and consists of 27 districts. (Greater Amman Municipality, 2013) It is located in north west Jordan, where the country itself occupies an area of 89,556 km² between latitudes 29° and 33° north and longitudes 34° and 39° east and is bordered by Saudi Arabia to the south and east, Iraq to the north-east, Syria to the north, and Israel and Palestine to the west.

The city was originally located on seven hills, where each area obtained its name based on the hill it was located on. The elevation of the city varied between 700 to 1100 m. The center of the city was located on the low lying parts of these hills and sometimes, areas would be built on the upper parts. Today, the city has greatly expanded and covers approximately nineteen hills which consist of a series of steep slopes and valleys. The middle parts of the hills have been built on as well.

In terms of climatic conditions, the city's location being in the upland of Jordan Plateaus categorizes it under having a cold semi-arid climate (according to Köppen climate classification: BSk) with dry summers which are warm and hot where average temperatures in summer are approximately 28 degrees Celsius and winters are usually cold and wet with average temperatures being approximately 8 degrees Celsius. The mean annual temperature is 17.1 degrees Celsius and the total annual precipitation average is around 271 mm (271 Liters/m²) with the highest amounts being in January and February (Amman Climate & Temperature, Climatetemps, 2014). Summers in Amman extend from May to September and the winter period is between November though to April. Spring and autumn seasons are quite short lasting approximately a month each.

In terms of transport, the city has one international airport, which has been recently expanded. Within the last decade the city's transport has been greatly modernized and now consists of many highways, flyovers, tunnels and roundabouts and a bridge which spans across the Abdoun area valley and it considered to be an important landmark in the city. The country's highways all pass through Amman which has led to the city having a big congestion problem. In addition, the city's transportation is dominated by the private automobile and lacks a metro line or high density public transportation system which also adds to the congestion problem. Al-Asad (2005) stated that within the past two decades Amman has "become a more congested city in which it is increasingly difficult to drive, and through which it is almost impossible to walk". Recent plans have however been taking place to establish a rapid bus transit network and a three line metro system (Greater Amman Municipality).

Jordan has a small, service-based economy. Its few natural resources include mineral resources such as phosphate and potash, but it does not produce oil (Schlumberger, 2002). Amman's economy has improved a lot within recent years especially following the Iraqi war in 2003, where a great number of investors came to Amman. The World Bank classified Jordan in 2007 as a low middle income country, which had an estimated per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of USD4,700 (U.S. Department of State, 2011). The Jordanian Department of Statistics (2009b) estimated the 2007 GDP per capita at USD3,000 and the 2008 GDP per capita at USD3,600. The country as a whole has the highest levels in the Middle East in terms of medical tourism and is also among the highest countries in the region in terms of tourism. Foreign investment is also high where the city is among the most desired locations for investors alongside Doha and Dubai consisting of many international companies and banks.

The eastern part of the city is the older city center and consists of more traditional and smaller housing units and buildings. It also consists most of the capital's historical sites and is generally a densely built area. West Amman on the other hand, is becoming the new business district and economic center with more modern buildings, shopping malls, hotels and international offices. Among all Jordanian cities, Amman represents the city with the worst socio-economic inequalities.

3.2 History of Urban Planning in Amman

3.2.1 History of Amman

Several studies and archeological excavations suggest that the city of Amman has a deep rooted history dating back to almost 9000 years. The first settlements in the city were built on Jabal Al Qalaa (translated to the Mountain of the Castle, Amman's Citadel today) and the surrounding valleys near the "Seil Amman" (Amman's stream) due to the availability of both water sources and caves. Biblical sources show that these caves were occupied during the bronze ages (3000 - 1200 BC) by the Ammonites when they declared the city as their capital and named it "Rabbath Ammon". Over time, the name Ammon became to what we know it today as Amman. The bible has described the city as being the city of water due to the many springs that passed through the city. The Ammonis established their city which covered an area of approximately 245000m² which consisted of the upper part located on the hill top; and the lower part which was located down in the valleys near the stream. The upper part held the governance and administration in addition to a few settlements and was fortified with walls and towers. The lower part on the other hand, consisted of the common population. The city was therefore divided into two parts of the rich and the poor.

Following the ruling of the Ammonis, the city was occupied by the Assyrians in approximately 850 BC and the fortified walls were destroyed and burnt. The Persians conquered the city from the Assyrians, followed by Greek Macedonians and Hellenistics. In 284 BC, the ruler Ptolemy II Philadelphus conquered the city and built a new settlement on the ruins of the old city and named it Philadelphia. In approximately 106 AD the city came under Roman control and became part of the Decapolis (ten cities on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire). During the Roman control, the King's highway was constructed in the city and connected Damascus in Syria to Aqaba, Transjordan and Egypt. It was the main trade route in the city and was used mostly by the Nabataeans to trade luxury goods. (Kasher, 1985). The plan of the city was based on two perpendicular wide roads which intersected at the main landmark of the city, The Hercules Temple. The Romans built several structures in the city such as the Roman theater (Figure 3.1), the Nymphaeum, several temples and paid special attention to the art of mosaics. The

city expanded during this period and it flourished with new structures especially temples and churches where it became one of the biggest Christian city in the region.

During the Islamic Ages, the city was a transit point for travelers going to Damascus and it was not until the Umayyad period when the city began to flourish again. The Ummayyads constructed mosques and houses near the old setting of the city (Jabal Al Qala'a) and some of these structures still exist to this day. Amman played an important role in the Abbasid age however, the capital was slowly transferred to Iraq. Amman was ruled by several other dynasties including the Fatimides and the Ayyoubid. During the Tatar Empire, the city was invaded and many structures and agricultural lands were destroyed. The city was then struck by several earthquakes and natural disasters which caused massive destruction and led to the city's stream being affected by swamps. Malaria and other diseases began to spread and the city was evacuated from its inhabitants until it eventually became a lifeless city.

The city was left this way until the late 19th century, at the time of the Ottoman Empire when it became a partially important part of the Empire due to the Ottoman Sultan's decision to build the Hejaz Railway linking Medina to Damascus for trade and pilgrimage purposes. Today's city Amman was reestablished when in 1878, a wave of Circassians migrated to Amman after being displaced from their lands especially after the Russian-Circassian War in 1864. They made Amman their new home and settled around the city's stream "Seil Amman" in caves and later began to build small homes (Figure 3.2) along the stream and in 1912 the city's population was approximately 1800 people. They made a living by farming and agriculture and began to mingle with the Arabs from the adjacent cities. Amman eventually became their small village and they created a new life in it.



Figure 3.1: Amman Theater in 1878. (Greater Amman Municipality, Original picture taken by Felix Bonfils.)

In 1921 under the British authorization, Amman was declared the capital of the Empire of Transjordan (the capital was previously As-Salt) by King Abdullah I (the country was renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan upon its independence in 1946), and the city began to thrive once again. The population of Transjordan consisted mainly of tribal populations, the majority of whom had lived for generations within the geographic area of Transjordan. Some of these tribes were sedentary, some were semi-settled, and others were nomadic. There were conflicts as well as alliances among different tribes. However, almost the whole population of the area adhered to tribal customs and values (Alon, 2007). New structures were built along the stream as it was considered as the main water source and the city began to expand where people began migrating to the city from the different parts of the Empire and from the adjacent countries. The immigration of the Circassians was only the beginning of modern Amman's story and this pattern was to repeat itself several times over the next centuries until this day where the population grew from 5000 inhabitants in the 1920's to more than 4 million today. (Table 3.1)



Figure 3.2: Amman in 1920 showing the early Circassian settlements. (Greater Amman Municipality)

Table 3.1: Population and Growth Rate of Jordan. (Department of Statistics of Amman, 2013)

Year	Estimated Population (in 000)	Estimated Growth Rate
1999	4,738	2.5
2000	4,857	2.5
2001	4,978	2.5
2002	5,098	2.4
2003	5,230	2.6
2004	5,350	2.3
2005	5,473	2.3
2006	5,600	2.3
2007	5,723	2.2
2008	5,850	2.2
2009	5,980	2.2
2010	6,113	2.2
2011	6,249	2.2
2012	6,388	2.2
2013	6,530	2.2

3.2.2 Urban expansion in Amman

When the Municipal Council of Amman was established in 1907, the city consisted of approximately 300 families. After the city was declared the capital in 1921 however, it became the main economic center and the city began to develop gradually. The growth of Amman was influenced greatly by the political situations of the region (Bowersock, 1977). People migrated within the country from other cities and other migrants came in from Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Iraq in hopes of better opportunities and a better life. Between the years 1920-1948 the growth was slow and in 1930, the city's population was 10,000 inhabitants covering an area of 3km². (Greater Amman Municipality). The architecture of the city was based on the human scale and buildings were small and simple consisting of one or two floors with local materials (masonry and sand) being used. There were a few traditional souks and almost all the construction was based around the stream.

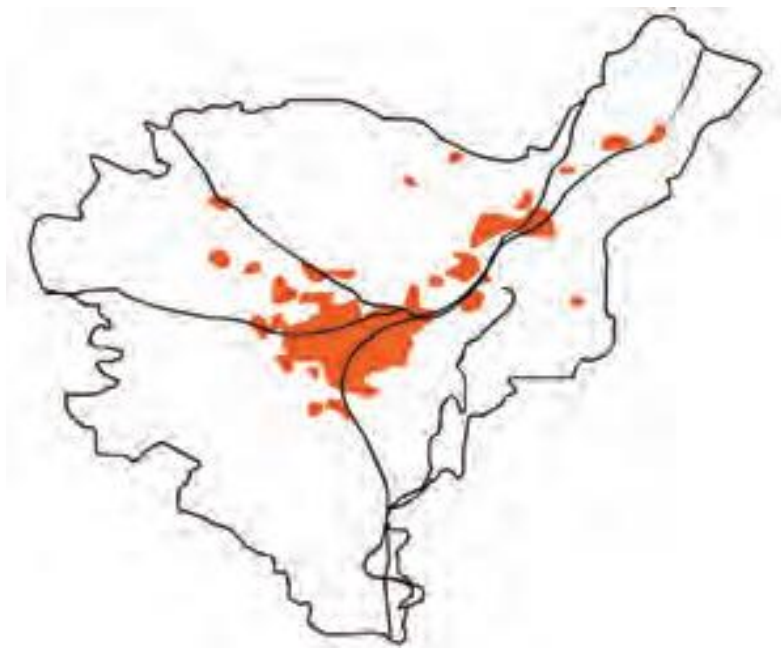


Figure 3.3 Amman in 1948. (Greater Amman Municipality, 2007)

The second growth phase of the city began in 1948 (Figure 3.4), following the Arab-Israeli war where thousands of Palestinians were displaced from their homes and many of them crossed the Jordan River to reach safe lands. The population of the country is said to have rose from 5000 to around 60000 on the eve of the 1948 war (GAM, 2008). Jordan welcomed more refugees than all the Arab countries

combined. The United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), established in 1949 by the UN General Assembly, has been the only humanitarian organization helping the Palestinian refugees with their basic needs such as education, medical care, basic services and shelter. UNRWA took immediate action to support Palestinian refugees and provided them with temporary tents (Figure 3.5) which eventually became replaced with proper built structures and are permanent shelters today which cannot be distinguished from the rest of the neighborhoods in which they are situated in. Two of these were located in Amman, namely Al Hussein camp in the north of the city which held approximately 32,000 refugees and Al Wehdat camp in the south which held 41,000 refugees. The camps lacked even the most basic of amenities and services. (Potter, et al., 2007) The population during this period rose to 225,000 inhabitants and the area of the city reached 45 km².



Figure 3.4 Palestinian refugee camp in Amman, 1948. (Greater Amman Municipality, 2009)

The period between the years 1948 to 1958, Amman witnessed the largest spatial and demographical growth. It suffered from over-urbanization and there were great pressures to meet the needs of the new population. The city expanded quickly crawling up the hills surrounding the urban core and new structures including housing, public services, schools, hospitals and commercial activities. In 1956 the municipality of Amman introduced the first comprehensive plan for Amman's future extension where the city's boundaries extended further outwards to support the new growth. The Abdali district started to appear to the western part of the city at that time (Amman National Strategy, 1987).

Following this period came the third phase of Amman's growth during the years 1959-1972 where the city witnessed another large influx of refugees due to the "Six-day Arab-Israeli war" in 1967. The population of the city during this period expanded to 550,000 inhabitants and covered an area of 160km². The city expanded horizontally even further and began to sprawl into the city's villages and into the suburban areas. Such suburbanization occurred in all sectors of the city, but in the north-west of the city it was particularly associated with more affluent residents. The architecture of the buildings began to become more modern where new materials were used and in some cases materials were imported from abroad. Many service buildings were built such as hospitals, schools, universities... and a few high rise buildings began to appear, however none of them would exceed 40 meters. The city became a more stable city in terms of infrastructure and general life standards. Road networks were expanded to reach the newly developed areas and electricity, water and phone lines were extended to the different parts of the city.

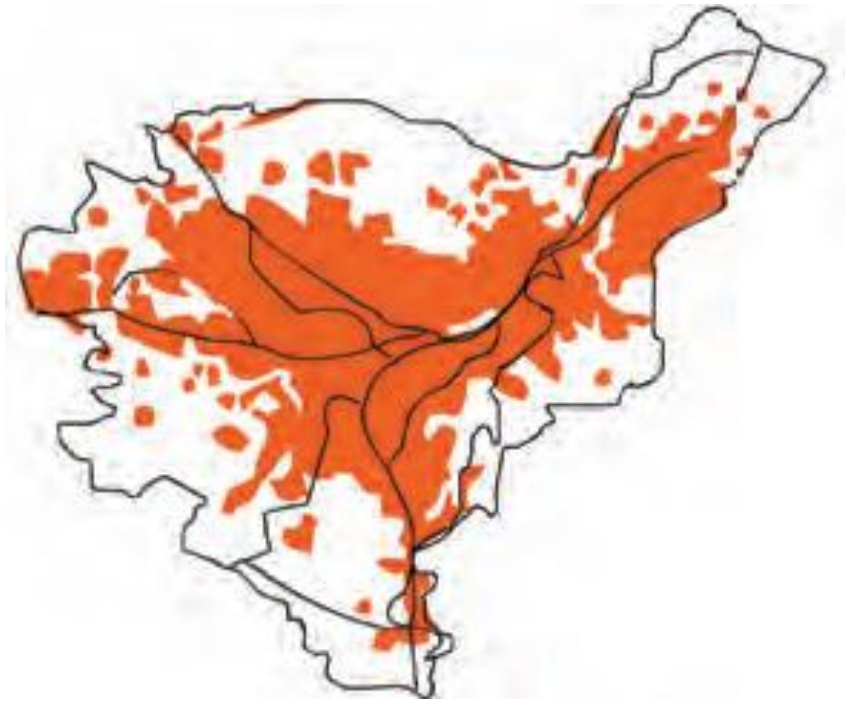


Figure 3.5 Amman in 1976. (Greater Amman Municipality, 2007)

The next phase was between the years 1973-1986 (Figure 3.6) which was often referred to as ‘boom years’, based on the large contingent of migrants from Jordan who worked in the oil-rich states of the region (Kadhim & Rajjal, 1988). The city boomed in terms of population, urban growth, economy and architecture. The population reached one million inhabitants due to internal migration from the rural areas into the urban Amman. External migration also occurred especially following the Lebanese civil war in 1979. Approximately 30,000 Lebanese nationals moved to the city (Biegel, 1996). But many of them did not remain in Amman (ibid). The area of the city began to quickly expand spreading quickly and randomly. The area during this period rose to 518 km² and the areas in and near the city center became dense with little to no vacant plots available anymore. The architecture of the city also changed where white stone facades became more common and the architecture generally became more decorative instead of the old traditional materials. It was also during this phase that high rise buildings were erected exceeding 100m in height. A green belt was established around the city and many new functions were built including traditional souks, shops, and the famous park of King Abdullah the second which was considered as one of the main attractions of the city at the time.

“In the eighth decade, the length of planned roads in Greater Amman was 3740 km, of which 2120 km were executed. This decade had many city-wide achievements for the Municipality such as: opening the Amman National Park in Um el-Kundom (1985), opening the Hashemite Plaza in downtown Amman (1986), opening many small parks like the Queen Nour park in North Hashmi, Mahmoud Qudah park in Nasr, Al-Fateh and Hamzah parks in Marka, al-Raya al-Hashimiyyah in Sports City, and the Army Arabization park in Zahran. There was also the completion of the Jubaiha Amusement Park on 63 dunums of land, renovation, maintenance and decoration of Al-Fateh Mosque in Mahatta, which was built in the 1930s, opening the complexes of Shabsough and Prince Mohammad streets (1983), beginning work on the King Abdullah Park and Complex on a land of 82 dunums, and opening the Art Library in the Municipality's building to offer library services to the employees of the Municipality (1984).” – Greater Amman Municipality.

In addition to new highways, intersections and transport networks. In 1983 the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) loaned Amman US\$31 million to improve infrastructure and services, a project which also involved Britain's Overseas Development Agency. At the same time, USAID allocated funds for the development of a comprehensive plan for the Amman region. (Beauregard & Marpillero-Colomina, 2009) In 1988 the metropolitan comprehensive plan for Greater Amman was developed. The master plan was initiated with the aim of controlling urban growth in the city and controlling urban sprawl into agricultural lands. It set new boundaries for the city covering an area of 532km² and set building height limits to four floors in residential areas to maintain the human scale that the city was based on. The plan suggested that the city should expand towards the desert lands in east Amman, which was the densest area in the city at the time. The agricultural lands on the western side of the city should not be built on and they were to be preserved. But in practice, development followed the opposite directions towards the agricultural lands. (Abu Al Haija, 1995). (Greater Amman Municipality, 2008) states:

The plan of 1988 included several green areas such as parks, forests, recreation areas and agricultural land within an overall system, unfortunately, the plan was not implemented and the creation and protection of such a system did not ever occur.

The plan therefore turned to be unsuccessful and instead of preventing urban growth, it encouraged growth and the city spread out onto the so called “preserved agricultural lands” in order to meet the high demands of the rising population.

During the next phase between the years 1987-2000, the city’s population hit 2 million and its area grew to 626km². This period witnessed an important part of Amman’s history, where the Greater Amman Municipality was established in 1987. Its main role was to control and plan the urban growth and planning of the city. According to the new Municipalities Law, the Greater Amman Municipality was composed of 14 municipalities and 11 village councils (GAM, 2009). In 1991, following the Gulf War, the city experienced another wave of migrants, mainly Jordanian workers (approximately 300,000) returned from Kuwait and Iraq due to the unstable and dangerous conditions which they feared and also due to the fact that many lost their jobs due to the worsening of the economic conditions following the war. Over 170,000 of these newcomers, who came to be known as “the returnees,” settled in Amman (Al-Asad, 2005). This put pressure on Amman’s infrastructure and increased the value of lands, therefore putting much pressure on the middle and low income housing projects (Greater Amman Municipality, 2003). During this period the buildings began to grow vertically rather than horizontally and several malls began appearing within the city’s skyline. The infrastructure was also improved although it did not meet the desired standards. Many of these “returnees” as they were referred to, found it difficult to culturally and socially integrate with the rest of the population. Many of them had never lived in Jordan and were born abroad and had gotten accustomed to affluent lifestyles and consumption patterns compared to Jordanians who had not worked and lived in the Gulf states (Al-Asad, 2005). In addition, many Iraqis also migrated to Jordan escaping the war conditions in Iraq. Many of the returnees transferred their savings or the money they earned from the liquidation of their assets in the Gulf to Jordan’s banks, which resulted in significant rise in wealth in the country (Schlumberger, 2002), including Amman. The returnees also established businesses, boosting the service and financial service sectors of the Jordanian economy (Pfeifer, 2010; Schlumberger, 2002). They bought property and invested in construction projects creating an economic and construction boom in Amman in the years following 1990. By the late 1990s the economic boom had come

to an end and Jordan's economy stagnated (Henry & Springborg, 2010; Schlumberger, 2002).

The recent years have also been boom years in terms of population. In 2004 the population of Amman became 2.03 million, and the total area covered 677 square kilometers (GAM, 2005). Following the political unstableness in the region, Jordan has further welcomed refugees from its neighboring countries including Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. This has only caused the population to rise greatly and the city to expand even further.

The city of Amman has greatly expanded within the last decades (Figure 3.7) and forecasts show that the expansion is only heading to greater and uncontrolled numbers. A metropolitan master plan for the city of Amman has been established and construction has been undergoing within the last few years in order to accommodate the urban growth expected up until 2025.

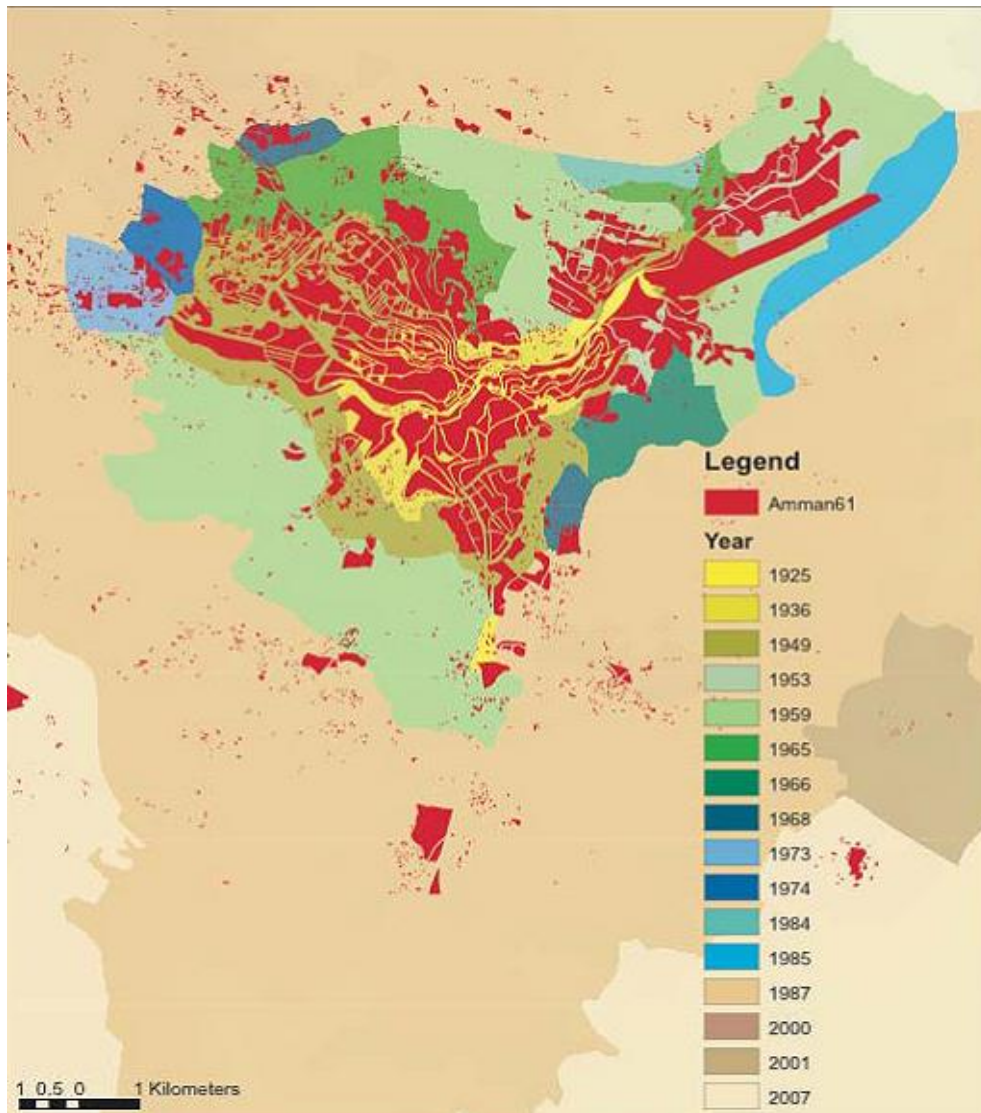


Figure 3.6 Amman's growth since 1925 up until 2007 (Ababsa, 2010).

3.3 Refugee Crisis in Amman

Jordan – often referred to as a nation of refugees - holds a vast number of refugees and has been welcoming thousands into its territories throughout the years. Refugees of different nationalities have continually been entering the country's territories including Palestinians, Iraqis, Syrians, Libyans and Egyptians. The majority of refugees have settled in urban areas in the capital city of Amman where the pressure on the city's resources and on its capacity continues to grow day by day.

3.3.1 Palestinian refugees

The largest group of refugees consists of the Palestinians. Following the 1947 and 1967 Arab Israeli war, they came in vast amounts fleeing their home country. Today approximately one in eight Palestinian refugees in Jordan live in refugee camps, set up by UNRWA. Such camps used to exist as tents however today; they have become converted into permanent settlements and buildings and have become completely integrated into urban neighborhoods where one finds it difficult to distinguish the refugee camps from the rest of the settlements (Fig 3.8).



Figure 3.7 Al Hussein Refugee Camp in Amman (<https://naomileslie.wordpress.com/>).

During the 1948 war, approximately 900,000 Palestinian refugees escaped their home lands seeking refuge in nearby Arab countries including Jordan which had, in 1949 annexed the west bank until it was occupied by Israel in 1967. It welcomes around 500,000 refugees by 1950 where 26,000 of this population were located in the town of Amman. The first Palestinians who fled to Amman were the better off urban Palestinian residents who sought settlement in the urban area of Amman rather than its neighboring villages and included different ethnic groups and religions (Hanania,

2014). These refugees preferred to settle in urban areas as they were not accustomed to living in villages in Bedouin like lifestyles. Farmers, villagers and poorer Palestinians followed and settled in and around Amman in the smaller villages nearby (Hanania, 2014). They were forced to flee their country, some at gunpoint and were left homeless, orphaned and humiliated. Al- Rifa'i (2002, p.73) described in his memoir:

Some of them rode the sails and traveled the sea to the nearest shore, while others threw themselves on land and crossed the border. Their limbs were torn as they experienced dispersion, orphan hood, bereavement, torture and humiliation. I heard their cries from near and far. Those cries were the cries of the bereaved, the brokenhearted, the deprived, the orphaned, and the dishonored . . .

Apart from all the hard ships these refugees experienced, they were all welcome into the country of Jordan contrary to the neighboring Arab countries. Jordan was in shock of this vast wave of population entering the country and was not well prepared to support them neither economically nor physically (in terms of infrastructure and shelter). It did however receive them well and almost all the refugees were provided with some sort of shelter over their heads. Within a short period of time, the refugees were given tents and convents to settle in. Most of them initially took refuge in caves, mosques and informal settlements before being given tents and convents to initially settle in. Two refugee camps were quickly set up by UNRWA to shelter the refugees (Jabal Al Hussein Refugee Camp in 1952 and Al Wihdat Refugee Camp in 1955). The camps were not sufficient to support the huge refugee population and by 1957 the Al Wihdat camp increased its shelters from 1400 to 2660 shelters. The refugees interacted with locals and were not separated or isolated from one another contrary to other camps in the world, these refugee camps were not designed to separate refugees from the rest of the population or to provide them with different rights or legal status from non camp refugees (Al Hussein, 2011, p.182). To further integrate the refugees into society, most Palestinians were granted the Jordanian citizenship¹¹ without denying their right of return¹² and were given rights similar to those of the locals.

¹¹ Refugees who arrived via Gaza and refugees who arrived after 1967 were not granted the citizenship.

During the 1967 war, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were occupied by Israel. A new wave of Palestinians were displaced (many of who were already refugees in these areas) and fled their homes once again seeking shelter in Jordan, Syria and Egypt. Jordan established six new camps, one of which was located in Amman, to accommodate this new wave of refugees. UNRWA's location choices for camps near the eastern part of the city of Amman, has been criticized as a failure to fully integrate them into society as whole. UNRWA aimed at the integration of camp refugees and other refugees into the local and regional labor market through a public works program that aimed at replacing relief assistance (Al-Husseini, 2011).

The refugees, had high hopes with regard to their right of return and saw themselves as temporary residents in the country and therefore adamantly refused any projects or upgrades when it came to programs and planning policies that may indicate the impression of their 'temporary' stay becoming permanent (Al-Husseini, 2011). These refugee camps were therefore left out from Jordan's urban planning and development plans. Refugees even refused infrastructure improvements to their camps. Ten years of campaigning and public awareness was required to persuade the refugees to allow the replacement of the tents with more 'permanent' building material, creating proper homes for them (UNRWA, 1961).

Moreover, following the Gulf war between Iraq and Kuwait, more than 400,000 Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin were expelled or voluntarily fled from Kuwait, of which approximately 300,000 returned to Jordan. The homecoming of these Jordanian citizens put pressure on Jordan's resources although their funds helped to stimulate the country's economy (Le Troquer and al-Oudat 1999). Some were forced into the already overcrowded refugee camps, while others who had sufficient funds, were able to buy or rent property and gain a decent living. Many returnees had never lived in Jordan and were therefore unaccustomed to the culture and lifestyle of the country.

¹² The right of return is a political term used to describe the Palestinian refugees' right to return to the homelands and a right to their property they or their elder generations left behind following the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli Wars.

Today, Palestinians have become well integrated into the Jordanian society where they make up a significant part of Jordan's population, approximately more than half of the country's population is of Palestinian ethnicity (Shoup, 2007, p7). Their social status however, regardless of their citizenship and rights, remains unstable. Many Palestinians have encountered some sort of discrimination. Today, Jordanians are viewed as two different categories; Palestinian Jordanians and Jordanian Jordanians (Davis and Taylor, 2007). Although much integration has occurred by these two groups in terms of education, jobs, healthcare and marriage, some separations have remained and are unlikely to cease including positions in the army or government which are reserved solely for the native Jordanians (Davis and Taylor, 2007).

Refugee camps furthermore, even to this day (2015), more than six years after their establishment are still regarded as being 'temporary' despite their integration into the surrounding urban fabric and their permanent appearance. Many camps have undergone upgrading policies and have been included in the development plans of the country. Although camps only accommodate one-fifth of the total refugee population in Jordan, they still represent one of the country's predicaments as they are viewed as "hubs of political dissent or as places of social marginalization that affect the country's drive towards liberal modernization." (Al-Husseini, 2011)

3.3.2 Iraqi refugees

Iraqis in Jordan were still refugees who escaped war conditions and were seeking shelter, despite the fact that their situation differed from the Palestinians' situation. They came into Jordan in two different waves leaving behind their homeland following the war and instability their country witnessed. The first wave of Iraqis arrived soon after the Gulf war in 1991. Most of the refugees who first fled were the upper middle class and consisted of doctors, teachers and well educated urban residents who had sold their properties and belongings in Iraq and came to settle in Jordan permanently, fearing the return to their homeland. Prior to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, estimates of Iraqis (refugees and long-term residents) living in Jordan were 3,000 residents. After this invasion however, UNHCR estimated that approximately 2 million Iraqi refugees had fled Iraq since 2003. Most of them fled to neighboring countries, where the bulk fled to Jordan and Syria (prior to the Syrian war).

Similar to the 1991 Gulf War, most refugees consisted of business men, officials and intellectuals. Contrary to other refugees in Jordan, Iraqis brought with them large funds of capital to stimulate the stagnant economy in Jordan and added cultural diversity to the country. In Al- Assaf's words (2012) words¹³; "When Iraqis came to Jordan, they didn't come as refugees; they came as investors." In addition, government officials referred to Iraqis as "guests" rather than refugees as a policy to prevent a status similar to that of Palestinian refugees. They are therefore considered as temporary visitors and not acknowledged as refugees for which the state takes responsibility for (Fagen, 2007). Iraqis have no legal status in Jordan and acquiring such a status is a difficult process. Prior to 2005, Iraqis were allowed to enter Jordanian territories as visitors with a visa given at the Iraqi-Jordanian border allowing them to stay for a period of three to six months without the authority to work (Fagen, 2007). Following the November 2005 suicide bombings in several of Jordan's luxury hotels by Al-Qaeda Iraqi terrorists, many restrictions have been placed on entry requirements and visa policies including daily fines for those who overstay their allowed visits (Harper, 2008).

Gaining legal status in Jordan is only possible for those willing to invest therefore, benefiting the country (Fagen, 2009). Investors are able to gain yearly renewable residence permit and are therefore, able to seek employment (although wages are less than Jordanians and the bureaucracies are slow), send their children to schools and also have the right to public services (Fagen, 2009). Less fortunate Iraqis, who have less capital to invest, do not have the advantage of long term residency permits in the country. Foreigners are unable to invest must place a large sum of money into a Jordanian bank (Ministry of Interior, 2015) in order to get a yearly renewable residence. Refugees lacking such funds must pay a daily fine and have no access to legal employment opportunities and until August 2007, their children were barred from the opportunity of accessing education in public schools (as private schools are very costly.) Many Iraqis with neither residence nor work permit have turned to work in the informal sector where they have no secured rights and often must be

¹³ Ali Mustafa is an economist and business researcher at the Center of Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan.

evacuated when officials from the government inspect companies for illegal employees.

The impact of such large numbers of Iraqis in Jordan has been very significant and although Iraqis were welcomed in the country, tensions between Jordanian and Iraqi communities continued to exist. This is firstly due to the space Iraqis have occupied in Amman (Lacroix and Al-Qdah, 2012, p. 226) and secondly, because locals accused the Iraqis for the boom in living expenses that occurred after their arrival. They also blamed them for the pressure they have put on natural resources, housing, public services and infrastructure which has led to problems such as traffic and pollution (De Bel Air, 2009, p.10).

3.3.3 Syrian refugees

Following the ongoing political and humanitarian crisis in Syria, the number of Syrian refugees who have escaped to the neighboring countries has been very significant. Jordan, since 2011, has witnessed a large influx of these refugees where it welcomed almost 807,000 refugees (UNCHR, 2015). Syrians could enter the country with no visa requirements provided that they had a valid passport and were not Palestinian or Iraqi nationalities living in Syria. This large number caused a sudden boom in the Jordanian population and has put large pressure on the country's already limited resources and infrastructure. "Jordanian communities themselves find it increasingly difficult to find sufficient resources, not only for their Syrian guests, but even for Jordanian communities' needs"(Al-Tuwaijri, 2013, p. 5). Syrian refugees fall into four different categories; refugees recognized by UNHCR; card holders under UNHCR's temporary protection program seeking asylum; People who have been rejected by UNHCR but are temporarily protected and finally those who have not registered with UNHCR (ReliefWeb, June 2013, p. 6).

The first Syrian refugee camp - Zaatari Camp (Figure 3.8) was established in near the city of Mafraq in Jordan in July 2012. The population of the camp reached 15,000 refugees within the first month where many refugees used it as a transit stop before moving along to the urban areas of Jordan (UNCHR, 2013). Within less than a year the camp greatly expanded when the number of refugees kept increasing (Figure 3.8). The fact that an immediate shelter was needed to be set up for the refugees caused the Zaatari Camp to be established in a matter of days. This caused the

residents of the camp to greatly suffer due to the lack of proper services and poor living conditions; where up until recently, these conditions were improved (IRIN, 2013). Many problems were experienced including violence, poor sanitation, overcrowding and crime (Farishta, 2014, p. 8). The camp manager has expressed that not enough priority has been given to the residents in terms of planning and meeting their basic needs and inquiring about their opinions which has led to many riots and protests from the refugees (IRIN, 2013). Due to the fact that the Zaatari camp reached its maximum carrying capacity of 60,000 residents, increasing demands led to the planning of a second camp by UNCHR. The new Al Azraq camp was to be the most planned refugee camp in the world with proper services unlike the prior Zaatari camp (Farishta, 2014, p. 8).



Figure 3.8 The change in Zaatari Camp from November 2012 to July 2013 (Farishta, 2014).

Despite the fact that two refugee camps were established, more than 80 percent of the refugee population continue to live in urban areas (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2013, p. 5) As Jordan is considered one of the most expensive countries in the region, the refugees find it difficult to cope with the living expenses that are continuously rising. Many households lack proper furniture and amenities due to high rent prices and low income. In terms of their legal status and access to rights, work permits are not given to Syrians therefore many refugees especially men, work in the informal sector with unsecured jobs, low salaries and long working hours

ranging between 10 to 12 hours per day (Al-Tuwaijri, 2013, p. 20). Almost 160,000 Syrian refugees work illegally in Jordan (ReliefWeb, June 2013, p. 2). Women on the other hand work from home selling crafts and food products whereas some women who hold university degrees work in full time jobs in secretarial jobs mainly. This struggle to find a stable income has resulted to the refugees relying to a great extent on child labor to support the family's income levels. In a UN survey related to child protection among Syrian refugees in Jordan, the results showed that almost 15% of all households surveyed cited child labor as their primary source of income. This is also because access to education is difficult where children registered under UNHCR have access to education in public schools; however those that are unregistered must pay fees which are not affordable for all refugees. The same survey found that most respondents had only primary education and were unable to complete their education in Jordan. The same regulations apply for health care where registered refugees can only access free public health care (ReliefWeb, June 2013, p. 2).

4. THE CASE STUDY OF AMMAN – HOW HAVE URBAN PROCESSES LEADED TO SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION?

4.1 History of Planning and Spatial Differentiation in Amman

Since the establishment of the modern city of Amman- which was first founded by the Circassians, the city has been a dwelling to many residents of different nationalities and ethnicities. Daher (2011), referred to Amman as being the city of *many hats* due to the many ethnicities it held. Amman has therefore never been a city reserved for the Jordanians only; it has always been a multi ethnic city carrying different cultures and traditions.

The progression and historic evolution of settlements and urban planning in Amman cannot be analyzed as a detached issue from the natural structure of the city, the refugee crisis and the planning policies as they are all interlinked themes. Although in literature, these themes are studies side by side where urban development is planned based on these issues; in practice, especially in the development of the city of Amman, the above themes are each disregarded from one another. This has lead to a greatly sprawled city covering an area of 1680 square meters with a population density of only 1300 persons per square kilometers as compared to a population density of 3,124 persons per square kilometer in Los Angeles which covers an area of 1,213 square kilometers and a density of 2,322 persons per square kilometers in an area of 755 square kilometers in Hamburg. These sprawl patterns have resulted in a dispersed city with societies isolated from one another.

4.1.1 The role of urban sprawl

The city of Amman can be described as the top city in the region that has undergone the most transformations in the least amount of time defying all sustainable criteria. The fact that Jordan is the fifth largest refugee hosting country in the world has not been an asset to its urban growth. Unlike other cities, the study of Amman's development policies and evolution of spatial segregation is greatly dependent on the regions' political situation. Amman's boom in growth is very much due to the successive waves of refugees. The biggest waves of refugees that came in 1948 and 1967 were unaccounted for and the country provided for their shelter in a matter of

days. The neighborhoods and refugee camps especially in Amman were always hastily built thus lacking sufficient services and infrastructure.

“Amman is always in a state of emergency, it has always been affected by the impact of the influx of migrants which led to an ever-changing infrastructure. These migrants, especially refugees, led to the spontaneous separation of settlements made for the poor and for the refugees from other settlements which the richer residents moved to and developed. Planning and master plans were impossible to implement. A city may plan for 100 people when suddenly the population increases to 400 due to the migrants therefore bypassing all the planned strategies and exceeding the planned for carrying capacity. The growth of Amman and its development has therefore always been reliant on *political factors* rather than the economic, social or cultural drivers” (A. Abu Ghanimeh, personal communication, January 25, 2015).

The morphology of the city therefore continuously experienced sudden sprawl as wealthier residents wanted to escape the sudden overcrowded neighborhoods, noisier environments and more polluted air. As such residents had higher financial capabilities and higher social standing; they were able to easily access transportation and moved further west, away from the suddenly overcrowded city center into new and unplanned areas and established new neighborhoods away from such chaos. Due to their higher social standings, the new ‘West Amman’ residents were able to develop better relationships with government officials in order to benefit their personal interests and successfully managed to influence them to develop these new settlements by providing them with better services such as schooling, healthcare, recreation and better infrastructure. The disparities further increased when many of the native Jordanians and Jordanians of Palestinian origin migrated from Jordan to the Gulf countries escaping the poor living conditions in the country and opted for better lives with better education and job opportunities. Many of their families remained in Jordan and received remittances from them on a regular basis. As remittances kept coming in, it benefited both the residents and the country’s economy where residents were able to afford better housing and live qualities in general. Many of the refugees living in camps moved to better areas and invested with their capital causing their social level to shift for the better. This however, was at the cost of the poorer areas of the city i.e. East Amman where they suffered

neglect to their needs which pushed this social polarization to extremity. As Razzaz (1993, pg. 11) stated:

By the mid- 1970s the metropolitan region [Amman] was clearly divided into two socioeconomically and geographically distinct parts: West Amman and its suburbs, characterized by upper income neighborhoods, open space and good infrastructure; and East Amman; characterized by middle and lower income neighborhoods, overcrowded living conditions and poor infrastructure

In addition, the demands on the city further increased as the country's economy grew due to such remittance flow causing both economic and demographic instability. The city officials shifted their focus on urbanization and gave much attention to expanding the city's infrastructure and services which led to the main center and essence of the city to become neglected. As reviewed in the literature, one of the many negative impacts of urban sprawl is the neglect of city centers. This also attracted more investment projects which therefore put a huge demand on land, natural resources and infrastructure. This draws the light to Massey (1994) work where he describes geographical inequality as a historically relative phenomenon that changes over time. Such inequalities are based upon the change in spatial distribution of the requirements of production. He debates that "the pattern of spatial inequality may change as a result of changes in the requirements of the production process itself." This is especially significant in the case of Amman as constant demand for increased production resulted in an ever changing geography. The changes in the location demands of the economic activity led to increased polarization between East and West Amman. Such location demands depended on the type of investment where they began by being placed in the wealthier districts of the city to attract more people from the better off societies. New projects however are demanding different location choices today where many of these projects are being placed right into the heart of Amman's historic center which also holds many of the poorer residents of the city (East Amman). The projects being built are extreme opposites of the city's existing morphology and nearby surroundings. Amman's skyline has always been categorized by human scale buildings, local stone and small glass openings. This skyline has made Amman to be referred to as the "white city". Today however, this skyline is being intruded by neoliberal projects which promise a "new and improved life" where as they only move to defragment the existing cultural heritage especially in a city like Amman which lacks proper planning policies.

4.1.2 Globalization and Neoliberalization

Jordan as a country has recently been experiencing great economic growth. Within the past decades, Amman especially has enrolled itself in the competition for globalization. It's attracting characteristics of being committed to peace, having a free market economy and a mainly private sector dominant approach has made it a significant investment hub in the region.

In addition, it has become known for its commitment to liberal economic reform especially during the late 1980s when oil prices dropped and lead to a significant decrease in the value of the Jordanian Dinar therefore forcing the country to adjust its policies. Jordan had no better option but to undertake such reform policies which further caused the gap and isolation between East and West Amman. It provided benefits to the upper class residents being the better skilled and educated but increased the burden on lower class residents in Amman thus isolating them further from society. The reform policies that the country engaged in included the reduction of bureaucracies to foreign investment, establishment of tax-free export zones and the engagement in increasing the high technology services in the country. Economic reform became one of the main aims of the country especially after King Abdullah II acceded to the throne in 1999. Such policies have resulted in the transformation of the Amman skyline into a prototypical modern city, putting its cultural heritage and historical importance at risk. Entrepreneurs have invested in creating a global image of the city placing it in line to compete with famous cities in the region such as Dubai. Iconic high rise buildings designed by international architects using high tech materials in addition to modern shopping malls, gated communities and multinational companies have all been a part of this process. Although this economic reform contributed to job creation and long term economic growth in the country it also led to more stakeholders being attracted to invest leading to chaos and lack of control over this 'globalization' process. It has also been greatly linked to corruption where it is perceived that such policies are only made to benefit the upper class residents, putting the lower class residents further behind.

Based on the literature of Marx (1895) where he described the 'bourgeoisie' or upper class society as being the 'ruling class' where they controlled production and also controlled the means of coercion, meaning many of their decisions were for their

personal interest. This to a certain extent is displayed in Amman where the upper class societies are coherent actors and decision makers. There are some exceptions however, as some non-elites from the lower middle class have economic power, making them significant social actors as well. Such examples are visible amongst tribal leaders and native Jordanians. This may be the case due to the fact that the composition of Jordanians where more than half are said to be of Palestinian origin. As some positions are still reserved for the native Jordanian, this makes their social standing of higher political influence as they are still preferred over Palestinian-Jordanians. Such bridging of social capital between native Jordanians and Jordanians of Palestinian origin has caused the country's economy much harm, as many Palestinians fled Jordan and went to the Gulf countries after feeling discrimination, causing Jordan to lose a large amount of human capital.

According to the reviewed literature especially that of Daher (2013, p. 101), he mentions that following the movements of Neoliberalism and capitalism especially after the time of Thatcher countries began to pull away from their responsibilities of being a provider of education, healthcare, social housing... and became instead an investor with multinational companies. In more developed countries, Neoliberalism has been accounted for and cities have been able to successfully integrate globalization processes and investments without the rise of social segregation. The city of Amman especially has become a profitable location to invest in (mainly foreign investment and multinational companies) where these Neoliberalism approaches have resulted in the excessive privatization of services to the extent where even water, electricity and communication networks have been privatized. Even the military of the country has transformed to a certain extent where many say they have become entrepreneurial, providing only modest social benefits where as keeping the massive wealth.

This reorganization of economic and political power began to create social instability. In Fletcher's (2010, p.172) words, "wealth, power, and resources are appropriated by the few at the expense of the many." Neoliberal trends were further translated into policies as the above mentioned companies were privatized, thus raising the expense of such services, causing disparities in the ability to access these needs. This unfair distribution of rights between the upper class West Amman and the lower class East Amman emphasizes the shift in the city's role from being a

provider for all inhabitants to being an investor influenced by the 'ruling class'. The entrance into the global world put Jordan and especially Amman in competition for both power and profit.

The following section is to be divided into two main themes including neglecting the old historic center of the city (downtown Amman) and secondly the placement decisions of mega projects in addition to the dynamics of gentrification projects with a special focus on their relationship with spatial inequalities.

Amman's Megaprojects

Experiences of neoliberal urbanism have not been completely implemented in Amman as compared to a country like Lebanon. Amman rather experienced it through the boom of high rise buildings, luxury hotels, upscale shopping malls and posh residences such as the Abdali Project, Saraya Towers and the Jordan Gate Towers. A variety of such mega urban projects have been a result of partnerships between the country and multinational corporations. New corporations such as MAWARED (The National Resources Investment Corporation) which has become Jordan's largest real estate developer is a partner in such projects.

Lands on the outskirts of Amman were sold at extremely reasonable prices to members who held political and economic power which made evident the corruption of land transactions in the city. Such developments built solely for the upper class intensified the social polarization in the city in a way, by creating such 'global' worlds that intimidated the lower class, causing them to stay away from such developments as they felt unwelcome and out of place. They were unable to afford the brands, the clothes or the food provided at such areas making them more isolated and resentful. Such neoliberal projects have further fragmented Amman's once inclusive and coordinated identity. In addition, many of these projects are placed right into Amman's downtown which is the main historic center of the city, thus causing even further segregation and polarization by either building an extreme opposite reality to the local context and neighborhoods around such 'modern' projects or by displacing the poorer society and pushing them into the urban fringes. This is also due to the fact that such mega projects are placed in the heart of east Amman's neighborhoods where they are only regarded by the surrounding residents

as isolated islands detached from their surroundings. They have become an essential mechanism of increased segregation as they are clearly linked to the upper end areas of the city by high ways and flyovers making no welcoming sign for the eastern residents.

The development of the Abdali New Downtown (Fig 4.1) is a clear neoliberal assemblage in Amman. The project is a public-private partnership owned by the regulating MAWARDED and AID (Abdali Investment and Development) and is to contain a combination of functions including business, living and leisure activities.

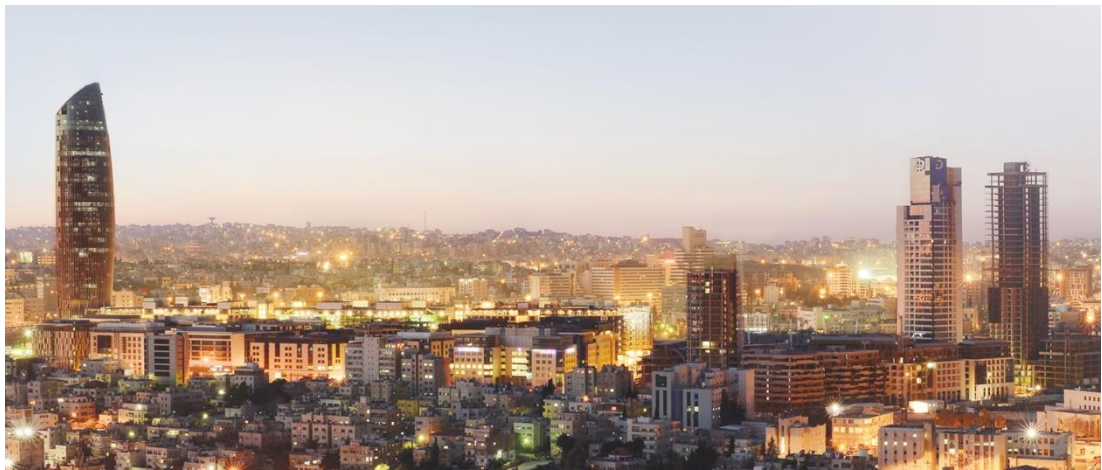


Fig 4.1 The Abdali New Downtown Project (Source: Abdali Investment and Development - Reprinted with permission).

The Abdali New Downtown to a stranger may look like the ideal project to build, featuring high end building materials, modern architecture and exciting functions, whereas in fact, the project has lead to the displacement of the former transportation hub to the outskirts of the city far to the north east. It has also displaced the Raghadan bus station several kilometers east. Such displacement has not only caused the loss of a ‘physical’ transport hub but has also affected the East Amman’s society. Almost all the residents around the area of the Abdali Project relied greatly on these transportation networks as an essential part of their daily lives. This relocation is a type of neoliberal characteristic which pushes the unwanted poorer residents to the fringes of the city. Many claim that the decision to relocate these transport hubs were taken as part of this process to force as many ‘unwanted’ residents into the outskirts

of the city. "Transport in the city is as socially polarized as the structure of the city itself." (Potter et al, 2009, p.89) as the majority of the city's residents rely on private automobiles, leaving only 30% of the population, who mostly belong to the lower class society, to depend on public transportation. Transportation investments in the city have been focused on gains for the upper class rather than focusing on creating an efficient public transportation system. All modes of road construction are being created for the upper class residents thus further neglecting what must really be looked to for the social, environmental and cultural sustainability of the city. In addition, the fact that the city lacks an integrated and efficient public transport system elaborates further Potter et al (2009) claim since the poorer citizens are unable to afford private automobiles they therefore turn to the public transport which lacks maintenance, hygiene and efficiency.

Such projects portray highly exaggerated promises to society where in reality they actually offer much less. Slogans such as "The Joy of Living" are used on huge billboards throughout the city in addition to advertisements in newspapers, magazines and the internet. Such projects promise the city a better and much improved state when in fact little change has been seen especially for the benefit of the socio economic status in the city.

Inclusive public spaces which once existed in the city have been overtaken by such projects and the little public spaces that have remained have become entirely exclusive where they welcome no integration between different parts of society. Several projects have been initiated by the municipality of Amman (GAM) In order to decrease the socio spatial threats that mega projects have brought along. Wakalat Street as an example, located in one of the city's main shopping districts was a suggestion to recreate the "inclusive public spaces" that existed in the city. It was the first pedestrian street in the city and aimed at encouraging pedestrian life and welcoming people from all parts of the city. The project however, although aimed at successful measures turned out unsuccessful and rather intensified the disparities within the city. Wakalat street pushed away the poorer society as it was designed as a high end commercial district and carried different expensive brand retail stores and high end cafés along the street. The area eventually became a center for corruption and chaos as the many of the residents from East Amman felt unwelcome and neglected by such initiatives and often visited the street causing negative impacts.

The pedestrian street was eventually closed by the municipality and the street was reopened for automobile use.

Downtown Amman

Downtown Amman is the oldest part of the city of Amman which was first inhabited in the Neolithic period during 6500 BC. It has become the densest part of the city reaching where some areas reach 20,000 per sq km (Ababsa, 2011) due to the high concentration of refugees in the area which is considered one of the highest population densities in the world. Its districts geographically fall under east Amman where most residents belong to the lower class society. Downtown Amman is also regarded as the city's main historic center where it contains the roman amphitheater, Amman citadel and many historic markets "souqs".

Downtown Amman however has been greatly neglected. It suffers from densely crowded roads, lack of proper maintenance, chaotic planning and higher levels of pollution. Most historic sites lack proper maintenance and are only acknowledged for their importance by tourists where by most residents where some locals don't know that they are passing by a historic site and assume them as one of the abandoned buildings in the area. Although several initiatives have been undertaken to improve the situation, little has changed and the area remains neglected and chaotic. Much attention has been given to improving the Roman Amphitheatre and the public square around it (Faisal Square) however; this improvement has primarily been done for the benefit of the tourists where little has been done to improve the quality of life for the local population by improving services, infrastructure and general wellbeing.

Downtown Amman was once the city's sole public realm where people would come down from the hill tops and surrounding areas and mingle together regardless of where they came from. In Daher's words (2011, p. 70) "A common scene in downtown Amman's Faisal Street during the 1930s would be diverse men with different head covers (e.g., the Circassian *Kalbaq*, the Lebanese & Syrian *Tarbooush*, the Palestinian and Jordanian *Hatta* or *Kofiah*).” This urban realm however no longer carries such experiences and aspirations. They have become absorbed by the increased accumulation of processes of Neoliberalism, globalization

and capitalism. Such new constructions which promise “well being” for their residents lack the true well being that existed in the city’s center between all residents of the city regardless of other factors.

Apart from Faisal square, many of Amman's significant public spaces existed in downtown Amman. Following the modernity movement, Amman witnessed increased public spaces included its first cinemas, schools and parks that all existed within the downtown area and were completely inclusive to all classes of society. Downtown Amman showed great coexistence between the different categories of society including different religions, ethnicities and cultures. Such buildings today have become a focal point for corruption and danger which society stays away from. Many of the buildings are left unmaintained and have their cultural significance neglected where some of the buildings have been demolished to replace them with exclusive masses of Neoliberalism and capitalism that only work to defragment the city and socially polarize it further. The architecture and urban form of an area often reflects its well being. Downtown Amman’s general outlook in term of its facades and buildings give off a negative impression about the area as they lack proper restoration and rehabilitation measures. Many buildings have become stained due to pollution and are not cleaned regularly. New shopping malls have also caused many residents to ignore the downtown’s cultural significance making it a destination primarily for tourists (to visit the attractions) and lower class citizens (to purchase their daily needs). Downtown Amman itself has become a center for pollution and overcrowding lacking proper hygiene and safety measures. It lacks sufficient parking areas where visitors often remain for more than an hour in search of a parking spot. People coming from further areas have come to prefer shopping from places other than the city’s center as parking spaces are almost impossible to find. This has caused both economic and social consequences as shop vendors have lost customers and also as the segregation patterns increase leaving this part of the city for the poor whereas offering the elite with high end shopping districts and luxury shopping malls. Public utilities are also insufficient and unhygienic. One of the most charming traits of Downtown Amman has always been its stairs which connected between the hilltops and the lower lying areas, They were once the sole method of movement between these two points and were considered not only a pedestrian axis, but were also regarded as a meeting point for social activities were different inhabitants

including adults and children would gather along to meet, play and communicate/ These stairs today, although still very much used, suffer great neglect where they need much rehabilitation and maintenance in addition to lacking adequate lighting causing many inhabitants to avoid using them after sunset as they are considered unsafe.

Furthermore, although once a main pedestrian attraction, has become an undisputed realm of the automobile where many of the prior pedestrian passages have been converted into streets for vehicles to use. Crossing the street is a difficult task where most roads and intersections do not have pedestrian crossings. The planning of downtown Amman and of the city in general has been giving primacy to the use of automobiles since the 1950's thus ignoring the needs and measures for making the city more pedestrian friendly.

Amman's municipality (GAM) enforced a rehabilitation and revitalization project in 2010 for the downtown area which aimed at improving the traffic congestion, sidewalks and general well being of the area. The main issues to be looked to and addressed where the loss of the authentic role and function, inadequate performance of the public realm, lack of commercial, services and housing variety, traffic congestion, transportation and parking problems, slow economic growth and challenges in accommodating future economic growth (GAM, 2010). The plan was implemented to a certain extent, however many of the problems still exist and majority of residents still complain of the chaos and poverty in the area. The employments problems, traffic congestion and lack of parking is still a main issue in addition to the unorganized settlements and informal patterns of neighborhoods.

Informal Settlements

The rapid population growth that the city witnessed was the main driver for the development of informal settlements in the city. The limited economic abilities of the influx of refugees in addition to the locals parted with the overcrowded neighborhoods and increase demand for housing led people to seek housing outside the legal framework. Although there is no official census of informal settlements in Amman, it is still regarded as a socio-spatial problem that must be investigated. In theory, informal settlements as defined by the United Nations (UN Habitat, 2007, p.

as neighborhoods which lack the durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions., sufficient living space which means not more than three people sharing the same room, easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price, access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people, security of tenure that prevents forced evictions.

The informal settlements that are visible in the city today are at a much lower scale when compared to the informality visible in Egypt or Syria:

“The concept of informal settlements is very limited in Jordan when compared to other countries like Egypt and Syria. Informal settlements in Egypt are extremely significant where even the graveyards have become settlements with over half a million inhabitants living in it. Electricity, water and transportation services are all provided in these settlements and bus stops have a certain stop named “The Graveyards Neighborhood”. In Jordan, informal settlements are at a very minimal scale where they only cover a couple of points of the criteria of informal settlements”(A. Abu Ghanimeh, personal communication, January 25, 2015).

In practice they are labeled informal due to their physical structure and appearance of their condition and layout. The settlements regarded as informal are those which lack legal land ownership and are not properly planned where many of such settlements were planned by the residents themselves therefore lacking proper legal land transactions and registration by the government. Informal settlements grew in Amman especially after the great influx of refugees in 1967 where most settlements grew on floodable areas and agricultural lands. Almost all houses in Amman have access to adequate water and sanitary services, however many houses suffer from a lack of sufficient living space and show signs of overcrowding. Several upgrading policies have been undertaken by the municipality and although, to a certain extent, there has been improvement in terms of ownership, legislation and services, much has still to be done as these settlements remain segregated from the rest of society.

4.1.3 Searching for the roots of disparities

The socio spatial segregation and disparities that are visible in Amman today are not to be blamed on one sole factor as being the main cause. It is rather the collection of different drivers that have been occurring since the establishment of the modern city of Amman that has caused the axis of East and West Amman that we see today.

The main culprit however out of which all the other factors branch out is that the rise of such segregation is a politically related issue. Much attention and studies have been dedicated to the political factors that have affected the city's development where the influxes of refugees are always regarded as the key issue. The fact that Jordan has been the one of the only sound countries during the mayhem in the regions political imbalances and during the Arab uprisings has made it an attraction to being a safe haven for the neighboring countries. The fact that the city has never undergone the complete implementation of a properly planned master plan which takes all factors into consideration has further lead to the chaos in the city where up until recently, little control has been put over the construction and urban development projects in the city. This has led to not only the increase in socio spatial segregation, but has also affected the environment and physical morphology of the city where the skyline of human scales buildings not exceeding three to four floors has been distorted with new high rise constructions causing the skyline to lose its perfect balance that once existed.

The massive concentration of refugees and migrants cannot be disregarded as causing an ever growing city that has continuously been sprawling to meet the needs of such a fast growing population. In addition, the fact that the city of Amman is the largest economy in a poor country as Jordan has greatly contributed to this segregation. The economic reform polices partnered with neoliberal and globalization movements have led to the excessive density and concentration of industries, investments and mega constructions in the metropolitan area of Amman. Such phenomena have greatly contributed to the social inequalities have had a significant negative impact on the historical and cultural significance of Amman in addition to the deterioration of the city from an environmental perspective. Such investments have caused extreme imbalances between the richer West and the poorer East thus creating two cities in one.

The insertion of Amman into the global world is regarded as being primarily for the benefit of the upper class society providing them with better jobs, salaries, education and recreational activities where residents from both ends of the city are unable to take part together in such activities as poorer residents are unable to afford any of the services provided in such places and are welcomed by society. Amman's urban space has been molded and shaped to embrace the upper class residents. As mentioned in the literature especially that of leuvre where he states that society is produced by space and space is therefore affected by the society it once produced. Urban space therefore cannot be regarded as a passive factor when studying such disparities because the isolation that is visible between East and West Amman today is heavily reliant on how the urban space has been shaped to provide for both types of classes. The location decisions of mega projects in Amman which required changes to be done in the urban geography of the city along with urban sprawl and the deterioration and neglect of downtown Amman are also seen as further isolating the city apart and having adverse effects on the spatial, social, cultural and environmental structure of the city. The new location demands of such mega projects which were placed in the heart of East Amman's historic center in addition to the spatial displacement of many Eastern Amman residents contributed to the segregation as well.

Amman has aimed to integrate itself into the stereotypical models of global cities where proper studying of the city's morphology and reality was not taken into consideration. The excessive attention that has been given to the development of such mega projects has left the city's center at neglect. The society's basic needs and necessities such as hygiene, safety and proper infrastructure have been neglected for the sake of the never ending desires and demands of the elite.

Development corridors, mega projects and high rise buildings have therefore bypassed the neighborhoods in East Amman creating "elite islands" that do not fit in with the reality around them. In addition, they increase the already heavy burdens on the eastern Amman residents by displacing the transport hubs that once existed and were greatly relied on by these inhabitants.

4.2 Experiences of Socio-Economic Disparities and Socio-Spatial Segregation in Amman

The morphology of the city has become a clear resemblance of the social disparities that exist within the city. The imbalance between the spacious villas, modern architecture and clean neighborhoods in the west and the overcrowded informal housing, tightly packed and neglected neighborhoods in the East reflects the true experiences of such disparities in the daily lives of residents from each end of the city.

“Class is a structure of inequality where it can be measured economically and culturally and socially” (Eddin, 2011, p. 78). The differences between the standard of living in terms of social, spatial and economic characteristics is clearly imbalanced between both East and West Amman. This section therefore aims at investigating the differences between East and West Amman in terms of access to rights and how equal or unequal each side is. This will be achieved by studying the differences in the distribution of social, spatial and economic factors which reflect the daily lives of the inhabitants of either end of the city.

4.2.1 Social differences

The statistical distribution of several indicators in the city is a clear reflection of the morphology and segregation that exist between east and west Amman. By looking at and investigating the differences of lifestyles between East Amman and West Amman in terms of social differences such as education levels, access to healthcare, child labor, types of housing patterns...

Jordan's educational system and access to education has been continuously improving since the 1990's where in 2009 it held the third lowest illiteracy rate in the Arab world with an illiteracy rate of 8.9% (World Bank, 2009, p. 2). However, although such illiteracy rates exist in the country, differences between the types of education received and the standards of school attended remains to be segregated. In Western Amman, due to the higher incomes of families living there, most families tend to enroll their children in private schools and focus on encouraging their children to learn foreign languages as an important aspect of their education, as well

as looking at higher education later on, contrary to families living in Eastern Amman where they cannot afford the cost of private schools so they opt for governmental schools and mostly cannot manage to go for higher education because of the need for extra income. Even the universities are not guaranteed unless they obtain very high grades in high school which in turn enables them to earn a scholarship from the government.

Due to the poverty experienced in Eastern Amman and the difficulties the residents face in earning a proper living and affording the daily necessities, many children are forced to work from a young age therefore leading them to drop out of school before they graduate in order to support their families. Child labor has become common among poor residents especially among Syrian refugees and also among Palestinian refugees and Jordanian residents. Many children travel far distances to work in service jobs such as cleaners and waiters in order to support their family to afford rent, bills and daily necessities. Most work environments are unsafe where children are exposed to hazardous materials and machinery causing many cases of death in the past. In addition, work environments lack hygienic settings and many places lack sanitary services. Although policies in Jordan have been working hard to prevent child laborers and to encourage families and children to stay in school, there are several difficulties when it comes to regulating the informal sector. It is difficult to force children to reenroll in schooling, especially when they have been out of school for several years. In addition, officials cannot control and follow up child laborers and stop them from working illegally. Reasons that lead to child labor are mainly due to economic needs of families. Other reasons include the lack of awareness of the importance of education. Most Syrian refugees in Jordan are living in urban areas and the majority of school aged children are not attending school due to severe poverty levels. Most refugees are not allowed to work in Jordan therefore large numbers of them work illegally and they also depend on mostly aid and charities for everyday life expenses.

In terms of educational attainment, the differences are obvious between both sides of the city. Class plays a major role in determining the level of educational attainment received and access to higher education, where Western Amman residents attain higher degrees with a larger percent of the residents attaining university degrees

(Table 4.1). Education in turn affects the lifestyles achieved by residents of either end where residents with higher education are offered better job opportunities which are more likely to be in the formal sector with protected rights and are employed full-time or therefore are able to attain better lifestyles in general. In addition, due to the lifestyles in East Amman, gender differences in educational attainment is very obvious where men are regarded as the priority for having a better education since they will eventually lead their homes where as women are regarded as less important when speaking of education.

Table 4.1 Education Levels in Amman (Produced from author's research)

	Illiteracy	Primary	Secondary	College/ University
East Amman	27%	25%	40%	10%
West Amman	5%	5%	10%	80%

The density of population between East and West Amman signifies the inequalities that exist in terms of lifestyles, wellbeing and comfort. The population density of the city of Amman at the end of the year 2012 was estimated at 326 inhabitants per square km. The population density in West Amman ranges between 1000 persons per square kilometer up to 10000 persons per square kilometer depending on the type and age of the neighborhood. East Amman however, where lower class residents reside (most of the residents being refugees and most of the settlements being informal) witnesses a density of approximately 20000 persons per square kilometer which is considered one of the highest densities in the world (Figure 4.2, Figure 4.3).

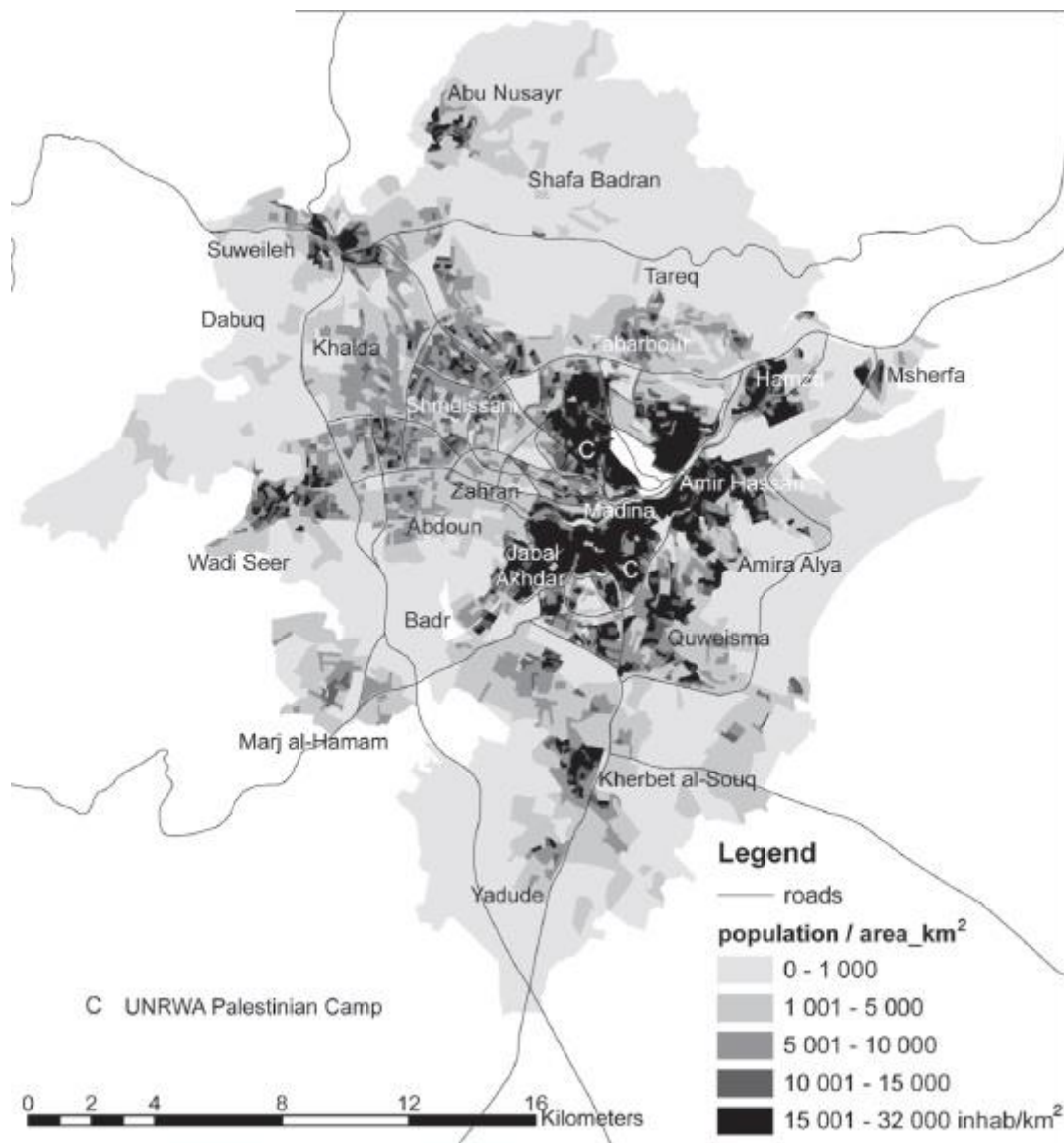


Fig 4.2 Amman Population Density (Source: Ababsa, 2011).

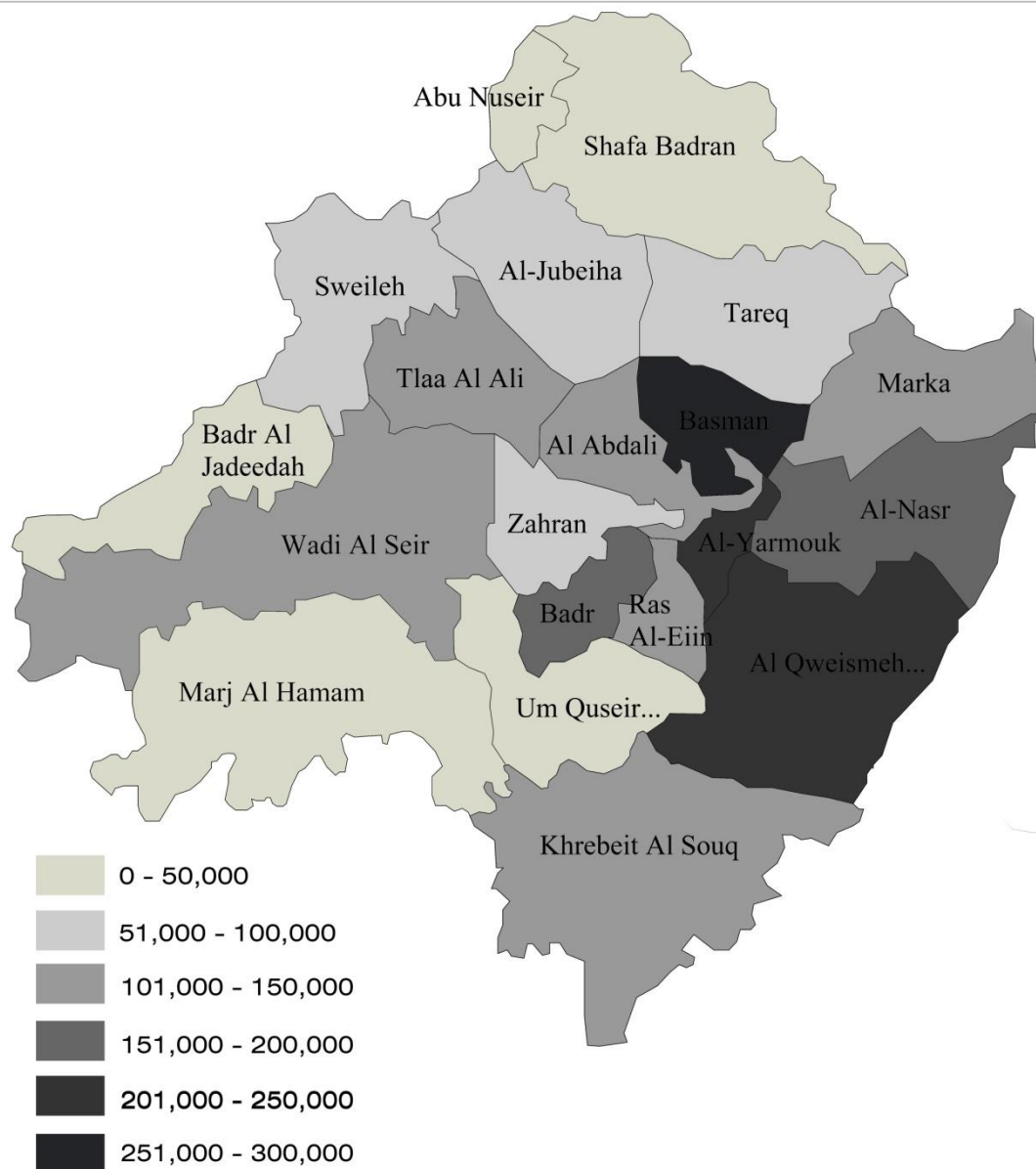


Fig 4.3 Population in Amman's Districts at the end of 2014 (Produced by author, Information collected from the Department of Statistics, Amman 2015).

Social life in Western Amman is almost non-existent and family visits are rare due to the fact that everybody is busy with work and even on weekends, most people spend their time either in restaurants, malls or other entertainment places far away from family atmospheres which makes people living in such neighborhoods more introverts and makes them more harsh, self-centered and unpleasant, in addition to the lack of social contact amongst each other. In addition, spacious and bigger flats in such neighborhoods offers each child their own room, their own toys and personal belongings which plays a big part in encouraging self centeredness and

possessiveness, as well as the lack of contact amongst the family members. We can also notice the dull social contact amongst neighbors of the same building where on many occasions, they don't know each other and their relationships are minimized into formal greetings only in order to avoid problems, so socialization is once again on the low scale, whereas, in Eastern Amman, social life is very rich and relations amongst them is more than excellent where family ties are very much alive and contact with neighbors is as great where neighbors have known each other for years and years. The small sizes of living areas in Eastern Amman, forces children to spend most of their time outside in the streets and close by neighborhoods which makes them friendlier with each other aside from the building stairs where people meet in the morning and chat and sometimes celebrate certain occasions too. As mentioned, the stairs in Eastern Amman connecting to downtown area, although at a smaller scale than before, are a social meeting place for residents and a play area for children during the day (Fig 4.4). Also, because of the high cost of living in Amman and the lack of affordable entertainment places, makes it difficult for families living in East Amman to go out a lot, so they spend their time mostly in the neighborhood, visiting each other or talking to each other from the rooftops in a very spontaneous and unpretentious manner. Also, their low incomes, makes it difficult for them to afford outings even as simple as picnics, so they split the cost among them and share everything.



Fig 4.4 Stairs as places of social activity in East Amman. (Taken by author during field research, January 2015).

In terms of health care most families living in Western Amman can afford private health insurance because of their high incomes which means, more efficient hospitals with more sophisticated and modern medical equipment and medical doctors and staff, in addition to being much cleaner and the staff are more caring.

4.2.2 Spatial differences

As for the buildings and architectural side, Eastern Amman's buildings were randomly built and distributed to people starting from the bottom of the hills going upwards, with old and bad architectural designs and with very narrow streets making it very difficult to move from one area to the other especially at night where the lighting is very poor which makes it unsafe as well. Amman buildings started in such areas, hence there is a mixture between the old and the new which makes it unharmonious in addition to it being with bad level of infrastructure which did not make it easy to improve its current situation, whereas in Western Amman, buildings and architectural designs are more recently built and more modern with well organized facilities distributed in each area there such as hospitals, stores, schools,

mosques and entertainment places with wide and well lit streets and pavements at all times both in side streets and main roads where all are provided with big rubbish bins that make the area healthier to live in and which the municipality has allocated trucks to empty twice daily. Eastern Amman however, lacks such an organized plan and therefore, rubbish is almost everywhere with no containers to take the huge number of people there (Fig 4.4 & 4.5)



Fig 4.5 Lifestyles and Neighborhoods of West Amman (Taken by author during field research, January 2015).



Fig 4.6 Lifestyles and Neighborhoods of East Amman (Taken by author during field research, January 2015).

In addition, West Amman holds a large amount of privately owned villas and apartments in addition to luxury buildings. East Amman however holds almost all the refugee camps including the UNRWA camps. Furthermore a large percentage of informal settlements exist in the eastern side (Fig 4.6). Although some of these settlements have been undergoing upgrading projects and have improved within the last few years however many of these settlements remain to be neglected and lack proper services and infrastructure.

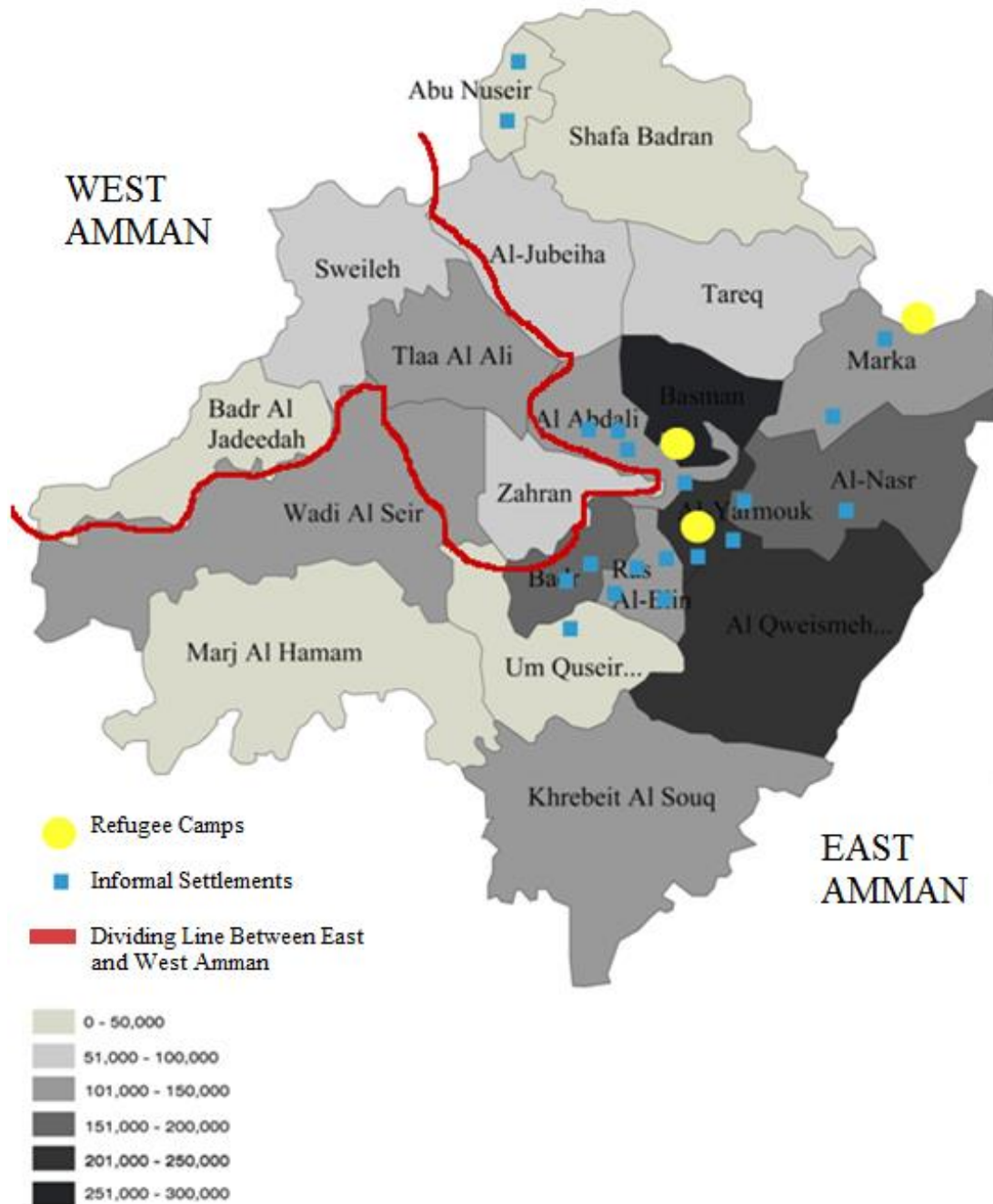


Fig 4.7 Distribution of Refugee Camps and Informal Settlements in Amman (Graphic produced by author; information extracted from the Department of Statistics, 2015)

In terms of the distribution of services, West Amman is better maintained and is offered better services than the East. Water consumption in Amman also reflects the divided morphology of the city where higher class neighborhoods are able to consume and access more water than lower class residents. The city is based on a

rationing system where households receive water once a week. Although almost all households in the city have access to water, the main inequality issue mentioned is the ability/inability to store water. For poorer households since water only arrives once a week, they must do all their tasks (laundry, bathing, house cleaning) within a few hours which is exhausting especially for women, as they are the main ones who look to house work. For rich households they don't worry about scarcity of water since they are able to store as much water as they need. Upper class housing is equipped with large storage tanks in addition to underground water cisterns and water pumps to ensure the availability of water. Storage capacities in upper class households reach approximately 20 cubic meters whereas in lower class neighborhoods, storage capacity is only 4 cubic meters. Lower class houses have limited water capacity as storage tanks are unaffordable to purchase and houses lack room for such tanks. They therefore resort to using limited storage methods (Fig 4.6).

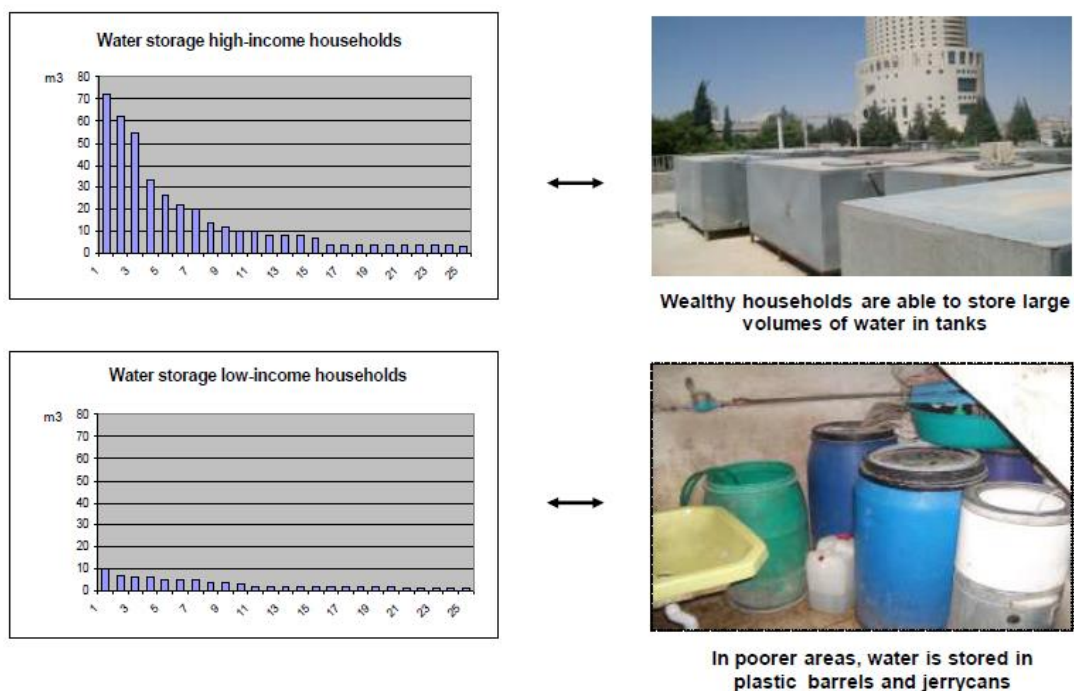


Fig 4.8 Water Storage Capacity differences between high-income and low-income households (Darmame and Potter, 2009).

The quality of the public water is also an issue which affects both ends of the city, however upper class residents are less affected since they are able to afford private water for drinking in addition to affording water filters and other services to purify the water where lower class residents are unable to afford the cost of private water

and filters and therefore turn to public water for all activities which is unhygienic at times.

Other distribution of services such as hospitals and schools and other general services are much easier accessible in West Amman and of better quality that those in East Amman. West Amman holds a much larger amount of private schools which provide better education and are more prestigious. East Amman on the other hand is comprised mainly of public schools and many of the schools belong to UNESCO and UNRWA (Fig 4.7).

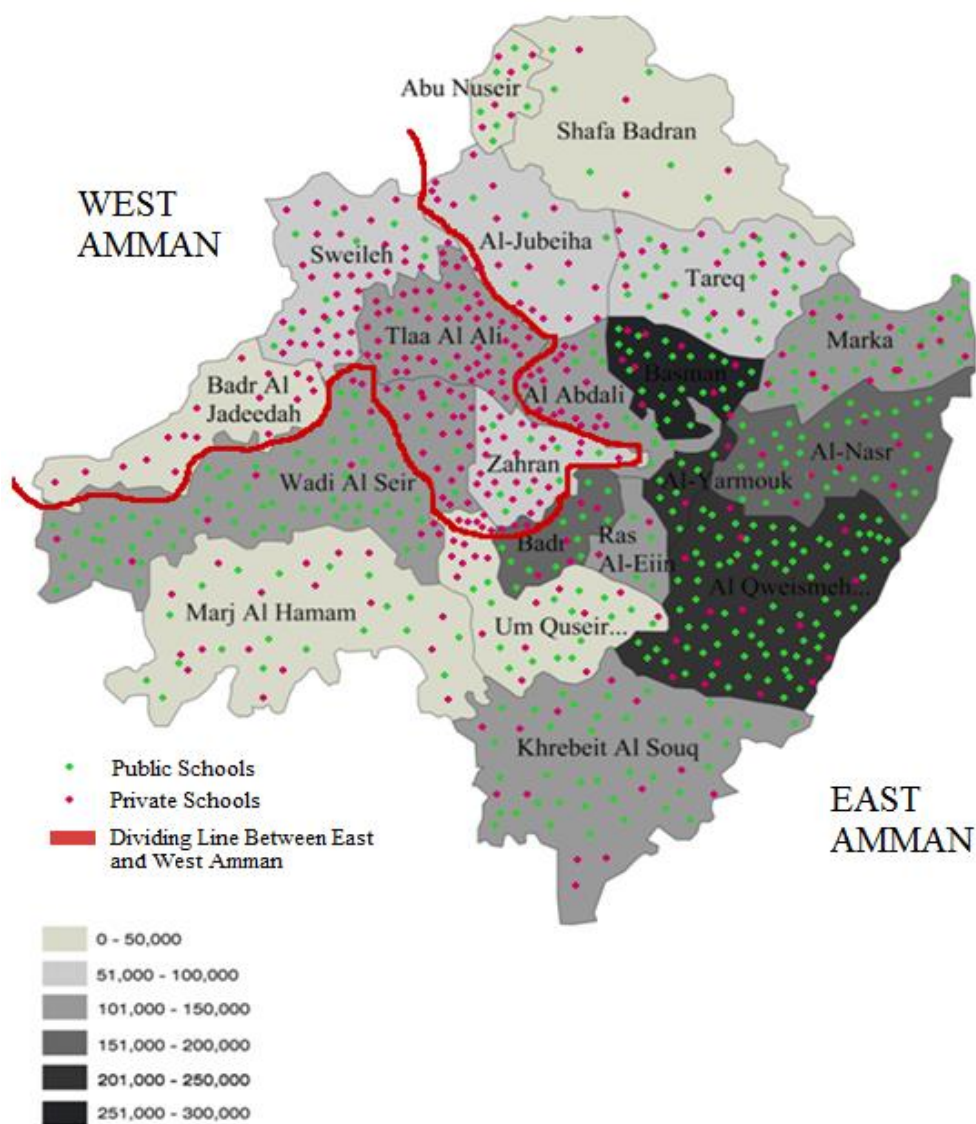


Fig 4.9 Distribution of Public and Private Schools in Amman (Graphic produced by author, information extracted from the Ministry of Education, 2015).

The polarization of the city is also reflected in terms of healthcare. Hospitals on the West side are almost all privately owned where they offer better healthcare and are of better standards in addition to being more accessible. West Amman holds many high end private clinics offering the best healthcare to its users. Services are luxurious and offer more than just basic healthcare where patients may access plastic surgery, hair transplants and other aesthetic services. The East side on the other hand holds much more basic healthcare where hospitals and clinics are small and of lower standards. The majority of hospitals in East Amman are publicly owned where several hospitals and clinics belong to UNRWA (Fig 4.9).

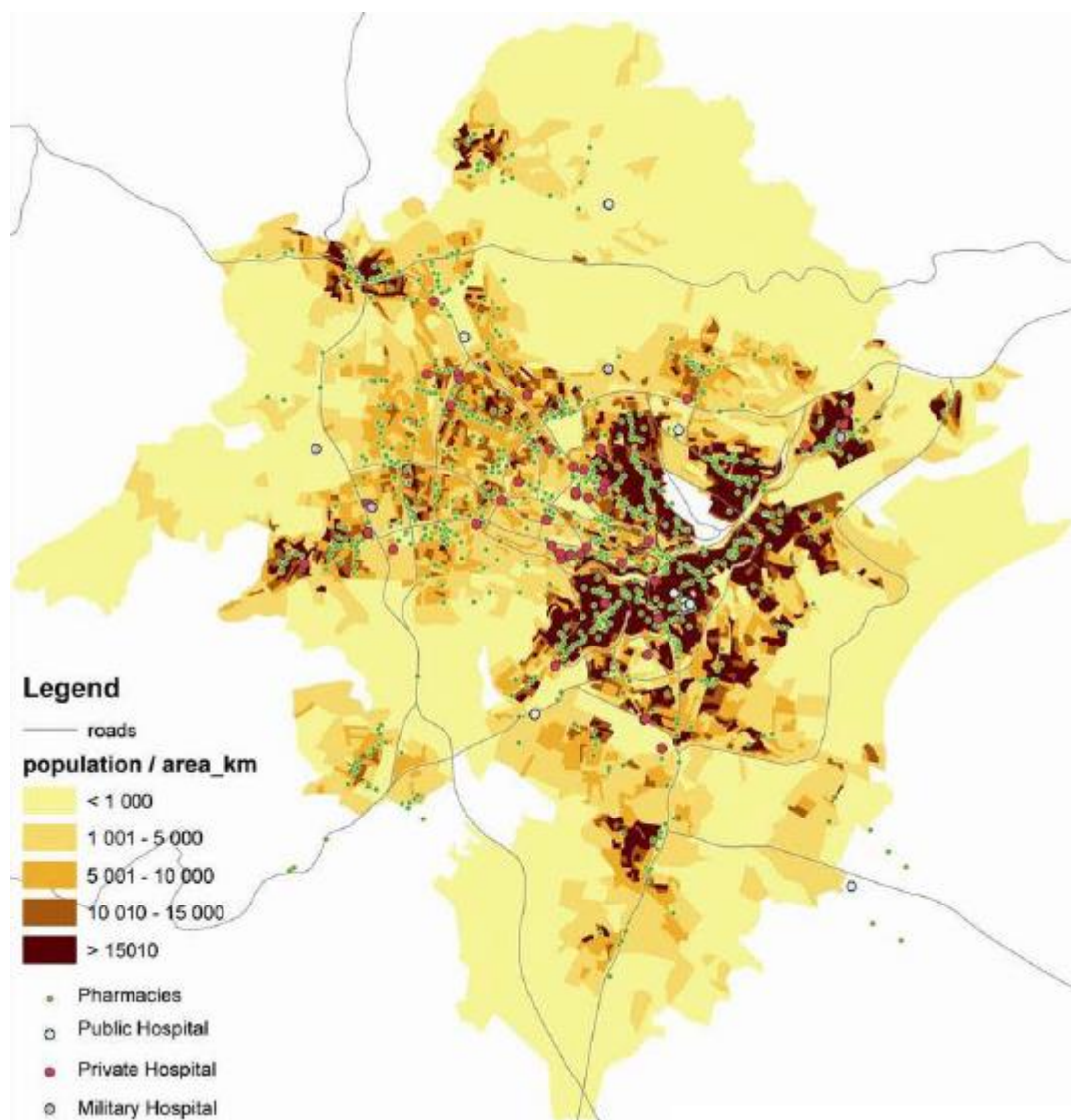


Fig 4.10 Distribution of Hospitals and Pharmacies in Amman (Ababsa, 2010).

4.2.3 Economic differences

The most visible differentiation between East and West Amman is the difference in economic levels and the imbalance between the poverty of the East and the wealth of the West. Residents of West Amman experience much larger percentage of economic stability whereas, due to the lack of secured jobs, East Amman residents suffer from the lack of such stability. This is mainly due to the wider range of opportunities that is provided for the wealthier residents where they are able to attain higher education levels therefore putting them in the lead for job opportunities which enables them to be employed full-time and engage in more prosperous and ambitious economic activities. Residents of West Amman are preferred for most jobs due to their higher educational levels, better cultural openness, and better ability to deal with different situations in their job. Especially after the economic reform and globalization processes, most building and mega projects that have been constructed are aimed at only the wealthier residents for both employment and entertainment where the poorer residents have been pushed further and further behind.

Differences in income levels are very significant where upper class residents receive regular salaries and higher income levels than lower class residents. This gives them better opportunities and better lifestyles which provide them with greater levels of comfort and access to services, needs and wants. East Amman's residents receive much lower incomes which therefore prevents them from living at ease and prevents them from being able to access all their necessities. The gap in the income levels and the significant difference in each class' salary makes clear the inequalities that exist between the two sides of the city (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Income levels between East and West Amman (Produced by author, data from Department of Statistics, Amman, 2015)

	< 100	100 - 250	250 - 500	500- 1000	1000-2000	> 2000
East Amman	10%	50%	30%	8%	2%	0%
West Amman	0%	5%	15%	30%	35%	15%

East residents, whether refugees or other residents, have no choice but to work in the informal sector with low salaries where they are not protected, have no insurance and lack proper rights. Many of the jobs they work in are seasonal or are one time jobs and some of them are daily where the workers are hired on a daily basis depending on the needs of the employers or society such as construction jobs, drivers, janitors... which do not offer a steady payment. In addition, due to the refugees' legal status in the country, the majorities of them do not hold the Jordanian citizenship and do not have legal residency permit in the country which puts them in a difficult situation when finding employment opportunities since almost all jobs in the public sector employ only nationals. This causes further economic instability and lack of security as a monthly income is not guaranteed for most lower class residents. The lack of income and lack of secured jobs is a main point that many of the inhabitants complained of when interviewed as seen in the next section.

4.3 Attitudes and Opinions of Society of the Situation in Amman

Through the collection of information through interviews and observation, it was possible to investigate and explore the society's views and opinions with regard to the socio economic and spatial segregation and inequalities that exist within the city of Amman. This was achieved by creating interviews with the society and asking them in depth questions with regard to the morphology of the city and what their

opinions where of the inequalities that existed. Certain questions in the interviews aimed to see what each end of the city felt and whether they preferred living in isolation from one another or whether they wanted to see more integration happening in the near future. In addition, several areas in both East and West Amman were observed to see how the society interacted with the space and how the space in turn affected its society. The areas were also observed in order to see how, if both upper and lower class inhabitants existed in one place, how they would interact with one another and whether they would regard or disregard each other.

4.3.1 Interviews with Amman's Society

By interviewing different people from different classes and different ends of the city, it was possible to understand their how they viewed the city's segregation and whether they were satisfied with living isolated from one another, or whether they wanted change. The interviews were carried out with both East and West residents in addition to interviews with students, professors and planning officials to investigate and question why such disparities and segregation exist, what can be done about them and what their views are of them. In addition, the interviews aimed to question how the megaprojects, globalization and neoliberal processes affected the city's morphology and whether it caused the improvement or the worsening of the socio-spatial segregation in the city. Other questions were asked to investigate whether these projects and processes improved the situation in the city (by creating job opportunities and better income levels) or worsened the situation and led to further deterioration of the socio-economic status.

Omar, a student who lives in Eastern Amman thinks that other students who live in Western Amman are luckier than him when it comes to education, services and income; however, he thinks that they are less fortunate with regard to being self-reliant and taking responsibilities. And despite the fact that he gets his education in governmental schools as opposed to the Western Amman students who study in private schools, he, however, prefers governmental schools where he holds a lot of respect to his teachers and does not feel that he is an outsider.

Mr. Ahmed, who works as a taxi driver in Western Amman, feels that he cannot find enough time to spend with his children nor to follow up their progress in schools. And because of his low income, he also works in Eastern Amman neighborhoods because he earns more there and says that he pays his children's school fees and when he does pay these fees, that month becomes financially stressful and has a negative effect on his family life. He sees that the modernization that occurred in the city within the past few years has worsened the social status in the city because the rich became richer and the poor became poorer. Although he very often passes by these places, he does not pass them as a user, but rather as a worker to provide for the users. Mr. Ahmed sees that the Western inhabitants are always given the priority for recreation and well being where as the Eastern residents lack daily needs and basic necessities in their neighborhoods.

Mr. Rashid says he likes Eastern Amman a lot and does not go to Western Amman except when necessary as its residents are arrogant and there is no social contact between them and each family lives separate from the other families while in Eastern Amman, life is so different and he or others do not mind sleeping in the garden or outside the house or even on the roof, unlike Western Amman's way of living. *"Our family connections are much more tied and we are all linked together, unlike West Amman where children are spoiled and have no relationship with their families."*

Lana, from Western Amman sees that there is no difference between residents of Eastern or Western Amman where ambitions and capabilities are concerned, and that the only difference is the opportunities offered to each one based on educational backgrounds and income. *"There must be initiatives from society and from the government to provide East Amman's residents with the same services and opportunities as the rest of the society so they do not feel less important or feel left out."*

Mr. Mohammed al Masri, who is a researcher in the Center for Strategic Studies, says that residents of Eastern Amman, once they are financially better, they move to Western Amman and start having more power which helps them have more influence on public opinion and government decisions , which causes a big gap between Western and Eastern Amman's social standards and which makes Eastern Amman

deteriorate in these aspects on a daily basis and makes the gap between them bigger and bigger because all the budget gets spent on Western Amman in general while Eastern Amman does not get that much attention, adding that in the past, the education budget was allocated to both Western and Eastern Amman equally while currently, it is not and private schools' graduates have a much better chance in getting jobs later on. This problem, he says, can be solved if the budget was distributed equally between Western and Eastern Amman in order to make it one city rather than two.

Nadeen who is a student in the Jordan University sees that although the megaprojects that have been developing in the city are to the city's economic benefit and also to the city's recreational benefit, she sees that the East Amman residents are not fortunate enough to enjoy such projects and are excluded from them. *"A cup of juice or coffee at one of the coffee shops in such projects costs about 5 JD which is a few days worth income for some of East Amman's residents. Some of them rely on such an amount to make a living for several days."* She sees that there must be change in integrating both ends of society and there must be initiatives from the government to improve education, health care and recreational services for East Amman.

A Professor of Urban Planning in the Jordan University sees that there must be functions which aim to integrate between both upper and lower class inhabitants in order for each end to accept each other and interact with one another. *"Integration could be achieved through cultural activities, sports and education in addition to functions such as public libraries and public squares which are functions which join between people no matter where they belong to. It is not in the hands of the government but rather in the hands of society themselves."* He stated that although the government has a role in improving services and providing such functions, it is mainly the society who must take the initiative to integrate with one another and bridge the gap that exists.

4.3.2 Observation in Amman

Through the observation of different places throughout the city of Amman, it was possible to develop a better understanding of the extent of segregation and isolation

between East and West Amman. Different areas were observed including Al Wakalat Street which is an outdoor shopping street within a famous upper class shopping area in Amman. It was considered to be the first outdoor shopping street in the city and was closed to only pedestrians however after several incidents of corruption existed, the street was reopened to automobiles. The second area to be observed is Downtown Amman which is considered to be the oldest shopping area in the city with many historical shopping alleys – *souks*, historical buildings such as Al Hussein Mosque, in addition to several touristic sites. Finally, random neighborhoods are to be observed around both East and West Amman to compare the difference between the lifestyles in each end of the city.

The first area – Al Wakalat Street was observed at different times of the day and on different days of the week to access reliable results. It was noticed during the observation that Al Wakalat Street was visited during the day mostly for shopping purposes in its shops where as at night it was visited for recreation and to walk through the street without necessarily entering any shops. The street was well maintained to a certain extent and was closed off to ensure the well being of its users by making it a street solely for them to walk in without the danger of automobiles. It was planted with trees and flowers and equipped with sufficient lighting for the nighttime. The shops' facades were well designed and well maintained to attract customers and to encourage purchasing from such shops. Several shops had security guards at their doors to ensure the safety of the customers and to control the flow of customers in and out of the shops. During the night time and on weekends especially the street became very lively with people however, most people were from the same type of class – the upper class Western Amman society. They enjoyed shopping from the brand name shops and sitting in posh cafes along the street. Rarely did the street witness visitors from East Amman and when it did, they only came to cause trouble including getting into fights and provoking people. Such behavior was also observed among West Amman's teenagers, however at a lower scale. The shops and cafes that exist along the street are indirectly made to welcome only upper class residents and push away the lower class residents due to the high prices that are unaffordable to the majority of East Amman residents. Although the street was made to be a public space that welcomes all residents, it has actually turned into a segregation inducing space

where the lower class residents have become more hostile towards the upper class residents since they are always given the better services and the better lifestyles.

The second area which was observed – Downtown Amman – was also observed during different times and different days of the week. Through observation it was seen that while places like Al Wakalat Street is reserved mainly for upper residents, Downtown Amman is mainly for the lower class residents. The first impression of Downtown Amman is that it lacks sufficient maintenance and does not give off a welcoming impression to its users. In addition it is not a safe place for pedestrians as sidewalks are narrow, and the priority is given to automobiles where the traffic in the area is unbearable for many. The shoppers are mainly lower class residents who visit these shops due to their affordable prices. The area is very rarely visited by upper class residents where they might visit the area only for its historical places or for its historical restaurants that are famous in the city and are considered touristic. Even when the Western Amman society visits the city center, most of them act in a supreme manner towards the poorer residents and shop vendors. The shops that exist in the city center as compared to the ones in Western Amman are much smaller and family owned as opposed to the multinational stores of the other end of the city. Some of the shops are just stands on the sidewalks and many shops sell second hand items such as clothing, electronics and miscellaneous items. These shops are usually a main income for its families and they are greatly dependant on the income from their shops. A sight that is not seen in the multinational shops of West Amman but rather in the shops in Downtown Amman in the East is the fact that many children work in their family shops after schools and during weekends and some work full time as they do not attend school. Although these shops and this area was once the sole shopping district in the city; today it has become an area that is looked as, as being solely for the poorer residents of the city.

Other areas that were observed included different neighborhoods throughout the city to compare how each of the ends of the city interacted with one another and lived. It was seen through the observation of East Amman's neighborhoods that most residents are closely related to one another where neighbors know each other well and know each other's history and mingle on a daily basis (especially the woman as in East Amman the majority of the woman spend their time at home and are

unemployed). Their relationships are closely tied and their children know each other and interact together. It was seen that children spend their free time playing in the streets and on the stairs of the neighborhoods with each other and do not spend their time indoors. On the other hand, during the observation of Western Amman neighborhoods, it was seen that neighbors barely know each other and rarely speak or interact with one another. Their children spent most of their time indoors with their friends from school and some cases showed that children mingle with the neighboring children in their building or neighborhood; however, they spend little time playing outdoors and rather stay indoors to play on electronic devices or visit shopping malls and indoor recreational areas.

The observations further emphasized the differences that exist between the different sides of the city and made clear that such differences really do exist and are greatly experienced by the residents of each end during every day activities and throughout their days. Most lower class residents suffer from the inequalities and segregation that exists and seek for the city to change for the better.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1 Is There a Possibility of Socio-Spatial Equity in Amman?

Social exclusion can be described as a process through which individuals, groups or communities are progressively prevented from participation in the labor market, access to healthcare services and education, etc. Social exclusion is correlated to a combination of unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime environment, bad health and family breakdown (International Association of Public Transport, 2007). One of the key steps to decrease segregation in societies is to provide access for the less fortunate and excluded society to the same services and functions provided by the included society or the *upper class*. The ability for the lower class society to access such services and fulfill the necessities puts them at a higher level of well being and also at a higher standard in terms of quality of life.

As mentioned in the beginning of the research; certain levels of segregation are normal in every city and all cities experience differences in lifestyles between the upper class and the lower class societies. It is only abnormal however when each of these classes lives in isolation from one another and do not interact or integrate with one another, thinking that they are leading normal social lives. This unfortunately was witnesses in the case of Amman, Jordan where the city is divided into two cities living completely different lives, separate from one another. This therefore is a social, economic and political problem which should be looked to by both planning officials and society itself to bridge the gap and reduce the socio-spatial segregation that exists.

Much literature has been written on the role of different indicators in providing for inclusion and in reducing the exclusion that exists. Different literature focused on different roles including the role of public transportation, education, sports, planning officials... in reducing the segregation and inequalities that exist in modern cities. Through this literature and through the interviews, observation and research; suggestions where produced as initiatives to reduce the gap between East and West Amman in order to create a more harmonious city that is not living as two separate cities.

5.1.1 Planning approaches

Planning has a great role in effecting the well being of a city and deciding how space and society interact with each other and therefore produce one another. It is crucial to plan out cities to include justice, inclusiveness and equity in order to produce sustainable and healthy environments. As Ellis and Henderson stated in their publication (2013, p. 6):

Planning has multiple and complex effects on people's lives because its decisions often involve the allocation of resources. Crudely, there are winners and losers from planning decisions, and planning therefore has the power to help promote greater or lesser levels of equity and social justice.

Urban planners and developers are the ones who plan the city and decide its future in terms of spatial growth and development. It is therefore in their hands to provide a

more equal distribution of services amongst both ends of the city. In Amman however, the city has not been given equal planning rights. Most plans protect and encourage development and maintenance on the Western end of the city while ignoring the historic but rather poorer area of the city which has therefore contributed to produce an exclusive and segregated city.

Many interviewees saw that the key to solving the segregation lies in the planning officials' decisions to provide for East Amman as they provide and tend to West Amman's needs. Most East Amman residents did not complain that they wish to integrate with the upper class residents but rather complained of the lack of services and the neglect they experience as compared to the upper class. This therefore has led to them feeling hostile towards the Western residents as they are always given priority over them and looked to as being the better and more powerful in the city. This in return leads them to want to be isolated from each other because they feel unequal to one another.

Refugees in addition, who have been displaced and lack proper homes and are detached from their homes, also feel excluded as they do not belong and do not mingle well with other residents in the city. It is therefore partly up to the planning guides and plans which are set that should aim at making a difference in the city by changing the people's attitudes towards one another and encouraging better integration with one another. Functions must be provided by the planners and government which are not based on isolation but rather based on integration such as public squares, parks, public libraries, children's museums, public sports clubs and other functions where different classes can visit them without being judged on where they belong to or how well off they are.

Much literature exists on this subject and many scholars suggest that integration and decrease in segregation may be achieved through providing integrated schooling, activities such as sports and healthcare where the East and West are joined in the same places to study, play and be treated unlike the reality that exists today. It is a great priority for planning officials, to provide the East Amman residents with the needs they demand in terms of better services, infrastructure and neighborhoods that are safe for them to live in. There must be initiatives to increase the proximate

contacts between both ends of the city by decentralizing the activities provided and making them more spread out across the entire city therefore being more accessible for all users. This aspect will eventually encourage both ends of the city to become more integrated and less isolated from one another as they will be equal in terms of education and access to different services.

In addition, the city of Amman is greatly reliant on the private automobile where public transportation is almost non-existent. Public transportation only exists in the lower class neighborhoods – East Amman since many residents do not own a private automobile. Public transportation is very limited, poorly maintained and does not cover all the areas in the city which causes an accessibility problem for the residents. The ability to access jobs, healthcare, schools and other functions therefore becomes much more limited. The World Bank (2002,p.25) stated “Accessibility is important, not only for its role in facilitating regular and stable income-earning employment but also for its role as part of the social capital that maintains the social relations forming the safety net of poor people in many societies.” The lack of access for East Amman’s residents therefore poses many problems and causes them to be restrained to a certain area as accessing a larger area is costly and unaffordable. The role of planning officials and the government must include providing an integrated public transportation system not only for the poorer residents, but rather for the whole city to use which covers all areas in the city and is well maintained, well organized and affordable. The public transportation system must also aim at connecting the poorer neighborhoods with the other parts of the city in order to integrate different residents in one area. Public awareness must be provided to inform residents of the importance of public transportation in addition to providing awareness to the teenagers and young men about the safety issues and rules and regulations of using such facilities in order to prevent harassment issues and problems between males and females.

Furthermore, planning officials and governments must allocate equal financial amounts for both East and West Amman in terms of schooling, health care, facilities, services, infrastructure... in order for both sides to feel equal to one another and accept each other. The officials must avoid improving the West Side at the cost of East Amman as this has led to many problems and caused East Amman’s residents to feel neglected and ignored.

Many lower class residents complained of the lack of job opportunities and unemployment rates they experienced as compared to West Amman residents who have much higher opportunities and therefore higher levels of income. Initiatives must be taken to provide projects which offer job opportunities for the lower class residents and other activities such as training programs, vocational schools and social functions which provide them with sufficient education to seek better opportunities and therefore better jobs and higher incomes.

Although planners and governmental officials have a major role in planning out the city to produce a sustainable and inclusive environment; it is not solely up to them to bridge the gap between societies. If society itself has no role in “changing themselves” then planning can have no outcome.

5.1.2 Society driven efforts

Although planning officials have a main role in reducing the inequalities that exist, it is not solely up to them to diminish the segregation that exists. It is also up to the society themselves to interact with one another and not look at themselves as being better than the other. It is up to them to change their attitudes and opt for a better life in a better city that has reduced levels of segregation and isolation.

It is up to the society to take several initiatives in order to reduce the disparities that exist and bridge the gap between the upper and lower class. Families must encourage children to stay in school rather than dropping out of school. Families must have public awareness when it comes to pulling their children out of school and enrolling them in the duties of child labor. They must have sufficient knowledge of the dangers of child labor and the importance of completing their education and the benefits it provides them with in the long run. In addition, lower class families must be properly aware of the importance of controlling the number of births and limiting family members in order to provide for them properly without living in poverty.

Children must be encouraged to play with one another, and society in general must be encouraged to mingle with each other in the same functions and same areas. This is especially successful if public areas were provided which encourage the visiting

of residents from both ends of the city in order to know each other's lives more and aim for less isolation.

5.2 Conclusion

Limitations of the study

One of the main limitations of the study was the fact that the sample size in covering the interviews and in depth communications was limited due to the limited amount of time. This therefore, to a certain extent lead to general findings, however as the sample size was very diverse and the interviews were long and in depth, the sample size was regarded as less significant as compared to the type of interviewee chosen and the type of questions which were asked.

Another limitation is that due to the timing of the field research, many professionals whom I planned to interview where unavailable at that time and where out of the country which therefore decreased the amount of professionals such as professors and planning officials who I intended to interview. However, substitute professors with the same expertise and knowledge were interviewed and asked the same questions.

Furthermore, the fact that most statistical data in Amman covers the city as a whole and is difficult to access data on the districts in Amman level made the findings difficult to achieve and although the data was eventually extracted it was through interviews and also through the Department of Statistics in Amman however the amount of data was slightly less than that intended for.

The final limitation of the study was that some data that was aimed to access such as written data, was not publicly available nor was it available online and was sometimes only available as a hard copy in different countries making it difficult to access, however this was overcome as a large and very diverse amount of literature - was able to be accessed.

Key findings

As Sir Peter Hall stated “It is easier to send a man to the moon than to plan and design a city”. This has clearly been the case of Amman as the continuous growth and expansion of the city has been very difficult to plan and properly design. The constant and unexpected influxes of refugees entering a small city caused it to always expand suddenly with no prior intention to do so therefore lacking the proper planning and organization. This caused the development of unplanned settlements in different areas of the city which eventually led to the segregation of both the East and the West parts of the city where the poorer residents remained settled in the refugee camps and informal settlements of the East where as the richer residents moved to the West where they established new neighborhoods and where able to achieve a high quality and comfortable life.

This parted with the processes of economic reform and the processes of globalization and Neoliberalism caused the further segregation of the city. Everything became a competition for power and profit in terms of who can make the best function (school, hospital, mall...). With the rise of Neoliberalism, globalization and the rapid expansion of the city, urban planning and development processes have lead to a city that aims at becoming economically productive at the expense of the social, cultural and spatial needs of society. The city as a whole and all its activities included are all aimed at economic benefits including the infrastructure, services such as water and electricity, urban investments and mega projects are all revolved around the same aim – being the economic benefit. As these trends developed, the rich who were able to afford such lifestyles adapter and the poor who were unable to access such services were left behind. The city therefore became a producing machine competing with other cities in the world rather than being a provider for its residents.

Therefore, there needs to be an approach adopted by planning officials and by the society themselves to develop and improve the city’s economy, however without making it the sole aim at the expense of the society’s needs and necessities.

Recommendations for future research

A few topics are worth investigating in the future including the in depth analysis of mega projects on the city from all aspects including economic, social, cultural and environmental. The study should cover each project in depth and look into how it has changed the morphology of the city in addition to in depth interviews with society as how they have been affected by each project and what benefits or negative effects have they brought along with their construction.

Another study which might be useful to be looked into is the effect of the segregation from an environmental point of view including the investigation of the environment quality between both East and West Amman and the affect of automobiles and other modern lifestyles on the environment.

Finally, it would be useful to create a study with regard to the affect of socio spatial segregation on refugees who are already displaced and feel not at home and must face difficulties in the city by finding jobs, steady income and proper settlements. The study could include a focus on children and how the detachment has affected them from a psychological point of view. The effect of the isolation of the lower class neighborhoods on them could also be looked into.

Future studies will therefore further emphasize the need for change and further draw the light upon the differences and inequalities that exist on either end of the city of Amman.

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