
TEMPORARY SPACE IN AMMAN: A CO-CREATION OF EVERYDAY ACTIVISM AND STATE FLEXIBILITY

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When I was born

two tears were put

into my eyes

so that I could see

the enormity of my people's pain.

Humberto Ak'abal

ABSTRACT

The literature about temporary urbanism has been generally focused on the context of North America and Europe. It is undeniable, though, that temporariness happens more in the global South than in the North. While such literature offers the opportunity for comparative *reflection* across the global North-South ‘divide’ there is still an imminent need towards exploring and learning from different contexts and divergent urban experiences. Also, very little is said about the production process of temporary urban spaces, the power relations between actors and how these relations are affected by the actors’ intentions and resources. This research aims to address this gap through exploring three cases of temporary urban space in Amman, Jordan: Ras Al-Ain market, Nour Al-Barakeh community garden and the ‘Vista’ at Jordan street. This qualitative research draws on documents, audio, visual and digital material as well as semi-structured interviews with a range of key actors and field observations.

By exploring the intentions of the temporary space activists and the state’s response to them, the case studies demonstrate that temporary space is a co-creation of everyday actions and state flexibility. This meant that on the one hand the temporary urban spaces were steered by different types of marginalized social groups that were able to come together to achieve their needs around various types of social capital. On the other hand, these temporary urban spaces also came to exist due to opportunities of agency which arise as a result of a gap in the planning framework and the state’s flexibility to urban policy sanctions. Hence, through conscious everyday actions, the social groups pursue their needs with no aim of direct confrontation with the state. These everyday actions enable these social groups to achieve those needs and have taken various forms according to: the category, resources and aims of the social group as well as the regulatory frameworks within which they exist. Whereas flexibility is a state response to the various social groups and is a strategy towards urban governance in which urban sanctions are extended, or suspended. This measure is taken by the state to preserve social order in relation to certain social groups and to resolve urban issues.

Keywords: Temporary urban spaces, urban planning, power relations, Amman, Jordan

Dedication

To the people of Palestine.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DPA Department of Palestinian Affairs.

GAM Great Amman Municipality.

JD Jordanian Dinars.

JS Jordan Street Vista.

NAB Nour Al-Barakeh.

RAS Ras Al-Ain Market/Friday Market.

UNRWA United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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1.1 Research background

Driving from my hometown Irbid to Amman, I always enjoy the hilly landscape welcoming me as I approach its northern gateway, Jordan Street, the highway connecting the two cities. At night, the absence of light camouflages the differences life brings along and transforms it into a showcase of an almost theatrical setting of hilly silhouettes along which the lights find their place. Yet it is not only me that spots the opportunity of the place but many others that gather at night along that street. You can see clusters of families, couples and groups of men sitting along the landscape paralleling the highway. There are also others who see this as an opportunity to set up a kiosk and rent out flimsy plastic tables, chairs and shisha water pipes to make a living. The view points to a moment of agency: an opportunity to construct a socially meaningful place to address a missing need.

Just like Jordan Street, Al-Kalouti space is another space that the people of Amman use to express their aspirations and address their needs. At the beginning of November of 2015, the vacant land of Al-Kalouti Mosque was fenced off by the security forces by order of the municipality of Amman. A 2.5m high fence now surrounds this open space in which people used to gather to protest the ongoing Israeli aggression against the Palestinians. Al-Kalouti's open space is an unplanned, vacant urban space just across from Al-Kalouti Mosque, a neighbourhood mosque that became renown in Amman because of that adjacent space, hence its name. It is a temporary space that has been appropriated on many occasions by the people of Amman, to protest against political events taking place in the region, and thus became inscribed as a space of protest and public expression. This incident sparked my interest. The lack of information about such spaces in the literature on Amman expanded my interest into an academic undertaking to explore the phenomenon of temporary space in Amman.

The need for imagining and creating spaces that address certain social needs and aspirations is obviously a global necessity. Such spaces have been termed --'loose space' (Franck and Stevens, 2007, p. 19), 'found spaces' (Rivlin, 2007), 'intermediate spaces' (Groth and Corijn, 2005), 'urban catalysts' (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), 'DIY urbanism' (Iveson, 2013; Finn, 2014), 'insurgent public space' (Hou, 2010) and 'tactical urbanism' (Lydon *et al.*, 2015) amongst others. Such spaces are produced and consumed in the way the city's society needs and/or imagines them to be. It is obvious then that if such spaces that address the society's aspirations and needs do not exist, then temporary spaces surface. Those are spaces that might neither conform to what the

state deems legitimate nor to normative urban planning practices. In this research context, there is a discrepancy between the formal planning of Amman and the actual use of space and its imaginative cultural construct. On the one hand, there are the public spaces provided by the municipality, designed and planned with a particular vision and ideology. On the other hand, there are the emerging temporary spaces that people of Amman are resorting to and practicing their transient activities in. But why do they surface? If these temporary spaces are driven by a certain need, then why aren't the communities resorting to raising demands to the state? If those spaces are constructed for a particular need, what kind of intent are they projecting? How are they able to establish such spaces and what is the response of the state to them? What aspects does this reveal about the Jordanian society? And what power dynamics between the state and society are exposed by understanding temporary spaces? This dissertation provides many insights into these questions.

1.2 Temporary urbanism: existing understandings

This section briefly explores the understanding of 'temporary urbanism' in literature with the aim to establish the research background and identify its potential gaps. It will showcase how this phenomenon is positioned within the academic debate through a three-level discussion: how it is discussed in the global North literature; how it is and could be discussed within literature about the global South; and finally, how literature narrates and understands such a phenomenon in a Middle Eastern and Jordanian context. At the end of this section I will position my dissertation within these three levels of discussion, showcasing where and how my dissertation will contribute to this emerging concept and tackle certain gaps that it identifies.

Temporary urbanism is a complex phenomenon that has recently gained much attention. Its research has produced various terms, definitions and understandings (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Arefi and Kickert, 2018b; Matoga, 2019). Such understandings include seeing it as an outcome of spatial activation processes that respond to spatial and social adaptability (Andres *et al.*, 2019), a temporal designation of urban processes (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Dovey, 2016; Madanipour, 2017), or as '...a strategy for regeneration in the post-industrial cities of Western Europe and North America' (Hou, 2016, p. 193).

Despite the lack of a comprehensive definition, it seems that a consensus has been reached within the varied literature that 'gaps in planning' play an important role in its appearance within cities (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Andres, 2013; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013; Moore-Cherry, 2016; Colomb, 2017). The 'gaps' discussed by scholars include: physical deterioration, deprogramming, shrinking cities, de-industrialization, abundance of infrastructure, political

faults, absence of civic engagement, land disputes between owners or stakeholders, certain restrictions on planning policies, and economic reasons (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Franck and Stevens, 2007; Andres, 2013; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Moore-Cherry, 2016; Colomb, 2017). Indeed, several authors view temporary spaces as the result of planning failures that produce vacant spaces awaiting clear identification by the planning system (Trancik, 1986; Carr *et al.*, 1992; Worpole, 2000). Others suggest that land vacancy is a facilitator of temporary space activation (Moore-Cherry, 2016). While previous authors focused on vacancies as a facilitator of temporary space, other authors suggest that temporary spaces develop as a result of social agency (Franck and Stevens, 2007; Hou, 2010), as a form of urban activism arising from an engaged civil society (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014), DIY activism (Haydn and Temel, 2006), as well as other motives that fuel such space, including: ‘...marginal lifestyles, informal economies, artistic experimentation...’ (Groth and Corijn, 2005, p. 503).

Most of such research ‘...tends to be examined in an empirical and practical way’ (Madanipour, 2017, p. 2). Key themes include: the definition of temporariness; the temporal, economic and institutional contexts for temporary uses; how temporary uses interact with other more permanent uses; the aims and perceived benefits of temporary uses; the various types of actors and actions that drive temporary uses and its different spatial typologies (Hou, 2010; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Stevens, 2018). Despite the importance of such research in delivering ‘structured descriptions’, scholars such as Henneberry (2017b) see that it was not successful in uncovering important processes of the phenomenon such as its production process, the power relations between its actors and how such relations are affected by the actors’ strategies, interests and resources. Therefore, several authors claim that it is poorly theorized (Lehtovuori and Ruoppila, 2017; Lara-Hernandez and Melis, 2018) or that its theorization has been limited (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014). Within this vacuum of temporary space theorization and accompanying analytical frameworks, Madanipour (2017) develops a critical analysis of temporary urbanism that aims to understand, interpret, and problematize it. The analysis sees time and temporality as key concepts to unfold the lifecycles of the city and how time is potentially embedded in the city. As a pattern of events, temporary urbanism is analysed through three forms of temporality: instrumental, existential, and experimental. Instrumental temporality is the conscious use of time as an instrument for material returns. Existential temporality is temporality as a lived reality in the city; and experiential temporality is temporality as a catalyst for change and experimentation for a different interpretation of urbanism.

From a practical viewpoint, specifically in North American and European cities, temporary urbanism has been practiced as an alternative form of planning (Bishop and Williams, 2012).

Seeing the potential of temporary activation of urban spaces, it was consciously adopted in urban planning (Gottdiener *et al.*, 2016; Colomb, 2017) because it offers free maintenance and security from illegal uses, contributes to the economic development of temporary uses, and supplies free or minimally charged, accessible, open spaces (Stadtentwicklung, 2007; Colomb, 2017). Within this framework it has been critically seen as a neoliberal agenda in which temporary spaces are used as a tool for urban management and economic development, paving the way for displacement processes and gentrification (Till and McArdle, 2016; Hou, 2020). However, there are also others that see these alternative forms of planning as economic stimulators that give free spaces to people, enabling the generation of profitable businesses (Andres, 2013) or stimulating environmentally oriented developments (Colomb, 2017).

Although the concept of ‘temporary urbanism’ has only received an upsurge in academia in the last decade or so, and has been generally focused on the context of North America and Europe (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Haydn and Temel, 2006; Stadtentwicklung, 2007; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Colomb, 2012; Andres, 2013; Iveson, 2013; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Lydon *et al.*, 2015; Patti and Polyak, 2015; Moore-Cherry, 2016; Gebhardt, 2017; Madanipour, 2018), it has (as a process) its roots and inherent existence within cities (Hou, 2016). It is not new (Stevens, 2018; Matoga, 2019). What is new, however, is its emergence as a new modality of urban chic and its deliberate use as an institutionalized city strategy (Chalana and Hou, 2016). Nonetheless, literature about the global South has been limited in relation to the specific concept of ‘temporary urbanism’. Several others, however, such as the Hou (2016) and Andres *et al.* (2019) wrote about it and understand it as constituting a form of *insurgent planning*³. Insurgent planning is explained as being ‘...a set of counterhegemonic practices by marginalized groups, which serves as a counterpoint to the institutional practice of citizen participation under neoliberal governance’ (Miraftab, 2009; Hou, 2016, p. 211). Such a form of alternative planning or ‘place-making’ (Hou, 2016; Andres *et al.*, 2019) is seen to showcase the agency of ordinary citizens and their ability to create their spaces that challenge the primacy of institutionalized planning practices (Hou, 2016) or what Andres *et al.* (2019) characterize as citizens’ ‘end-user innovation’. In contrast to it being a strategy for occupying vacant sites in the global North, within the global South Hou (2016) sees it as an ‘...everyday survival tactic in the face of scarce real estate and outmoded regulations’ (Hou, 2016, p. 195) that ‘...reflects both deep-rooted structure and tactical responses to different structural barriers in the respective urban settings’

³ The idea of ‘insurgency in the city’ was first developed by Holsten (1995, 2008) through the concept of insurgent citizenship. It was later developed and integrated into the planning discourse by Sandercock (1998) and then further articulated by Miraftab (2009).

(Hou, 2016, p. 198). Such a process is structured within ‘...a system of flexibility, adaptation, circumvention, and compromise, in which individuals, communities, and authorities jointly navigate the complex terrains of urban governance in the face of spatial constraints and temporal opportunities’(Hou, 2016, p. 199). Andres et al. (2019) see such forms of temporary urbanism to be ‘...strongly connected to public and private sector failures in tackling key urban challenges and delivering adequate formal planning’(Andres *et al.*, 2019, p. 4).

While a concept such as ‘insurgent planning’ offers an important alternative to understanding how space is produced and recognizes ‘...the role and contributions of diverse actors as active and engaged members of the society’ (Hou and Chalana, 2016, p. 9), some scholars such as Huq (2020) and Watson (2013) see this concept as problematic as it involves such diverse interpretations. Huq (2020) further clarifies that it is not clearly identified as to how it materializes in spatial terms. Moreover, it assumes that contestation occurs through well-established and organized communities affiliated at times with social movements (Huq, 2020). Therefore, several questions arise when insurgency is related to temporary urbanism: How radical is such an insurgency? Is there a range of insurgency that could encompass the more ordinary, less organized and also the more radical, counter-hegemonic and more organized? Is it only a survival tactic in relation to basic needs such as infrastructure and housing? Or would it merge with a more diverse understanding of the actors’ intentions that transcend marginality and are rather related to ‘needs’ beyond marginality and socio-economic background? Is it carried out through atomized groups or through a group that has a clear ‘institutional expression’(Pieterse, 2013b)? Through individual or collective groups (Frediani and Cociña, 2019)? Should there be a clear distinction (Hou, 2020)? Are such acts of insurgency overt? Or covert? Or both? Such questions are important as they help link the two concepts of temporary urbanism and insurgency and test their applicability to understand other types of temporary urbanism and make sense of them.

The concept of ‘temporary urbanism’ might also have its roots or interrelation with other concepts that are consequently related to manifestations of temporariness in the city. Within a global South context, for instance, one might argue that temporary urbanism and informality are two interrelated concepts. While informality has not been directly linked to temporary urbanism, informality and insurgency are seen as a linked process (Watson, 2011).

Informality generates, at times, a certain temporality in the city (Lara-Hernandez *et al.*, 2020). The concept of informality might also be relatable as temporary urbanism is not necessarily formal (Dovey, 2016) and might include ‘...actions and communications that are neither

prescribed nor proscribed by any rules' (Innes *et al.*, 2007, p. 198). While temporary urbanism, as understood in the global North, is an outcome of a different dynamic than informality, Madanipour (2017b) sees both as an outcome of macro-economic processes that are subject to the same logic of the market. Within such a context, Madanipour (2017) sees informality as a type of temporary urbanism that reflects extreme forms of vulnerability, is a sign of economic weakness and the inability of the authorities and their regulations to control the development and use of urban space. An informal mechanism that creates a temporary use as everyday survival. Other scholars such as Jabreen (2014) link informality to DIY practices in a way that sees such an interrelation through the 'informal' aspect of DIY practices. He clarifies this by synthesizing that the intentions of DIY and informality are both addressing the gaps that were left out by the state (Jabareen, 2014). Of course there exists a plethora of literature that describes informal actions in the global South and examines the making of everyday life in economically marginal urban contexts (for example, (Simone, 2008; Bayat, 2013; De Boeck, 2015; Graham and McFarlane, 2015). However, it does not include other marginalized groups who are not necessarily economically marginalized but perhaps socially marginalized. Marginalization in this literature is, generally speaking, defined in relation to class. Such literature relating to precarious urban spaces of the global South was written through the lens of informality which is not necessarily temporary. Temporary urban spaces and informal urban spaces are not necessarily the same as there are many informal spaces that are permanent. One can, however, argue that temporary urbanism in the global South could be regarded as activities '...that are appropriating ... space that happen to be temporary in nature...' (Lara-Hernandez *et al.*, 2020, p. 1). Yet, it is vital to know that not all forms of informality have insurgent potential (Devlin, 2018). And not all forms of informality are driven by the same impetus. Generally speaking, in the global South they could be seen as driven by 'need' while in the global North as driven by 'desire' (Devlin, 2018). Indeed, the intention behind informality might be similar to the intention of temporary agents in that they 'absorb, recycle, provide services, establish networks, celebrate, play and essentially extend the margins of urban systems' (Mehrotra, 2010, p. xiii). Its manifestations might also take a temporal dimension because they are '...neither prescribed nor proscribed by any rules' (Innes *et al.*, 2007, p. 198), yet the lens of informality has not explicitly focused on the spatial contours of informal activities (Arefi and Kickert, 2018b; Moatasim, 2019) nor is it necessarily temporary. Most importantly, looking into links like the above might be a useful endeavour to instigate understandings of modes of temporary urbanism in the global South, yet if done, it is vital not to paint over the complexity of the concept of 'informality' and to be aware of its deeply contentious history in academia in which '...its

analysis has...proliferated in relation to different aspects of urban life and in relation to different epistemological and ontological framings'(Acuto *et al.*, 2019, p. 477). Moreover, if such an endeavour is undertaken, it should look as much into their differences (as modes of space creation) as their similarities. Or perhaps it is not informality as a concept that is an interrelated concept to temporary urbanism but rather that there is an 'informal' aspect to temporary urbanism. However, such a task is beyond this dissertation.

Be it insurgency or informality, temporary and alternative forms of space production exist (Frediani and Cociña, 2019) in which temporality is seen to be '...culturally conditioned and historically constructed'(Hou, 2016). Hence, speaking about specific geographies of the global South in relation to this dissertation, few endeavours were taken up in the Middle East and specifically Amman. Some of these were through empirical studies (Mady, 2010; Altarawneh, 2017) and others through a more nuanced understanding of city processes and structural understanding of its societies (Al-Nakib, 2016; Elsheshtawy, 2019) which uncover the specific contextual conditionings in which they take place. For instance, Mady (2010) produced one of the first empirical understandings of temporary spaces within Middle Eastern cities. She examined several temporary spaces in Beirut through urban design concepts on public space, urban land economics and new institutional economics and established that within her study context such spaces are 'temporarily vacant urban land units with high accessibility, open and free access, and negotiated use-rights enabling the performance of public activities'(Mady, 2010, p. 293). She argues that such temporary spaces are produced by formal as well as self-organized groups. They are driven by goals targeting the city and are a reaction to the lack of certain required activities and public spaces. Both are institutionalized, taking various forms including written and oral agreement respectively. Shifting the context to Al-Kuwait, Al-Nakib (2016) develops her perspective through exploring historical discourses and specifically in relation to cultural memory. Through the exploration of a community-led garden, she tries to understand how this space challenges or attempts to challenge the transience and placelessness of the temporary city (Al-Nakib, 2016). She uncovers the needs that drive this community project and how and by whom it had been established. Through this explorational lens she establishes an understanding of reclaiming space within its larger structural context as existing within the historical narrative of Kuwait. Moving to Amman, Tarawneh (2017) follows the empirical trend of temporary urbanism inquiry of the global North. Her dissertation is about two urban phenomena: '...derelict and underutilised spaces known as brownfields, and the practice aiming to revitalise vacant spaces in urban areas known as temporary urbanism'(Altarawneh, 2017, p. I). The dissertation contextualizes the typology of brownfields

in Amman by mapping various vacancies that are identified as potential ‘brownfields’ and ‘...argues that the reclamation of brownfield sites through temporary urbanism may enhance spatial justice within a wider global quest for just cities and just communities’(Altarawneh, 2017, p. I). Finally, shifting the context to the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Elsheshtawy (2019) argues that Gulf cities are intentionally planned to be temporary in order to minimize physical attachment to space and discourage establishing roots. Temporariness comes into play as Elsheshtawy explores the immigrants’ and the locals’ ways of resisting and defying the force of the temporary city. This is partly shown by how the immigrants’ use and appropriate space but also how local residents construct their local habitat in their domestic space.

As seen from the above, most literature on the concept of ‘temporary urbanism’ has been generally focused on the global North. Despite the importance of this literature in establishing a robust reference for comparative *reflection* across the global North-South ‘divide’⁴, there is an imminent need to pursue ‘...active learning from scholarship in different contexts, or primary research across apparently divergent urban experiences’(Robinson, 2011, p. 2). A view from the global South is necessary to unsettle the ‘... taken-for-granted assumptions in planning, essential for a conceptual shift in the discipline’ (Watson, 2009, p. 2261).

While there have been few studies undertaken in relation to the concept of ‘temporary urbanism’ within the global South and across the global North-South divide, there is still a great need to interrogate ‘a perplexity of spatialities’ and provide the opportunity to establish ‘new geographies of theory’ that can draw upon ‘the urban experience of the global South’(Roy, 2014, p. 15). Indeed, much of what constitutes ‘temporary urbanism’ in the global South needs to be further debated and theorized. Moreover, much of what is written about the global South is rich ethnographic and profound idiosyncratic knowledge, yet has too often been narrated in the format of empirical description (Roy, 2014). Such descriptions are important and necessary, but authoritative knowledge is also necessary--knowledge that is created and produced from within the global South (Roy, 2014). Knowledge which Said (1983) describes as being ‘...a response to a specific social and historical situation’(Said, 1983, p. 235).

Speaking explicitly about Amman, the existing study on Amman that relates it to temporary urbanism (See Tarawneh 2017) is geared towards intervention to find effective solutions or is rather practice-oriented. Hence, it takes brownfields as a best practice model. This dissertation takes a different position towards temporary urbanism in Amman and aims for establishing a

⁴ Please note that what is meant by the global North-South ‘is not a strict geographical categorisation of the world but one based on economic inequalities which happens to have some cartographic continuity’ (Rigg, 2007:2).

critical understanding of temporary urbanism in Amman and creates an analytical reading of Amman's temporary spaces as they are happening. This dissertation is hereby a call to problematize temporary urbanism from within its context. It is an endeavour to be informed by an explicitly conflictual understanding of the creation of urban space. It is guided by a strong critical orientation towards the process of urban space production within its contextual conditioning and one that aims at going beyond empirical description and towards contributing to establishing concepts and theorizing opportunities. Such a critical orientation to temporary space production is important as most scholars have usually provided some basic treatment of actors' intention in relation to temporary space production, but have said very little about the production processes and its power relations (Henneberry, 2017). Research has also usually seen the intention of temporary space users as social mobilization, insurgency or civic-mindedness (Hou, 2010; Douglas, 2019). Literature on the global South in particular tends to view instances of 'tactics' as rebellion and mobilization (Perera, 2009; Roy, 2009). While its significance is undisputed, such literature overlooks the ordinary practices of weaker subjects that are usually assumed to be a political nullity who do not have any oppositional claims (Perera, 2009). While other disciplines such as development studies, geography, cultural studies, anthropology and sociology have extensively drawn upon mundane, everyday spatial practices and their role within urban politics (Pieterse, 2014), it is only recently that the field of planning has in its scholarship acknowledged such everyday spatial practices of a range of actors that shape the city through formal and informal politics (Miraftab, 2011; Pieterse, 2014). It is in this sense that more reflection is needed on other kinds of non-conventional urban action. This might potentially contribute to providing a broader basis for understanding the rationalizations of state power and its urban manifestations in relation to various social classes and within different urban action settings. It might also contribute to providing contrasting evidence: how the state reacts to different classes of marginalized groups, to what end and also why people resort to other types of urban action in contrast to grassroots action or urban resistance. Additionally, this might provide a lens to understand the socio-political context. Producing research through such processes could contribute to potential knowledge that would go beyond 'structured descriptions' and beyond practice-related research in relation to temporary urbanism.

Hence, I will attempt to understand the creation process and the power dynamics of three temporary spaces that are located in Amman through both their informal and formal processes. The cases are explored by juxtaposing the intention of their social groups with the response of the state to them. I document and interpret the roles and tactics employed by the social groups

in creating their spaces and the roles and strategies employed by the state to manage such spaces. By interpreting this juxtaposition through the historical and socio-spatial processes of the context and through Western and non-Western lenses, the dissertation aims to go beyond revealing the idea of ‘temporary use’ to revealing the contextual processes of the phenomenon, their mutual interplay and hence their creation process. Such a positioning of the dissertation aspires to gain a deeper understanding of the agentic practices of the social groups involved in such temporary spaces and their often-ignored local logics, which remain hidden in more top-down approaches to studying cities. It moreover aspires to a potentially deeper understanding of the state’s strategies that are used to manage its population and organize their spaces.

1.3 Research aim, questions and objectives

The aim of this research is to understand the process of becoming and being of those temporary spaces, the needs that drive them, the urban life they are expressing and the power dynamics they involve. To address this aim, the research will follow the specific research questions of:

- What is the range of purposes that temporary initiatives serve?
- How and under what conditions do they emerge?
- What are the responses of the formal state authorities to them?
- What are the conditions under which they operate?

And with the objectives of:

- understanding the socio-spatial dynamics that create Amman's temporary spaces;
- revealing the interface between the intent of the spaces and the response of the state;
- and furthermore, providing a deeper understanding of the power dynamics of the temporary spaces.

Therefore, as will be explored in the upcoming chapters, this research will show what purposes the temporary spaces are serving, the typologies of people that have produced the three spaces of investigation, their different capacities, the different responses these typologies of people get from state actors and the different outcomes of this interface.

1.4 Epistemological and methodological approach

Having established that this research is about the phenomenon of temporary spaces in Amman, as an expression of social aspirations and needs situated in an array of power dynamics, the

research has a constructivist orientation. This allows for the interpretation of a multiplicity of meanings. It uses a case study approach because of the nature of the research which aims at understanding and providing an interpretation of the phenomenon of Amman's temporary spaces as it occurs in its natural settings. Based on Stake (1995), three cases were undertaken because the research is tackling a phenomenon. The group of case studies contributes to showing different perspectives on the research concern and advocates richness because it involves a variety of data. To understand the phenomenon of temporary space in Amman, this research focused on three temporary spaces: Ras Al-Ain Market, Nour Al-Barakeh community garden and 'The Vista' in Jordan Street. Multiple field research methods were used, including: documents, audiovisual and digital material, semi-structured interviews, and observation. They will be explored and justified in more detail in the methodology chapter.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapters 1-4 provide an understanding of the research aim, context and the analytical and methodological approaches used in this research. Chapters 5-7 examine the three case studies of the research and discuss the data collected. Each of these chapters explores the cases separately. Chapter 8 discusses the findings of all cases, and Chapter 9 provides conclusions and future research possibilities that arise from the research findings.

Chapter 1: Introduction. This chapter provides an overview of the general focus of the research. It also clarifies the aim of this research, its questions and objectives, general methodological approach, and how this document is organized.

Chapter 2: Analytical framework. This chapter clarifies the analytical framework of the thesis. It focuses on the concepts of temporary spaces, social capital, forms of everyday activism, self-provision practices and the rule of state exceptions.

Chapter 3: Amman: issues of state, society and land. This chapter provides the context of Amman for this research. It explains Amman urban processes in relation to Amman's different structures, its society and issues of land.

Chapter 4: Methodology. This chapter outlines the methodology of the research. It introduces its qualitative methodology, case study research design, and explains the reasons for their selection. It also clarifies the selection of the three case studies. Additionally, this chapter describes the field methods used to collect data, the reasons they were chosen and what type of data was collected. Furthermore, it explains the analysis procedures undertaken in this research,

what measures were taken to produce a 'reliable' research and also includes notes on translation and transliteration and some reflections on my fieldwork.

Chapter 5: Ras Al-Ain Market (RAS). This is the first of three empirical chapters of this research which covers the case of RAS. It includes two parts: a descriptive and an analytical part. The descriptive part includes a brief history of the market in addition to its general conditions and activities. The analytical part demonstrates that the Market is in a dual state of management, driven on one hand by the vendors' intention to make a living and, on the other hand, the state's intention of maintaining temporariness as a mode of managing the market.

Chapter 6: Nour Al-Barakeh community garden (NAB). This is the second empirical chapter of the research and covers the case of NAB. This chapter is similarly organized into two sections: a descriptive and an analytical part. The descriptive part provides details on the history of this case, its socio-spatial dynamics, its communities and activities. The analytical part presents the appropriation of the garden as a process of negotiation between NAB's intention of collective empowerment and the Greater Amman Municipality's (GAM) response to its temporary use as accepted form of informal governance. It furthermore argues that the NAB community was able to create an accepted model of temporary use that the GAM built upon as an outsourced enterprise model.

Chapter 7: 'The Vista' at Jordan Street (JS). This is the final empirical chapter of this research. It will discuss the conditions of the temporary appropriation of a plot of *musha'a* land⁵ (*shared* land) located at Jordan Street East of Abu Nseir and Mubis villages. The descriptive part addresses the history of the case and its socio-spatial dynamics. The analytical part presents its operators' intention as a desire for existential permanence. Within this presentation, it is explored how the operators of the space (called 'The Vista') were able to temporarily appropriate the land based upon a gap in Jordan's planning framework that made its use possible. Within this exploration, GAM's response to this temporary use is clarified as retroactive, rooted in GAM's history of dealing with temporary structures.

Chapter 8: Temporary space phenomenon in Amman: A co-creation of everyday activism and state flexibility. This is the discussion chapter within which all three cases are brought into a conversation. Its aim is to: (1) understand the making process of the cases; how the cases were created (2) understand the power relations within the cases; (3) identify common themes and patterns across them and; (4) relate and situate them within existing literature. It concludes that the three cases under investigation are a co-creation of everyday activism and state flexibility.

⁵ Musha'a in the contemporary sense of land tenure means a land having more than one owner due to inheritance.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and future research. This chapter presents an overview of the main research findings, discusses the importance of my findings and finally projects them into future research possibilities.

CHAPTER 2: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

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2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the analytical framework that assisted in analysing and interpreting the three cases of this research. Yet before explaining the analytical frameworks and their contributions to understanding and analysing the cases, I will briefly explain how these lenses were developed and how they came about.

Based on my fieldwork and during my analysis, it became clear that in order to understand the complexity of the phenomenon of temporary spaces a combination of theories and a multiplicity of literature was needed. At first, I had begun my research relying on identity theories that also structured my interview questions. Gradually I came to understand that the various processes of the temporary urban space phenomenon were impossible to be understood in isolation from their local particularities, their social group formulations and the power dynamics that the groups of my cases undergo. Moreover, further into my fieldwork, I came to realize that the three cases owed their being to case-specific forms of social capital that enabled them to exist, as well as to a certain flexibility that the state practices towards them. This was actualized when I started analysing my data. As I started coding and assessing data through triangulation, the developing codes gave me another aspect of issues I had not realized earlier on in my research. These led to a new set of analytical framework lenses. These lenses enabled me to understand the phenomenon of temporary spaces and situate this understanding within the literature. Indeed, 'Data must be allowed to generate propositions in a dialectical manner that permits use of *a priori* theoretical frameworks, but which keeps a particular framework from becoming the container into which the data must be poured' (Lather, 1986, p. 267). This strategy of induction allowed ideas to emerge from the cases under study without presupposing in advance what major ideas they will be (Scott, 1989; Patton, 2015). Hence, the theories and literature covered here emerged from my direct fieldwork rather than being imposed *a priori*.

Hence, through this inductive approach, five major strands of exploration developed: temporary space dynamics, social capital, everyday activism, self-provision practices and the rule of exception. While the five strands are reaching out to various fields of literature, what connects them is a logic to understand temporary spaces. This logic is driven by the aim of this research to understand the production process of temporary urban spaces, the power relations between actors and how these relations are managed by the actors' intention and resources and the state's responses to them. This logic situates the temporary space phenomenon within power dynamics that have multiple stakeholders. These dynamics and stakeholders include the community groups initiating temporary spaces and their social agency and the state's formal and normative

planning framework and its accompanying decision-making. The dynamics allocate both those players within a context in which the state ‘exceptionally’ tolerates certain actions of intention of those community groups and structures certain forms of everyday activism that create the temporary spaces. Further explained, as temporary spaces are essentially driven by needs and therefore by certain community groups, social capital helps understand the organizational capabilities of those community groups, what relations and social capabilities they share and upon which they capitalize to establish such spaces in order to understand how they emerge. Everyday activism and notions of self-provision help to understand and conceptualize how the social groups of my cases were able to manoeuvre to establish such spaces through ordinary acts rather than grassroots or resistance acts and how they are able to achieve their needs outside the ‘conventional forms of activism’. ‘The rule of exception’ helps understand and conceptualize actions of the state that are outside its normative governance practices. When such actions are inclusive and institutionalized and, if not, how flexibility of its actions could be understood. Therefore, the literature included a review of the literature of temporary spaces, social capital and its relation to the ability to manoeuvre, what forms of everyday activism and self-provision actions do community groups resort to as a way to address their needs and aspirations and what are the states of exception in which the state does not conform to its normative planning policies.

2.2 Temporary spaces as an exploration of socio-spatial dynamics

This section aims at understanding the urban logistics of temporary spaces. It is organized into two sections. The first section aims at exploring the various international concepts in relation to temporary spaces, the different reasoning behind their appearance and their mapped typologies/patterns and actors. The second part aims at placing temporary spaces within planning frameworks. It does so in order to understand the various positions that a city might take towards such spaces and what policies have been undertaken towards them.

2.2.1 Brief introduction to international concepts of temporary space

The notion of temporary urban spaces has been interpreted in a broad range of literature (Lynch, 1972; Trancik, 1986; Haydn and Temel, 2006; Franck and Stevens, 2007; Iveson, 2007; Rivlin, 2007; Stadtentwicklung, 2007; Hou, 2010; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Andres, 2013; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013; Gottdiener *et al.*, 2016; Henneberry, 2017; Madanipour, 2017; Arefi and Kickert, 2018b). This also included the various terms and definitions, such as 'lost space' (Trancik, 1986), 'S.L.O.A.P' (Spaces Left Out After Planning) (Worpole, 2000), 'intermediate spaces' (Groth and Corijn, 2005), 'loose space' (Franck and Stevens, 2007), 'found spaces'

(Rivlin, 2007), 'urban catalysts' (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), 'DIY urbanism' (Iveson, 2013; Finn, 2014), 'insurgent public space' (Hou, 2010) and 'tactical urbanism' (Lydon *et al.*, 2015), amongst others.

While all remain under the larger concept of temporality, these diverse terms do highlight the different reasoning of this temporality, its varying scale, and the actors and stakeholders involved. Despite these variations, 'gaps in planning' have played an important role in temporary space literature to explain and justify the appearance of temporary space within cities (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Andres, 2013; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013; Moore-Cherry, 2016; Colomb, 2017). The most recurring reasons include: physical deterioration and deprogramming (Franck and Stevens, 2007), changes from industries to services and shrinking cities (Groth and Corijn, 2005), de-industrialization, abundance of infrastructure or political faults (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), property collapse and absence of civic engagement (Moore-Cherry, 2016), land disputes between owners or stakeholders or certain restrictions on planning policies, such as land use modification (Andres, 2013) and other political and economic reasons (Colomb, 2017). Indeed, several authors view temporary spaces as the result of planning failures resulting in left-over spaces such as vacant car parks or other spaces in transition that await clear identification by the planning system (Trancik, 1986; Carr *et al.*, 1992; Worpole, 2000). Others suggest that land vacancy is a facilitator of temporary space activation (Moore-Cherry, 2016). While previous authors focused on interpreting temporary spaces as vacancies that resulted from certain urban crises, other authors such as Franck and Stevens (2007) posit temporary space development as a result of social agency. They argue that they are an outcome of residents liberating urban spaces from the limited, original, designated programme, resulting in a novel interpretation and unforeseen function as a tool of social expression. Their value is highlighted in the diversity of public life they display and the proactive role of people in creating their own spaces rather than being passive consumers of existing spaces. Similarly, Rivlin's (2007) interpretation echoes that of Franck and Stevens, and highlights their importance in meeting people's public life needs. This view is also shared by Hayden and Temel's understanding of temporary spaces as '...linked to activism and do-it-yourself mentality of city residents' (Lehtovuori and Ruoppila, 2012, p. 32). Groth and Corijn, (2005) concur with the previous authors on the reasons that prompt temporary spaces but also explore the different motives that fuel such space, including: '...marginal lifestyles, informal economies, artistic experimentation, a deliberately open transformation of public space allowing for equal access and equal representation or a high degree of social and cultural inclusion' (Groth and Corijn, 2005, p. 503). In contrast to the above explorations, Oswalt *et al.* (2013) highlight both aspects addressed by the previous authors.

They address the time-gap that resulted in space vacancies as well as the actors that brought temporary spaces into being. They therefore introduced a duality of factors that interchangeably played a role in establishing temporary spaces. By selecting a number of test areas characterized by a time-gap within Europe, they investigated the actors of such spaces. Those include: start-ups (such as new businesses, inventors...etc.); migrants (that are excluded from the social network or employment systems); system refugees, drop-outs (such as criminals...etc.) and part-time activists (that are stable financially and socially but seek recognition outside the established order). Within this investigation, the publication also categorized the typologies or patterns of these spaces. These included eight categories: stand-in (temporary use of the vacant space without any effect or alteration of it); impulse (temporary use that gives an impulse for its future development by establishing a new programme within it); consolidation (a temporary use that establishes itself in a vacant space and is transformed into a permanent use); co-existence (a temporary use that ceased to exist even after the establishment of a formal permanent use of the vacant site); parasite (temporary uses that surface next to permanent uses, making use of their potentials); subversion (temporary uses of existing permanent uses as an act of protest or political stand, i.e., squatting); pioneer (temporary uses with a permanent vision such as expos) and displacement (permanent establishments or institutions are used temporarily whereby they explore improvised ways of temporary use such as the displacement of a railway station in Berlin).

Hou (2010:15) asserts that temporary spaces '...suggest the ability of citizen groups and individuals to play a distinct role in shaping the contemporary urban environment in defiance of the official rules and regulations'. Those temporary spaces are a result of citizens undertaking initiatives on their own to effect changes (Hou, 2010). He describes these spaces as insurgent public spaces which are '... instances of self-made urban spaces, reclaimed and appropriated sites, temporary events, and flash mobs, as well as informal gathering places created by predominantly marginalized communities...'and which '... have provided new expressions of the collective realms in the contemporary city' (Hou, 2010, p. 2).

Hou (2010) offers another detailed example of categorization that attempts to create categories that reflect a relationship between the intent of the action, its type and the nature of the space within which it takes place. Those were divided into six categories: appropriating represents actions and manners through which the meaning, ownership, and structure of official public space can be temporarily or permanently suspended; reclaiming describes the adaptation and reuse of abandoned or underutilized urban spaces for new and collective functions and instrumentality; transgressing represents the infringement or crossing of official boundaries

between the private and public domains through temporary occupation as well as the production of new meanings and relationships; uncovering refers to the making and rediscovery of public space through active reinterpretation of hidden or latent meanings and memories in the urban landscapes; contesting, which refers to the struggle over rights, meanings, and identities in the public realm; pluralizing refers to how specific ethnic groups transform the meaning and functions of public space, which results in a more heterogeneous public sphere (Hou, 2010).

To conclude, it could be argued that within urban planning discourse, temporary spaces come to exist and are facilitated because of a gap in planning such physical deterioration and deprogramming, changes from industries to services, shrinking cities, de-industrialization, abundance of infrastructure or political faults, property collapse, absence of civic engagement, land disputes between owners or stakeholders or certain restrictions on planning policies such as land use modification and other political and economic reasons. But they are also seen as an outcome of social agency in which certain social groups create their own spaces in ways that address what they see as valuable within the city.

Having discussed briefly the approaches used to explore temporary uses and their meanings we need to remain aware of some of the above limitations. Description and categorization are reductive in nature and result in either being too implicit or too explicit. Indeed, the approach of categorization might produce a dilution of the complexity of the cultural and political contexts from which those spaces emerge while description escapes critical analysis. Nonetheless, these approaches offer a starting point to situate temporary spaces within the reasons for their development and in relation to their actors and intentions.

2.2.2 Temporary space within urban planning frameworks

Dealing with temporary space not only means dealing with the unplanned but also with its unplannable dimension: its flexibility and/or existential informality. Within urban planning frameworks, urban land is assigned as a developmental tool linked to certain strategic visions. Different urban planning strategies would be implemented to inculcate and ensure stability and order. It could be argued that urban land is institutionalized through master planning policy-making (Hou, 2010), in order to shape our understanding and practices of property, ensuring a clear and uncontested urban process (Blomley, 2004). Indeed, high value is placed on clarity of urban space dynamics because this certainty brings peace and prosperity (Blomley, 2004). However, what happens when other spaces start emerging that defy the institutionalized concept of urban land, such as temporary spaces? Especially if these spaces defy normative urban planning practices? How do urban planning frameworks deal with them?

Integrating such spaces within a planning framework would require rethinking ‘...certain orthodoxies of urban development as usual: in particular the timescales that inform conventional development models; the understandings of use around which sites are planned and designed; and the ways in which value is realized through the production of urban spaces’ (Tonkiss, 2013, p. 313). According to Tonkiss (2013), there are four existing policies and planning arrangements that can be taken towards temporary spaces⁶:

- i. A positive model of policy and planning;
- ii. a permissive mode of planning and policy;
- iii. a model of proscription; and
- iv. a politics of abandonment.

Within the positive model of policy and planning, such unconventional spaces have been legitimized and furthered. This might be done through ‘... offering temporary and low-cost leases of underused public land or property; providing building and planning permits for temporary structures and uses; making land and asset transfers to community ownership and management; and integrating community planning into formal decision making processes’ (Tonkiss, 2013, pp. 313-314). These policies are particularly concerned with ‘creative uses’ (Tonkiss, 2013). Secondly, the permissive mode does not necessarily include such spaces but at the same time does not exclude them. It shows flexibility towards self-organization and improvised spatial solutions. This might be because of a certain economic or social liberalism or because of basic regulatory incapacity. An example might be a certain degree of tolerance towards informal economies (Tonkiss, 2013). Thirdly, the model of proscription excludes the possibilities of these spaces altogether. In this mode there is no space for any kind of leverage or negotiation with such initiatives. This might be associated with authoritarian modes of state planning or a postliberal kind of regime that attaches great importance to securing public order and private property (Tonkiss, 2013). The fourth and final mode of planning and policy is that of ‘a politics of abandonment’. In this mode, the urban territory is totally given over to an independent agency. The incapacity of local governments or municipal budgetary problems might lead to this mode in which even the basic provisions would be left to self-generation (Tonkiss, 2013). But what forms does the positive model of policy and planning take and why is it promoted by governments and municipalities?

⁶ Tonkiss (2013:313) addresses them as temporary designs and colloquial uses as well as alternative urbanisms. She defines them as ‘...a mode of urban practice that works in the cracks between formal planning, speculative investment and local possibilities’.

As mentioned above, urban planning policies usually aim at stability and permanence. This is delivered on an urban planning level through master plans and planning commissions. It seems, however, that at times and in certain contexts, urban policies incorporate spaces that do not necessarily match either of those aims, such as temporary spaces, and give way to alternative forms of planning that are not produced by normative planning standards.

This alternative form of planning has been the case in North American and European cities (Bishop and Williams, 2012), facilitated by surplus vacant lands due to conditions such as de-industrialization (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), economic crisis (Moore-Cherry, 2016) (Colomb, 2017) and the phenomenon of shrinking cities (Groth and Corijn, 2005). The diverse population that had contested the urban processes of public space are now being exploited by '...governments and investors to serve instrumental ends of power and profit' (Stevens, 2007, p. 2) because of '... their inherent potential to enhance attractiveness of and revitalization of certain parts of the city (Groth and Corijn, 2005, p. 503). Vacant urban spaces, in this framework, were transformed from 'problem' to 'opportunity' (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2016) through '...an urban regeneration strategy...' (Patti and Polyak, 2015, p. 123). Indeed, governments re-addressed their belief in traditional long-term planning strategies and became facilitators of temporary activation of vacant lands that have no role in development in the foreseeable future. This marks a shift from government to governance (Groth and Corijn, 2005), and thus to the engagement of a multiplicity of actors and social interests within its pattern (Bevir, 2010). This engagement framework took various forms. In Germany, for example, this took the form of model documents, design templates, budget estimates, and guidelines for temporary use, while in the UK, municipalities '...published standardized temporary use contract samples facilitating the agreement between owners and users by defining terms of purpose, duration, rent, and liabilities' (Patti and Polyak, 2015, p. 129). Berlin specifically is a case in point. Agencies such as leerstandsmelder⁷ and Die Zwischennutzungsagentur^{8 9} facilitate this process to encourage the reuse of derelict spaces and the contact between the interim users, owners, city authorities and investors (Lüber, 2015; Till and McArdle, 2016). On a higher end, in 2005 a reform took place in Berlin's building code to simplify the licensing system for temporary use (Stadtentwicklung, 2007). Moreover, potential temporary spaces became explicitly identified by the Department for Urban Development (Colomb, 2017).

⁷ Vacancy detectors.

⁸ Temporary Use Agency.

⁹ Other agencies include The Meanwhile Foundation (2015) in the UK for example (Till and McArdle, 2016).

Seeing the potential of temporary activation of urban spaces, temporary usage was consciously adopted in urban planning and management (Gottdiener *et al.*, 2016; Colomb, 2017) because it offers free maintenance, security from illegal uses, contributes to the economic development of temporary uses and supplies free or minimally charged, accessible, open spaces (Stadtentwicklung, 2007; Colomb, 2017). The success of integrating temporary spaces within planning and policies is attributed to several factors (Colomb, 2017): a great deal of vacant land; incentives such as specific tax relief possibilities; relatively transparent bureaucracy in cases which made new land policies less complex to issue; liberal democratic urban governance; and finally, its orientation towards environmentally sustainable development (recycling of land).

Within this framework it has been critically seen as a neoliberal agenda in which temporary spaces are used as a tool or '... as a means to kick-start 'real' ('permanent') economic development...' (Till and McArdle, 2016, p. 44), which might pave the way for displacement processes and gentrification (Till and McArdle, 2016), or as 'a new form of top-down strategic planning' (Arefi and Kickert, 2018b, p. 8).

Therefore, it can be argued that temporary space in the positive model of planning and policy is an instrument of urban management in which temporary spaces might be re-addressed within a wider neoliberal framework and gentrification processes, creative city agenda, touristic development or multifold regeneration. Such spaces are incentivized due to a gap in planning; however, tolerance and flexibility towards social diversity and different visions are not always the case and temporary spaces may therefore be subjected to a selective process through which certain uses are tolerated. This excludes those deemed too radical or politicized (Colomb, 2017), which highlights that governance within this framework relies on hierarchy or on market mechanisms (Kjaer, 2009). And while partnerships represent forms of collaborative planning, they have been characterized as an urban form of neoliberalism (Blomley, 2004; Rosol, 2012) because they foster inclusion on market terms (Peck, 2001). Others argue that these types of partnerships are economic stimulators that give free spaces to people, enabling the generation of profitable businesses (Andres, 2013) or stimulate environmentally oriented developments (Colomb, 2017).

2.3 Social capital as a manoeuvring technique

As temporary spaces are seen as an outcome of social agency (See section 0), it is important to know the possibilities of understanding such agency and how it is created or organized. This section therefore aims at briefly exploring the literature of social capital in relation to it being

a resource for action. It will start by explaining social capital's general definition, its operational definition as used in this research and how the concept of social capital has been explained as a resource for action.

The general definition that this research builds upon is that social capital is '... the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word' (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 86). While the operational concept which was used for the research analysis understood social capital as being an '...informal platform for self-organizing and provisioning that determine how things get done' (Thieme and Kovacs, p. 11).

Social capital is linked to a broad set of concepts (Firth *et al.*, 2011), but its linkage to capacity building and it being a resource for action remain absent from the literature, especially in relation to grassroots groups (Glover *et al.*, 2005) and urban activism (Mayer, 2003). The relation between social capital and capacity building rather deals with the '...institutionalized community – based organizations that have routinized their collaboration with local as well as other levels of government and/or funding agencies' (Mayer, 2003, p. 119). However, social capital theory offers a framework to understand resource mobilization and organization because it focuses on social relations and how they can facilitate access to other resources (Glover *et al.*, 2005). Yet the idea of using social capital as a resource for action and the linking of citizen's initiatives to social capital is not totally absent in the literature (Coleman, 1988; Bebbington and Perreault, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Stoker and Young, 2004; Glover *et al.*, 2005; Firth *et al.*, 2011; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014; Ruef and Kwon, 2016; Cox, 2017; Wentink *et al.*, 2017). However, as asserted by Glover *et al.* (2005), it lacks sufficient research. The earliest conception of social capital as a resource for action is that of Coleman (1988), who reasons that social capital is ' a variety of different entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they all facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure'(Coleman, 1988, p. S98). Clarifying that, Coleman adds that the notion of 'social' refers to 'relations among persons'(Coleman, 1988, p. S100) while the notion of 'capital' assumes that relations among those persons constitute a form of resource with economic consequences (Bebbington and Perreault, 1999). Putnam also relates his definition of social capital to social actions and refers to it as those 'features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions' (Putnam *et al.*, 1993, p. 167). Other literature asserts that it is

often the case that community groups are preserved through their social capital that enables them '... to leverage a variety of resources situated within themselves, that is, among their membership and outsiders whom they can convince to support their cause' (Glover *et al.*, 2005, p. 451).

Literature also asserts that social groups do not have access to the same type of social capital and therefore several typologies of such a capital emerge (Woolcock, 2001; Lin, 2002; Hawkins and Maurer, 2009). Woolcock (2001) identified three types of social capital, providing a means by which to investigate the levels of ties and networks in and across communities. These include (Woolcock, 2001):

- i. Bonding social capital. This is defined as '...strong ties between individuals in similar sociodemographic situations, such as immediate family, close friends or neighbours' (Firth *et al.*, 2011, p. 558);
- ii. Bridging social capital is used to '...describe more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships or workmates. Bridging social capital tends to be outward looking and brings together people from across diverse socio-demographic situations' (Firth *et al.*, 2011, p. 558); and
- iii. Linking social capital '...concerns connectivity between unlike people in dissimilar situations. It refers to connections with people in power, such as those in politically or financially influential positions' (Firth *et al.*, 2011, p. 558).

In relation to temporary urban spaces, Oswalt *et al.* (2013) noted that social networks are the primary resource but also an important outcome of temporary activities, however, they do not expand on the concept, how those networks are established and what these networks achieve for their temporary space.

Hence, social capital has been viewed as a potential resource and as a possibility to benefit group members. Through its strong social networks and powerful relations, it can be used '... as a resource for the public good, or for the benefit of an interest group, or for an individual' (Firth *et al.*, 2011, p. 558) or to make claims on other actors or establish access to other forms of capital (Bebbington and Perreault, 1999). Groups resorting to their relations could therefore further their own aims (Glover *et al.*, 2005) which cannot be achieved in their absence (Putnam, 2000). Bebbington and Perreault (1999) highlight the importance of this analytical focus as it links '...between action, relationships, and networks... and makes us think about forms of collective action that cut across institutional boundaries and the spheres of state, market, and civil society...' (Bebbington and Perreault, 1999, p. 403).

Hence, it can be viewed that social capital is a means for manoeuvring, establishing links and achieving aims. It is a resource for action that enables certain community groups with certain social capital to achieve certain ends. Such informal networks are seen to be ‘latent resources of solidarity, collective action and security’ (Tonkiss, 2014, p. 106).

I do not attempt to directly apply social capital theory in this research. This is outside the scope of my research. However, the relational quality of social capital offered a lens to interpret the multiple types of social networks at work in relation to the research’s three social groups and their actions as situated within their contextual settings. Moreover, it is useful in supporting the explanation of how and why those social groups were able to appropriate the researched spaces (See section 8.3.1).

2.4 Forms of ‘everyday’ activism

As Roy (2009) states in her seminal article on planning Indian cities, ‘It is tempting to interpret the tactics and struggles of the urban poor in the cities of the global South as instances of rebellion and mobilization’ (Roy, 2009, p. 84). Indeed, it is actually the case that most research on history and politics focuses on the ‘...organized, large-scale protests, rights-based movements, and oppositional claims that appear to challenge the state and capital’ (Perera, 2009, p. 55). As Perera (2009) explains, despite its significance, this lens ‘...misses out on the achievements of the subalterns...’ (Perera, 2009, p. 55) because the research implies that such subalterns are usually a ‘...political nullity unless organized and led by outsiders, particularly the middle class’ (Perera, 2015, p. 224). Moreover, this lens places less importance on the tactics of such weaker subjects that are produced in the margins through ordinary practices and that do not aim at replacing hegemonic spatial narratives (Perera, 2009). This section will therefore explore some literature on forms of everyday ‘activism’ that do not resort to mass movement protests but rather to an ‘everyday’ tactic to achieve its needs or aspiration. The selective literature reviewed here is in relation to the scope of study and was reviewed within the process of the research in order to analyse and interpret the action that the three social groups undertook within the three case studies.

In general, literature across various disciplines explores the idea of ‘everyday activism’ under many other umbrella terms. Those engaged with the idea of *everyday*, *ordinary* or *mundane* acts of *resistance*, *encroachment* or *familiarization* that people resort to in situations of precarity, imbalance or opportunity. Scholars write of ‘everyday resistance’ (Scott, 1989), ‘tactics’ (Certeau, 1984), ‘familiarizing space’ (Perera, 2015) and ‘non-movement movement’ (Bayat, 2013). In relation to temporary spaces it is commonplace to talk about

bottom-up urbanism (Arefi and Kickert, 2018b), ordinary urbanism (Tonkiss, 2014), everyday urbanism (Chase *et al.*, 1999b) and DIY urbanism (Iveson, 2013). In those writings, there is a general common sense of seeing temporary space and their actions as achieved through an ‘everyday’ notion of ‘action’. This referral to the sense of ‘everyday activism’ was also addressed in a variety of empirical studies that describe such everyday actions in relation to certain aspirations (Chen, 2010; Richter-Devroe, 2011; Khalili, 2016; Martínez, 2018; Barnfield, 2019).

One of the earliest theorizations on an everyday form of resistance is the concept of ‘everyday resistance’ introduced by James Scott in 1985. In contrast to the more open forms of political conflict, everyday resistance techniques ‘promise vital material gains’, ‘require little or no *formal* coordination’ and are ‘relatively safe’ and ‘small scale’ (Scott, 1989, p. 35). They are characterized by being ‘...invariably quiet, disguised, anonymous, often undeclared forms of resisting claims imposed by claimants who have superior access to force and to public power (Scott, 1989, p. 37). Despite this form of resistance working against the dominant force within repressive contexts, it is not in direct confrontation and therefore ‘...leaves the dominant in command of the public stage’ (Scott, 1989, p. 57). Class struggle is clear in Scott’s concept and plays a significant role in clarifying the subalterns’ acts. Examples of such everyday acts include poaching and Peasant Tax Resistance (Scott, 1989). Scott (1989) therefore provides a grounding for the concept of people’s ordinary acts that aim to fulfil their needs within repressive contexts and in relation to subalterns. The acts he explores do not particularly produce different spatial arrangements, they do happen in a certain space, but they do not particularly aim at changing or producing new spatial arrangements. Another conceptualization of such everyday acts is the concept of ‘tactics’ of de Certeau (1982). While Scott’s study comes from an anthropological and political perspective within repressive contexts, de Certeau (1982) on the other hand investigates creative practices from a perspective of postmodernism and cultural studies as happening in liberal democratic contexts (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). This difference of context contributes to the difference of the ordinary acts and aim while still under the larger concept of ordinary/everyday acts as a way to cater to a certain need, address certain social values or social imaginary. These tactics are ‘the art of the weak’ that re-organize and challenge the existing organization of the space and thus create an incursion into the field of the powerful (Certeau, 1984). A tactic is characterized by not having a proper place but rather depending on time ‘...it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized ...’ (Certeau, 1984, p. xix). Hence such tactics make use of the potentialities of appropriation within the discourse of power. In a similar fashion, Kerkvliet (2005:22) explains everyday

politics as actions that involve 'quiet, mundane, and subtle expressions and acts that indirectly and for the most part privately endorse, modify, or resist prevailing procedures, rules, regulations, or order'.

In relation to urban spaces, understandings of 'everyday actions' can be grouped into two categories. In the first category, everyday actions do not specifically challenge the institutional order while the second takes a more radical stance. Tonkiss (2014), for instance, sees 'the utterly ordinary' actions as those that '...structure everyday urban experience in unobtrusive ways'(Tonkiss, 2014, p. 15), instigated by resourceful actors brought by almost invisible associations, maneuvers and connections. Chase et al. (1999) Everyday urbanism is an 'urban translation' to de Certeau's ideas (Arefi and Kickert, 2018b). It is a celebration of the resourceful and imaginative ways in which subalterns build upon opportunities in marginal spaces (Kelbaugh, 2008).

Within a global South context, Perera (2009) (2015) is similarly useful as he explores the tactics of various marginalized groups within the context of Sri Lanka, Uzbekistan and India. Building on James Holston's (1989) study of Brasilia, Perera (2009) relates to Holston's concept of familiarizing space, a concept that highlights how people reconstruct spaces in such a way that reflects their values of urban life. Through his case studies, he showcases the possibility of the 'marginalized' to work from within the cracks of a system and establish their spaces through everyday acts. This means that the act of familiarization takes place in-between and alongside official planning and not in opposition. It contextualizes hegemonic spatial narratives (Perera, 2009) through ordinary actions that are neither an organised social movement nor driven by larger goals in a formal sense but rather '...a messy collection of a large number of attempts by various subjects to settle in the city and improve their livelihoods on their own terms...' (Perera, 2009, p. 69). They are rather driven by the aspiration and passion of the marginalized who are already caught in the nets of powers and who became '...an enormous source of creative energy' (Perera, 2009, p. 55) in an attempt to empower themselves.

Scholars that write in the category of a more radical stance include Hou (2010) who writes about 'guerrilla urbanism' as everyday expressions of public space activism as found in urban spaces. Such guerrilla urbanism 'recognizes both the ability of citizens and opportunities in the existing urban conditions for radical and everyday changes against the dominant forces in the society'(Hou, 2010, p. 15). While such categories help legitimize understanding of 'everyday' actions within urban spaces, it is good to remain aware of their limitations. Everyday urbanism does offer useful description of ordinary urban places and activities (Crawford, 2013), yet it

seems it is more about pointing out and extensively describing a phenomenon rather than fully providing an interpretation and explorational lens to it. Its limitation is therefore described as not going beyond observation to show strategy (Mehrotra *et al.*, 2005). It also explained everyday urbanism as ‘...urban design by default rather than by intention’ (Kelbaugh, 2000, p. 286) which renders the people creating such spaces as passive or without agency. It has been investigated largely through American cities and in its later edition included some European cities. Most of its examples show the creations of an upscale socioeconomic group (Lewis, 2009) which might reflect only specific social imaginaries. Hou (2010) in contrast to Crawford (1999), offers a framework of categories that showcases the varied actions of ‘everydayness’ to which actors have resorted and had access (See section 2.2.1). This interpretation gives a lens for situating this ‘everydayness’ within its social context. Yet despite Hou (2010) not offering an interpretation of the ‘everyday acts’ nor theorizing upon them, he discusses the outcome of this everyday expression as alternative spaces that escape rules and regulations (Hou, 2010). The lack of theorization might not be a weakness but rather a calculated deviation from generalization and specifically relating the insurgent phenomenon to the contextual conditioning of the ‘everydayness’.

2.4.1 Activism in the Middle East and Jordan

There are many takes on how to define activism which is essentially due to the various disciplinary boundaries in which they are rooted but also due to what is seen as conventional in a certain geographical context (Martin, 2007; Ryan, 2016). Some relate activism to the overt, spectacular forms of ‘resistance’ and to the creation of movements (Snow *et al.*, 2011; Saunders, 2013). Others argue that activism is related to ‘unspectacular’ actions and activities that might be considered insignificant because of their limited geographic reach, yet still create progressive change in the lives of people (Appadurai, 2001; Martin *et al.*, 2007). However, generally speaking, ‘activism’ ‘...refers to any kind of human activity—individual or collective, institutional or informal—that aims to engender change in people’s lives’ (Bayat, 2002, p. 3). It is often pursued by people with comparatively less power (Martin, 2007) and takes shape outside conventional ways to effect social change as they do not have access to channels that help them in their pursuit (Ryan, 2016). Activism therefore might include many types of activities ‘...ranging from survival strategies and resistance to more sustained forms of collective action and social movements’ (Bayat, 2002).

Within a Middle Eastern context, it is often the case that ‘...everyday practices amongst popular classes have frequently been portrayed as defensive coping mechanisms or contentious acts of

defiance that function as the building blocks of collective mobilization' (Martínez, 2018, p. 166). Bayat (2012) challenges that. He offers an important theorization of the activism of the marginalized groups within the Middle East, outside Western liberal democratic structures. While not specifically related to temporary spaces, he explores, in contrast to Hou (2010) and Crawford (1999), the power dynamics in which these actions occur in order to interpret them. Consequently, situating these actions within their geopolitical context, he explains this 'everyday activism' that seeks change, as a result of political constraints under authoritarian rule. Such constraints push the marginalized to resort to '...a particular form of mobilization, the unorganized and unassuming non-movements' (Bayat, 2012, p. 121). The non-movements are collective actions of non-collective actors and unlike conventional forms of activism; they are ordinary practices of everyday life. This movement describes '... the shared practices of a large number of fragmented people whose similar but disconnected claims engender important social change in their own lives and in society at large, even though such practices are rarely guided by an ideology, recognizable leadership, or organization' (Bayat, 2012, p. 121). The everydayness is apparent in 'the art of presence' in which a collective will is asserted by '...utilizing what is possible, and discover[ing] new spaces within which to make oneself heard, seen, felt, and realized.' (Bayat, 2012, p. 125).

While in Jordan, it has been argued that over the course of history, Jordanians '...lack meaningful formal or informal mechanisms for communicating grievances, concerns, demands or aspirations to the government' (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016, p. 5), at certain times social pressures do arise. However, the society does not seem to articulate their issues in terms of general demands on the system. Most Middle Eastern countries, including Jordan, have weak civil societies, in the Western¹⁰ sense¹¹, due to political restrictions on their development (Kienle, 2011).¹² In Jordan, political parties, for instance, were outlawed in 1957 (Lust-Okar, 2001) and only legalized in 1992 (Robinson, 1998). While nowadays official government rhetoric declares support for civil society, in reality they opt for straightforward repression, particularly when it comes to large scale mobilization or protests (Edwards, 2011). There also seems to be a lack of understanding of the vital role civil society can play in developing the

¹⁰ Writers such as Richard Antoun, have actually debated that the Middle East has its own type of civil society that does not necessarily fit into the Western definition of what a civil society entails. Such a civility takes the form of indigenous institutions, interpersonal relations, or informal institutionalized relations (Antoun, 2000).

¹¹ Civil institutions in their Western sense are seen to be things such '... as labour unions, political parties, independent newspapers and universities, and, most important, voluntary associations, for example, human-rights organizations, professional associations, charitable organizations, and non-governmental organizations' (Antoun, 2000:441).

¹² There are, however, notable exceptions including: The Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services in Egypt and the Lebanese Union of the Physically Handicapped (Kienle, 2011).

public sphere and the partnerships that can be created between the state and civil societies (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). However, despite Jordan's sceptical view of civil society (Bayat, 2013; Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016), it has since the 1980's, along with other Middle East countries, accepted the advent of civil society under international pressure for political liberalization. Yet, most of the forms of civil society that were tolerated in Jordan, have long been dominated by large and formalized NGOs of royal and foreign patronage or quasi-governmental NGOs (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Civil society organizations have therefore faced many obstacles in order to establish themselves as active bodies within the society as they are '...heavily controlled by the state – whether through heavy regulation; complicated bureaucracy; challenges to the formal associational entities...' (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016, p. 8).

It is argued that authoritarian regimes are not the only cause of such 'weakness' of civil society; it is also that most Middle Eastern countries have not undergone the social and political transformations that other regions of the world underwent from the eighteenth century onwards, associated with the rise of capitalism and the industrial revolution. Social organization within this context is one that is consonant with peripheral capitalism and is based on primordial ties of family, religion and other particularistic identities that prove more pertinent (Kienle, 2011; Bayat, 2013). While such social organization might not be equivalent to the Western sense of civil society, it is argued that these types of social organizations are specific to the Middle East and are what produces their contextualized civil society as established by universal processes of trust and cooperation (Antoun, 2000). Examples of this are traditional institutions such as tribal institutions in Jordan (Antoun, 2000). Hence, there are forms of social organization that could be interpreted as an indication of civil society.

Despite the restrictive conditions for Western types of NGOs, the imposition of certain types of NGOs, and the contextual characteristics of Jordan's civil organizations, other types of civil society initiatives have come to the fore, especially in the last decade or so. Those could be characterized as being steered by aware, well-educated society members that strive for empowering the community on issues they assign and value as important.¹³ While such organization is important to create debates around certain social issues, and/ or offer solutions at other times, it predominantly reflects the ethos of the founders who started them in the first place.

¹³ Examples of such are: [Ahel NGO](#), [Ta3leeleh NGO](#), [Zikra NGO](#), [Jadal initiative](#), [Gardens of Freedom initiative](#), [Urban reflection initiative](#) and [art for all project](#).

Within the above context, popular social movements are said not to be an integral part of Jordanian history. They are only traced back to 2009 as a consequence of neoliberal policies and their effect on Jordanian society, and limited to specific periodic movements¹⁴(Al-Majali, 2015). Those movements also lack mass coordination and clear vision and organization (Al-Majali, 2015).

Taking all of the above into consideration showcases that mobilization should be understood within its social context; moreover, there might be other types of activism that might not adhere to its normative understanding. This is confirmed by Bayat (2013) who argues that within the Middle East '...certain distinct and unconventional forms of agency and activism have emerged ... that do not get adequate attention, because they do not fit into our prevailing categories and conceptual imaginations' (Bayat, 2013, p. 3).

2.4.2 Why *everyday* activism

Even though the various reviewed literature comes from a myriad of disciplines including: urban planning, sociology, philosophy, political science and anthropology, there seems to be a general consensus that there is a form of everyday ordinary actions that people resort to in situations of precarity, imbalance or opportunity. These situations could be used to address their livelihood, their values, combat poverty or make use of a creative opportunity. The range of literature reviewed also offers different reasoning about why people resort to everyday or ordinary actions to attain their needs/aspirations or establish their spaces. However, they are united in that they acknowledge the agency of social subjects. The literature also agrees upon the possibility of such ordinary and everyday forms of action achieving the needs and aspirations of the social groups being investigated. In conclusion, whether the context is politically restricted or a liberal democratic one, the above showcases that people do not always resort to mass mobilization to achieve their needs and aspirations and that there are alternative forms of activism that take an 'unspectacular' or ordinary form. Such 'everyday activism' occurs due to opportunities within a power structure through which it operates using everyday and ordinary actions that do not contest the system, yet fulfil the agents' needs and aspirations. This opportunity could arise because of '...incompleteness of formal urban systems' (Perera, 2015, p. 52) or the state's tolerance (Scott, 1989) or absence of power (Certeau, 1984).

The lens of 'everyday activism' to interpret temporary urban spaces might help recognize the diversity and distinctiveness of certain cities but also create an equal basis for understanding

¹⁴ Specifically: Port workers' movement, teachers' movement and the movement of military retirees (Al-Majali, 2015).

cities across their ‘diverse spatialities’ (Robinson, 2006, pp. 11-12). *Everydayness* is also seen as a potential critical component in building an understanding of the processes underway (Rigg, 2007). Most importantly, studies of the everyday can improve urban policymaking (Cirolia and Scheba, 2019) because it will help understand the complex ‘lived vitalities’ that urban development policy seeks to help but have a tendency to ignore (Pieterse, 2011; Cirolia and Scheba, 2019). However, the dominant concern about such an approach is the potential of reducing studies of the everyday to ‘local, micro and descriptive methods’ (Cirolia and Scheba, 2019, p. 598) and therefore urban studies might fall into the trap of infinite particularism (Pieterse, 2011; Cirolia and Scheba, 2019). Such a trap could be addressed by engaging with theories and using a multi-scalar approach analysis in which macro processes and structural processes are taken into account (Cirolia and Scheba, 2019).

2.5 Notions of self-provision

The idea of city dwellers finding their own ways in planning their spaces is not novel. It has been picked up in varied empirical studies. Those document the dwellers ability and knowledge in addressing their needs. Some of this literature dealt with overall concepts such as ‘self-provisioning’ (Simone, 2008), ‘tenacious insurgent activism’ (Pieterse, 2013b), ‘place-making tactics’ (Kamel, 2014), ‘self-help’ (Hou, 2010), ‘help-yourself city’ (Douglas, 2018) and ‘handmade urbanism’ (Rosa and Weiland, 2013).

Similar to everyday actions, notions of self-provision can be categorised into actions that are covert and others that are more radical or oppositional. Furthermore, they can also be categorised by being steered by individuals or by organized groups. Below I explore few of those concepts and highlight what both categories reflect and finally summarize what such concepts contribute to understanding urbanism and what they could unveil within society.

In the first category, ‘Handmade urbanism’ (Rosa and Weiland, 2013) explains that local residents themselves, without help from governments, provide urban change in their own neighbourhood or communities with their own hands and means. Through ‘small-scale, self-driven community initiatives immediate solutions are provided to urgent, everyday problems, in the form of social innovation’ (Rosa and Weiland, 2013, p. 212). Likewise, ‘place-making tactics’ (Kamel, 2016, p. 44) are seen to be ‘practices that are carried out by marginalized residents, are unsanctioned, create spaces for social and economic activities, and reintroduce use value in elements of urban space’. Both approaches could be seen as conceptualizing dwellers as active agents in their environment who are able to address their needs. Other studies

in this category highlight the urgency of such actions. Pieterse (2013b:112-115), for instance, conceptualizes self-provision as ‘survival practices’ which take two forms:

- Atomized survival practices or ‘Insurgent urbanism’: these actions are small, superstitious and atomized. They aim for ‘changes essential for survival and a minimal standard of living’. Sometimes they take collective forms of demands; and
- Organized survival practices or ‘Tenacious insurgent activism’: such practices are active mobilizations by urban actors who extract services from the state on their own terms.

In the second category, taking a more oppositional dimension are the ideas of ‘self-management’(Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006) and the ‘self-help’(Hou, 2010). Both ‘radically redefine the significance and use of a location through place-bound activism’(Henneberry, 2017, p. 56). For instance, Hou (2010b:15) sees ‘self-help’ as instances of defiance that ‘recognizes both the ability of citizens and opportunities in the existing urban conditions for radical and everyday changes against the dominant forces in the society’.

Such agency is described to arise from situations where ‘the state is absent, failed, or unwilling to provide services’(Roller, 2017, p. 23). Furthermore, such agency is tolerated by the state because it allows the state to withdraw from its own responsibility of providing services saving money and effort. Such situations provide greater opportunities for non-state actors to—at least temporarily—access and control urban spaces (Andres, 2013; Nikolaidou *et al.*, 2016). State responses, if occurring, are documented to be embedded in class, ethnicity and race privileges (Douglas, 2018).

The importance of studying such instances is that they provide ‘multiple or alternative narratives of cities and city-making’(Cirolia and Scheba, 2019, p. 596) and that they also ‘draw much needed attention to agentic practices, materiality and often-ignored local logics hidden in more ‘top-down’ approaches to studying cities’ (Cirolia and Scheba, 2019, p. 607).

Rosa and Weiland (2013) discuss the importance of studying such actions on three levels (Rosa and Weiland, 2013, p. 212):

- Politically: they are fundamental to unveil real demand and make legible flaws in current policy’;
- Socially: they act as soft infrastructure, working with the city at a local level to provide neighbourhoods with much-needed services. The social mechanisms behind these initiatives reveal new modes of negotiation, participation, and cooperation; and

- Spatially: Their tactical nature produces operational knowledge through the design of strategies that change specific spots, applied over short or longer timeframes. They rarely design time and accommodate several overlapping programmes.

Pieterse (2013) adds that understanding such actions is an opportunity to shift the focus of urban development policy discourses from needs and demands of urban dwellers to their assets and capabilities. Such a shift creates the opportunity to ‘move beyond essentially technocratic conceptualizations of city improvement... to question the adequacy of our concepts, policy frameworks and, of course, good intentions’ (Pieterse, 2013a, p. 111).

2.6 The rule of exception

As temporary spaces do not fit neatly into the normative urban planning frameworks and are usually incorporated or tolerated as an exception, it is important to understand and conceptualize the general idea of state exceptions. Those are exceptions that lie outside its normative policies and have the sense of an ‘abandonment of the norm’. This section therefore aims at understanding why the state, at times, resorts to making exceptions in their policy. It starts by providing a general understanding of the reasons driving the state’s departure from the norm and then further explores some relevant concepts.

The idea of states using flexibility in their rules has been theorized with different lenses, first and foremost, the concept of ‘exception’ as a ‘political decision’(Schmitt, 1985), ‘a principle of sovereign rule’ (Agamben, 1998), an ‘extraordinary departure in policy’ (Ong, 2006), government strategy (Roy, 2009) and a form of state rule (Fawaz, 2017). While state flexibility is used for various urban conditions, it is useful to see when the state decides to bypass, change or extend its own rules, to whom and for what reasons.

One of the earliest conceptions of exception is the ‘political exception’ of Schmitt, who linked its understanding to state sovereignty. ‘Sovereign is he who decides on the exceptional case’ (Schmitt, 1985, p. 5). Thus, it is that the state resorts to suspending law and human rights in a ‘state of emergency’ that threatens the integrity of the state (Schmitt, 1985). These exceptions protect the state’s political stability and its unity. Agamben (1988) asserts Schmitt’s view that exceptions are made in times of crisis. He explores this notion within the spatial formation of the camp ¹⁵in which laws are suspended and those trapped inside are stripped of their legal status and remain at the mercy of the state. While Agamben’s view sees such actions of the state as exclusive, Ong (2006) illustrates that exceptions could also be inclusive. But inclusive

¹⁵ Such as concentration camps.

for whom? Allocated within a neoliberal city agenda in an Asian context, some population groups and spaces are targets for exceptions associated with neoliberal reform. This means that the state creates zones of exception that are demarcated areas with regulations that undergo economic and citizenship reconfigurations in order to compete on the global market. Thus, laws are suspended and extraordinary benefits are created for investors. While it might be argued that such space has been regularized under certain frameworks such as free ports, tax free zones or enterprise zones, the exceptionality of these spaces remains a subject of discussion and a departure of established levels of governance, which results in the creation of soft spaces of governance that still ‘...exist outside, alongside or in-between the formal statutory scales of government’(Haughton *et al.*, 2013, p. 217). The value of such an argument lies in that it opens up the debate in order to understand states of exception as inclusive and not only exclusive; as well as to understand the intents driving such exceptions or departures from established frameworks of governance.

Roy (2017) also builds on Schmitt's concept of exception and elucidates, within the context of India, that the state is able to place itself outside the law in order to practice development. Thus, the state capitalizes on strategies of exception for its authority. Exceptions in that sense are seen as ‘...a strategy of government that accounts for the range of policy departures that define the ways in which contemporary planning is conducted’ (Fawaz, 2017, p. 1942). In other words, informality works from within the state in which ‘...law itself is rendered open-ended and subject to multiple interpretations and interests...’ (Roy, 2009, p. 80); moreover, it is ‘... an ensemble of sovereign power and the management of territory’ (Roy, 2009, p. 84). Fawaz (2017) uses a particular form of exceptions (building permits) to elucidate, similar to Roy (2017), that exceptions are a form of state rule to manage urban development. She asserts that permit exceptions are not a lack of planning or an aberration but rather a strategy that allows for necessary compromises and which provides the state with a margin of manoeuvre without the need for substantive changes in the structures organizing access to the city (Fawaz, 2017). Building exceptions, Fawaz (2017) illustrates, take various forms including tolerance, incentives or concessions amongst others. Through these exceptions, the state is able to reorganize ‘...urban territories and sovereignty arrangements’(Fawaz, 2017, p. 1938) as it grants various social groups building exceptions that ‘...perform to define, and consolidate, and/or reconfigure...’ (Fawaz, 2017, p. 1938) their entitlement. Thus, threats of certain social groups, such as low-income or political groups, are answered by designating certain peripheries

for informal settlements or as political territories¹⁶, while other parts of the city are allocated for capital accumulation. Thus, some spaces become tolerated and other spaces become ‘...delegated to powerful political actors’ (Fawaz, 2017, p. 1953).

Partha Chatterjee (2007) argues that for governments to function, exceptions are as important as rules. Tolerance is key: ‘The reason why many of the forms of modern government actually manage to work is because they make adjustments and negotiate with many . . . contrary forms. They do so at the localized level, very often by recognizing themselves as merely exceptional cases. But, . . . exceptions pile up on exceptions and . . . there are localized norms which are often quite contrary to . . . the larger principles . . . Very often, at the local level, people have an understanding that the norm is... quite different. It is only by recognizing that norm at the local level that in fact the larger structure will survive’ (Chatterjee, 2007, pp. 89-90).

In conclusion, exceptions are granted by the state for itself or for certain social subjects driven by its concern for its ‘survival’ (Chatterjee, 2007). It can grant itself the exception to go beyond the laws and thus allow itself to do as it pleases, or it can grant or is pressured to grant exceptions to certain social subjects, producing a ruling flexibility and tolerance. Such flexibility or tolerance might indicate a certain inability to control, and thus sometimes exception may be the rule. From the above, it is safe to say that exceptions in relation to city spaces are a ‘...mode of planning the production of the city, managing its populations, and organizing its spaces...’ (Fawaz, 2017, p. 1941). The concept of ‘the rule of exception’ provided this research with a tool to analyse moments of exceptions that uncovered aspects of the city’s planning as situated within its political and social context. Moreover, within the global South, this analytical lens provided the opportunity to transcend the understanding of the state’s dispersed actions as a failure of planning and rather posit these actions within their socio-political context which elucidates a state logic of using exceptions as a manoeuvring tool in various urban conditions.

2.7 Linking the analytical approach to the research aim and questions

The preceding review of the analytical frameworks introduces, defines, and shapes the logic to understand temporary spaces in this dissertation. This logic aims to understand the process of becoming and being of those temporary spaces, the needs that drive them, the urban life they are expressing and the power dynamics they involve. It intends to answer the research questions of: What is the range of purposes that temporary initiatives serve? How and under what

¹⁶ ‘...enclaves where the management of space is largely delegated to powerful political actors’ (Fawaz, 2017: 1953).

conditions do they emerge? What are the responses of the formal state authorities to them? What are the conditions under which they operate?

To showcase this further, a table is produced below that summarizes the main areas of inquiry (concepts), their operational definition and their value in addressing the aim and research questions of this research (See Table 2-1).

Concept	Operational definition	Value
Everyday activism	<p>Everyday activism is an alternative form of activism that is explained as everyday non-confrontational actions that indicate a conscious decision to fill a certain gap. It is driven by necessity by various marginalized groups of different classes.</p> <p>These groups are neither an organized movement aiming at structural change nor is their activism a conscious political act. In contexts where other forms of activism are ineffective, everyday activism is an alternative that chooses to be less radical.</p>	<p>Helps understand the different needs, aspirations and motivations of the explored social groups and why they resort to such actions.</p> <p>Helps understand and conceptualize how the social groups of my cases were able to manoeuvre to establish such spaces through ordinary acts rather than grassroots acts, and how they were able to achieve their needs outside the ‘conventional forms of activism’.</p> <p>Helps understand the agency of the temporary activists within their structural conditions.</p> <p>Draws much needed attention to agentic practices, materiality and often-ignored local logics to studying cities.</p> <p>Helps understand the conditions under which the temporary spaces emerge and operate as it places agency within its socio-political context.</p> <p>Helps reveal the power relations between the state and the temporary activists as it uncovers the modes of operation they are able to enact and how.</p> <p>Showcases the opportunities within a given power structure through which the different social groups of the cases are able to operate.</p> <p>An opportunity to shift the focus of urban development policy discourses from needs and demands of urban dwellers to their assets and capabilities.</p>
The rule of exception	<p>The rule of exception is an introduced measure towards urban governance in which urban sanctions are extended or suspended. This measure is a state strategy to preserve social order in relation to certain social groups, and furthermore, to resolve urban issues.</p>	<p>Helps understand the exceptions that the state grants itself or for certain social subjects, driven by its intention to survive.</p> <p>Helps understand the responses of the state to the temporary activists through understanding moments the state is unable to control or chooses not to. Hence, produces operational knowledge about current policies.</p> <p>Places structure within its socio-political context. Hence, helps understand the conditions under which the temporary spaces emerge and operate.</p> <p>Questions the structure of the state within its socio-political context and situates structure in reference to agency. Hence, helps understand the structure of the state in interaction with the temporary activists’ agency.</p>

		<p>Helps understand and conceptualize actions of the state that are outside its normative governance practices--when such actions are inclusive and institutionalized or, if not, how flexibility of its actions could be understood.</p> <p>Provides this research with a tool to analyse moments of exception that uncovers aspects of the city's planning as situated within its political and social context.</p> <p>Provides the opportunity to transcend the usual understanding of the state's dispersed actions (within a global South context) as a failure of planning and rather provides the possibility to interpret these actions within their socio-political context.</p> <p>Elucidates a state's strategic logic of using exceptions and flexibility towards certain urban sanctions as a manoeuvring tool in various urban conditions.</p> <p>Reveals new modes of negotiation, participation, and cooperation.</p>
Tactics	<p>Tactics are ordinary practices that re-organize and challenge the existing organization of the space and thus create an incursion into power structures. They take tangible and intangible forms depending on a specific time that makes use of certain opportunities that are seized.</p>	<p>Provides operational knowledge about strategies that change specific spaces, applied over short or longer time frames.</p> <p>Helps reveal the power relations between the state and the temporary activists as it uncovers the modes of operation they are able to enact and how.</p> <p>Helps reveal the socio-spatial processes that shape the temporary actors' abilities to manoeuvre both tangibly and intangibly.</p>
Social capital	<p>Social capital is a means for manoeuvring, establishing links and achieving aims. It is a resource for action that enables certain community groups with certain social capital to achieve certain ends.</p>	<p>Helps understand the organizational capabilities of the cases' social groups.</p> <p>Helps understand what relations and social capabilities they share and upon which they capitalize to establish such spaces in order to understand how they emerge.</p>

Table 2-1 Analytical concepts, their definition and value for the research.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explain the analytical frameworks that have contributed to the analysis and interpretation of the research's three case studies. It was organized into five strands of exploration to facilitate understanding the dynamics of temporary space phenomena. Those included: temporary space dynamics, social capital, everyday activism, notions of self-provision and the rule of exception. While the four strands have reached out to various fields of literature, what connects them is a logic for understanding temporary spaces. This logic is

driven by the aim of this research to understand the production process of temporary urban spaces, the power relations between actors and how these relations are managed by the actors' intentions and resources and the state's responses. This logic situates the temporary space phenomena within power dynamics that have multiple stakeholders. These dynamics and stakeholders include on one hand the community groups initiating temporary spaces and their social agency, and on the other the state's formal and normative planning framework and its accompanying decision-making apparatus. The dynamics position both those players within a context in which the state 'exceptionally' tolerates certain intentional actions of those community groups and structures certain forms of everyday activism that create the temporary spaces. Therefore, the exploration of social capital, forms of everyday activism and the rule of exception, respectively.

The first strand of exploration was organized into two sections. The first section explored the various international concepts in relation to temporary spaces, the different reasons behind their appearance and the mapped typologies/patterns and actors. The second part placed temporary spaces within planning frameworks and explored the various positions that a city might take towards such spaces and what policies have been undertaken towards them. The section concludes that within urban planning discourse, temporary spaces come to exist and are facilitated because of a gap in planning. But they are also seen as an outcome of social agency in which certain social groups create their own spaces in ways that address what they see as valuable within the city.

The second strand of exploration concludes that social capital is a means for manoeuvring, establishing links and achieving aims. It is a resource for action that enables certain community groups with certain social capital to achieve certain ends.

The third strand concludes that there seems to be a general consensus that there is a form of ordinary, everyday acts that people resort to in situations of precarity, imbalance or opportunity. These situations could be used to address their livelihood or their values, to combat poverty or make use of a creative opportunity. Such everyday acts were also related to the different motivations as to why people resort to such actions to attain their needs/aspirations or establish their spaces. Those reasons merge in that they acknowledge the agency of social subjects. Furthermore, they agree upon the possibility of such ordinary and everyday forms of action to achieve the needs and aspiration of the explored social groups. In conclusion, what has been shown is that whether the context is politically restricted or a liberal democratic one, people do not always resort to mass mobilization to achieve their needs and aspiration. They find

opportunities within a given power structure through which they can operate, using ordinary, everyday actions that do not contest the system, yet allows them to meet their needs and aspirations. This opportunity could arise because of the incompleteness of formal urban systems or their tolerance or absence of power.

The fourth strand relates to self-provision practices and concludes that at instances of city failure, absence or withdrawal, city dwellers find their own ways of self-provision that address their needs and aspiration.

The fifth and final strand concludes that exceptions are granted by the state for itself or for certain social subjects driven in its intention to survive. It can grant itself the exception to go beyond the laws and thus allow itself to do as it pleases, or it can grant or be pressured to grant exceptions to certain social subjects, producing a ruling flexibility and tolerance. Such flexibility or tolerance might indicate a certain inability to control, and thus sometimes exception may be the rule. Hence, exceptions become a mode of planning the creation of the city, managing its population, and organizing its spaces.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

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3.1 Philosophical positioning

Having established that this research is about the phenomenon of temporary spaces in Amman, as an expression of social aspirations and needs, leads the research towards a specific rationale. This research is informed by a philosophical foundation in constructivism. Constructivism is a paradigm that represents a shift from the focus on *explaining* a phenomenon to an *understanding* of it that is seen as more appropriate to use for exploring a phenomenon in human sciences (Costantino, 2008). It grew out of the writings of Wilhelm Dilthey, Edmund Husserl, and Max Weber among others (Costantino, 2008; Mertens, 2010). These philosophers saw that human sciences need a different ontological and epistemological approach for their research that tackled human agency and meaning-making and one that is not rooted in the empiricism of natural sciences (Costantino, 2008). The constructivist paradigm assumes ‘...that reality is not absolute, but is socially constructed and that multiple realities exist that are time and context dependent’ (Mertens, 2010, p. 226). Because this research is about needs, aspirations and perceptions, it is essentially about values and those are subject to multiple meanings and multiple interpretations that are socially constructed and evolve through various circumstances. As this research explores three case studies and their paradigm shifts, the constructivist orientation allows for the interpretation of this multiplicity of meanings and ideologies because through this orientation ‘...efforts are made to obtain multiple perspectives that yield better interpretations of meanings (hermeneutics) that are compared and contrasted through a dialectical interchange involving the juxtaposition of conflicting ideas...’ (Mertens, 2010, p. 19). This gears the research towards a ‘...subjectivist epistemology in which knowledge is constructed between inquirer and participant through the inquiry process itself ’ (Given, 2008, p. 117) and in which knowledge is historically and socially situated (Mertens, 2010). The effort of this paradigm to obtain multiple perspectives is apparent in the multiple data collection strategies that this rationale uses (Mertens, 2010).

To put the above in context, the purpose of conducting this research is to provide an interpretive study about Amman’s temporary spaces as an attempt to understand the processes of becoming and being, the needs that drive them, the urban life they are expressing and the power dynamics they involve. Accordingly, within this rationale, this research seeks to understand the phenomenon of temporary spaces from the perspectives of people active in the research process as interpreted by the researcher rather than solely providing an explanation for it. This goes hand-in-hand with the constructivist orientation; furthermore, its epistemology provides the research with tools to reach that end. Finally, it is important to clarify the ontological orientation

of social constructionism in that it '...refers to constructing knowledge about reality, not constructing reality itself' (Shadish, 1995, p. 67).

3.2 Research methodology

As this research aims at exploring the processes of temporary urban spaces in Amman, the main methodology is qualitative because it enables me as a researcher to explore and interpret the phenomenon of Amman's temporary spaces as it occurs in its natural settings. Indeed, 'The study of the social world ... requires a different logic of research procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order' (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). This 'different logic' of qualitative research is elucidated by five key components of qualitative research (Groat, 2013, pp. 218-220):

- i. an emphasis on natural settings;
- ii. a focus on interpretation and meaning;
- iii. a focus on how the respondents make sense of their own circumstances;
- iv. the use of multiple tactics; and
- v. the significance of inductive logic.

To put that into my research context, this research adopts an interpretive epistemology in which the people and context of Amman's temporary spaces are key in understanding the relation between them and their creation. This could not be explored using the natural scientific model. Furthermore, it emphasizes the importance of the everyday life settings. Hence, the participant's views and context play a major role in informing this research to explore the subjective understanding which is and has been negotiated both socially and historically in Amman's urban spaces. As argued by Groat (2013), various methods are used to collect data in qualitative research which this research will follow (See 3.5 Field research methods). This research aims at inductively understanding the production of temporary urban spaces in Amman rather than deductively testing a theory. However, this does not mean that I, as a researcher, do not have basic assumptions about Amman or preconceptions that influenced the research. Conceptions are seen as creating the inter-subjective link necessary for engagement with the context (Freeman, 2008) and were handled using different techniques to insure a reliable research (See section 3.7). The interpretive process of the research implied that at some point the tentative conclusions might be tested out in more deductive sequences (Groat, 2013) in which the research engaged with the research analytical framework and related literature review. This

testing has been explained in the research section on analytical procedures and reflections on fieldwork (See section 3.6 & 3.9).

In relation to the research's orientation, the social constructivist view is seen as a typical approach for qualitative research (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2013).

3.3 Case study as a research design

The research design aims to offer '...a framework for the collection and analysis of data' (Bryman, 2012, p. 715). This qualitative research is conducted through three case studies. A case study '...is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence' (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 150). Researching several cases contributes in showcasing different perspectives on the research concern (Creswell, 2007) and advocates richness because it collects data '...involving multiple sources of information...' (Creswell, 2007, p. 73) obtained through various research methods (Denscombe, 2007).

Case studies, as a research design, exemplify this research's constructivist and hermeneutic paradigm because they enable the research to obtain multiple perspectives through the cases which yield better interpretations that could be compared and contrasted (Mertens, 2010) and therefore '...gain an understanding of the constructions held by people in that context (Mertens, 2010, p. 226).

My research has been designed around three phases:

- Pre-empirical phase: This phase is the literature review that forms the basis for constructing: (1) the context of the research problem in Amman and (2) the theoretical framework which draws on theories and literature that will help establish the theoretical base to analyse my empirical data.
- Empirical phase: This is the data collection phase and will include the three cases that will be researched through different research methods (See 3.5). This phase provided the empirical data for the analysis phase.
- Analysis phase: Based on Creswell (2007), this phase included within-case-analysis and cross-case analysis. The sets of data obtained from the empirical phase underwent qualitative content analysis. (See 3.6 Analytical procedures)

3.4 Selection of the case studies

Non-probability or purposeful sampling is utilized to select my cases. Unlike probability sampling, purposeful sampling does not aim at random sampling (Bryman, 2012). As Bryman (2008) illustrates, purposeful sampling selects its sample with reference to the research goal '...so that units of analysis are selected in terms of criteria that will allow the research questions to be answered' (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). Purposeful sampling is a methodological strategy that exemplifies the constructivist paradigm (Mertens, 2010). The sampling included two levels. The first was based on the initial criteria established by the research aim to understand the processes of temporary space phenomena in Amman. It included a shortlist of 10 possible cases that was established based on: (1) being a temporary space and (2) being located within Amman. In reference to the research goal, the shortlist was further organized around four criteria: space typology, activity, location, and planning process (see Appendix A). Evaluating the list showed that three of the ten possible cases did not provide sufficient material to establish a case and three others had stopped functioning. These cases were therefore eliminated¹⁷. The second level of selection was based on Creswell's (Creswell, 2007) purposeful sampling of maximum variation. This sampling strategy would lend to presenting diverse cases and to fully describing multiple perspectives about them (Creswell, 2007). In reference to the research goal, the shortlist of four was organized around seven criteria: social group; activity typology; location; planning process; regulatory framework; land ownership; and land use. Three cases¹⁸ were selected to meet maximum variation around these seven criteria. The cases that were selected were: Ras Al-Ain Market, Nour Al-Barakeh community garden and 'The Vista' in Jordan Street (See Table 3-1).

¹⁷ These included: Al-Sodfeh market, Al-Joura, the street to the palaces, Paris Circle, Jordan University circle and the Airport road.

¹⁸ See Appendix A for the preliminary list produced that included 10 cases.

CASES	SOCIAL GROUP	ACTIVITY		LOCATION			PLANNING PROCESS			REGULATORY FRAMEWORK	LAND OWNERSHIP	LAND USE
		Activity Typology	Timescale	West ¹⁹	Downtown	East	Planned	Unplanned ²⁰	Hybrid ²¹			
Ras Al-Ain Market	Informal economy	Second hand market	Every Thursday, Friday and Saturday (All year through) ²²							Temporary permit	Rented municipal property	Housing 'D' ²³
Nour Al-Barakeh	NGO	Farmers market	Every Saturday (March-November)							Temporary contract	Municipal property	Garden
		Community garden	Every Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday									
Jordan Street	Tribal collective	Collective gathering	All year though							N/A	Private musha'a ²⁴	Agricultural land

Table 3-1 The three cases of the research.

¹⁹ West and East Amman partially refer to their geographical location within Amman but also relate to how locals perceive Amman. West Amman extends from Jabal Amman to Khaldi and is bordered in the north by Wadi Hadadeh and in the South by Wadi Deir Ghbar. East Amman covers Amman's historical centre, and more than half of the city with its North and South expansions.

²⁰ The temporary urban space has taken shape outside the official planning process.

²¹ The temporary space has taken shape outside (or preceding) the official planning process and then has been incorporated into the official planning process.

²² In 2018 the Ras Al-Ain Market started running from Wednesday to Friday.

²³ Residential land in Amman is zoned into four categories: A (>1,000 m²), B (>750 m²), C (>500 m²) and D (>300 m²).

²⁴ *Musha'a* in the contemporary sense of land tenure means a land having more than one owner due to inheritance.

The three cases are all temporary spaces within Amman that reveal varied activity typologies, are run by diverse social groups, have varied degrees of regulatory frameworks, land ownership and land use.

The cases will be explored in detail in the research's empirical chapters.

3.5 Field research methods

Within case study research, a multiplicity of research methods is recommended (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003; Stake, 2005; Creswell, 2007). This allows the researcher '... to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues' (Yin, 2003, p. 98), but most importantly allows for the development of converging lines of inquiry (triangulation) (Yin, 2003). This makes the research's findings more likely to be convincing and accurate because it depended on multiple and diverse sources of information (Yin, 2003). This multiplicity is in correspondence with the research's constructivist orientation which aims at obtaining multiple perspectives which '... yield better interpretations of meanings...' (Mertens, 2010, p. 19).

Based on (Creswell and Creswell, 2018) this research collected data through:

- Documents;
- Audio, visual and digital material;
- Semi-structured interviews; and
- Observation

These methods will be explained below and detailed in relation to the research.

3.5.1 Documents

The value of documents lies in their being unobtrusive, exact in their detail²⁵ and able to be reviewed repeatedly (Yin, 2003). Documents also provide inferences such as their distribution list which gives rise to new sources of information (Yin, 2003).

The documents collected were obtained from GAM and newspapers. The documents from GAM included: letters circulated between GAM departments, official letters, aerial photographs and maps, textual data, neighbourhood data, permits, laws, contracts, and survey data. Newspaper articles were collected from three Jordanian newspapers:

- The Jordan Times which is state-oriented, but has a degree of openness.

²⁵ Such as names and references mentioned within those documents.

- Al-Rai newspaper which is state-oriented.
- Al-Ghad newspaper which is a liberal platform.

3.5.2 Audio-visual and digital material²⁶

The value of digital data is that it records issues as they happen in real time (Flick, 2017), is an easy source of data (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015), an interactive medium (Marotzki *et al.*, 2014) and has the potential to provide access to ‘naturalistic’ accounts of people’s views (Braun *et al.*, 2017). In contrast to the other sources of data, it holds real-time personal views and uncovers certain aspects of reality that the other sources of data might not. However, trust in the data collected, its ownership and authenticity are issues of concern here (Creswell and Poth, 2018). This required ethical judgement, on the part of the researcher, as to how public or private the collected data was (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015).

The data collected for this research included online television programmes, online news channels, online websites, self-published online data such as blogs, social media data including Facebook, Twitter and photographic documentation.

Audio-visual and digital material proved useful when the other sources had little detail about certain issues and placed the phenomenon within its real-time conditions or problematics. The information gathered was used either for contributing to the historical context of a case or contributing to uncovering certain issues. Facebook information was obtained by screen capture and included public announcements and documentation of a case. Neither personal information, nor personal opinions were aggregated, nor were participants recruited.

Photographic documentation was undertaken in conjunction with observation. It was evidence of the everyday lives and actions within the context of the selected cases. It also provided a visual narrative of the investigated and investigation; moreover, it was a means to remember, study and reflect on the details of the photograph (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). With photographs, it was important to probe beyond the surface (Gourevitch and Morris, 2009), in order to explore and interpret the social context in which they were taken (Bryman, 2012).

²⁶ Several research resources had categorized audio-visual and/or digital material under documents (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2015; Wang and Groat, 2013), however, as research evolved, the sources of audio-visual and digital material varied and became a more complex category to deal with (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). Therefore, more recent research sources identified the need to separate it from the more general category of documents (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Merriam and Tisdell, 2015; Marotzki *et al.*, 2014). Following this need, I separate this category to discuss its value and challenges and why my research included this specific category.

3.5.3 Semi-structured interviews

The value of interviews lies in that they allow us ‘...to enter into the other person’s perspective’ (Patton, 2002, p. 8) in which the interview serves as the democratizing agent (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002) that explores the voices of people. Yin (2003) puts them forward as an essential source of case study evidence through which the researcher is provided with significant primary information (Yin, 2003). Thus, it can be argued that it will provide me with information that the other sources will not.

In contrast to unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews still develop an exploratory model, but within a more systematic form of investigation (Weller, 1998), which is key for multiple case studies as this establishes structure in order to ensure cross-case comparability (Bryman, 2012).

Interviews were the most important part of this research because of the absence of clear documentation or archival data on any of the cases. Therefore, I needed to rely on the triangulation of the narratives of people involved as well as their experiences. Those were the main source of primary data. Within the context of my research, it helped gain an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of social, spatial and regulatory dimensions of temporary spaces.

I used a tape recorder to record the interviews which were later transcribed. At times I resorted to writing notes rather than using a tape recorder. In these instances, I wanted to build a closer relation of trust and put people at ease in order for them to share information. This strategy was typically undertaken when I did several interviews with the same people to probe into certain matters. There were, however, instances in which neither the presence nor absence of the recorder helped to break through to information, specifically in relation to police reports.

My questions were organized around themes that address the research questions and included: interviewee background, land regulation, physical condition of temporary spaces, social pattern and organization of temporary spaces and value, identity, and lifestyle (See Appendix B). The interview questions evolved over time and were adjusted based on previously conducted interviews and collected data that revealed new issues to be explored.

Selection of interviewees²⁷

Non-probability or purposeful sampling was utilized to select my interviewees. Purposeful sampling allows for strategically selecting the interviewees so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions (Bryman, 2012). Cresswell (2007) provides an extensive list of

²⁷ For full list of interviewees see Appendix C.

possible sampling strategies for purposeful sampling. I employed two of these: maximum variation and snowball sampling. Maximum variation is a popular approach in qualitative research in which the interviewees are selected based on criteria that the researcher predetermines (Creswell, 2007). Snowball sampling on the other hand was used to identify individuals who propose other participants that are useful for the aim of the research. The criteria of maximum variation sampling considers the variation amongst the interviewees which increases the chance that the interviews project differences and different perspectives (Creswell, 2007). The criteria used to select the interviewees relegated them to one of the following groups: Producers of temporary spaces, Users of the temporary space, Populace, Regulators and Experts (see Table 3-2) (See Appendix C for full list of interviewees). Gender, age, nationality and education are additional criteria that I identified, aiming to maximize the capturing of the differences in perception, experiences and outlooks upon the cases of the research.

Interviewee typology			Description
Nationality	Age	Education	
On/around site	Temporary space activists		People who established the temporary space or are running a business within the selected case study.
	Users of the temporary space		People who use the case study site at time of observation.
	Populace		People who live around the area of the case study.
Off-site	Regulators		Institutional and governmental officials.
	Experts		Urban planning and urban issues experts.

Table 3-2 Criteria used to select the interviewees.

A total of 17 Municipal officials, 7 experts, 30 space users, 26 populace and 24 space operators were interviewed. The sampling was determined and terminated when no new data was coming forth and ‘thus *redundancy* was the primary criterion’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 202).

3.5.4 Observation

Like interviews, observations are also a source of primary data (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). The value of observation as a data collection strategy is that it covers events in real time, is contextual (Yin, 2003) and proves useful when participants are not willing to share their opinion on the topic under study (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015).

Observation may be misleading sometimes and is argued to be ‘highly subjective’ (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 138). Yet, being a resident of Amman, and moreover an Arab and Jordanian-Palestinian, means that I am quite familiar with the cultural context in which I was observing, which assisted in my interpretations (See 3.7 for more details). Nonetheless, different strategies of qualitative research rigor were used to ensure the reliability of the observations and to avoid any possible subjectivity (See 3.7).

In order to structure my observation and as human memory is frail (Bryman, 2012), field notes were an effective way to record observations. Nonetheless, it was hard to write down field notes, and I found it more effective to audio record my observations as soon as I reached my car. That gave me the possibility to quickly record what I had heard, what anyone had told me, what I observed and thought. I transcribed these recordings into full field notes later on.

The observations and the field notes aimed at recording the temporary space setting, the human and social environment and the programme activities and behaviours (see Table 3-3). This included ‘awareness walks’ (Wang and Groat, 2013, p. 45) of the site, informal interviews and conversations, on-the-spot interpretations or feelings, and mapping the social, spatial and temporal enactments.

Recording	Description
Temporary space setting	This included the nature of the space. Keywords: spatial organization, enclosure, spatial relationships, structures.
Human and Social Environment	This included observing how people organize themselves. Keywords: patterns of interaction and communication, pattern changes, people’s characteristics (gender, ethnicity, age).
Programme Activities and behaviours	This included the events and activities taking place in the space. Keywords: event typology, event frequency, event duration.

Table 3-3 Observation recording

The observations and field notes were achieved through staying at the site of the specific case for divided periods. This ranged from 1-4 hours over the period of one to two months between 1-3 days weekly. This depended on the case and its weekly running time (See 3.9.4 for fieldwork periods of the cases).

Being a resident of Amman acquainted me with the cases. I had visited them over the course of a week before starting my fieldwork. The purpose of the initial visits was to form initial observations about what was happening, what the users were doing and what was carried out, and at what times. These initial visits, most importantly, acquainted me with the site, gave me

a head start in establishing my observational recording checklist and provided me with ideas on how to make observations more practical. Accessibility was not an obstacle as these spaces are temporary and not under a privatized programme. Ras Al-Ain Market, however, needed a verbal permission from the director of Amman markets, in order to take pictures and carry out my research on site. I thought a gatekeeper would be essential in order to tackle issues that might surface such as my gender, socio-economic class, academic background and degree of religiosity, and to facilitate issues such as rapport and trust with interviewees. Yet my initial visits to both RAS and NAB showed that those issues were of minor significance and that I was able to continue and tackle them without going through a gatekeeper. However, in the case of JS, I was accompanied by a gatekeeper.²⁸

3.6 Analytical procedures

The pre-analysis phase included the full transcription of interviews and observations as well as the organization of the material that I had collected during my fieldwork.

For my analysis I used NVIVO, a qualitative research data analysis software. As my research is an interpretive study, NVIVO was not used to analyse data but merely as a tool that aided the analysis process. It was an efficient tool to store all my various data by category (Figure 3-1); it provided efficient and easy ways to assist in coding (such as queries or code frequencies); it supported the non-linear process of analysis by options of re-organizing and editing codes without effecting the data source; and offered tools to visualize data amongst many other features. All of this made dealing with the amount of data I had easier and more systematic as NVIVO is basically a data management tool

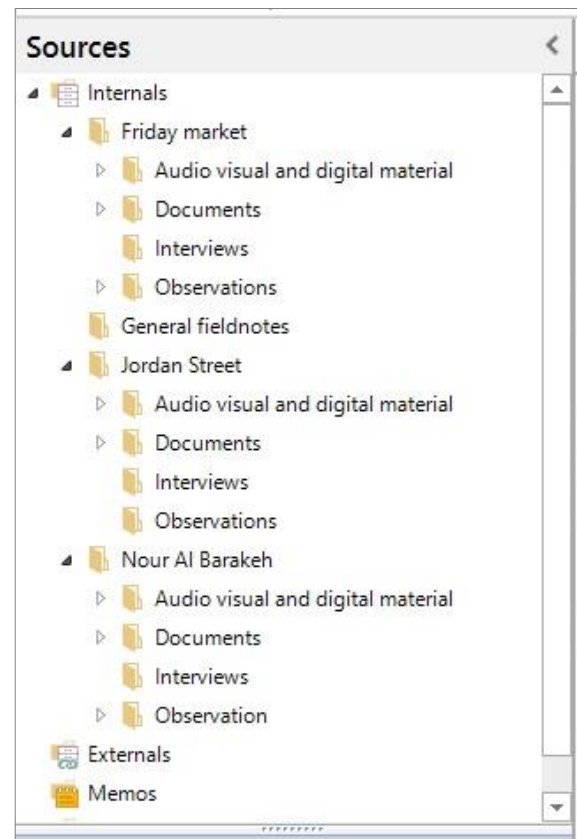


Figure 3-1 Folders of the research's cases and respective data sources established within NVIVO.

which supports the researcher during analysis (Zamawe, 2015). It was especially useful to triangulate between data obtained from my different research methods. This included

²⁸ See more in section 3.9.5.

documents, audio-visual and digital data, interviews and observations. This meant that all data could be analysed together in an interrelated and integrated way (See Figure 3-6).

Analysis started with the creation of a new project named ‘PhD’ and three internal source folders for the three cases. Each folder contained the data collected from the fieldwork in the form of audio-visual or digital material, documents, transcribed interviews and observations (See Figure 3-1).

I coded the various data of each case separately (See Figure 3-2). Coding meant making sense of the large amounts of raw data: reducing it, finding what is significant, identifying patterns and communicating the essence of what the data reveals (Patton, 2002).

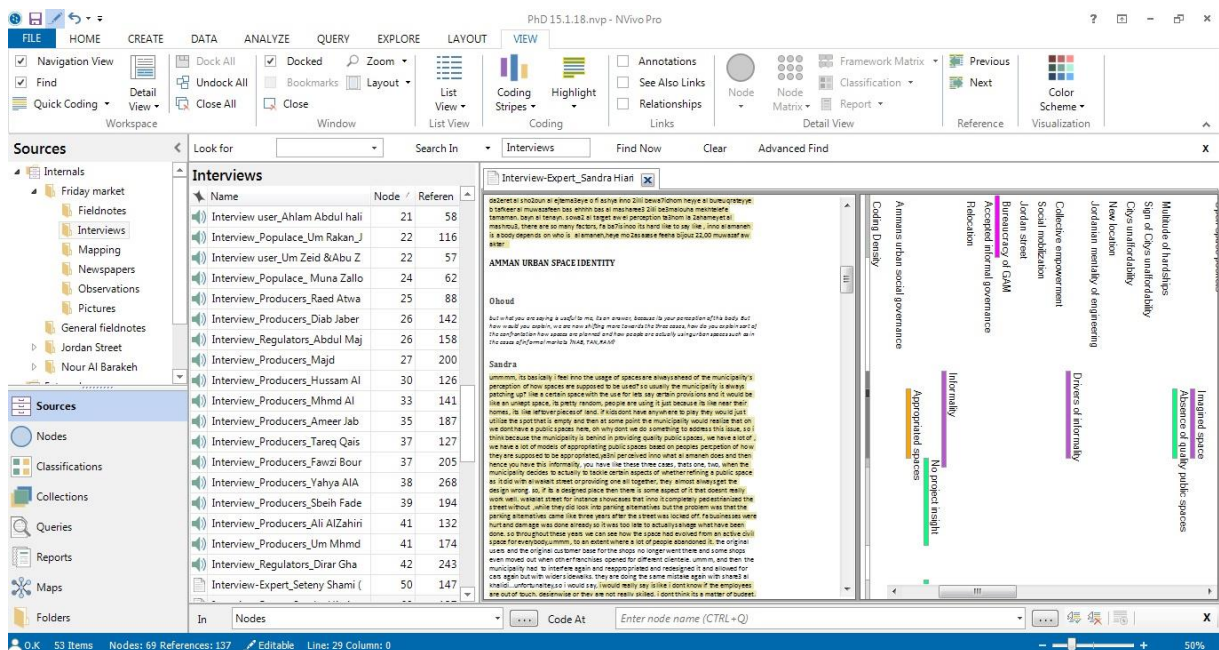


Figure 3-2 Interviews analysis example showing different codes (right) generated from the text.

The transcription had already established a good feel for the data. The coding required reading and re-reading the sources and getting immersed in the data. Immersed meant being well acquainted with it. The preliminary literature review was the initial lens for the coding process, yet as the coding proceeded, new codes emerged that required constantly reviewing related literature (See Figure 3-3). This process created an initial list of codes that were derived from and linked to the various data sources established by the different research methods (See Figure 3-4). This was the first cycle of coding. Following Saldaña (2015), the first cycle used descriptive, holistic and NVIVO coding. The second cycle used pattern coding. This meant that the list of codes generated in the first cycle were linked to one another to generate ‘meta-codes’ under which several codes were organized. This pattern coding developed ‘...the category label

that identifies similarly coded data’(Saldaña, 2015, p. 150). The developed pattern codes organized the corpus and attributed meaning to it.

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created	Modified On	Modified
WHY INDIA CANNOT PLAN ITS CITIES, informality, insurgence and urbanization	3	30	6/11/2017 5:59 P	O.K	6/11/2017 5:59 P	O.K
Urban Informality, Ananya Roy	2	26	6/13/2017 10:57	O.K	6/13/2017 10:57	O.K
Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life	3	38	5/24/2017 8:49 A	O.K	5/24/2017 8:49 A	O.K
Urban Commons_ Moving Beyond State and Market-Birkhäuser (2015)	2	2	2/11/2018 3:40 P	O.K	2/11/2018 3:41 P	O.K
The Street and the Politics of Dissent in the Arab World	0	0	7/20/2017 3:22 P	O.K	7/20/2017 3:22 P	O.K
The potential of 'Urban Green Commons' in the resilience building of cities	0	0	12/14/2017 10:11	O.K	12/14/2017 10:11	O.K
The political limits to NGOs in Jordan	0	0	3/7/2018 9:58 A	O.K	3/7/2018 9:58 A	O.K
The Changing Meaning of Community	3	6	12/14/2017 10:15	O.K	12/14/2017 10:15	O.K
The Case for a Southern perspective in planning theory full	0	0	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K
Teresa P. R. Caldeira-City of Walls, Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo-University of California Press (200	0	0	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K
Temporary Uses Producing Difference in Contemporary Urbanism	4	15	6/1/2017 10:41 A	O.K	6/1/2017 10:41 A	O.K
Temporary use of space, Madanipour	0	0	4/29/2018 6:04 P	O.K	10/26/2017 11:30	O.K
Temporary space conference, important clippings	0	0	4/23/2017 11:27	O.K	4/23/2017 11:27	O.K
Susan Parnell, Sophie Oldfield-The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South-Routledge (2014)	0	0	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K
STRANGELY FAMILIAR, PLANNING and the world of informality and insurgence,Roy	0	0	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K
Social Capital in the Lived Experiences of Community Gardeners	0	0	12/14/2017 10:24	O.K	12/14/2017 10:24	O.K
Slumdog Cities RethinkingSubaltern Urbanism	0	0	4/24/2018 5:01 P	O.K	4/24/2018 5:01 P	O.K
Shifting Approaches to Planning Theory Global North and South	0	0	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K
Seeing from the South	0	0	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K
Re-Weaving_Fragmented_Space-Time_Naser Abourahme	1	7	7/18/2017 4:39 P	O.K	7/18/2017 4:39 P	O.K
RE-ENGAGING PLANNING THEORY	0	0	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K	4/24/2018 4:56 P	O.K

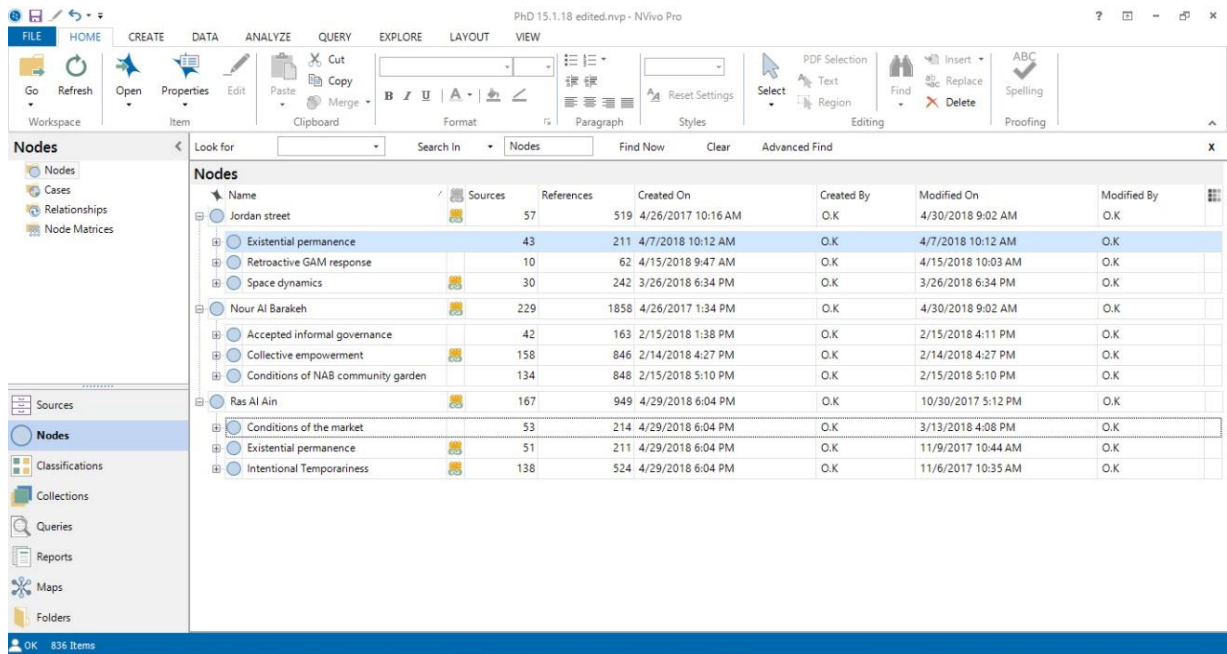
Figure 3-3 Readings to support the analysis.

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified
Appropriated spaces		3	11 5/1/2017 1:53 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Bias		1	2 4/25/2017 12:32 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Campaign		1	1 5/9/2017 4:21 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
city of immigration		1	5 4/24/2017 1:29 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Collectiveness		1	14 4/25/2017 12:56 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Contestation		1	2 5/9/2017 7:56 AM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Controlled city		1	6 4/24/2017 1:28 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Culture of politics		1	1 4/25/2017 1:08 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Dichotomous city		1	5 4/24/2017 4:44 PM	O.K	5/4/2017 11:29 AM	O.K
Different Amman		1	1 4/25/2017 4:01 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Elite		3	5 5/4/2017 6:14 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Exclusion		2	5 5/4/2017 12:36 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Foreign expertise		1	1 5/1/2017 11:18 AM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Foreign identity references		1	4 4/25/2017 12:53 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
GAM		3	30 5/2/2017 4:03 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Geographically sensitive urban politics		1	1 4/30/2017 11:29 AM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Identity		4	25 5/2/2017 4:00 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Informality		4	32 4/27/2017 4:02 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Lack of public participation		1	1 4/27/2017 1:27 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Mapping		1	7 7/18/2017 4:41 PM	O.K	7/18/2017 4:51 PM	O.K

Figure 3-4 An example on one of the early trials on first cycle coding.

The coding included several cycles of first coding and several cycles of second coding. This included many trials of relabelling, reclassification and sometimes also removing some codes altogether until I arrived at a moment where by relating my coded data to each other I arrived at new ideas, findings or insights. After the insights started solidifying and giving recurrent ideas I started ‘themeing’(Saldaña, 2015). This means that the coded data was interpreted into

themes. Following Attride-Stirling (2001), I ended up having multiple global themes with multiple organizing and basic themes underneath (See Figure 3-5) (Attride-Stirling, 2001). These themes gave way to structuring the three empirical chapters as many of them were used as headings or sub headings.



PhD 15.1.18 edited.nvp - NVivo Pro

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Jordan street	57	519	4/26/2017 10:16 AM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Existential permanence	43	211	4/7/2018 10:12 AM	O.K	4/7/2018 10:12 AM	O.K
Retroactive GAM response	10	62	4/15/2018 9:47 AM	O.K	4/15/2018 10:03 AM	O.K
Space dynamics	30	242	3/26/2018 6:34 PM	O.K	3/26/2018 6:34 PM	O.K
Nour Al Barakeh	229	1858	4/26/2017 1:34 PM	O.K	4/30/2018 9:02 AM	O.K
Accepted informal governance	42	163	2/15/2018 1:38 PM	O.K	2/15/2018 4:11 PM	O.K
Collective empowerment	158	846	2/14/2018 4:27 PM	O.K	2/14/2018 4:27 PM	O.K
Conditions of NAB community garden	134	848	2/15/2018 5:10 PM	O.K	2/15/2018 5:10 PM	O.K
Ras Al Ain	167	949	4/29/2018 6:04 PM	O.K	10/30/2017 5:12 PM	O.K
Conditions of the market	53	214	4/29/2018 6:04 PM	O.K	3/13/2018 4:08 PM	O.K
Existential permanence	51	211	4/29/2018 6:04 PM	O.K	11/9/2017 10:44 AM	O.K
Intentional Temporariness	138	524	4/29/2018 6:04 PM	O.K	11/6/2017 10:35 AM	O.K

Figure 3-5 The global and organizing themes of the research.

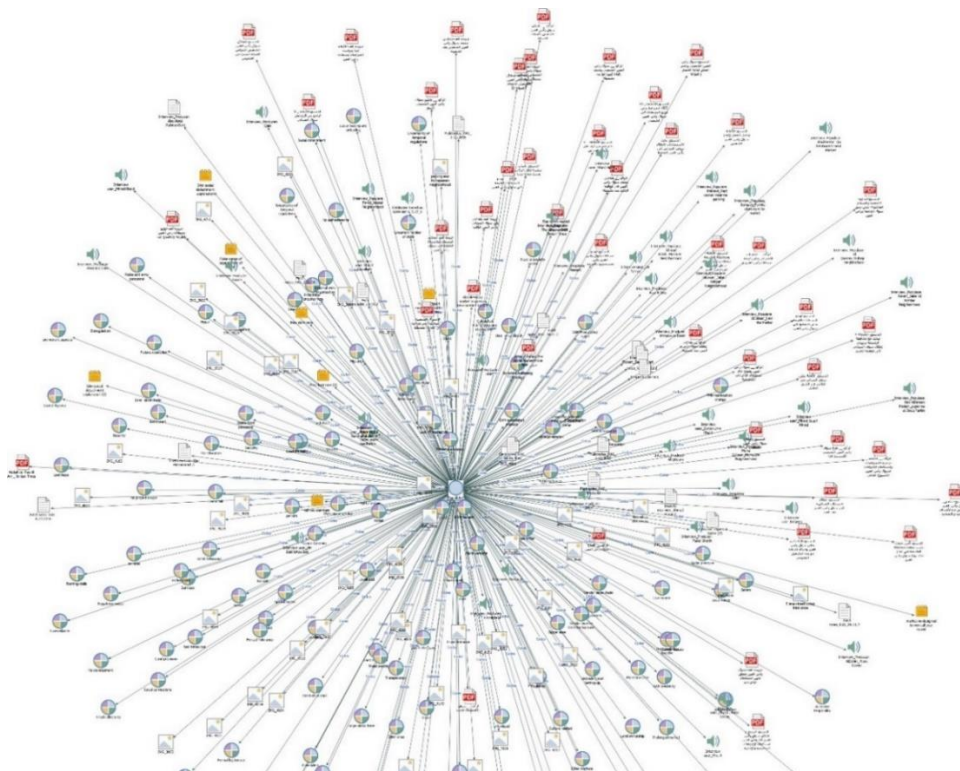


Figure 3-6 An Explore diagram of a Global node showing the triangulation of sources that developed the code including sub-codes.

As explained in the introduction, this research is interpretive and hence the cycles of coding underwent an interpretive orientation. Interpretation meant the examination of the collected data and what meaning they hold and how this meaning would help understand the phenomenon (Patton, 2002). This involved testing various alternative interpretations against the data (Patton, 2002) and going beyond the descriptive data by ‘...attaching significance to what was found, making sense of findings, offering explanations, drawing conclusions, extrapolating lessons, making inferences, considering meanings...’ (Patton, 2002, p. 480). Rigor of interpretation was reached by ‘...dealing with rival explanations, accounting for disconfirming cases, and accounting for data irregularities as part of testing the viability of an interpretation’ (Patton, 2002, p. 480).

Within the process, I resorted to memo-writing. I wrote memos before, during, and after I coded (See Figure 3-7). The process of memo-writing helped in generating other codes, but it also enabled me to switch from 'data to idea' (Saldaña, 2015). Thus, memo-writing became a critical analytic tool that was extremely useful in interpreting and re-interpreting my data. It was an efficient tool to arrive at my themes. It drove me to reflect on my codes and question and re-question what they were telling me. It was also useful when I started writing my chapters. Many of those memos became part of the different sections of the chapters. Other memos emerged that related the three cases to each other and posed questions that I addressed in my discussion chapter. Those helped in contrasting and comparing the cases.

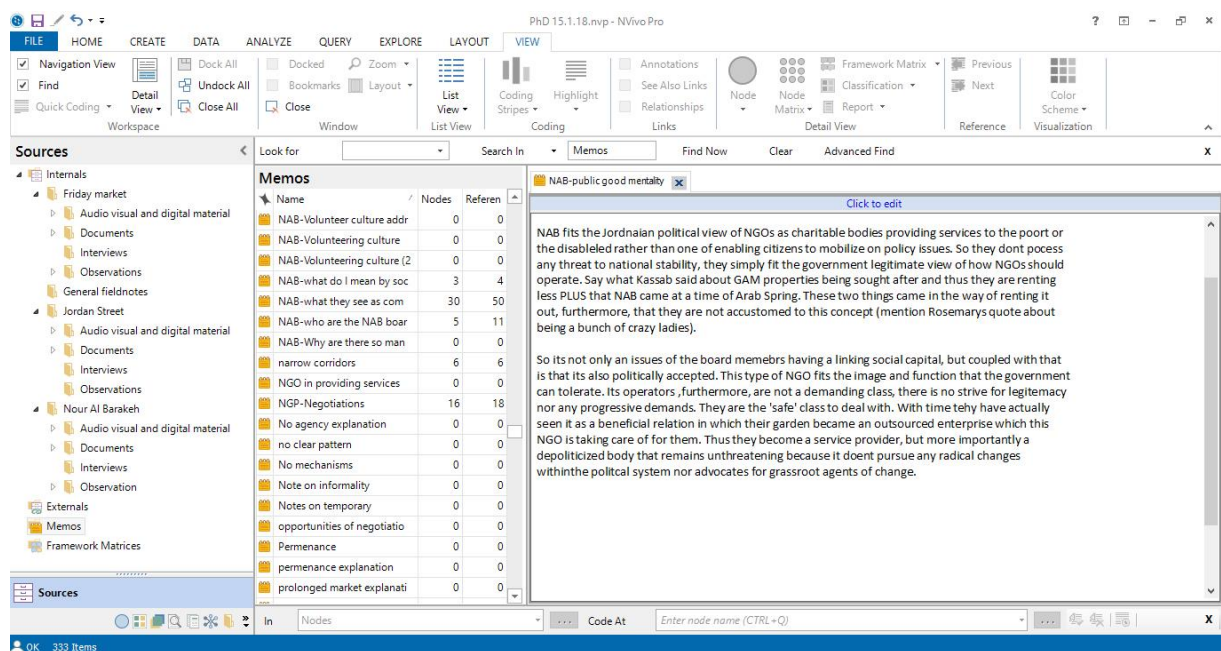


Figure 3-7 Example of memo-writing.

While the analysis of text required strenuous work, the most challenging part was analysing the pictures and cartographies. One could easily fall into a descriptive mode when relating to these two categories of data. Following Saldana (2015) I analysed pictures and cartographies through critical reflection and then jotting down and writing analytic memos. This generated interpretive data that was then coded (See Figure 3-8).

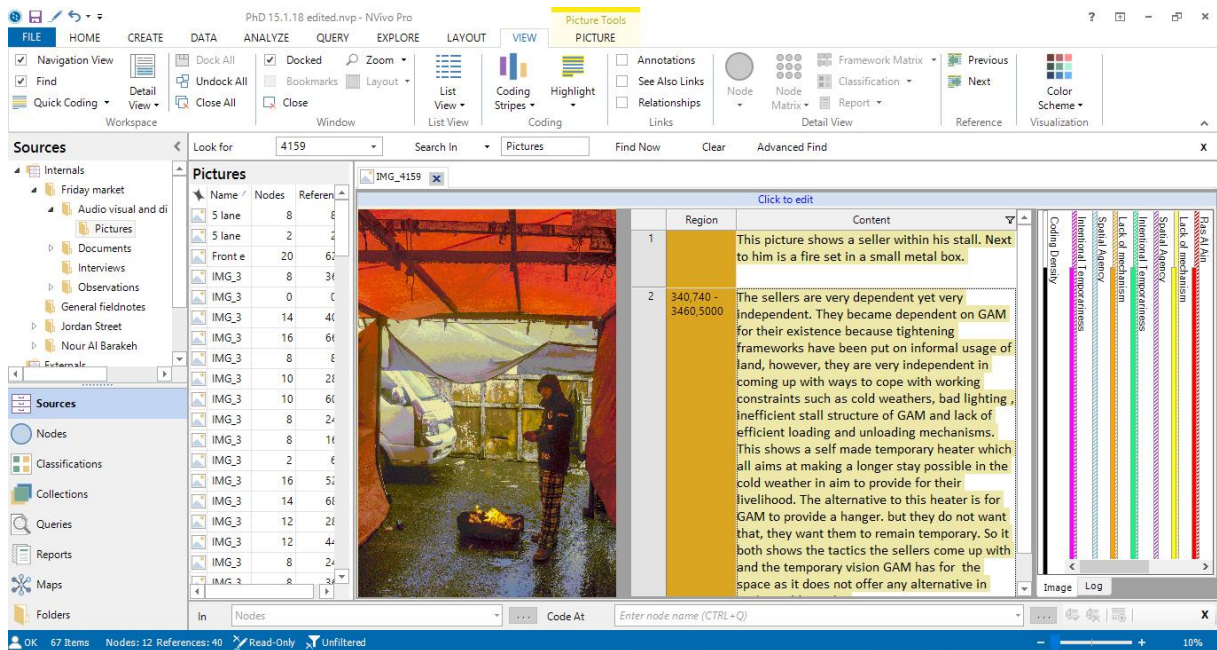


Figure 3-8 Example of critically reflecting on a picture to develop codes.

Throughout the analysis there were instances where I felt the need to re-address and enquire further about certain issues in my cases. I therefore went back to the field for observation and interviews.

After the finalization of the analysis of the three cases and the writing of their empirical chapters, I started the cross-case analysis. Cross-case analysis was important to enhance generalizability and deepen the understanding and explanation of the phenomenon (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Based on (Stake, 2013), this included the examination of the similarities and differences across cases which resulted in theme-based interpretations of the phenomenon. The cross-case analysis resulted in the discussion chapter.

3.7 Establishing a reliable research

This section will deal with how this research established itself as ‘reliable’ by following strategies of qualitative research rigor. It will first discuss the four strategies undertaken and then it will speak about the bias and ethics of the research.

Primarily, the standard of rigor in qualitative research necessarily differs from that of quantitative research because qualitative research is based on assumptions about reality (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). Within qualitative research an objective 'truth' or 'reality' can never be captured. However, there are a number of strategies that can increase its credibility (Merriam, 2009). Those will be explored below. Moreover, it is worth noting that within qualitative research, quantitative terms such as internal validity, external validity, generalizability, and objectivity, may often be replaced by terms such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). For clarification purposes, the strategies will therefore include both the traditional criteria terms and the more appropriate qualitative terminologies first introduced by Lincoln and Guba in 1985.

Based on Yin (2015) and Merriam and Tisdell (2015) the research underwent four strategies to establish itself as 'reliable':

- Construct validity

The first tactic for construct validity was the use of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2015). These included documents, audio-visual and digital material, observations and interviews. The second tactic was to establish a chain of evidence (Yin, 2015). This included adequate citation and provision of footnotes to the relevant sources which were used to arrive at the findings, such as the referral to specific collected data such as interviews or documents.

- Internal validity or credibility

Internal validity '...deals with the question of how research findings match reality'(Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 242). This sounds problematic in relation to a qualitative study due to it being built on the assumption that reality is 'holistic, multidimensional, and ever-changing; it is not a single, fixed, objective phenomenon waiting to be discovered, observed, and measured as in quantitative research'(Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 242). Although qualitative research can never actually capture an objective truth, there are a number of strategies that can insure its credibility (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). One of those is triangulation. Triangulation is the use of a variety of data sources that are compared and cross-checked (Merriam, 2009). Multiple data collection methods, multiple sources of data and multiple theories were used as a strategy to increase the credibility of the research. Other strategies included adequate engagement in data collection which meant spending adequate time in data collection until a sense of saturation of data was reached (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). A final strategy was the clarification of my biases in relation to the research (See section 3.7.1)

- External validity or transferability

External validity ‘...is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations’(Merriam and Tisdell, 2015); i.e., how generalizable the findings of a research are. Based on Merriam and Tisdell (2015), one of the strategies used was to provide a ‘...highly descriptive, detailed presentation of the setting and in particular, the findings of a study...with adequate evidence presented in the form of quotes from participant interviews, field notes, and documents (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 257). This ensures transferability because it means that someone in the receiving context can assess the similarity to another context (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). Another strategy applied is using maximum variation for both case study and interviewee selection. This will enable more readers to apply the findings to their research (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015).

- Reliability or consistency

Reliability ‘refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated’ (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 250). Thus, if the research were to be repeated, would it yield the same results? Reliability is also problematic in qualitative research because human conduct is never static, but is ever-changing. Therefore, replication of a qualitative study will not yield the same results (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). The more important question for qualitative research is whether the results are consistent with the data collected (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 251). Triangulation was used as a method because it is a ‘...strategy for obtaining consistent and dependable data, as well as data that are most congruent with reality as understood by the participants’(Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 252). Audit trails are also seen as a strategy to showcase the consistency of the research (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). I have used NVIVO as a software to deal with my raw data which shows the project’s history and processes. This included writing memos, questions and decisions regarding data. A detailed account of how the study was conducted and how the data were analysed has also been produced and added as a section within this chapter (see 3.6).

3.7.1 Positionality

Bias denotes predisposition or partiality and within research, it may compromise accurate sampling, data collection, analysis and the research’s conclusions (Ogden, 2008). However, social science researchers cannot be value-free (Becker, 1998; Bryman, 2012) and therefore personal and political views will inevitably be present (Becker, 1998). Indeed, ‘Researchers recognize that their own backgrounds shape their interpretation, and they position themselves

in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural, and historical experiences' (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). Hence, what is crucial is for researchers to be aware of their positionality and acknowledge it throughout the research process (Ogden, 2008) and to use strategies to ensure the development of a 'reliable' research such as construct validity, credibility, transferability and consistency.

Within my research, one of the prevailing subjectivities is being a local. I am a half- Jordanian, half-German female, of Palestinian origin, from a middle-class family, born and raised in Jordan. That means I am acquainted with its language, customs, traditions and values. I see this, however, as being to my advantage, as I am aware of the social 'etiquette' of Jordan, which overall means fewer cultural barriers and easier access to information and social groups. Nonetheless, these qualities might challenge my interpretation by eliminating the opportunity for a fresh eye that might pick up issues which I take for granted, due to my acquaintance with the context. These subjectivities are tackled by addressing the phenomenon of investigation through analytical frameworks that build upon theories and literature from multi-disciplinary backgrounds. This brings legitimacy to my research as it builds upon its ideas to clarify, understand and explain my research questions.

3.7.2 Ethics

Ethics is understood here as '... part of human philosophy concerned with appropriate conduct and virtuous living' (Preissle, 2008, p. 273). Some of the issues that confronted me throughout my research were how to tackle confidentiality and how to voice interviewees' concerns without exposing them to any threat. Despite my offering a guaranteed anonymity, some of the targeted interviewees did not accept to perform the interview. The refusal was confined to the cases of the Ras Al-Ain Market and Jordan Street, and was not an issue with Nour Al-Barakeh community garden. Initially, at the start of my fieldwork, power relations surfaced because I am a researcher from an academic background, which sometimes geared the conversations towards certain assumptions about my position and the knowledge I was seeking. There was also a certain apprehensiveness. Building rapport and friendship was sometimes of value in these situations to establish myself as less intimidating or threatening. But what played a significant role was re-addressing the questions and re-writing them in an informal way²⁹. While my interview questions are semi-structured, this re-writing of questions was undertaken to make them less complicated. The questions were then asked in colloquial Arabic, which made the

²⁹ The questions were written in Modern Standard Arabic but were then modified and carried out in spoken Arabic (sometimes referred to as colloquial or slang).

interviewee feel less interrogated and more like being engaged in a dialogue. This made the whole process of interviewing less intimidating.

Ethical issues, however, are present from the beginning of the research, starting with structuring the interview, throughout the research process and until writing up the research. One of the issues that I needed to confront was the possible power issues involving contradictions between my interpretations and the interviewees' understanding of their narratives (Alasuutari *et al.*, 2008). This gives rise to the continuous debate about power inequalities between researchers and respondents, and how power influences knowledge production and construction (Alasuutari *et al.*, 2008). This was tackled by triangulation. Thus, the use of multiple data collection methods, multiple sources of data and multiple theories so as to increase the credibility of the research.

3.8 Translation and transliteration

Translation is provided by the researcher for all foreign-language terms and phrases in this research. The instances of translation attempt to retain as much as possible the original meaning of the word or narrative. All of the transliterated Arabic words follow the pronunciation used in Amman.

3.9 Challenges and reflections on fieldwork

3.9.1 Lack of data

The amount of secondary data on the three cases is scarce. There are no archival records nor sufficient documents relating to them. Newspaper articles were either conforming to GAM's official announcements or were limited. The 61 newspapers articles relating to the Friday Market were mostly paraphrasing or copying formal announcements from the GAM's official site. Only two amongst the 63 articles documented historical issues and revealed a different perspective. Nour Al-Barakah community garden was reported in five articles. Jordan Street was generally referred to in two newspaper articles.

Despite this limited amount of data on the three cases, I saw that this in itself is a finding. There seemed to be a certain rhetoric in the media reinforcing the formal view of the state and perhaps such an absence points to a general stance that the 'informal', in its broadest sense, is associated with negative connotations. This became part of my analysis; furthermore, it drove the main research sources to become my interviews and my observations. Yet interviews were also challenging as specific official interviewees were not always keen on sharing information

regarding the cases. This led to expanding the interviewee sample since I tried finding new interviewees as information sources.

3.9.2 Time pressure

Finding the right time to perform interviews was part of the challenges that confronted me in relation to the Ras Al-Ain Market and Nour Al-Barakeh community garden. Vendors would want to cater to buyers; buyers would want to shop; and the populace was similarly under time pressure running errands or on their way to work or elsewhere. After reflection, I varied the times of my interviews; which worked at times; but at other times, I needed to visit the site several more times.

3.9.3 Time restriction

This limitation was an issue in relation to the Friday Market. The Friday Market starts at 12:00³⁰ noon on Thursday and runs throughout Friday till 12:00³¹ noon on Saturday³². The time span of my visits was between 5:30 A.M-10:00 P.M. This meant that my observations were restricted to this time frame. These were the times that I was able to visit the market.

3.9.4 Period of the fieldwork

As I had three case studies, the fieldwork of each corresponded to a certain timeline. I started with the Ras Al-Ain market, followed by Nour Al-Barakeh and then Jordan street. Hence, the fieldwork period of each case, separately, did not span a whole year. This means that my observations are restricted to the part of the year that I visited the site. The Ras Al-Ain Market, for instance, was visited between November–December 2016. Nour Al-Barakeh was visited between March–April 2017. Jordan street was visited during October 2017. While not sufficient, I returned to the sites on different occasions that were different to the original site visits.

3.9.5 On-site challenges³³

On-site challenges were only an issue in the case of Jordan Street. This included a feeling of insecurity due to:

- i. the invasion of my personal space by a user and a vendor of the space;

³⁰ This is subject to weather conditions, moreover, to what GAM holds as an appropriate time. (A Adwan 2016, pers. comm. 18 December).

³¹ In 2018 the market started running from Wednesday to Friday.

³² This is the time limit set by GAM. Most vendors start leaving on Friday and only a few stay until Saturday. (See Table 5-1).

³³ It is worth noting that I was accompanied by a gatekeeper in the case of JS.

- ii. some customers that were there at my intervals of visits³⁴ and some of the vendors made me feel insecure;

Some customers gave me a sense of insecurity. These included a group of young people (around 14-20 years of age), who were dancing to loud music at about 9 p.m. Their rented car was parked next to them. Their demand not to be photographed was also not the norm. Young people in Amman are generally excited to be photographed and some would even ask to be photographed. One of the younger men also touched my camera that I had placed on my shoulder, without permission. Another was a group of university girls. They had the radio on with loud music and were smoking *shisha*. Girls going out at night at this hour and at such a place is not the norm in Amman. A third type of customers were couples staying in their car. Despite the weather being cold, I sensed that the isolation of the site with this type of customers gave wrong moral indications.

Some vendors themselves gave me a sense of insecurity. One sentence seemed to be a clear message when I asked about the police and security within the site. The 'Boss' of the place reported that the operators of this place are united against anything and that I would not want to see what would happen if anyone obstructs them. That coupled with their recurrent phrase of being one big tribe and that nothing would intimidate them gave me a sense of insecurity.

- iii. the total isolation of the site.

The site has neither residential areas nor any nearby nodes of activity. The site is also bounded by a highway on one side and steep slope on the other.

These on-site challenges prompted both my supervisors' advice not to pursue this case any further and to treat it as a smaller one. This meant to analyse what I had gathered and augment it with data from other sources.

3.9.6 Challenges to obtaining data from the GAM

This included some restrictions on access to GAM and its various documents. One of the challenges was the difficulty to obtain data regarding Nour Al-Barakah community garden. Several departments were not willing to talk about it candidly³⁵, while other departments were not able to guide me to any other departments for obtaining data³⁶. This required me to make

³⁴ The perception of the sense of insecurity is based on me being a Jordanian resident for almost 38 years, which has acquainted me with what is accepted culturally and what is not. Hence, some of the listed issues might seem the norm for someone who is not acquainted with the Jordanian social context.

³⁵ This included the department of social centres and department of property.

³⁶ This included the Tlaa Al Ali Directorate, Cultural programmes department, Executive director of culture, Agriculture department.

many visits to GAM until an acquaintance connected me to the departments where I could obtain the data I needed. Other challenges came up with uncooperative employees. Despite having both a letter from Newcastle University and a signed paper from the mayor, a director at the Ministry of Municipalities declined to give me any information regarding the case of Jordan Street unless I had the geographical data of the land which I needed. This was not possible as I needed the information that they had, in order to know its geographic information. On another occasion, the GIS department also declined to give me information that I needed regarding *musha'a* land in Jordan. However, after multiple visits to an employee and establishing rapport with her, I was provided with the data I needed.

The whole process of obtaining data from the different GAM departments required negotiation skills. The formal interview was again an obstacle to obtaining data. The sense of formality seemed to put interviewees under pressure to be accountable. After many visits, I was able to build rapport through informal conversations that included small talk about other aspects of life. Other challenges included the two-weeks wait to get through to the mayor's office in order to have an official paper to access the municipality facility and staff for papers, maps and interviews.

Finally, several failed attempts were made to try to establish access to people of higher ranks in the GAM. After several visits, emails and phone calls to department secretaries, I still was not able to get through to the mayor or the director of the city.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodology of the research. It introduced its qualitative methodology, case study research design and explained the reasons for their selection. It also clarified the selection of the three cases and specifically why the cases of Ras Al-Ain Market, Nour Al-Barakeh community garden and Jordan Street were selected. Additionally, this chapter described the field methods used to collect data, the reasons they were chosen and what type of data was collected. Furthermore, the chapter provided explanations on the analysis procedures undertaken in this research, what procedures were taken to produce 'reliable' research and also included notes on translation and transliteration and some reflections on my fieldwork.

CHAPTER 4: AMMAN: ISSUES OF STATE, SOCIETY AND LAND

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4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the context of Amman as a background for this research, aiming to provide and explore the relational complexity of Amman's urban dynamics. It is organized into three sections around issues of state, society and land. The first section provides an understanding of how Amman developed socially and spatially. The second section presents how land was managed in Jordan through its different historical structures. The third section briefly explores the concept of 'exception' in state rule regarding temporary spaces in Amman.

This chapter aims at constructing a historical narrative of the socio-spatial dynamics that Amman has undergone, essentially showcasing Amman as a 'process'. This is vital to understand because such a narrative provides the backdrop for the case studies that enables the research to explore the complex relationship between Amman's different structures, society, and land. Through understanding the historical lineage of issues connected to the state, society and land in Amman, an archaeology of knowledge is created that is picked up in the case studies, linking Amman's political and economic forces intertwined with Amman's social structure to the specific dynamics of the cases to understand their socio-spatial creations.

4.2 State and society

This section aims to provide an understanding of how Amman developed both socially and spatially inclusive of but not limited to: The Ottoman Empire period, British colonial rule and the age of neoliberalism. It has three sections. The first two sections explore the various political and social forces that led to Amman's development over time, while the third provides a more detailed understanding of the relation between its society and state by exploring the idea of 'civil society' within its larger Jordanian context.

4.2.1 Amman's socio-political engineering

Amman's urbanization took shape in 1878, after a period of depopulation, by Circassian immigrants from the Caucasus. These immigrants were settled by the Ottoman state on the ancient site of Amman (Rogan, 1994; Shami, 2007, p. 191). This was a strategic move to populate the land with cultivators between its administrative centres (Rogan, 1994) as the Ottoman rulers had failed to control the land against the raiding and mobility of Bedouin tribes (Razzaz, 1987). As the new Circassians immigrants were extremely loyal to the regime, their settlements proved essential for the Ottomans' expansion, and therefore they were given land expropriated from the Bedouins who had no legal title to them (Rogan, 1994; Rogan, 2004). On the land given to them, Circassians built sturdy villages, cultivated the land extensively,

paid their taxes regularly and fought back against the Bedouin tribes (Rogan, 1994) (See Figure 4-1). At the time, the nomadic tribes dominated the local order and imposed a protection tax (*khuwwa*) on the settled population (sedentary shepherders and cultivators *'fallahin*³⁷) in return for their protection against raiding (Tell, 2013).

Two modes of production existed in Transjordan³⁸: animal husbandry and primitive agriculture practiced by Bedouin tribes, and agriculture as practiced by the settled communities³⁹ (Hamarneh, 1987).



Figure 4-1 Amman, the Roman theatre from Citadel Hill between 1900 and 1930. Source: (Matson photograph collection of the library of congress)

³⁷ *Fallahin* means farmers in Arabic.

³⁸ Transjordan is an area that was part of the south of the Levant and lies east of the Jordan River, which is now called Jordan. The emirate of Transjordan was a British protectorate established in April 1921.

³⁹ Both tribal and Circassian communities.

The Circassian immigrants were followed by merchants from Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and the Arabian Peninsula who began settling in Amman, especially after the establishment of the Hejaz railway (Shami, 2007), making use of the security provided and cheap price of grain. This railway was built along the pilgrimage route from Istanbul to Mecca and reached Amman in 1903 (Shami, 2007).

The Ottoman impact on Transjordan was limited in comparison to the other areas under its jurisdiction. However, when the railroad was built, their presence was spatialized also through the forts built along its route. Their presence was also actualized through strategies, such as paying the *surrah*, which was an annual fee that they paid to the Bedouins to ensure safe passage for the pilgrims (Tell, 2013). However, the greatest and most lasting impact that the Ottomans had on Transjordan, in effect Amman, was the land code of 1858. While this will be covered more in detail in section 4.3.1, the code set the standard for a formal re-organization of land in Transjordan, that is to a great extent the basis of the ownership model nowadays in Jordan. The land code, at the time, was a measure taken to subtract tax from land (Razzaz, 1987; Fischbach, 2000; Tell, 2013) and also to break down the feudal/tribal ownership of land, therefore, the code reinvented the legal and social structure of Transjordan (Warriner, 1975; Fischbach, 2000; Tell, 2013).

After the end of the First World War in 1918, the Ottoman Empire collapsed and lost its control over the Middle East to the British and French (Razzaz, 1991). At the outset, the British had encouraged the creation of local governments in Jordan which were, however, dominated by tribal clans and large landowners (Méouchy *et al.*, 2011). This was deemed an unsuccessful experiment and led the British and the recently arrived Hijazi Amir Abdullah (Massad, 2001) to establish Amman as the capital of Transjordan in 1921. Amman was a strategic location for the British, not for its economy, as Jordan had few economic resources, but rather for its central location between Palestine, Syrian, Iraq and the Arab peninsula, which were all important for the colonial powers (Razzaz, 1991). By 1921 there was neither a 'Jordanian economy' nor a 'Jordanian society' because there had neither been a solidification of the endogenous social formations on a national level, nor had they produced a surplus to maintain their political hegemony (Razzaz, 1987). While in 1921 the city of Al Salt was much more developed and thus suitable to be the capital, Amman was chosen because of its centrality (Rogan, 1996). This meant the centrality of the administrative capital and military facilities which was more important for the newly created colonial state (Rogan, 1996). Amman had the advantage of being a central node in the Hejaz railroad, being near an airbase and having air links (Rogan, 1996). This permitted linking Amman to all of the population centres, surveillance of areas

beyond the railway and would potentially link it to Iraq and Palestine. This gave it a clear advantage over Al Salt (Rogan, 1996).

In 1921 Amman was just a small rural agglomeration of about 3000 inhabitants, like any other village of Jordan or even less at times (Abu-Dayyeh, 2004; Al-Husban and Al-Shorman, 2013). Half of the inhabitants were thought to be Circassian while the other half were merchants from Greater Syria, migrants and political refugees (Rogan, 1996). On the other hand, the population of Jordan in the 1920's was estimated at 300,000, of which around 120,000 were semi-nomads and 50,000 were nomads (Kark and Frantzman, 2012). Hence, Bedouins constituted half of the population at the time (Bocco, 2000).

On an urban and spatial level, it had no architectural nor urban statements of its position as the capital, not to mention minimal urban services such as a banks, hospitals, proper schools, proper mosque or even electricity or running water (Rogan, 1996). Its planning was only visible in the road networks, residential and commercial areas laid out by the Circassians in Ottoman times (Rogan, 1996). The issue is that when Amman was established as a capital of the newly formed colonial state, it was on a tight budget. However, it was not only the tight budget that played a role in how Amman manifested itself spatially, but also the priorities of British rule at the time (Rogan, 1996). The priority was to establish security which essentially meant controlling the Bedouin tribes' actions against merchants and cultivators (Rogan, 1996). Jordan as whole was to serve as a buffer zone in the region and for the success of this policy it had to be chaos-free and managed at a very low cost (Hamarneh, 1985). Hence, no transfer of value took place to Transjordan; nor did Britain invest in Transjordan (Hamarneh, 1985). It therefore suffices to say that power was not represented in a built form. Amman was also scarcely populated; thus, in contrast to cities such as Cairo, Damascus and Rabat, it was far from the experience of Western town planning which the colonizers saw as superfluous for Amman (Dieterich, 2014). The British and Hashemite ruling powers rather used Amman as a stage upon which ceremonies took place to reaffirm the two pillars of the colonial state: the British trusteeship and Hashemite rule (Rogan, 1996). The attitude that town planning was superfluous remained so for the 20 years of colonialization. Hence, present-day Amman has no grand boulevard, public squares and structures of the nineteenth-century modern city imported by European colonialism (Shami, 2007). Yet a prominent spatial intervention of high impact was introduced in 1927, when the British introduced a major land policy and tax reform (Razzaz, 1991; Fischbach, 2000; Al-Dahdah *et al.*, 2016) (see 4.3.1). In contrast to Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo and Beirut, etc., Amman also lacked urban notables even in comparison to other cities of Transjordan that had,

in Ottoman times, established economic ties such as Al Salt. Al Salt had established ties with Nablus and gave rise to prominent business owners (Droz-Vincent, 2011).

In the 1930's and 1940's (See Figure 4-2 & Figure 4-3 & Figure 4-4), a variety of commercial outlets opened such as shops, storerooms, movie theatres and restaurants, which paved the way for the creation of a new urban elite (Dieterich, 2014). These were run by Palestinian and Syrian immigrants who dominated the economy of the 1930's (Dieterich, 2014). A variety of institutions also slowly emerged that had an impact on the social transformation of Amman (Dieterich, 2014). Movie theatres⁴⁰, especially, brought in new concepts of society and offered a window into the western world. Those provided the opportunity for the birth of a vibrant public sphere that was an open meeting place for people but especially for the urban elite. This was also a period where a new building scene came to the fore as new houses of a wealthy middle class made their mark on Amman. These new elite neighbourhoods slowly grew away from the old core in the valley and up the surrounding hills (Shami, 2007). Additionally, a printing press and a local newspaper, *Al-Urdun*⁴¹, were established by Palestinian immigrants (Dieterich, 2014). Streets were also re-invented as spaces for political expression in light of the Israeli aggression on Palestinian lands which created a new sense of collectivity within space (Shami, 2007). This was a novel shift for Amman, this time not only in demographics but also in the emergence of a public sphere that was being exposed to new means of leisure, consumption patterns and collective politics.



Figure 4-2 View of Amman in the 1930's. A market street in Downtown Amman. Source: (Bakig, 1983)

⁴⁰ The most successful of its time was Cinema Petra in which people assembled not only for its films but also for various cultural, social and political purposes (Dieterich, 2014).

⁴¹ Jordan in English.

From 1948 to 1967, Amman witnessed a significantly new era with the arrival of Palestinian refugees as a consequence of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War. In relatively short time, Amman was transformed from a small village with a homogeneous population into an urban centre with a heterogeneous population in terms of socio-economic status and ethnicity (Al-Husban and Al-Shorman, 2013). This included around 420,000 expelled Palestinians that flocked to Amman and its surrounding areas, from a total of 800,000-900,000 Palestinian refugees (Al-Asad, 1997). The refugees that fled to Amman made up approximately 60% of the total number of Palestinians that fled to Jordan (Abu-Dayyeh, 2004). Well-to-do Palestinians settled in central and western Amman, while the poor set up temporary camps in the eastern parts of Amman (Razzaz, 1993a). After the establishment of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) for Palestinian refugees in 1949, four camps were organized, two of which were in Amman⁴²; they were planned as temporary (Joffé, 2002). However, only 18% of the refugees lived in the camps organized by UNRWA, while many built their own houses on rented plots or squatted on public land near the official camps (Ababsa, 2012). Amman was actually the destination of many well-off, urban Palestinians that had relatives there, as well as contacts for possible work opportunities (Hanania, 2014). Hence, not all Palestinian refugees stayed in camps; Christians⁴³ for example found new housing and jobs with the aid of the Christian community and British Administration (Joffé, 2002).



Figure 4-3 View of Amman in the 1940s. The town extends up the slopes of Jabal Amman.
Source: (Bakig, 1983).

⁴² The two official camps were Al-Hussein Camp that was established by UNRWA in 1952 and Al-Wehdat (Amman New Camp) that was established in 1955.

⁴³ The number of Christian refugees was substantial and accounted to 15.8% of the total number of refugees that had fled to Amman (Hanania, 2014).



Figure 4-4 Panorama of Amman in the 1940's. Source: (Matson photograph collection of the library of congress).

The camps were characterized by unauthorized construction as refugees improved their shelters and added rooms to accommodate their growing needs and numbers (Settlement Upgrading, 1999).

The effect of the crisis was apparent in the expansion of the municipal borders of Amman. While in 1947 its area was 2.05 sq.km, it grew to a total of 28.6 sq.km by 1961 (Ababsa, 2013a). Between these dates, the municipality has said that 30% of Amman was tents (Hanania, 2014). If this indicates anything, it would indicate the huge impact of the refugee crisis on the geography of Amman. The crisis also magnified class differentiation and brought along a larger middle-class of professionals and skilled workers. It also contributed to the growth of the financial status of Amman's merchants as the demand for consumer goods increased. At the time, there had been no working unions, a situation produced by the factories being dispersed in the wadis (valleys) of Amman, which was exacerbated by the fact that the business elite were freed from economic restrictions and social welfare regulations. Many of the business elite had close relations to the government, and some had become cabinet members or parliamentarians (Hanania, 2014).

Amman witnessed an extraordinary economic boom in the 1970's as money poured in as a result of grants from the Gulf countries and remittances from Jordanian expatriates working in the oil-producing countries of the Gulf (Razzaz, 1987; Shami, 2007; Parker, 2009). The large out-migration of Jordanians to the Gulf, as a result of the oil boom, was paralleled by an in-

migration of Egyptian workers seeking construction jobs, as well as domestic labour from Southeast Asia (Shami, 2007).

The remittances sent back by expatriates to their families were invested in real estate and land, as that was seen as the most secure investment (Razzaz, 1987). Land speculation rose and took large areas of land out of the market, which drove real estate prices out of reach for the vast majority of Ammani families (Tewfik, 1989). This economic boom highlighted by land speculation and high land prices, coupled with rapid urban growth, paved the way for social segregation. However, this segregation was largely enacted by zoning significant areas of agricultural land into upper income housing through the manipulation of laws and regulations (Hourani, 2014b). Such zoning acts took place outside of any framework of a masterplan as none of Amman's masterplans has been translated effectively.⁴⁴ Amman's planning has in principle been regulated by zoning by-laws⁴⁵ (Amanat `Amman Al-Kubr , 2008; Khirfan, 2011; Aljafari, 2014).

In the 1970's, Amman also witnessed internal rural-urban migration (Razzaz, 1993b; Potter *et al.*, 2009) that sought better employment opportunities. The high prices of land coupled with the lack of affordable housing paved the way for squatting. This became a phenomenon that stretched along the Amman-Zarqa corridor on tribal pasture lands and privately owned property (Serageldin, 1990). By 1980, one quarter of the city of Amman was occupied by informal settlements populated by Palestinian refugees (Ababsa, 2012).

Two decades later, many of the expatriates⁴⁶ in the Gulf returned as a result of the 1990-1991 Gulf crisis that further accentuated the East/West divide. Luxury villas and apartments sprang up in West Amman, while East Amman proliferated with informal settlements (Parker, 2009), and a new chain of investments was channelled through a number of new family-owned shareholding companies (Hourani, 2014b).

Amman displayed its importance on a geopolitical level even more as it drew into its demographic portrait more refugees of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as a result of both the Iraqi war (2003) and the Syrian war (2011-ongoing). The latter reaching a population height of about 4 million in 2015 (Department of Statistics, 2015). Syrians in 2015 constituted about 34% of Amman's population, while the overall non-Jordanian residents accounted for 49.7% of Amman's population (Department of Statistics, 2015). These large numbers had a

⁴⁴ See section 4.2.2.2 for more information on Amman's masterplans and zoning by-laws.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ About 400,000 (Parker, 2009).

great impact on Amman's social and urban infrastructure, but the major impact was the increased demand on housing. Consequently, rent prices have tripled or even quadrupled in areas of high refugee density (Achilli, 2015), confined to the poorer urban areas of Amman. A study in 2014 counted 22 informal tent settlements within Amman (Unicef, 2014). One can also rightly assume that Syrian refugees contributed to a new informal economy, as many of them are not able to obtain a work permit⁴⁷ and thus work informally. This increased competitiveness, as Syrians accept lower wages than Jordanians and harsher working conditions (Achilli, 2015).

4.2.2 Socio-economic divide, reform and their urban connotation

Jordan's movement towards the adoption of a globalized economy was highlighted in the early 2000's by joining the WTO (World Trade Organization), and establishing Free Trade Agreements with the USA and EU (Parker, 2009). This had already taken shape earlier on with the economic collapse of 1988, by relying on international funds (such as the IMF--the International Monetary Fund) that required a modernization of Jordan's economy and structural adjustment programmes that systematically dismantled its welfare state (Hourani, 2014a; Abu-Hamdi, 2017). The urban implications of this neoliberal shift were multiple, as developments became shaped by foreign investments based on neoliberal modalities of government. State as well as private lands were appropriated by the state and sold to international companies that produced market-driven urbanism. High-end real estate, gated communities, luxurious office and commercial buildings were planned in West Amman (Parker, 2009). This was made possible by the state's imposition of privatization, and by the oligarchic network that financially supported these developments (Abu-Hamdi, 2017). Various commercial and leisure projects, hotel chains as well as infrastructural projects also got underway in West Amman that aimed at servicing foreign workers and speeding traffic flow respectively (Schwedler, 2012).

Politico-economic domination had always existed in Amman, way prior to the 2000's. Oligarchic family networks were able to direct public resources to their own interests. The various networks of renown families have monopolized businesses since the 1940's, obtaining exclusive concessions such as electricity generation and distribution (Hourani, 2014b). Such networks of people in power and connections paved the way for spatial segregation in Amman. As mentioned previously, such segregation was largely enacted by zoning significant areas of agricultural land into upper income housing through the manipulation of laws and regulations

⁴⁷ Non-Jordanians with legal residency and valid passports can obtain work permits only if the prospective employer pays a fee and shows that the job requires experience or skills not to be found among the Jordanian population (Achilli, 2015).

(Hourani, 2014b). This resulted in a form of exclusionary zoning, and by 1985, larger zones of land in Greater Amman fell in the category of upper-income residential zones (A&B) within the western areas of Amman, while Zone C (reserved for middle-income groups) and Zone D (the only accessible housing for the majority of the population) had significantly smaller zones (See Figure 4-5).⁴⁸

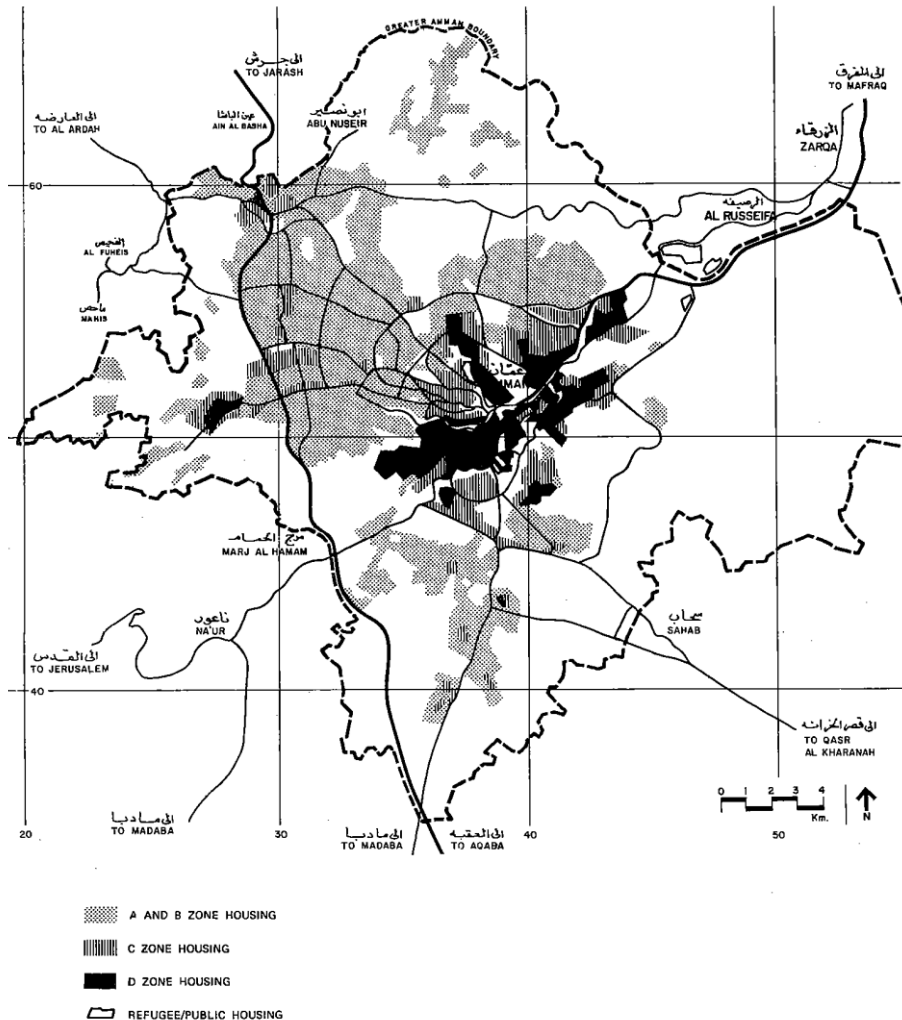


Figure 4-5 Housing zones in Greater Amman Municipality in 1987 clearly showing larger zones A&B in the West in contrast to significantly smaller zones C&D in the East (Greater Amman Municipality and Dar Al-Handasah, 1987).

This zoning practice took form through an oligarchic network of tribal leaders, landowners and government officials that were able through corruption, favouritism, and social networking to facilitate this act. This divided the city into the well-planned, well-served, high-income

⁴⁸ Specifically, 90% of land in Greater Amman fell in the category of upper income residential zones (A&B) within the western areas of Amman, while Zone C accounted for 8%, and Zone D accounted for 2% (Razzaz, O.M., 1991).

West/Northwest and the lower income, crowded, poorly serviced East/Northeast (Tewfik, 1989; Razzaz, 1991; Razzaz, 1993a). This situation appears to have been exacerbated by weak planning controls, subsidies in the provision of public services, failure to collect betterment levies, and low taxes on vacant land (Tewfik, 1989). Hence, residential zoning became an indicator and a reflection of the socio-economic divide between West and East Amman⁴⁹. The division is so sharp on an urban level that one is able to draw a clear dividing line between West and East Amman (Ababsa, 2011b) (See Figure 4-6).

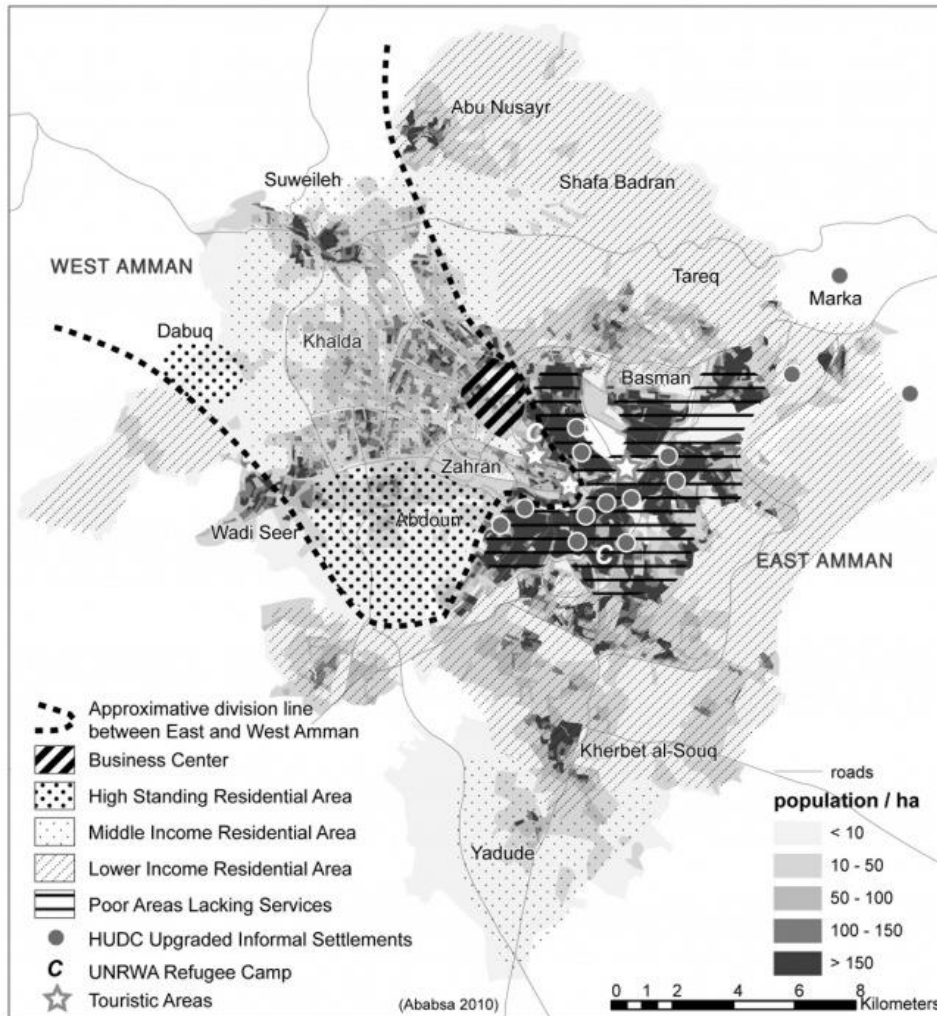


Figure 4-6 Social disparities in Amman marked spatially dividing Amman into West and East (Ababsa and Daher, 2011).

This created a clearly spatialized marginalization in what could be seen as ‘enclaves’ in the urban fabric that gave clear indications of a ‘separated class’ (AbuHamdi, 2015). Hence, you have the East which is characterized by ‘...poor, highly populated neighbourhoods where

⁴⁹West Amman extends from Jabal Amman to Khaldia and is bordered in the north by Wadi Hadadeh and in the South by Wadi Deir Ghbar. East Amman covers Amman’s historical centre, and more than half of the city with its North and South expansions.

unemployment rates are high...' and the West as well as the Northwest and Southwest where '...the active population is greater, the level of education better and buildings and infrastructure are more developed'(Ababsa, 2011b, p. 226). Such a division has grown sharper because of the unregulated planning of the GAM as well as the GAM's failure to deal with the perseverance of networks of power and connection that work throughout the GAM for their own aims and goals (AbuHamdi, 2015).

While the amount of money pumped into Amman through its 'liberated' market called for a brighter socio-economic future for the whole of Jordan, it paradoxically worsened spatial disparities (Parker, 2009; Abu-Hamdi, 2017). This was especially the case in smaller towns and tribal areas which were more dependent on state subsidies (Hourani, 2014a). Indeed, after 1999, with the neoliberal programme taking shape, welfare entitlement and price supports were reduced and subsidies were eliminated. This sense of marginalization also became apparent as various positions at the royal court were no longer distributed to balance tribal affiliations (Yom, 2014). This was seen as triggering the 2011 *Hirak*⁵⁰, a group of young men of tribal backgrounds that demanded political change (Yom, 2014). One of their demands was to repossess their *Wajihaat*, the lands they see as theirs as those were the lands their families or tribes had inhabited since the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan.

Within a postcolonial context, this almost signifies an instance where one power is replaced by another. The previous forms of colonialism have been replaced by local elites and a constitutional monarchy that seek to maintain control and maximize profits of the material and cultural accumulation in the city through global flows and liberalization policy.

4.3 Structures and forces of land development

This section will trace various changes that land has undergone in Jordan through following its management as situated within its historical lineage and the strategies or intention of those changes. These include the changes land has undergone through the Ottoman period, British colonialism and until this day under the management of the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM). As the cases of this research are under the management of the GAM, this section will feature an understanding of the GAM's organization to provide the basis to understand its decisions and strategies towards urban development. This would include its structure, institutional urban management, an understanding of Amman's masterplans and its regulation of temporary spaces.

⁵⁰ Hirak means 'movement' in Arabic.

4.3.1 Land origins and agents of change

The existing patterns of land tenure in Jordan are derived from Islamic Law (Shari-a) (Serageldin, 1990), the Ottoman code of 1858 (Tewfik, 1989) and amendments by British planners at the time of the British Mandate (Zeadat, 2018).

During the 19th century, the Ottomans introduced a set of reforms (*Tanzimat*) partly with the intent to extend governmental control (Fischbach, 2000). Specifically, as the tribal power was a threat to the central government, the reforms was an attempt to dismantle the feudal/tribal land system⁵¹ (Warriner, 1975) but also to ‘...rationalize land tenure and taxation’ (Fischbach, 2000, p. 21). One of its outcomes was the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, a new system of land registration and taxation (Fischbach, 2000).

With the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the British Mandate over Jordan, the colonial authorities were concerned to secure a stable Jordanian economy (Razzaz, 1991) and ,therefore, were keen to improve the collection of taxes, agricultural production and resolve land disputes (Fischbach, 2000). Land was extensively under *musha'a* ownership in which land was communally owned with periodic rotation of use among villagers (Ababsa, 2013c). This led to a considerable amount of social control over land (Ababsa, 2013b) A series of interventions were introduced under the 'British land programme' (1927-1956) (Fischbach, 2000). This programme and its related laws all revolve around the main idea that private agricultural property gives better yields (Al-Dahdah *et al.*, 2016) and would help introduce an agricultural taxation system that would increase state revenues (Hourani, 2014b). This drove the British to register agricultural land as private holdings to replace the communal ownership model of farmlands (*musha'a*) under a land settlement initiative.

Yet this process of land privatization was not trouble-free, especially in relation to *musha'a* land. The privatization of *musha'a* land resulted in a fragmentation of land, and since the 1950's the divided plots began to shrink through inheritance (Al-Dahdah *et al.*, 2016). Indeed, it introduced a dramatically shrinking size of plots, but also soil erosion (Fischbach, 2000). Both civil law and the land code determined that all heirs were to be given a share of the deceased's land and therefore land became owned by numerous heirs (Fischbach, 2000). This meant that plots were shrinking even more. Under the system of *musha'a*, shares were divided. This

⁵¹ The introduction of the Code divides land into five types: memluka (mulk), emiriyye (miri), mevkufe (waqf), metruke (matrukah) and mevat (mawat) (Mundy and Smith, 2007). Mulk is private land held in freehold ownership (this was limited to urban areas); Miri or state-owned land whose usufruct or possession (tasarruf) is held by private individuals (most agricultural land lay in this category)⁵¹; Waqf is land consecrated for charitable purposes; Matrukah is abandoned land reserved for public purposes; and Mawat is barren land or uncultivated land lying outside the village boundaries (Razzaz, 1987; Razzaz, 1991).

changed with land settlement as each heir demanded that his share be physically partitioned. Paradoxically, despite all efforts by the British land programme to abolish *musha'a* ownership, this category remains till this day as a result of both British land laws and Jordanian civil law. As previously explained, the subdivision of communal lands, coupled with civil law, produced individual plots owned by numerous heirs. Thus, although the land category was abolished (communally owned land), the phenomenon of 'land with multiple owners' survives till this day. Indeed *musha'a* land constitutes 25% of Amman's land⁵² (GAM, n.d.). Much of this land is frozen because it cannot be subdivided between its co-owners is for various reasons⁵³, such as the resulting area being less than the minimum required area (150 m²), family disputes, unaffordable transfer taxes and charges or legal issues between co-owners (Tewfik, 1989).

Other problematics emerged from Bedouin grazing pastures being registered as state land. Many tribes feel they have a historical right to their pasture lands (*Wajihaat or territories*) and have continuously placed pressure on the state to grant this land to them (Al Husban, 2011; Al Najjar, 2011; JT, 2014; Luck, 2014; Abid, 2018; Hasanein, 2018). Since 2000, it was reported that 75% of the Kingdom's lands have been registered in the name of the state treasury. The remaining 8 million dunum⁵⁴ were reserved for being granted to the tribes as *Wajihaat*. A decade later, it came to the fore that many of those lands were utilized or granted for free to local and foreign investors, while others were registered in the names of socially and politically prominent tribesmen (Al Zobi, 2012). Such matters of tribal land remain an issue until the present time, an issue that came to the fore and took a violent turn during the Arab Spring (2011-2013) (JT, 2014).

4.3.2 The Greater Amman Municipality (GAM)

The Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) was created in 1963 and revised in 1985 (Ababsa, 2011a). While all municipalities in Jordan are under the authority of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs (MoMA), GAM is managed independently under the prime minister.⁵⁵ The GAM is therefore an autonomous planning institution that changes and approves its land use plan without intervention from MoMA. The emergence of such a central authority for the capital

⁵² Other issues exacerbate this problem such as the speculative withholding of vacant lots in the expectation of future, higher capital gain (Tewfik, 1989) and that the tax on vacant land is merely 2% of the land's net appreciation (its assessed rent), in contrast to the 15% land and building tax on the estimated yearly rent price.

⁵³ The Islamic inheritance law is a set of legal rules that specify the money inherited and who are the heirs and their share in the inheritance and how to distribute the inheritance itself. While the distribution of inheritance is a complicated matter the general rule states that the inheritance goes to: the parents, the married couple, the daughters and daughters of the son, sisters of parents or father, brothers of the mother.

⁵⁴ 800000 Ha.

⁵⁵ As well as the Aqaba Special Economic Zone (ASEZ).

‘...imposes administrative control over all parts within Greater Amman Municipality, thus overruling all actions proposed by the district authorities and limiting their authority (Tewfik and Amr, 2014, p. 87). The GAM is by far the largest local government in Jordan, with more than 22,000 staff organized into seven administrative units (PEFA, 2017).

The mayor of GAM is appointed by the Council of Ministers and decreed by the King. The GAM is guided by the legal framework of the Municipalities Act No.41 of 2015, according to which it is directly linked to the prime minister’s office (Zeadat, 2018) and practices urban planning according to its own regulations (See Table 4-1). Other cities are guided by the Planning Cities, Towns, Villages and Buildings Act No. 79 of 1966 under MoMA (Zeadat, 2018).

Spatial planning legal frameworks in Amman		
Physical planning	Socio-economic planning	Public administration
-Building and Planning Regulations for the City of Amman Act of 1979, no.67 -City of Amman Planning Act of 1965, no.60 -Land Division within Municipal Jurisdiction Act of 1968, no.11, and its various amendments -Expropriation Act of 1987, no.12 -Administrative Land Subdivision Act of 2001 -Land Use Planning By-laws 2007	-Planning Act of 1971, no.68 -Encouragement of Investment Act of 1995, no.16	-Municipalities Act of 2015, no.41 -Management and Administration of Government Properties Act of 1984, no.17 -Public Administration Act of 1965, no.10 -Administrative Divisions Act of 2000, no.46 -Decentralization Act of 2015, no.49

Table 4-1 Spatial planning legal frameworks in Amman. Source: Zeadat, 2018.

The GAM organization and institutional urban management

As mentioned above, the GAM is a financially independent private corporation whose funds have mostly come from the central government and tax collection (Zeadat, 2018). Its functions are administered by the GAM Council, which includes the Mayor of Amman (Council President) who acts as its leader. The Council is the Municipality’s highest governing body. The GAM’s city council consists of 42 members including the mayor, two-thirds of whom are

elected by the people, and one-third who are appointed by the Council of Ministers to represent government departments.⁵⁶

The Mayor of Amman is considered the top of the administrative pyramid in the organizational structure of the municipality. He is assisted by the deputy mayor and by the director general of the municipality, who is assisted by a number of deputies (See Figure 4-7). Since the mayor's office is directly linked to the prime minister's⁵⁷ office, Amman's mayor is to be considered the most senior and powerful figure in Amman's urban governance (Zeadat, 2018).

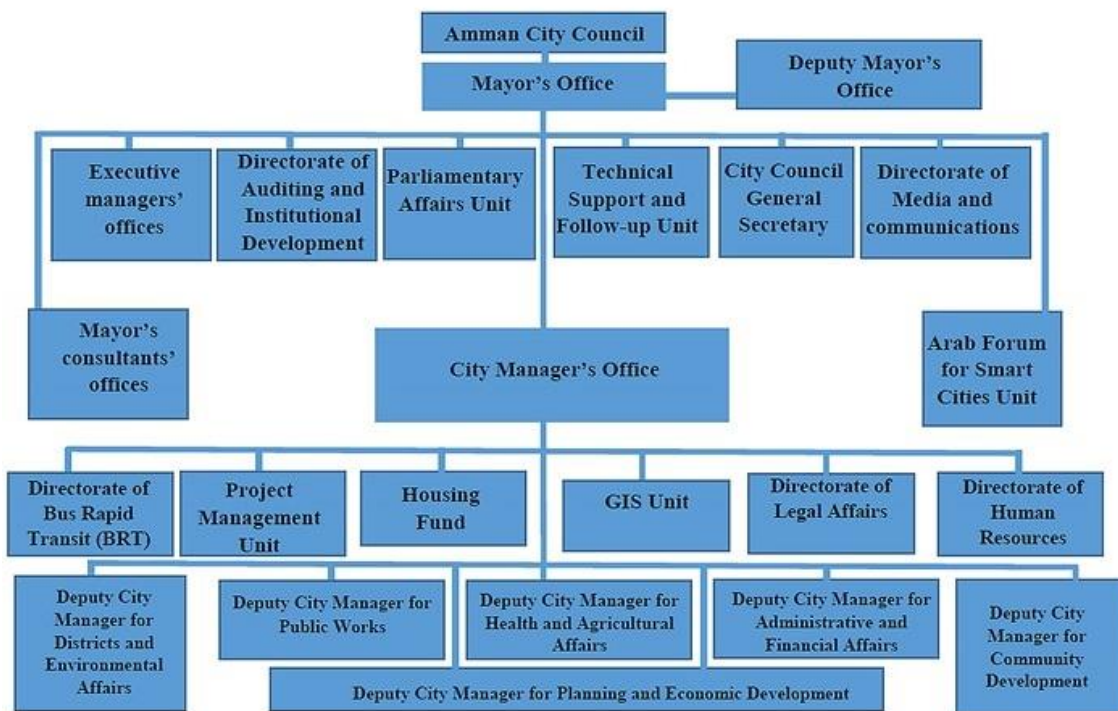


Figure 4-7 GAM's organizational hierarchy. Source: (Zeadat, 2018).

It is therefore argued that planning in Amman is not being institutionalized and that the mayor's personal conviction is the actual driver in the planning of the city⁵⁸ (Zeadat, 2018). Indeed, planning decisions depend more on the discretion of officials rather than on compliance with the law (Razzaz, 1991). In general, '...urban planning laws and principles and regulations were

⁵⁶ They are elected/appointed every 4 years.

⁵⁷ He is also the defence minister (Ababsa, 2011).

⁵⁸ Zeadat (2018) documents such incidents through analysing 'Amman 2025', the Metropolitan Growth Plan (MGP) that was initiated in 2008. He reports, through interviews, how the elected city council's role in the decision-making of Amman 2025 was peripheral and that the mayor had mostly referred to the Amman Commission (which had been renamed the Mayor Roundtable). This roundtable was chaired by the mayor himself and its members included prominent local architects, planners, lawyers and engineers. This roundtable did not have any representation from the local community, residents or NGOs.

often not taken seriously or flatly ignored’⁵⁹ (Hanania, 2014, p. 468). However, the management of Amman’s urban affairs and services is not a task of GAM alone. Other government authorities share responsibility for addressing certain urban issues.⁶⁰ Yet those authorities are organised in ‘a silo fashion with a long history of not working collaboratively to manage and address urban issues in Amman’(Zeadat, 2018, p. 191).

GAM’s management and planning performance is seen as lacking a coherent platform shared by its various departments. In the GAM’s own metropolitan growth report, it reports that the institutional and organizational framework for planning and development control is fragmented, both within GAM and with external agencies (Amanat `Amman Al-Kubrá, 2008). This and ‘the absence of coordination between concerned public authorities has often impeded an integrated process of planning in Amman’ (Amr and Saad, 2015, p. 55). The report also described the GAM’s planning and development control system as being designed from the ‘inside-out’, i.e., as being primarily designed around ‘independent bureaucratic requirements without much regard for the citizen and investor’(Amanat `Amman Al-Kubrá, 2008, p. 179). The report goes even further in describing the system as not integrated because the GAM’s various departments work in isolation of one another. However, the core weakness of the GAM’s management, described by the report, is the absence of a department in GAM that has a clear mandate to undertake long-range, urban planning and ‘the limited capacity within GAM to assist in planning is scattered throughout the organization’(Amanat `Amman Al-Kubrá, 2008, p. 179). The GAM’s planning framework has also been described as inflexible, which has been seen to produce an obstacle to the sustainability of urban projects and encourages forms of governance that do not correspond to people’s needs (Zeadat, 2018). In fact, only some forms of participations have been incorporated by government planning bodies which are often designed to protect technocratic power (Parker, 2009; Al-Nammari, 2014). Moreover, in general, local authorities and municipalities in Jordan are seen as weak as a result of granting limited access to particular stakeholders, namely certain local and economic elites (Zeadat, 2018). Tribal affiliations, for instance, are seen to have a dominant presence in the political landscape of Amman (AbuHamdi, 2015). Such a dominant presence is explained as a state strategy of relying on the tribes’ political acquiescence to maintain regime security. Such presence makes them a major factor in the governing structures of Amman, as well as having considerable influence over its development (AbuHamdi, 2015). The municipality, therefore, is often put under

⁵⁹ Hanania (2014) even quotes segments of Hazza Al-Majali memoirs, who was the President of the Municipal Council (1948-1950), to show how he occasionally disregarded the land expropriations law while being in this position.

⁶⁰ Such as issues with universities, schools, hospitals, security, water, land registry...etc.

pressure to respond to tribal demands in relation to planning and project approval (Al Tal, 2006; AbuHamdi, 2015).

In Jordanian society, it is a noticeable phenomenon that people rely on their networks as a way to advance their interests (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Such behaviour is not absent within the GAM and is utilized by many individual and groups who use their connections to override the rule of law (AbuHamdi, 2015; Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Finally, the GAM suffers from an excessive debt burden and is significantly over-indebted, which has affected its service delivery and governance (The world bank, 2017).

Understanding the GAM through its masterplans

Prior to the GAM, Amman had multiple masterplans envisioned for it as a city. The most developed plans for Amman were the 1955, 1968, 1978 and 1988 plans (AbuHamdi, 2015). Each one came to address a certain crisis or problem. The 1955 plan was introduced following the 1948 influx of Palestinians, the 1968 plan followed the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, the 1978 plan was ‘initiated at the height of the welfare state...while the 1988 came as an effort to modernize the city in the age of austerity’ (AbuHamdi, 2015, p. 17). The 2008 metropolitan growth plan came as a response to rapid population growth (Aljafari, 2014) and the boom in commercial real estate investment (Beauregard and Marpillero-Colomina, 2011). These various planning attempts were all engineered by foreign expertise, including European, North American and Japanese (Abu-Dayyeh, 2004; Potter *et al.*, 2009). Most plans were also mainly financed by foreign aid (Abu-Dayyeh, 2004; Beauregard and Marpillero-Colomina, 2011). This is a clear indication of the GAM’s position towards local expertise and the absence of trust in local knowledge (AbuHamdi, 2015; Zeadat, 2018). It also reflects the fact that Jordan ‘is heavily dependent on external sources of capital to manage its economy’ (Beauregard and Marpillero-Colomina, 2011). Nonetheless, none of those plans were implemented effectively and therefore Amman’s planning has been regulated by zoning standards rather than masterplans, most of which are outdated and do not address the issues at hand (Amanat `Amman Al-Kubrá, 2008; Khirfan, 2011; Aljafari, 2014). The continual influx of refugees (AbuHamdi, 2015) and, perhaps, a conventional method of drafting masterplans (Zeadat, 2018) might have resulted in not realizing any of these plans. Many of such plans would be out-of-date by the time they were published, especially with a capital like Amman that is expanding quickly (Abu-Dayyeh, 2004; Zeadat, 2018).

Amman’s masterplans were also interpreted as tools of asserting control and power (AbuHamdi, 2015). The task of the 1988 master plan for Amman, for instance, was to reach the

municipal planners' goal of strengthening government control over development (Beauregard and Marpillero-Colomina, 2011). At the time, government agencies owned 19% of the total area of the municipality, 5% of which was not developed. The remaining land was all in private ownership. This problem of land ownership had been exacerbated by the 'loose framework of existing planning controls, and by the competition between the original municipalities and village councils, before the establishment of Greater Amman, to release all the land under their control for urban development' (Municipality and al-Handasah, 1988, p. 9.4). Subsequently, this created a problem as planning became determined by market forces and the government had limited authority to influence Amman's urban growth (Municipality and al-Handasah, 1988).

GAM regulations regarding temporary spaces

Within the GAM there is no unified department that deals with temporary usage. The GAM has several departments that deal with separate conditions of temporary phenomena in the city. The temporary uses include:

- i. Street stalls (use of public land) on the premise of providing work for people with disabilities. These stalls are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Property and Jobs and Permits Department.
- ii. Livestock market (use of private land) on the premise of providing for the Muslim feast (Eid Al-Adha). These are under the jurisdiction of the City Department of Health Affairs.
- iii. Watermelon tents (use of private land) on the premise that vegetable & fruit markets cannot display large amounts in regular shops because of their size. These are under the jurisdiction of the Central Market Department.
- iv. Temporary daily markets which are under the jurisdiction of the Central Market Department and the Specialized Markets and Facilities Department.
- v. Temporary use of public gardens and the GAM facilities for certain events is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Property, the Department of Agriculture, the Director of Culture and the Department of Social Development.

Hence, each permit is given out by a separate entity and not through the Planning Department. Permits for street stalls, for instance, are issued through the Department of Property and Licensing Department. The stalls have been suspended since 1993 but it was not until 2000 that they stopped giving out permits; however, they still renew the stalls that were permitted prior

to 2000.⁶¹ The reason for the suspension is that many members of parliament started businesses in stalls and this drove the prices of the stalls up to 50,000 JD's⁶². Thus, the decision to suspend street stall permits is not final and would depend on circumstances.⁶³ The permit for the watermelon tents for instance (see Appendix G) has nothing mentioned regarding land use or any zoning conditions regarding the land on which the tents are to be erected. Furthermore, it is the vendors who have to find the plot of private land and get the owner's written consent which the GAM then considers and might approve. If the private owner presses any charges, the vendor is liable for all charges (see Appendix G). Hence, there are many departments and hierarchies involved while there is a lack of a shared platform that connects the whole issue of temporary spaces.

4.4 Contextualizing temporary spaces in Amman and the Middle East

Few writings come to the fore that engage with the idea of temporary space and temporariness in the city within either Amman or the Middle Eastern context. Exploring these concepts is a means to engage this research with understandings of temporary spaces as situated in Amman as well as its larger Middle Eastern context. Such engagement will inform this research and shape understanding of the divergent urban experiences that we need to learn about in Amman and its larger Middle Eastern context.

This section is organized in two parts; the first will explore research related to the temporary space phenomenon in Amman and in the Middle East; and the second will explicitly draw on the temporary space of the refugee camps in Amman and explore the interplay between the temporality of the space and the state's response to it.

4.4.1 Temporary urbanism understandings in the Middle East and Amman

Moving chronologically, Mady (Mady, 2010) focuses on urban design concepts in public space, urban land economics and new institutional economics to examine temporary public spaces in municipal Beirut. Within this context she defines them as 'temporarily vacant urban land units with high accessibility, open and free access, and negotiated use-rights enabling the performance of public activities' (Mady, 2010, p. 293). She concludes that such spaces are highly accessible, vacant sites with time-gaps and complex property rights that are activated by social entrepreneurs to realize collective needs. Her research revealed two significant trends of

⁶¹ Interview with MO8M, MO11M.

⁶² 5,5613£.

⁶³ Interview with MO11M.

temporary space supply: firstly, formally organized groups with goals targeting the city and country and secondly, self-organized groups that are affiliated with one part of the city, sharing one or several common identities (including age, gender, nationality or place of residence). The self-organized groups target the locally required activities and represent a reaction to the lack of public spaces. Formally organized sites are legalized by written agreements supported by municipal permits, while self-organized sites acquire use-rights through oral agreements. The spaces created take various forms, including cultural, commercial and sports activities.

Al-Nakib (Al-Nakib, 2016) develops her perspective through historical research and more specifically on discourses within spaces in Kuwait through exploring cultural memory. Through the exploration of a community-led garden called ‘the secret garden’, she explores how this space challenges or attempts to challenge the transience of the temporary city. The founder of the garden was driven by a need to create a more meaningful and equitable space of interaction between residents of her neighbourhood, including all classes and backgrounds. By reclaiming and appropriating the garden, she and a group of volunteers created a space to be used by different groups of people that created a more cosmopolitan space.

Similar to international literature reasoning on temporary space creation, Tarawneh (2017) agrees that temporary uses equally emerge throughout Amman due to master planning errors, as well as economic and political reasons. Her dissertation specifically researches ‘...derelict and underutilised spaces known as brownfields, and the practice aiming to revitalise vacant spaces in urban areas known as temporary urbanism’ (Altarawneh, 2017, p. I). Various vacancies are mapped and identified as potential ‘brownfields’, which are then proposed to be reclaimed through temporary urbanism to potentially aid Amman in achieving greater spatial justice. The study also identifies practice-related barriers to temporary urbanism in Amman that include: bureaucracy and bureaucracy-related procedures, the lack of a systematic definition for the informal practice, the lack of regulatory arrangements around its management, the lack of public participation in the decision-making process around temporary spaces, the traditional mode of planning in Amman, lack of temporary urbanism agencies, lack of information about temporary urbanism, high levels of political tension, and finally, the experimental nature, commodification, resistance and displacement that temporary space practice has been going through.

Working from a notion of ‘transience in the city’ similar to that of Al-Nakib, Elsheshtawy (2019) argues that Gulf cities are intentionally planned to be temporary in order to minimize physical attachment to space and discourage establishing roots. Through a myriad of case

studies, he explores how migrants attempt to create a home. Temporariness comes into play as Elsheshtawy explores their ways of resisting and defying the force of the temporary city. He conceptualizes that in the form of spatial strategies. The first strategy looks into the quotidian space, the spaces of everyday life, and how people through their mundane activities and mundane encounters attempt to navigate the city and, in a way, establish 'a right to the city'. Another notion is 'sheltering space' whereby migrants seek hidden space in which they can come together. So, part of his work explores how immigrants use and appropriate space, but another part deals with how local residents construct their local habitat in their domestic space.

4.4.2 Camps as temporary spaces in Amman and their relation to moments of exception

This section aims at briefly reviewing the concept of 'exception' in state rule regarding temporary spaces through the lens of Palestinian refugee camps in Amman. This aims at providing evidence in support of the notion that Jordan resorts to exception and flexibility in its urban policies at moments of crisis.

The notion of exceptionality lies in the separate regime that governs the Palestinian camps and the special regulation and treatment that the camps are subjected to (Oesch, 2017). The origin of this special treatment lies in the agreement that the Jordanian government established with UNRWA in 1951 (Oesch, 2017). The agreement puts the camps in the hand of multiple and changeable sovereignties. These multiple sovereignties changed over time and also underwent different distributions of power mechanics within the camps.⁶⁴ Hence, despite Palestinian refugees being given Jordanian citizenship, their camps and they themselves were confronted by special regulations and treatment. Indeed, camp refugees are entitled to participate in national and local elections⁶⁵ yet are governed by a separate system encompassing various agencies (Al-Husseini, 2011). The sense of exception is therefore not on a juridical-political level but rather on an administrative one (Oesch, 2017). This is justified on humanitarian grounds and by the temporary character of the camps (Oesch, 2017). The camps undergo distinct management in which it is not dealt with administratively as one of Amman's neighbourhoods, and therefore under the management of the municipality, but rather as a separate entity managed by a special department of the Jordanian government, the DPA (after

⁶⁴ These included: Ministry of Refugees (1949-1950), Ministry of Construction and Restoration (1950-1980), High Ministerial Committee (1967-1971), Executive Special Office (1971-1980), Ministry of the Occupied Land Affairs (1980-1988), Department of Palestinian Affairs (DPA) (1988-present) (The official site of Jordanian e-Government), as well as UNRWA and the state.

⁶⁵ Except the 'Gazan displaced persons' (Al-Husseini, 2011).

1988) (Oesch, 2017). This department manages the camps just like the municipality manages its neighbourhoods, but they are officially attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Oesch, 2017) which Oesch (2017) interprets as ‘...an idea of extra-territoriality’. This idea of extra-territoriality of the camps and their agencies is confirmed by Al Hussein (2010) who sees UNRWA as having an ‘... informal status of an “alien” governmental body holding “extra-territorial” sway over the camp communities (Al Hussein, 2010, p. 7).

Despite the Palestinians’ status as refugees, the host country of Jordan does not provide any clear legal framework on how to deal with them or other refugees (Saliba, 2016). Jordan is neither a signatory to the 1951 refugee convention nor its 1967 protocol (Saliba, 2016). A separate regime is set up to deal with their status (Akram, 2002). By this exclusion, Palestinian refugees receive basic subsistence but none of the wide range of human rights and fundamental freedoms that were to be guaranteed by the 1951 convention (Akram, 2002). The special regulations of the camps are manifested in how different governing agencies have dealt with the materiality of the camp. It has ‘...a distinct status of temporary spaces, until refugees can return home’ (Oesch, 2019, p. 235). This relational equation is reflected in the official discourse of the government, which specifies that the land on which the camp is placed is rented temporarily until refugees are able to return (Oesch, 2019). Hence because Palestinian refugees are placed on rented land, they have no rights over it. While they own their houses, they do not own the land on which they stand. They are also not entitled to rent or to use the shelters for commercial purposes (Al-Husseini, 2011). The number of floors that each house is to build is also restricted by special regulations; it was only after the 1990’s that second floors were tolerated. The camp also lacks a sound urban management policy by either the UNRWA or the host authorities (Al-Husseini, 2011).

This state of exception is further exemplified in a relatively flexible mode of governance that appeared in the late 1980’s marked by adaptation and informality, mainly implemented by the DPA and UNRWA (Al-Husseini, 2011), especially after the DPA had taken a more effective role within the camps. The DPA has generally not taken down any illegal construction. Furthermore, it has allowed for the addition of extra storeys both for residential and commercial buildings, and the opening of new commercial enterprises was also tolerated (Al-Husseini, 2011). This also included a flexible approach toward buying, selling and renting units in the camp (Al-Hamarneh, 2002). This phenomenon of renting and selling became so widespread that the informal transaction act (*hujja*) was registered within real estate offices within the camp (Al-Hamarneh, 2002).

The indications of the exception and flexibility might be multi-fold, yet are beyond the aim of this research. However, some have argued that maintaining the existence of the camp is motivated by continuing to keep on attracting foreign aid and by geo-political and socio-economic considerations (Tell, 1994; Oesch, 2017). Flexibility, on the other hand, is generally seen as a measure to avoid the creation of a subversive population (Oesch, 2017).

4.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to understand Amman as a ‘process’ in which different dynamics have been explored in relation to Amman’s different structures, society and land. Through exploring issues of state, society and land in Amman, this chapter has shown that Amman, since its inception, has had many forces at play that in their interaction created its reality. The theme running through the chapter is that these political and economic forces intertwined with Amman’s social structure produced specific socio-spatial conditions. One example is the British land code advanced by the British colonialists. With one of its aims being to settle the tribes, the code transformed the society from a largely semi-nomadic and nomadic population to a state with numerous settlements. The re-structuring of the society introduced by the British land code also created another socio-spatial condition. With the development of the code, the tribes’ pasture lands became state land. Many tribes feel they have a historical right to their pasture lands (*Wajihaat or territories*), and this social relation to land has prompted them to continuously place pressure on the state to grant these lands to them. This has created multiple socio-spatial dynamics, one of which has been granting the tribes areas of land by the monarchy at moments of social unrest. This land code effect is also present in the existence of *musha’a* land that constitutes 25% of Amman’s land. Various social ties are affected as these lands are at a standstill and have no legal solution thus far.

The chapter has also shown the complex relation between Amman’s spatial dynamics and its governance processes by exploring its current municipality: the GAM. It showed how the planning in GAM is challenged by various institutional and managerial issues and how planning, in many instances, is driven by certain affiliations, including tribal and elite connections. This includes using planning developments to assert control and power.

Finally, an exploration of the processes of temporariness in the city was produced that engages this research with understandings of temporary spaces as situated in Amman as well as the larger Middle Eastern context. This was taken further by investigating the complexity of Amman’s development forces and its relation to its socio-spatial dynamics and the concept of temporary space in the specific case of refugee spaces in Amman. It showed through Amman’s

temporary refugee camps how Jordan builds up a case of exception and flexibility in its urban policies at moments of crisis. It showed how a new system of governance was created to deal with these temporary spaces, a system that is characterized by the extra-territoriality of its spaces and agencies. Hence, the camp emerges as socio-spatial space governed by a separate system encompassing various agencies that aim at retaining the temporality of its character for strategic state reasons, including geo-political and socio-economic considerations.

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5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of the three empirical chapters of this research and will cover the findings of my fieldwork on the case of Ras Al-Ain Market (RAS). It is organized into 6 sections. The first three are descriptive and include a brief history of the market in addition to its general spatial conditions and finally its activities. These will provide the context of the market. The following two sections are interpretations of my data. I argue, as a result of my analysis, that the Market is in a state of dual management, driven on the one hand by the vendors' intentions of making a livelihood and, on the other hand, the state's intention of maintaining an intentional temporariness as a mode of managing the market. The final section is the conclusion of the chapter.

What this case will show is how the temporary space of RAS is re-created spatially and imaginatively through agentic practices that work parallel to the system authorized by the state. Specifically, it will explore how social groups with no institutional character are able to mobilize in a covert, ordinary and everyday manner to establish their needs and organization of the space within its state-established structure. It will also explore how the state responds by managing the market in a way which maintains its temporary character.

5.2 A brief history: clashes and relocation

Ras Al-Ain Market⁶⁶ (RAS) is a second-hand market that starts at 12:00⁶⁷ noon on Thursday and runs throughout Friday till 12:00⁶⁸ noon on Saturday⁶⁹. It first started running in 1988 in the parking lot of the abandoned Al-Abdali bus terminal and was known as Al-Abdali Market. It was then re-located in 2014 by the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) to the neighbourhood of Ras Al-Ain after the official opening of Al-Abdali Central Business district (CBD) and residential district. Its history dates back to the 1980's when vegetable, fruit and used-clothes vendors used to gather on open urban spaces. At the time there were many open urban spaces which were not sought after, as the housing and real estate market was slow. This was exploited by vendors. Al-Abdali Market was known as Souq Abu Al-Arayes (Abu Al-Arayes Market). It was reported by a director of GAM that the market was initiated by Abed

⁶⁶ It is also called Friday Market, however, I will refer to it as Ras Al-Ain Market so as to distinguish the current market in Ras Al-Ain area from the previous one in Al-Abdali area which was also known as Friday Market.

⁶⁷ According to a senior director at GAM, this is subject to weather conditions and, moreover, to what GAM holds as an appropriate time.

⁶⁸ In 2018 the market started running from Wednesday to Friday.

⁶⁹ This is the time limit set by GAM. Most vendors start leaving on Friday and only a few stay until Saturday. (See Table 5-1).

Al-Raouf Rawabdeh, who was the mayor at that time, with the vision of re-creating the idea of German flea markets that he had visited.⁷⁰

The market started running with a mere 130 stalls in 1988, which had increased to 890 by 1995 (GAM, 2014c) and then to a debatable 1400⁷¹ by 2014 (See Figure 5-1). An old vendor⁷² reported that the original Abdali stall vendors had been moved several times from different parts of Amman where they had been selling until they were finally moved from their large agglomeration in Marka to Abdali. When it operated in Abdali, it acquired a formal status because each vendor had to pay 2 JD's as land tax (Quna, 2014). This had, however, stopped in 2011 on the supposition that it gave the market legitimacy (Cozzens, 2014). Currently the market vendors do not pay any taxes and thus are not included in formal calculations. The only binding element between the GAM and the vendors remains a temporary permit that each vendor signs (See Appendix D & E).

Ras Al-Ain market (RAS) is amongst two other temporary markets that the GAM organizes.⁷³ These markets are designated by the GAM as '*daily temporary markets*'⁷⁴. These markets take place on different days and in different locations and sell a variety of goods. They include Saturday Market in Quwaismeh and Tuesday Market in Al-Muqabelain. The latter was closed on the 10th of January 2017, because the land's original owner, from whom the GAM had rented it, had asked for its retrieval (Al-Rai, 2017b). Its fate has still not been announced, but the GAM has promised to find an alternative piece of land (Al-Rai, 2017b). Until then, only two temporary markets remain, amongst which is the RAS.

On the 1st of April 2014, the GAM announced its plans to move the Abdali market, claiming that it had proliferated and taken over all of the open space of Al-Abdali parking lot in a haphazard and unregulated manner (GAM, 2014c). This move was explained to address several issues and proposed several plans. One was to organize the city, to showcase RAS as a modern manifestation of the city, to facilitate traffic in the downtown and to use the Abdali site for the public good (Addustour, 2014a; Al-Ghad, 2014g; Al-Rai, 2014a).

⁷⁰ Interview with MO3M.

⁷¹ While the stall owners claimed there were 1400, the authorities claimed there were way less while not taking any position on a definite number (Roya News, 2014c).

⁷² Interview with RASa10M.

⁷³ There was also a Sunday market in Jeeza and a Monday market in Sahab, neither of which run anymore.

⁷⁴ Interview with MO3M.

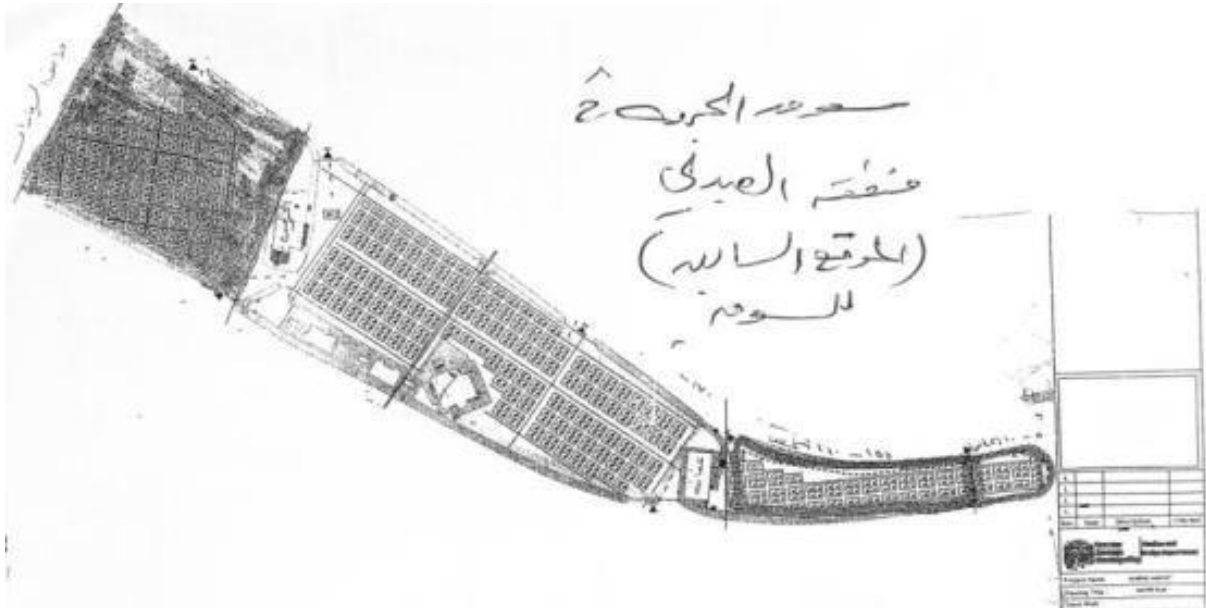


Figure 5-1 Al-Abdali Market mapped in 2012. Source: GAM.

Aqel Beltaji, Amman's mayor at the time, had also announced the GAM's plans to construct a bus stop for the BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) as well as public parking in the 34-dunum⁷⁵, newly-vacated Abdali plot (GAM, 2014a). On another occasion, the GAM announced its intention to use the Al-Abdali land to build a GAM building for the Abdali area (Abu Sbeh, 2014). Amongst all these plans, the public parking lot is the only one that is being carried out⁷⁶ (Al-Ghad, 2017).

With the relocation announcement came protest. Vendors expressed their opposition to the move by staging vigils and raising banners in the Abdali Market (Cozzens, 2014). Vendors expressed their protest even further by staging a sit-in in the market on the night of its planned removal. The protest turned into clashes between vendors, gendarmerie forces and anti-riot police (Freij 2014b). Protesters threw Molotov cocktails and fired live ammunition and the police forces responded with tear gas (Freij 2014a; Roya News, 2014b). The stalls were then bulldozed by the GAM and sections of the pavement were torn up (Balbo, 2014). 26 suspects were then referred to court based on their involvement in the riots which caused the injury of an army personnel (Freij 2014a). Despite the gendarmerie's success in ending the sit-in, clashes continued and moved to the nearby Al-Tafaila Neighbourhood, where they continued for three consecutive nights, protesting the arrest of members of their neighbourhood (Roya News, 2014c). Tanks surrounded the area until a truce was agreed between the neighbourhood elders

⁷⁵ 3.4 Ha.

⁷⁶ GAM aims at providing 353 parking spots in addition to a parking lot for the future Abdali shuttle bus. The parking works are said to include the rehabilitation of the parking lot sidewalks, central islands, entrances and exits to regulate the movement of entry and exit into and out of the Abdali space (Al-Ghad, 2017).

and the security forces (Roya News, 2014a). Several other meetings took place that all contributed to ending the clashes.⁷⁷

With the truce and relocation process, came the promise that the new market would be of a high standard, and, additionally, would include various services and free shuttles to transport users to the market throughout its working days (Al-Rai, 2014b; Al-Rai, 2014f). After several postponements of the relocation, Al-Abdali was closed off on the 10th of October 2014 (Al-Ghad, 2014b; GAM, 2014b) and the relocation finally took place on the 13th of October that same year (GAM, 2014d). The space in which Al-Abdali market had been was renamed in 2015, with royal consent, to 'The Arab Army Square'. In the four years since its establishment, it has hosted one event organized by the GAM commemorating the Karama⁷⁸ battle and the retired military personnel (Al-Ghad, 2015).

The relocation from Al-Abdali to Ras Al-Ain was announced as temporary by Biltaji with future prospects of establishing a multi-storey market at Al-Jaish Street between Raghadan and Al-Mahatta complex (Al-Ghad, 2014f).

5.3 Location, spatial condition

RAS lies in East Amman in one of Amman's 27 districts called Al-Bader District. Specifically, it is located in one of Al-Bader's five neighbourhoods called Al-Akhdar (See Figure 5-2). Al-Akhdar neighbourhood is a densely populated area with 250,000 person/km². 98% of its residential area is zoned as housing (D) which is an indicator of a lower socio-economic background status and land affordability (See Figure 5-3). The market is situated on an 8.5 dunum⁷⁹ plot of land which is about a quarter of the size of the previous Al-Abdali site. The land had been owned by the Jordanian Tobacco and Cigarettes Company until 2007, after which its ownership was transferred by the GAM to the Amman City Council (See Figure 5-4). The GAM's aim was to create a world-class opera house. A competition was organized by the GAM and won by the late renowned architect Zaha Hadid; however, the project was not carried out due to the financial constraints facing the GAM in that period.

⁷⁷Other meetings included an open meeting between the police, GAM representatives and the neighbourhood elders. Aqel Baltaji, the mayor at the time, also had a meeting to explain to residents of Al-Tafaileh Neighbourhood the stages of the relocation. This also included meeting the interior minister, the director of general security, and a meeting between a committee of the neighbourhood and the director of the region.

⁷⁸Karama meaning Dignity in Arabic, was a battle between the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) and joined forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF) in the Jordanian town of Karamah in 1968.

⁷⁹ 0.85 Ha.

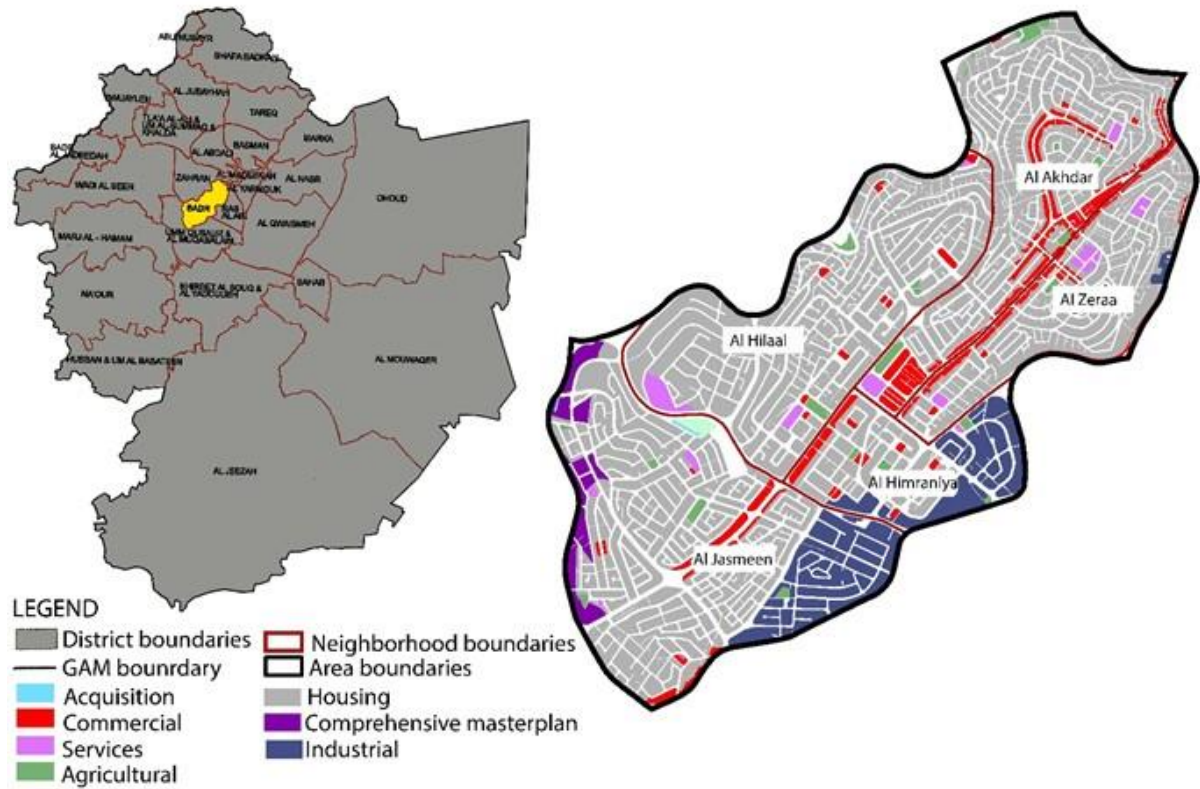


Figure 5-2 From left to right: Amman districts showing Bader district and its land use, respectively. Source: (Amanat `Amman Al-Kubr , 2008; Department of GIS, 2014b).



Figure 5-3 Land use around RAS (Bader district). Source: (Department of GIS, 2014a)



Figure 5-4 The Tobacco and Cigarette Company before its demolition. Source: GAM

The market is surrounded on all sides by a wall (See Figure 5-5 & Figure 5-6). The wall has been reported to have been part of the previous tobacco company⁸⁰ (See Figure 5-9). It has four gates, two of which are the main gates and are the only ones functioning (See Figure 5-5). It has an additional access point to the west. This access point is extremely porous. It is a street leading into the market which can be accessed without any boundaries, moreover; its surrounding wall is extremely low permitting entry at any time (See Figure 5-5). The gates, on the other hand, are only opened according to the market's operating times.

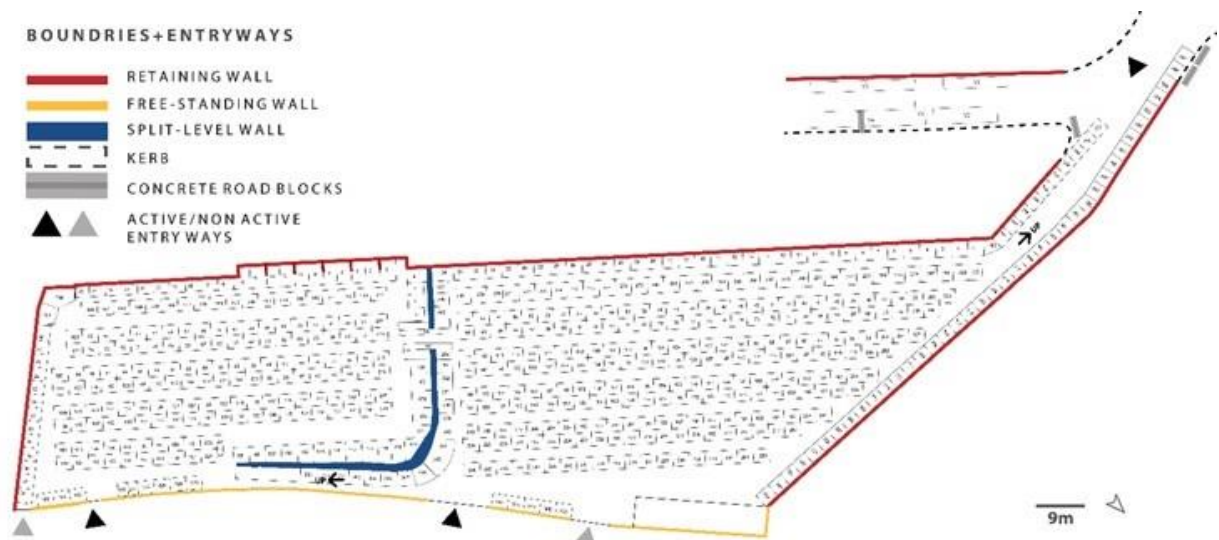


Figure 5-5 The market's accessibility. Source: Author based on GAM base map.

⁸⁰ Interview with RASa6M, RASa1M, RASa7M, RASus18M.



Figure 5-6 The market wall.

Accessibility to the market is challenged by several conditions. First, the market is located at a traffic junction (See Figure 5-7). Second, the two access gates are bounded by a 30m wide street divided by a traffic island (See Figure 5-6 & Figure 5-7 & Figure 5-8). Thirdly, the market entry points are accessed by a narrow pavement (See Figure 5-9). The pavement is bounded on one side by the market's wall and on the other side by a railing. This poses a challenge during the market's operating times and people therefore walk on the street.



Figure 5-7 The market location near traffic junction.



Figure 5-8 The challenging location of the market (right) and its parking (left). Source: (Google Maps Street view, 2017)



Figure 5-9 The narrow pavement bounding the market.

This, however, is a common scene in Amman as people are forced to walk on the street due to the bad condition of pavements.

The land, on which the market operates, has not undergone significant spatial changes to accommodate the market (See Figure 5-10). The only changes that took place, after the demolition of the Cigarette and Tobacco Company, have been the asphaltting of the ground and several graffiti drawing on its walls. The space has also been divided by a split level into an upper market and a lower market (See Figure 5-5). Moreover, it has been supplied with 15 electricity poles, 11 rubbish bins, one main generator, and a surveillance camera (See Figure 5-11). The land has an existing one-storey building. This was supplied with two toilets for each gender, a prayer room to fit 15 people and office space (see Figure 5-12).



Figure 5-10 From left to right: Before and after the market's establishment.

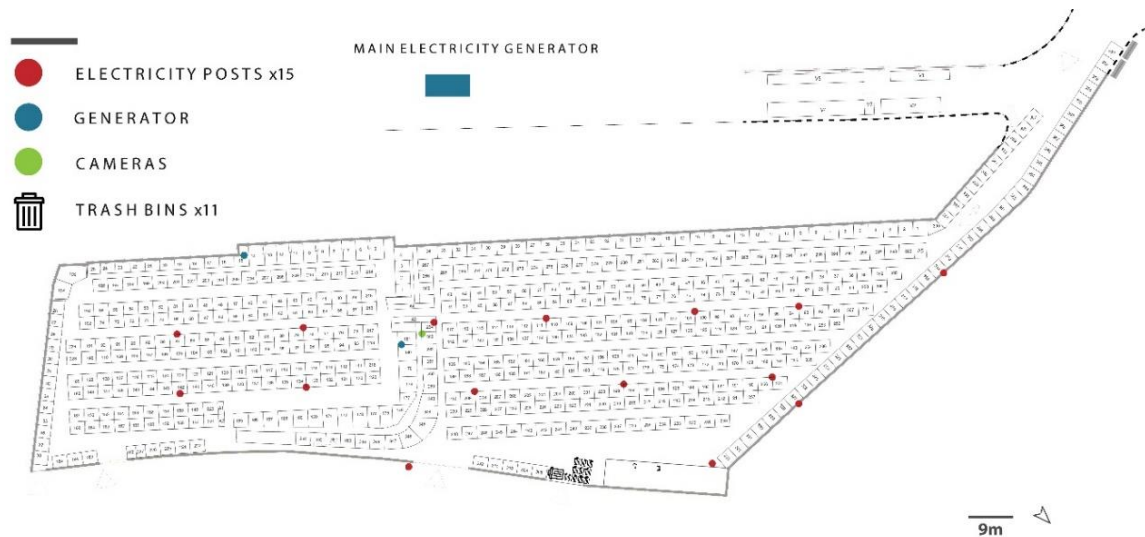


Figure 5-11 Services provided by the GAM. Source: Author based on GAM base map.

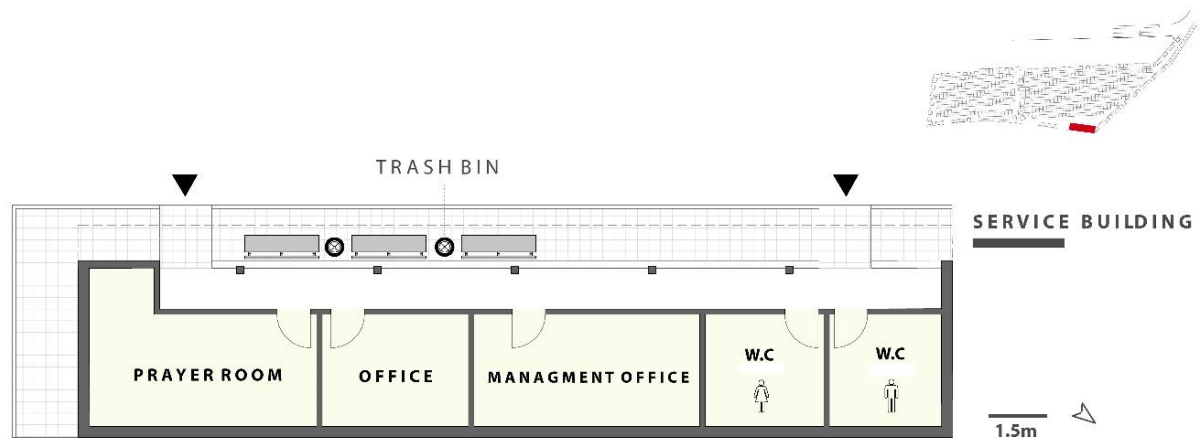


Figure 5-12 RAS service building.

The ground of the asphalted land was divided by the GAM into a majority of approximately 3x2.5m squares that were marked with yellow paint and numbered to demarcate stall locations (See Figure 5-13). Fruit and vegetable stalls were located in an upper land next to the market and they were left unmarked (See Figure 5-14 & Figure 5-16). A municipal director in charge of the market⁸¹ announced the number of current stalls as being between 600 and 625.

⁸¹ Interview with MO3M.



Figure 5-13 Demarcation of stall locations by the GAM. Source: GAM



Figure 5-14 Non-demarcated space for fruit and vegetable vendors.

Each of these demarcated squares should contain the stall of the vendor. The GAM had equipped the market with its own constructed stalls (See Figure 5-15); however, a municipal director in charge of the market said that the vendors insisted on their own structures.



Figure 5-15 the GAM's designed stall structure. Source: (Ammon, 2015).

The stalls were first organized by the GAM into an upper and lower market by typology.⁸² Clothes and shoes respectively, yet despite the market still being separated by a split level, the goods are not divided as planned.⁸³ (See Figure 5-16).

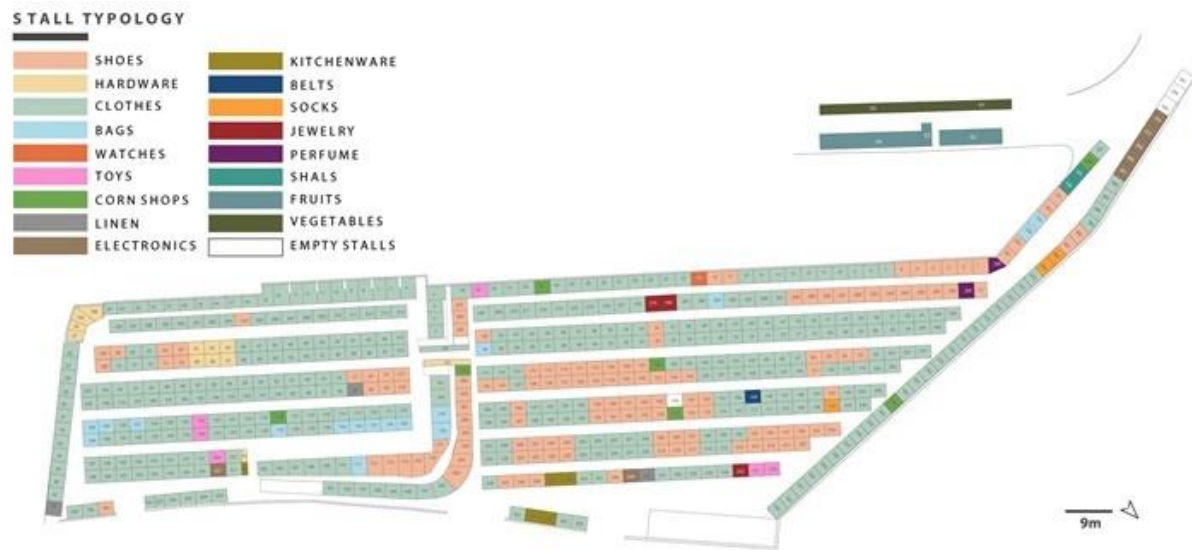


Figure 5-16 Various goods being sold. Mapped by researcher in December 2016. Source: Author based on GAM base map.

Thus, the layout prepared by the GAM did not remain the same (See Figure 5-17). Changes include the transfer of the vegetable and fruit market to the upper Western corner, the elimination and addition of some stalls as well as the movement of others (See Figure 5-17). The vegetables and fruits have been intentionally separated from the other goods as the GAM saw it as unhygienic to place food next to dry goods, like shoes and clothes. Nonetheless, there are kiosks selling food within the market. A municipal director in charge of the market explained that kiosks are not allowed in principle, but the GAM had allowed them out of necessity, as visitors and vendors would need refreshments, and moreover, because otherwise kiosk owners would lose their livelihood. He further explained that the GAM has treated the whole matter on a 'human level' and turned a blind eye towards them.⁸⁴

The corridors between the stalls are designed by the GAM to be between 0.8-3m and do not include areas for loading or unloading of vendors' trucks.

⁸² Interview with MO3M.

⁸³ The market is predominantly clothes while shoes come next. The other categories are significantly less, including: hardware, bags, watches, toys, kiosks, linens, electronics, kitchenware, belts, socks, jewellery, perfume, shawls and fruits and vegetables. Fruits and vegetables, however, have been totally separated on an overlooking land above the market (See Figure 5-16).

⁸⁴ Interview with MO3M.

All stall locations are fixed except the fruits and vegetable stalls that, despite remaining confined to the upper Western corner, undergo various spatial configurations (see Figure 5-16); they change their spatial organization as they are not demarcated like the rest of the market and have a larger space to occupy (See Figure 5-16 & Figure 5-18).

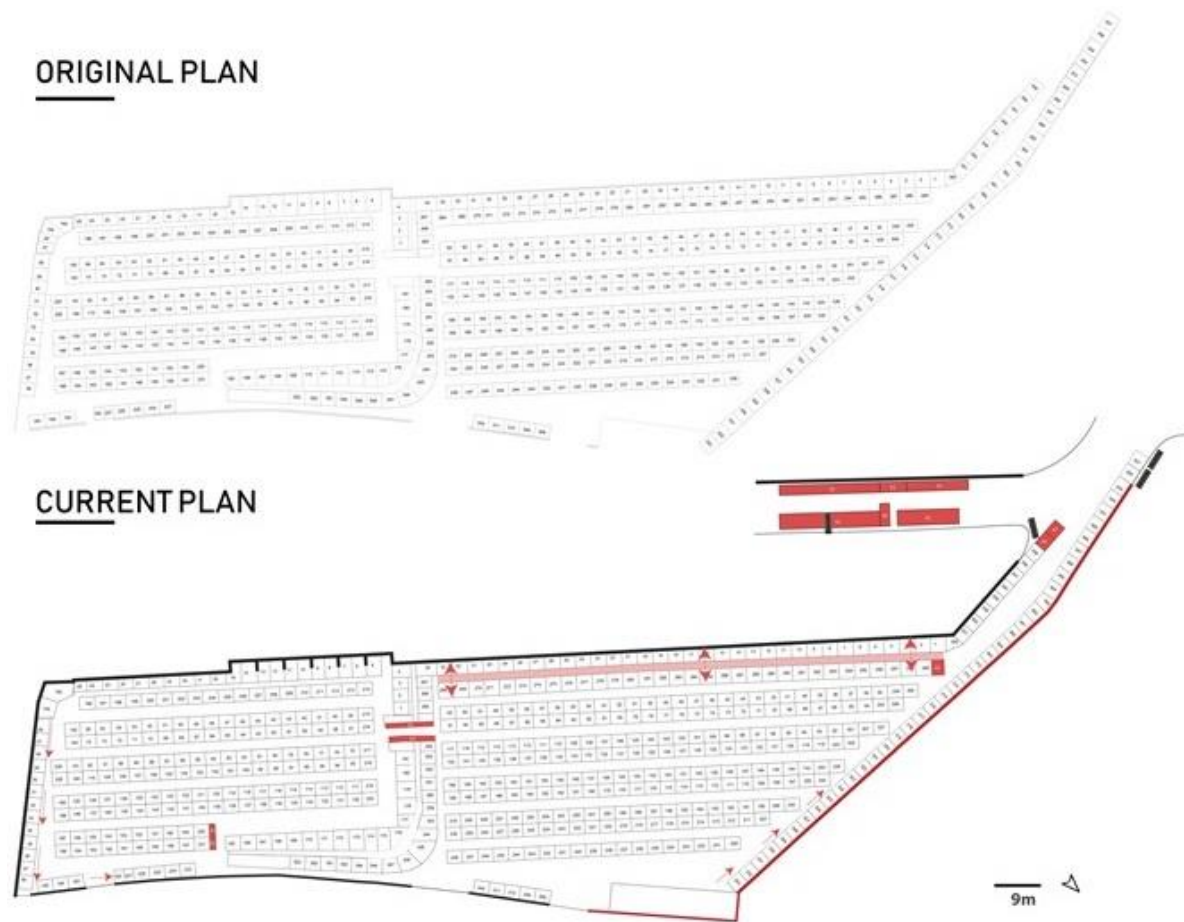


Figure 5-17 Original versus current plan of the market. Source: Author based on GAM base map.



Figure 5-18 Layout change of fruit and vegetable stalls.

The spatial layout of demarcated stalls does not change from Thursday to Friday because stalls remain all through the night until about 20:00 on Friday. By 20:00 the majority of stalls are

dismantled. A very few do, however, stay till 12:00 noon on Saturday. Vendors reported that they leave because they work in other markets on Saturday⁸⁵ while others explained that the market is poorly visited on Saturday and thus the stay is not rewarding financially.⁸⁶

5.4 Activities and behaviours

The activities observed in the market included those of the vendors and users. Vendors' main activities include: uploading, unloading, arranging goods, calling out to customers and selling. Users' main activities include: buying, talking, moving around, eating, drinking and sitting (See Figure 5-19 & Figure 5-20).



Figure 5-19 People sitting down at the administrative building after Friday prayer.

⁸⁵ Interview with RASa5M

⁸⁶ Interview with RasTA2M and RasTA9M



Figure 5-20 Some of the users' activities at the market.

The market usually starts between 13:00 and 14:00 on Thursday (see Table 5-1). A senior director at the GAM explains that this depends on the weather and what the GAM decides as the best timing. The GAM's onsite manager gives out numbers to the vendors by which he calls them in. The time needed for all vendors to get their goods in and set up their stalls is between 2-4 hours.⁸⁷ While the market's gates open between 13:00 and 14:00 (see Table 5-1), the vendors are already waiting outside. The pattern of their arrival varies: Some vendors reported that they had been waiting since 10:00; others at 12:00; while still others had just arrived at 14:00. Their preferences varied as well: Some preferred to wait for most vendors to enter before they did to ensure that their goods stay intact and in good shape. Others preferred to go in early to start selling as early as possible. Some had their goods in sacks; others would have already organized them on racks and clothes hangers (see Figure 5-21). Friday at 12:00 noon is the market's prime time, especially after prayer time. People start gathering on the benches to wait for other shoppers or just to take a rest. Some people use the three benches while others have discovered that the low wall of the service building also works as a bench (See Figure 5-19). The vendors themselves are busy from the moment they had assembled their stall parts and organized their goods. It was therefore a challenge to conduct an interview except a little before

⁸⁷ This is based on my fieldwork (Nov.16-Dec.16) (See section 3.9).

20:00 on Friday when they start dismantling. This contrasts with Saturday when there were less than 10 stalls.

Market Activity Timetable			
Thursday-Saturday (13:00 -12:00)			
Day	Timing	Action	Notes
Thursday	13:00-14:00	Permission by GAM employee for stall vendors to enter the market by numbers.	No users
	14:00 -16:00	Setting up of stalls	Some users/shoppers start to come in to the premises to get the best quality clothes. Sometimes some stalls are not set up till 17:00
	16:00-00:00	Selling	Some vendors stay all night while others work in shifts.
Friday	01:00 -00:00	Selling	Very few stay after 20:00
	20:00	Dismantling Phase 1	Most vendors leave after 20:00
Saturday	01:00 -12:00	Selling	Very few stalls remain. Very few people visit.
	12:00	Dismantling Phase 2	The remaining stalls that dismantle range between 5-8

Table 5-1 Activity timetable of the RAS based on observations and interviews with the participants.



Figure 5-21 Clothes organized for selling.

5.5 Intention of the vendors: Existential permanence

Despite the market being a space managed by the GAM, vendors found their own ways of self-management that matched and enhanced what is most important for them: their livelihood. 'It's like another son', a vendor narrates, 'it's my livelihood, and I have to protect it from everything' (RasTA12M), much like every other vendor would think and do.⁸⁸ Within the following section I will be exploring these ways and explain them as 'tactics of self-empowerment' through a proposed lens of *existential permanence*. I argue that *existential permanence* is an ordinary practice of everyday life produced by vendors to affect certain change within their space. This change is produced by tactics through which they proclaim their presence in pursuit of their livelihood and therefore contest the GAM market management dynamics.

5.5.1 Tactics of self-empowerment

A municipal director in charge of the market had reported that the GAM's priority is to manage and provide as basic services as possible to the market.

*'...we cannot grant them more legitimacy than they already have...when I start providing the vendors with more and more services, they return demanding for rights.'*⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Interview with RASa2M, RASa10M, RASa11F, RASa5M.

⁸⁹ Interview with MO3M.

This is manifested in the GAM's calculated indifference (see 5.6.1), mismatched vision (see 5.6.2) and uncertain temporal regulations (see 5.6.3) in relation to RAS, all of which will be explored in detail in section 5.6. The GAM's set of priorities created a gap in the market's management which threatened the vendors' livelihood. The vendors have therefore resorted to tactics that aim at empowering their functionality within the market. Below I explain the vendors' tactics, which took two forms of intangible and tangible tactics, why they resorted to them and the way vendors were able to contest the GAM management system.

The intangible tactics include:

i. Stall renting and subletting

Two municipal directors reported that renting the stalls and subletting them is a phenomenon within the market that is against the rules established for the market by the GAM.⁹⁰ They are both aware of this phenomenon and reported explicitly its illegality. Nonetheless, the phenomenon still takes place with rents that range between 25-160 JD's per week. Vendors rent stalls because of various reasons. Some of the reasons that vendors⁹¹ reported include:

- Some have a lot of goods and the space of one stall (3x3m) is therefore not enough.
- Most of the people renting out are wholesalers.
- Some of the rented stalls are owned by students who are continuing their education.
- Some of those vendors had stalls in Al-Abdali and were not given any in Ras Al-Ain and thus they rent.
- Some sublet in the summer season when business quieter.

ii. Migrant employment

In addition to renting and subletting, migrant employment is also a phenomenon within the market. Those migrants are Egyptians who are employed to sell. This is against the regulations of the GAM that specify that only the stall owner can sell at the stall (See Appendix D&E). Several directors⁹² at the GAM reported that they had had elimination campaigns in coordination with the Ministry of Labour yet the phenomenon nonetheless still takes place.

iii. Internal work organization

⁹⁰ Interview with MO3M, MO6M.

⁹¹ Interview with RASa12M, RASa7M, RASa5M, RASa11F.

⁹² Interview with MO3M, MO6M.

Despite the GAM having established a number system for organizing the vendors' entry into the market, vendors themselves had established an internal code of social cooperation whereby vendors would agree to let the furthest stall vendors in first, because if not, they would get in the way of other vendors whilst setting up. Internal work organization also includes vendors setting up their own working-hour system within the timetable established by the GAM. Thus, several vendors reported that they arrive and leave according to what suits them and their work.⁹³ However, this is structured within the timing and days specified by the GAM (See Table 5-1). This gives the vendors the opportunity to evaluate what is better for their business and when it is financially beneficial to stay or not. This includes leaving and coming in at various hours; and also working in shifts⁹⁴ and in groups (See Figure 5-22). Working in shifts means that more than one person would be selling in the stall around the clock. This, however, is not allowed by the permits issued by the GAM which specifies that only the owner is allowed to sell at the stall (See Appendix D&E).

⁹³ Interview with RASa6M, RASa8M, RASa1M, RASa9M, RASa2M.

⁹⁴ Interview with RASa6M, RASa8M, RASa1M.

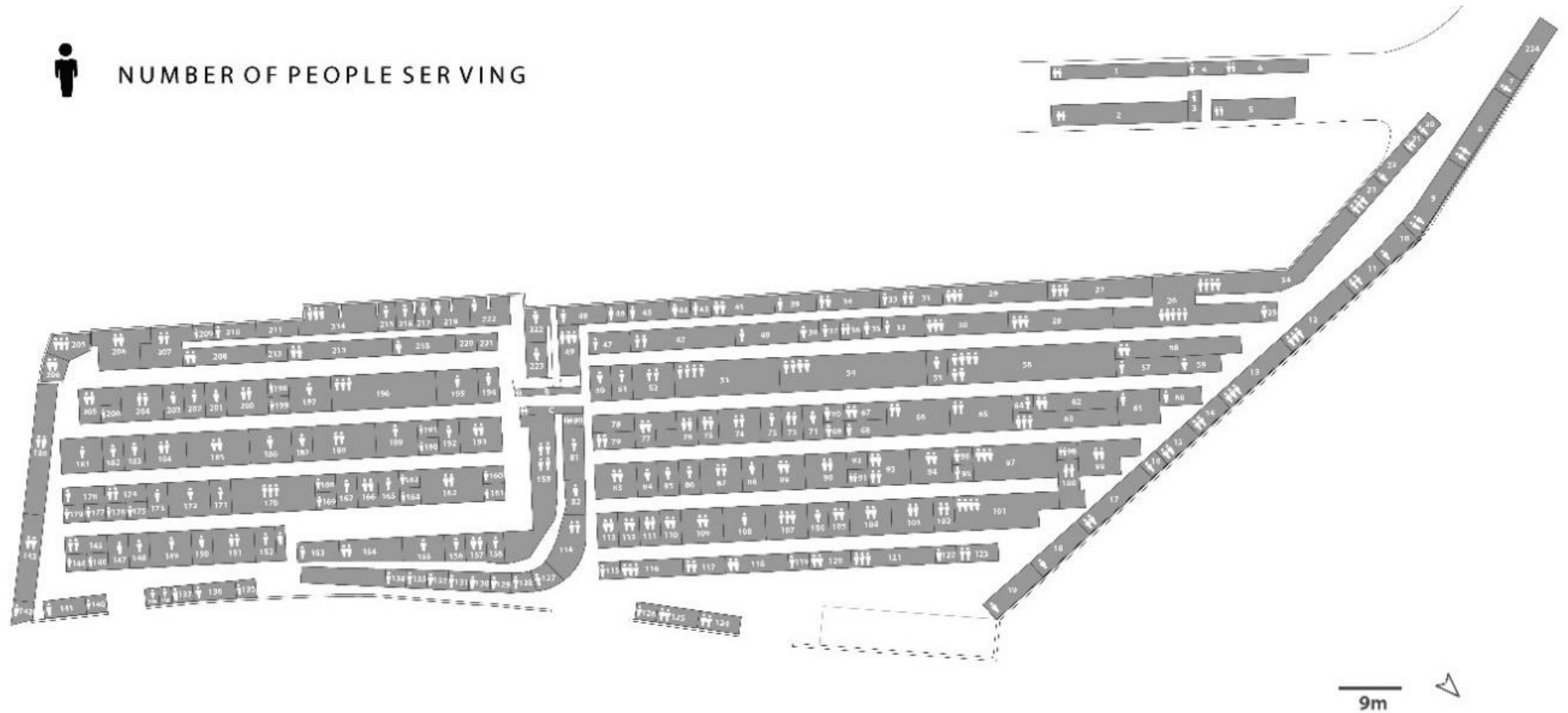


Figure 5-22 Multiple people serving stalls. Source: Author based on GAM base map.

iv. Chanting

The setup of the overhead covers of stalls display social communication and most importantly comradeship in which vendors would collaborate and would share ropes. Their social embeddedness is not only expressed through their social corporation but also in a coordinated chanting ritual. A vendor would chant a sentence while others would repeat after him. The chanting lines are catchy and funny; they rhyme and sometimes incorporate English words as well. Some vendors would also chant on their own (See Figure 5-23). Some of the chants include phrases such as 'these are European clothes that make an old woman look young'. Another would say: 'buy and throw away'. In a sense, they are so cheap you can afford to buy so many and then throw away what is worn out. Other chants included: 'I have felt coats suitable for Elite daughters (daughters of Elders)', 'I have sweaters against the weather', 'Grab and go for 3JD's ⁹⁵, 'Know what's best for you'. Others were shouting the prices of the pieces and their types such as: wool goods for 2 JD's, cottons for 1 JD ...etc. There were also some that had prejudices embedded like: 'Buy for hundred and win a Pilipino' or 'my clothes speak Indian'. The chanting seemed to come at times when the shopping was slow, thus they would make special offers hoping it would pick up. Other times, it seemed to be a strategy to energize themselves and the others. With over 600 stalls, it also seemed to be a strategy for marketing. One vendor reported it is part of entertaining the visitors.



Figure 5-23 Chanting vendors.

⁹⁵ 1JD=1.12£.

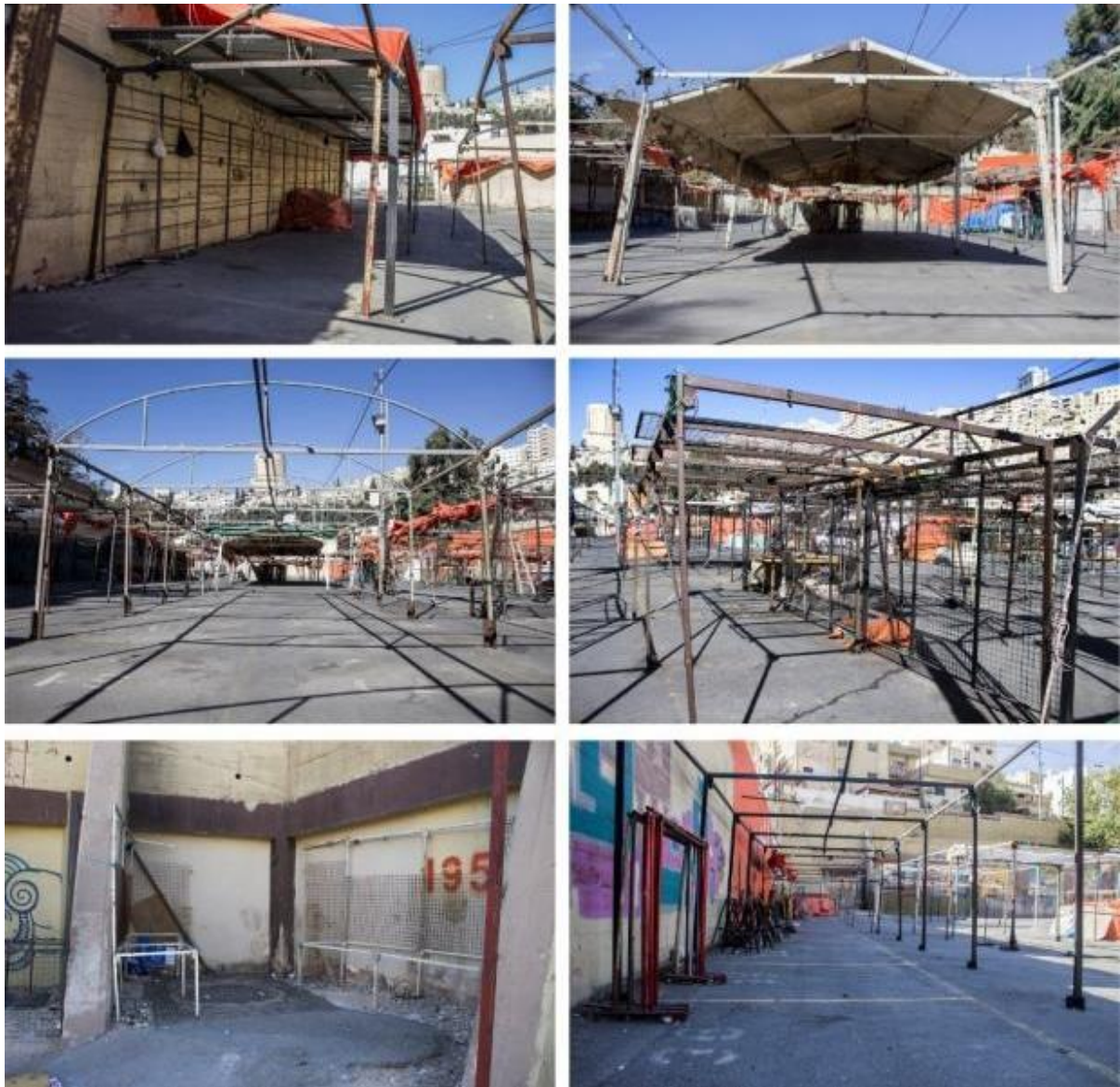


Figure 5-24 The market's different structures.

The tangible tactics include:

- i. Own structure

When the market was first established by the GAM, it included structures thought of as 'carriages'⁹⁶ that the GAM had designed to stand within the GAM- demarcated squares (See Figure 5-25). They consisted of steel frames with flat, green, porous fabric as an overhead cover and a table to display goods underneath. The table covered about quarter of the demarcated area (see Figure 5-25). This gives the vendors an approximately 2m² surface area to display items. A municipal director in charge of the market reported that they had produced about 400 stalls

⁹⁶ This was the term used by a municipal director in charge of the market (MO3M).

to be used, but the stall owners did not like them.⁹⁷ This was because they neither took the goods' typology into consideration, nor was the table surface area sufficient for their goods. They simply did not correspond to the vendors' needs.

The insufficiency of the stalls was a big issue for vendors because it directly threatened their livelihood. Hence, vendors pressurized the GAM and brought in their own stall structures, overhead covers and display tools. Many of those were the same that the vendors had used in Al-Abdali.⁹⁸ The structures show a high level of personalization (see Figure 5-24) and adaptation as they correspond to vendors' different goods: wooden trays, steel bars, steel grids, plastic hangers and interconnected hangers (see Figure 5-25). The overhead covers also show a collective understanding of durable yet cheap material that would withstand rain and wind in contrast to the one designed by the GAM. They are made out of a variety of coloured woven plastic (See Figure 5-7).

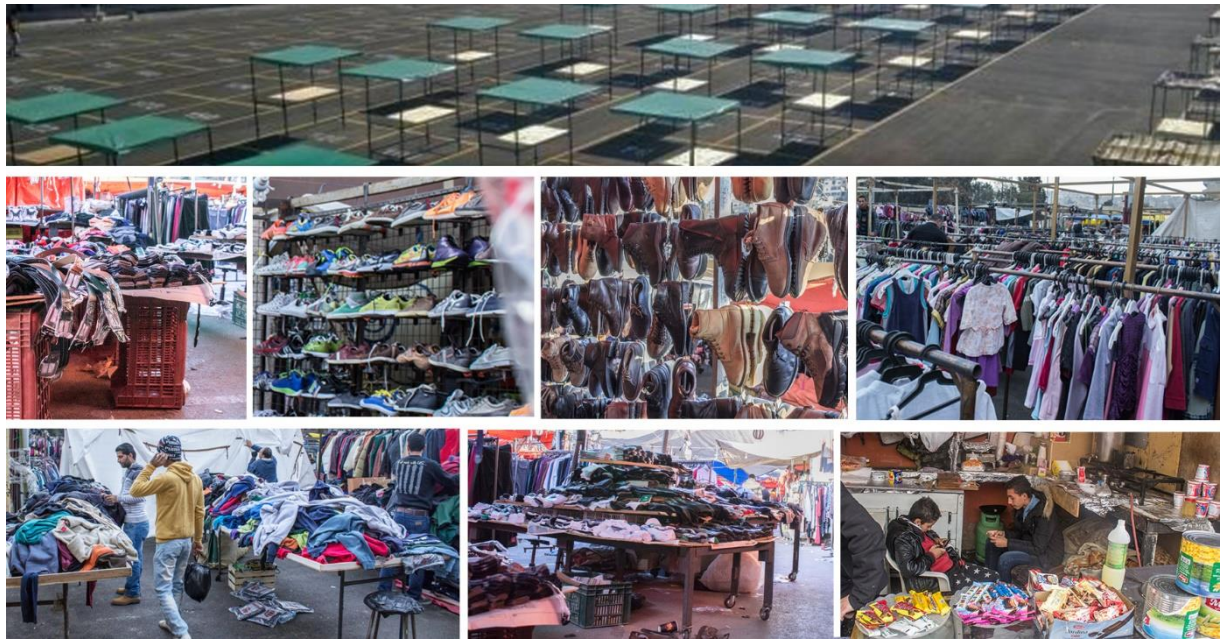


Figure 5-25 GAMs proposed stalls (first row) and vendors existing stalls (below).

ii. Own lighting system

A separate system of low light provision was established internally from within the market despite being illegal as reported by a municipal director in charge of the market. The GAM had provided floodlights that illuminate the market as a whole. They, however, were not adequate to view the display goods as the floodlights are naturally very high and thus would be higher than the overhead covers. As the covers are opaque, the light would not be able to penetrate,

⁹⁷ Interview with MO3M.

⁹⁸ Interview with RASa10M, RASa2M, RASa12M.

proving them useless to showcase the goods (See Figure 5-26). A vendor thus provides the service of installing low lights to other vendors. He made a living out of this and charges each vendor 1 JD per lamp.⁹⁹ All 600-625 stalls have had this lighting system installed as they were left with no alternative.



Figure 5-26 Vendors low lights (left) and the GAM floodlights (right).

iii. Alternative ways to unload and load

Vendors find alternative ways of loading and unloading due to several reasons:

- the problematic location of the market;
- the site's design;
- the GAM's prolonged procedures for vendors' entry and exit; and
- the unclear timetable of the market.

The site the GAM had selected for the market is problematic in several aspects (see section 5.3) but mainly it is problematic for unloading and uploading the vendors' trucks. Accessibility is one of the main issues of concern here due to several reasons. First, the market is located at a traffic junction (See Figure 5-7 & Figure 5-8). Second, it is bounded by a 30m-wide street divided by a traffic island (See Figure 5-6). Thirdly, it has four gates, only two of which are functioning. Finally, the site is not designed to include drop-offs (See Figure 5-5). This challenging location has been reported on several occasions)Al-Asmar, 2016 (and the GAM is fully aware of the problem, as explained by two municipal directors responsible for the market.¹⁰⁰ Because of the above problems, this location was classified as unfit for such a market by a senior municipal director; nonetheless, it has stayed at this location for 4 years.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Interview with RASa10M, RASa1M.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with MO3M, MO6M.

¹⁰¹ The market started running in 2015 and still is in the same location as of this year, 2019.

This complicated the process of unloading and loading because trucks cannot park at the gates and therefore block the street. Hence, they are forced to park on the pavement (See Figure 5-27) or drive into the market's corridors (see Figure 5-28). As previously stated, the site of the market is not designed to include loading or unloading areas; therefore, trucks drive into the market's corridors to unload and upload. As the corridors are narrow, they do not allow many trucks to come in. Trucks would take over the wider corridors while the narrower corridors remain for vendors' moving to unload and bring their goods to their stalls (see Figure 5-28). There is no alternative to this arrangement because the site of the market is enclosed by a wall and has only two functioning gates (See Figure 5-5).



Figure 5-27 Truck parking on the pavement to unload.



Figure 5-28 Trucks occupying the market's corridors.



Figure 5-29 Trucks parked at the western wall of the market to unload their goods over its lower edge.

This means that the time needed for all vendors to get their goods in and set up is between 2-4 hours.¹⁰² The process is further complicated by the fact that the market has no clear starting time but usually starts between 13:00 and 14:00 on Thursday (see Table 5-1). This depends on the weather and what the GAM decides is the best timing, as reported by one of the municipal directors responsible for the market.

The GAM's onsite manager gives out numbers to the vendors, calling them in. This prolonged and unclear process, added to the other problems explained above, means that some vendors do not comply and find other ways into getting their goods in in order to make use of the day. The method utilized is dropping goods over the lower, western wall and over the roof of the service

¹⁰² This is based on my fieldwork (Nov.16-Dec.16) (See section 3.9).

building to comrades who catch the sacks of goods in order to start getting them to the stalls for arrangement (See Figure 5-29& Figure 5-30).



Figure 5-30 Getting the goods through the 'back door'.

iv. Leaving display structure on site

Many leave their display structures at the site despite the fact that it is against regulations¹⁰³ because if left on site, it takes the vendors less time to set up and hence more time to sell.

As reported by the municipal director responsible of the market, contrary to Al-Abdali, stall owners at Ras Al-Ain are allowed to leave their structures on site, except for the overhead covers and display structures. He further explained that the exception was made as a response to the challenging accessibility of the site, as there are three entry/exit ways situated near a 4-

¹⁰³ Interview with MO3M.

by-4 lane street and a traffic light. This is not followed, however, as overhead covers and display structures are left within the site (See Figure 5-31).

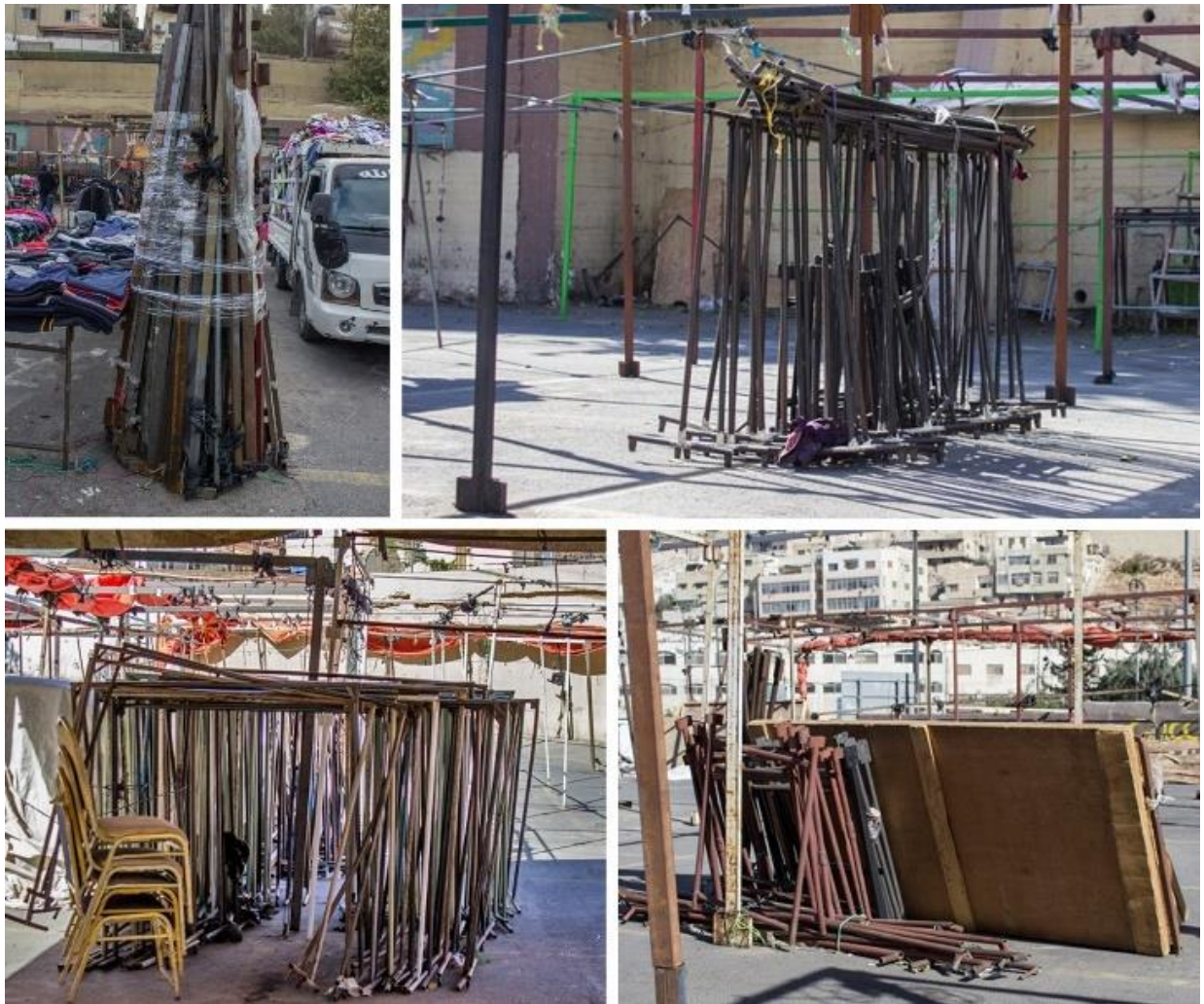


Figure 5-31 Display structures left on site.

v. Exceeding demarcation, adding stalls

Many stalls exceed their demarcation as a way to provide space for more goods, while stalls are also added in the market, which can be clearly identified as they are not demarcated.

Other mechanisms of self-empowerment include things that help vendors work around the clock. Some vendors have created their own heating by burning wood in metal containers; others have brought mattresses and bedcovers in order to work a 24-hour shift, while still others have organized working in shifts. Some have even brought their own electricity generator¹⁰⁴ or kerosene heaters (See Figure 5-32).

¹⁰⁴ Interview with RASa12M.

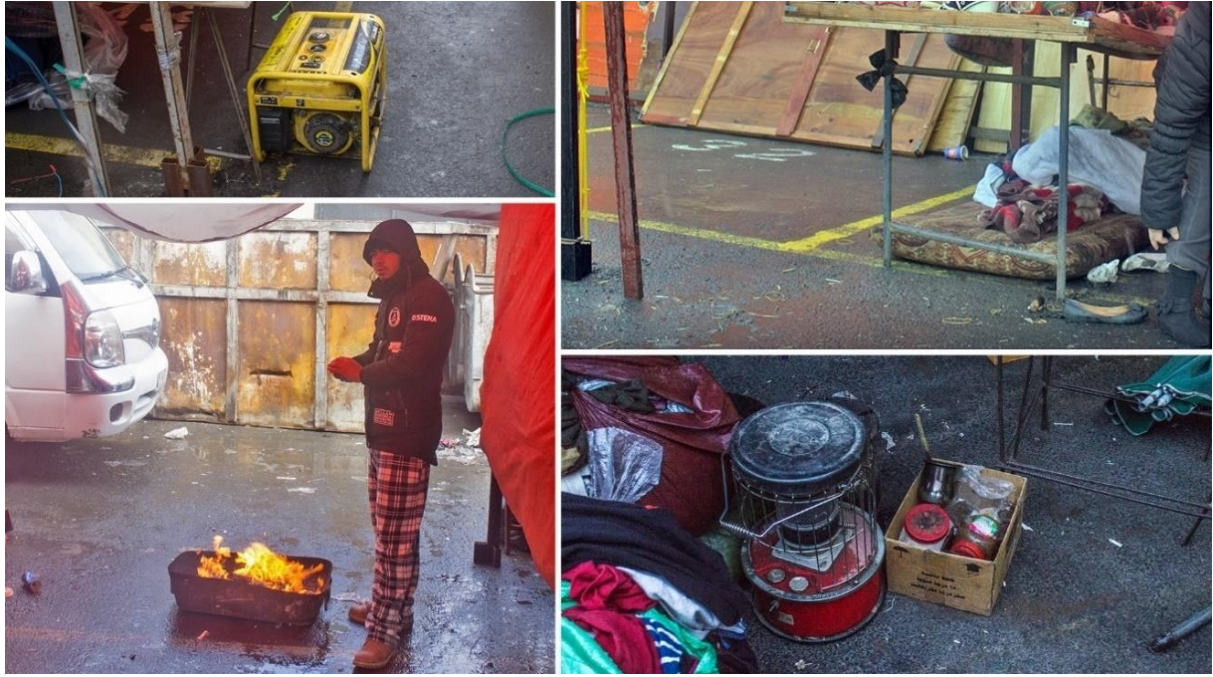


Figure 5-32 Mechanisms of self-empowerment: electricity generators, wood fires, mattresses and kerosene heaters.

5.5.2 Social pressure-forced tolerance

What supports the existential permanence of the market are the values its users hold. Those values not only form the social and economic logic of the market, but also attract a large and diverse visitor base. In the following paragraphs I will be explaining the social and economic values that people hold related to the market, the resulting large and diverse visitor base and how that constitutes social pressure on the GAM to tolerate the market.

The market users regard it as a place with an easy-going nature¹⁰⁵, a place of leisure¹⁰⁶ and full of liveliness.¹⁰⁷

The social value of the market is explained by a female user in her 20's:

*'...you do not feel confined...it is a place of leisure...I have fun...you feel free...we feel more at ease here...'*¹⁰⁸

A male in his 40's adds:

¹⁰⁵ Interview with RASus9F, RASus12F.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with RASus19M, RASus1F, RASus10M.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with RASus4F, RASus7F, RASpo5F.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with RASus9F.

*'...I come for a change...if I find something I like, I buy it, but otherwise I walk around ...the atmosphere here is lovely...I might buy tea from a kiosk...it's a leisure place.'*¹⁰⁹

Indeed, the market is described as an 'outing' (Al-Asmar, 2016) and as 'renowned' (Abu Tayr, 2016) by both users and a senior municipal official.¹¹⁰ It is further described by users as being like a tradition passed on between family and community members¹¹¹ and in its concept is an 'old popular market'.¹¹²

Its economic value is described as being both affordable and offering quality goods¹¹³ (Abu Hzaim, 2014; Abu Tayr, 2016). Furthermore, the market's extensive goods also contribute to its value because one can find everything here¹¹⁴ (Abu Tayr, 2016). It simply responds to all needs (Abu Tayr, 2016) (See Figure 5-16).

Field observations, interviews and archives point to the diverse socio-economic and ethnic nature of the market's visitors (Abu Tayr, 2016). Market users, vendors and populace alike explained how the market caters to both poor and rich who come to the market in search of quality goods.

*'...it is within everybody's reach, it is a good place, you see simple people and also people who are 'wow'...'*¹¹⁵

*'...it caters to all community groups, you can see better-off people and you see poor people, so everybody, everybody...'*¹¹⁶

*'it is visited by all community groups, it assimilates all people rich and poor, yes all people, rich and poor...'*¹¹⁷

The diverse ethnic nature of the visiting people is also reported (Abu Tayr, 2016). A young vendor, explains:

*'you see all ethnicities...I have learned to speak English from this market...people come from Britain, the USA ...even expats come here...'*¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁹ Interview with RASus17M.

¹¹⁰ Interview with with MO5M, RASus6M, RASus4F, RASus11F.

¹¹¹ Interview with RASus9F, RASus1F, RASus6M.

¹¹² Interview with RASpo3F.

¹¹³ Interview with RASus8F, RASus1F, RASus6M, RASus4F, RASus14M, RASus19M, RASus5F.

¹¹⁴ Interview with RASus8F, RASus11F, RASus17M.

¹¹⁵ Interview with RASus8F.

¹¹⁶ Interview with RASus12F.

¹¹⁷ Interview with RASus17M.

¹¹⁸ Interview with RASa1M.

An older vendor asserts the same and adds that:

*'Indian, Buddhists...you find all sorts...everybody...elders, the poor, the rich, Arabs, Russian, Italians, Belgians, Germans, American...'*¹¹⁹

The market has been featured on Culture Trip¹²⁰ as one of the top 10 markets to visit in Amman (Esfandiari, 2017) and also on Lonely Planet as one of the places to visit while being in Amman (Fitzgerald, 2018).

The users' diversity of social class and ethnicity has also been reported to be varied in its social patterns (Abu Tayr, 2016; Al-Asmar, 2016). This includes different ages, different genders, different sets of relations. This was affirmed by my observations carried out between November 2016-December 2016.

This social and economic logic of the market creates pressure on the GAM to tolerate it. The large and diverse visitor base illustrates its success and puts further pressure on the GAM. The GAM '...is forced in a way or another to do this ...they have to find an outlet, otherwise those people will turn their lives into a living hell...'.¹²¹ A senior municipal official explains that this pressure comes from the fact that the market is simply renowned to all people of Amman and the people even consider it a formal market. He further explains that the market has:

*'...become a reality' despite '...the absence of any official regulation that asserts the GAM's responsibility to manage it...we simply cannot eliminate it now.'*¹²²

Hence, despite the GAM's organization of the market, they are not comfortable with it.¹²³ The GAM is forced to 'bite the bullet'¹²⁴; it is not that the GAM is a hero but rather it is forced to do this.¹²⁵ A vendor explained that the GAM was forced to create this market also because of all the disputes and tensions since Al-Abdali was closed just to get the people off their back for a while.¹²⁶ That is what is happening in reality as the GAM is not able '...to get rid of those people' as explained by a municipal director in charge of the market. Another senior municipal official explained that it simply happens against their will.¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ Interview with RASa12M.

¹²⁰ Culture Trip is a global startup that covers various stories about travel, media and entertainment. It has won British Media Awards for International Editorial Content Team of the Year 2018 and Forbes award for Five Fast-Growing British Businesses to Watch in 2017.

¹²¹ Interview with EX2M.

¹²² Interview with MO5M.

¹²³ Interview with EX4M.

¹²⁴ The Arabic proverb used was: *Majbour akhaaka la batal*. This was the closest translation.

¹²⁵ Interview with EX2M.

¹²⁶ Interview with RASa5M.

¹²⁷ Interview with MO5M.

5.6 Responses and intentions of the GAM: Intentional temporariness

*'My responsibility as GAM is to safeguard the city and to offer my services towards this city in a correct manner. My social commitment is to offer this market, but you (the vendor) are not forced upon me, you don't force yourself on me...when I go to the Ministry of Social Development and beg to get a piece of land for 25 million JD's so as to provide a place for someone to sell and end up with him being ungrateful? And in the end, he is forced on me? My duty is to assess those people, who they are and why they exist and till when. I establish this market. I, establish it as temporary. It is designated as a temporary daily market. It's not named Muqabelain market or Ras Al-Ain market, it's named Friday Market, it operates on Friday. If that doesn't suit me, I'll transfer it to Sunday. You (the vendor) don't force yourself upon me.'*¹²⁸

Within this section I will argue that the GAM practices *intentional temporariness* as a mode of space management of RAS. I will argue that this mode of management is defined by the GAM's calculated indifference (See section 5.6.1), its mismatched vision (See section 5.6.2) and its uncertain temporal regulations (See section 5.6.3).

While it might be claimed that making exceptions for markets, such as RAS, points to a lack of planning strategies or haphazardness, I assert that the GAM includes RAS within its governing system through its permits and regulations, and thus it has become part of its system. However, the GAM resorts to a management mode of *intentional temporariness* so as not to commit to these kinds of markets, and not to provide the vendors with any sense of legitimacy. Within this framework, this management mode not only provides a feeling of sovereignty but confronts the vendors' rights to claim. Furthermore, it keeps the door open to the option of retreat from their expected responsibilities towards this market at any time.

5.6.1 Calculated indifference

Within this section I put forward the concept of *calculated indifference* as one of the GAM practices of its managing mode of intentional temporariness. I present *calculated indifference* as a practice whereby the GAM withdraws or limits its market provisions with the intention to prevent the market from gaining any solid sense of legitimacy or permanence. Below I will explore the GAM actions that produce the notion of calculated indifference.

¹²⁸ Interview with MO3M.

When the GAM relocated the market, the official rhetoric was democratization¹²⁹ (Addustour, 2014b; Al-Ghad, 2014a), order and aesthetics¹³⁰ (Addustour, 2014c; Al-Ghad, 2014e; Al-Rai, 2014d) and social commitment¹³¹ (Addustour, 2014c; Al-Ghad, 2014c; Al-Rai, 2014e; Quna, 2014). It had given the vendors the opportunity to come up with their own suggestions for its relocation site¹³² (Al-Ghad, 2014a), promised to provide a high-standard market with security, services and surveillance that will ensure success in this new location¹³³ (Addustour, 2014d; Al-Ghad, 2014e). It clearly showed its social commitment through providing this alternative market at the new location¹³⁴, including providing land, work opportunities and a longer period of operation which included an additional working day on Saturday (Al-Ghad, 2014f). It had further expressed the notion of social commitment through explaining that the process of stall allocation will be and has been a transparent process by announcing the stall selection regulations, the accepted vendors' names and providing the possibility to complain through a systematic process (Addustour, 2014b; Addustour, 2014e; Al-Ghad, 2014h; Al-Rai, 2014c). However, the way the GAM presents its position and how it perceives the market is quite different.

Protected by recurrent rhetoric of social responsibility, order and aesthetics, it explains its control of the market as a legitimate and needed measure¹³⁵ (Al-Ghad, 2014d). Yet, multiple problems emerge regarding the market that create a paradox between the GAM's official rhetoric, its actual decisions and the current situation of the market. The problem started with who had been assigned legitimacy to decide where the market was to be placed. Despite the rhetoric of democratization, manifested by the GAM in allowing vendors to suggest alternative sites for their relocation, none of the vendors' proposals had been considered.¹³⁶ Even though vendors had been more successful in choosing their sites over the years and even though most of the GAM's site choices, if not all, had been a failure (Abu Khalil, 2014), the final site had been selected by the GAM.¹³⁷

The paradox is further demonstrated by the GAM clashing with its own rhetoric of social responsibility, order and aesthetics. The GAM itself bypassed its own criteria for the selection

¹²⁹ Interview with MO3M.

¹³⁰ Interview with MO6M.

¹³¹ Interviews with MO6M, MO3M, MO5M

¹³² Interview with MO3M.

¹³³ Interview with MO6M, MO3M.

¹³⁴ Interview with MO6M.

¹³⁵ Interview with MO3M.

¹³⁶ Interview with RASa9M.

¹³⁷ Interview with MO3M.

of temporary markets location. According to an interview with a director at the GAM¹³⁸, the selection criteria of temporary markets are based on:

- i. Being far away from residential agglomerations;
- ii. not located at dangerous traffic junctions; and
- iii. with an adequate area.

The market is, however, located within a residential agglomeration (See section 5.3), is at a dangerous traffic junction as clarified by a senior director at the GAM¹³⁹ (See section 5.3) and finally its vendors and users complain of its inadequate space.¹⁴⁰ A plea was actually published in *Addustour* national newspaper for establishing a larger area for the market (Al-Qaisi, 2016). The inadequate space is further exemplified by a set of internal conditions, including over-crowding gender as well as servicing issues. Over-crowding is a major issue with people complaining of difficulties in manoeuvring through the corridors between stalls.¹⁴¹ Corridors range from 0.8cm to 3m. These corridors are to serve users and the stall vendors of about 600 stalls.¹⁴² This lack of space also produces gender-sensitive issues of body proximity in a society where a female's personal space is very sacred. Women complained of men bumping into them.¹⁴³ Some men also complained about this issue¹⁴⁴ and of the uneasiness they feel if they come with their wives or daughters.¹⁴⁵ The width of the corridors also means that the market is not capable of accommodating emergencies, such as the entry of an ambulance or fire trucks, which puts the market at risk. The over-crowding is heightened by the wall that surrounds the market and the fact that it has only two functioning gates, in addition to the western entry way. Some vendors share their worries about this over-crowding ¹⁴⁶(Salameh, 2018) with some describing it as 'a prison'¹⁴⁷ (Salameh, 2018) or even 'Guantanamo'¹⁴⁸.

This location selected by the GAM against its own criteria produced other problems. One of those is the process of loading and unloading. As the site was not designed for loading and unloading, the wider corridors of the market become blocked by trucks doing so while the smaller corridors have vendors bringing in their goods for arrangement (See Figure 5-28). This

¹³⁸ Interview with MO6M.

¹³⁹ Interview with MO6M.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with RASus16M, RASus8F, RASus6M, RASus19M, RASus10M, RASus9M, RASus6M, RASus5M.

¹⁴¹ Interview with RASus17M, RASus8F, RASus7F, RASus6M, RASus11F, RASus19M, RASus10M, RASus2F.

¹⁴² Interview with directors responsible of the market estimated the stalls as about 600-625 (MO3M, MO6M).

¹⁴³ Interview with RASus12F, RASus10M, RASus8F.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with RASus17M, RASus16M.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with RASus15M, RASus13M.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with RASus12M.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with RASus6M.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with RASus10M.

process takes between 2-4 hours and causes traffic jams. It also proved dangerous as trucks were moving in the market's passageways where people stood or moved (see Figure 5-28). There is no alternative to this arrangement because the site of the market is walled. The market being at such a difficult traffic junction (see section 5.3) should motivate the establishment of a proper unloading and loading area; however, as the location is space-limited, the GAM decided to use only its two gates and the western entry point. This meant that trucks would park at the sides of the streets or on the pavements waiting to unload or upload (see Figure 5-27). Had the GAM provided wider corridors, drop-off areas and proper entry and exits, this would have meant less stalls. In retrospect, this would indicate the need for an alternative site to host the approximately 600 stalls or to remain in Al-Abdali, neither of which the GAM would do.

Another issue of calculated indifference is the GAM's social detachment, apparent in its servicing of the market. The stalls it provided for the vendors consisted of a table and an overhead structure which was not weather-proof as it was covered with a porous overhead material (See Figure 5-15). This would provide shelter neither for visitors moving in the market's corridors, nor for the vendors' goods. The stalls also did not correspond to the variety of goods these vendors sell; moreover, only covered part of the vendors' demarcated area. The GAM's provision of floodlights failed to illuminate the vendors' goods (See section 5.5). Adjustments to the site were limited in preparing it to function as market grounds (See section 5.3), disregarding the above-addressed issue of loading and unloading. Limitations also included the parking arrangements the GAM had established for the market. The current parking lot used for the market is owned by the GAM and is used during the week by the Jordanian Electric Power Company (JEPCO) and by the market's visitors on weekends. The visitor needs to cross a 5-lane street to reach an island and then another 4-lane street to reach the market. This multiple crossing challenges access to the market when it operates on Thursday and Friday nights, while it is less of a challenge on Friday morning¹⁴⁹ as most streets are free of cars. This challenging location has been reported on several occasions (Al-Asmar, 2016). Moreover, the parking spots are limited during the market's peak hours which drives buyers to park in front of further-away shops, houses and in prohibited parking spots¹⁵⁰ (Al-Asmar, 2016).

As for other market services, they do not correspond to the number of users. The W.C. is 8m² per gender bathroom, the prayer room is 18.5 m² and the whole 8 dunums¹⁵¹ (0.8 Ha) of market

¹⁴⁹ Friday and Saturday are the official days off in Jordan.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with RASpo15M, RASpo12M.

¹⁵¹ 1 Dunum= 0.1 Ha

space has three benches (with a dimension of 1.5x 0.4 m) to serve the visiting users (See Figure 5-12). These are to accommodate the users of the market's 625 stalls in addition to its vendors. However, it could be argued that such typologies of markets do not usually have such services; nonetheless, the market's location and land use isolate the site from any kind of services and the users would therefore have no access to any kind of services. This limitation of services has been clarified as intentional by a municipal director in charge of the market, who explained that they are limiting these services because the GAM has already given the vendors enough legitimacy in establishing it the way it is and that if more services were provided, they would lend legitimacy to the vendors' 'rights to claim'.¹⁵²

The GAM also seems to think that this market is run and visited by the poor underclass¹⁵³ but as explained earlier it is visited by a diverse array of people coming from various ethnicities, genders, classes and countries (See 5.5.2). Yet, it is not only the GAM that has this preconceived idea about the market; there were few of my interviewees who refused to even try to visit the market, deeming it filthy, full of migrants and posing ethical problems.¹⁵⁴ It is a cultural issue that some people do not like to be associated with second-hand markets, seeing them as a refuge for poor families which is not a category that they would like to be linked to. Indeed, negative perceptions of street vending seems also to be coupled with the idea that such markets do not operate in elite neighbourhoods or rich countries (Bromley, 2000).

The GAM's social detachment and their understanding of the market as being class-bound seemed to have affected their site selection. Being within a lower socio-economic setting, would make any complaints the GAM gets of less priority. The residents are not investors whose needs they would need to comply with, such as Al-Abdali's investors. Indeed, the GAM had received complaints as the Al-Abdali area became a new development area and the market presented an image that does not comply with this new location envisioned as Amman's new downtown.¹⁵⁵ As one senior official has noted: 'it offends it'¹⁵⁶. Thus, because it became a threat to the Al-Abdali upscale development, it was shipped elsewhere.¹⁵⁷ Despite the big signs the GAM had hung up announcing the market, it is not comfortable with the image of the market and it is as if they are nearly ashamed of it.¹⁵⁸ This resonates on a larger scale with when Jordan received FIFA Women's World Cup teams in 2016 and Muqablain's Saturday market was closed off

¹⁵² Interview with MO3M.

¹⁵³ Interview with MO3M.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with RASpo13M, RASpo12M, RASpo4F.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with MO6M, MO5M.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with MO5M.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with EX2M.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with EX4M.

because the teams' buses passed by the market's land.¹⁵⁹ These markets are not an image that the GAM would like its spaces to be associated with. Therefore, it is sort of spatial politics of space because in this new location it '...doesn't represent any danger towards different interests because it's far away [...] away not in my backyard, from the point of view of the upper Abdali [...] it's now in a neutral place'¹⁶⁰. As a resident of the area of the new location explained:

*'it's obvious that there is a man of influence behind the market's relocation, he didn't like the image of the stalls, in this area, there is no one who has the power to disdain it...'*¹⁶¹

Calculated indifference is thus demonstrated by the GAM's intentional social detachment, as well as its conscious bypassing of its own criteria for temporary markets. The reality of the current market clashes with the GAM's official rhetoric and its recurrent idea of the creation of a successful functioning market.

5.6.2 Mismatched vision

It was further announced by the GAM that this market is temporary and will be relocated near Al Mahatta bus station (Al-Ghad, 2014f) . This was, however, debatable, as various officials of the GAM had different visions of the market. This included the visions of eliminating, formalizing or promoting this phenomenon of markets. For instance, a director at the GAM questioned the whole concept of the market.¹⁶² He explained this position by claiming that everything the vendors sell is available in other markets. Moreover, he thinks the vendors are merchants who have branches in other markets. He adds that the GAM also has the responsibility to protect malls and other commercial outlets. He therefore proposes various visions including:

- i. its future dissolution;
- ii. its re-establishment to include only people who do not have any work opportunities at all and thus become need-bound; or
- iii. to transfer responsibility whereby the Ministry of Social Development would take the problem into its hands.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with RASa10M.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with EX2M.

¹⁶¹ Interview with RASpo12M.

¹⁶² Interview with MO3M.

Otherwise, he explains, the market would remain as is in the same exact location. This would mean that no relocation is to take place. Relocation, he emphasizes, is not possible as many feasibility studies have been carried out by himself on potential lands and no land is available to encompass the space needed and meet the GAM's criteria for temporary markets. A senior municipal director in charge of the market, however, contends that the market will be relocated and that the GAM is currently studying alternative locations. He adds that he envisions the market to be turned into specialized markets, each selling separate typologies of goods, and for all separate daily markets to be joined into formalized, built markets under one roof to ensure better control and management through formal labour permits.¹⁶³ On the other hand, a top planner at the GAM supports these kinds of market and thinks that they should be promoted at various levels of the city and for them to offer various services such as seasonal vegetable and fruit markets or flower markets...etc. She explains their existence within the city as 'healthy' and 'needed' because if this need did not exist, these markets would not have surfaced.¹⁶⁴

Hence the GAM's markets vision is open to many suggestions without a unified platform. This mismatched vision creates a situation of uncertainty for vendors and keeps the future of the market up in the air. As the main stakeholder at the GAM, responsible for the market, sees it as superfluous, an intentionally fragmented vision is created as no unified platform is established or brought forward.

5.6.3 Uncertain temporal regulations

I argue within this section that the uncertainty of the market's regulations introduces a margin of manoeuvre for the GAM, without its coming under pressure to grant extensive changes in their system to organize and commit to providing the vendors with 'access' to the city. The uncertainty of regulations is manifested in the insecurity of tenure, absence of labour laws and partial inclusivity. It is part of its *intentional temporariness* mode of management as it creates a vacuum of legitimacy that constantly puts the market at risk. In the following sections, I will first introduce the existing framework of dispersed regulation system of temporary spaces; thereafter, I will explore the specific regulations of the market and show its uncertainty.

Dispersed regulating system

The existing regulating system that deals with temporary uses is dispersed amongst various departments within the GAM. Each of which is dealing with different conditions of temporary phenomena in the city (See Table 5-2). This has complicated the possibilities of communication

¹⁶³ Interview with MO6M.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with MO2F.

as many departments and hierarchies are involved. It also points to a clear problem: the absence of a shared platform that connects the whole issue of temporary spaces.

Type of temporary use	Responsible department
Street stalls	Department of Property and Jobs and Permits Department.
Livestock markets	The City Department of Health Affairs.
Watermelon tents	The Central Market Department
Temporary daily markets	Department of the Central Market and the Department of Markets Specialized Utilities.
Temporary use of public gardens and the GAM facilities	Department of Property, Department of Agriculture, Director of culture and Department of Social Development.

Table 5-2 Dispersed regulating system of temporary uses within the GAM.

Uncertain temporal regulations

When the Al-Abdali Market was relocated to Ras Al-Ain it had two sets of regulations, a written (See Appendix D&E&F) and a verbal set of regulations. The written regulations address the overall issue of the market while the verbal one addresses its day-to-day organization within its three operational days. The uncertainty of the written temporal regulations is characterized by an insecurity of tenure, absence of labour laws and their partial inclusivity. This is clear in its permit specifications that state that:

- i. The permit's validity is 6 months after which the GAM has the right to terminate or renew it;
- ii. the GAM has the right to withdraw or/and eliminate the stall permit if any of the conditions are not met;
- iii. it has the right to eliminate the permit and transfer the stall to other locations within or outside the market and the stall owner has no right to object or demand any compensations from any court in the case of relocation; and
- iv. the GAM has the right to eliminate or transfer the market, and the stall owner has no right to object or demand any financial or other compensation and if he did, it might lead to him being prosecuted in court.

This insecurity of tenure, and the lack of labour laws, produces a situation of uncertainty. The lack of proper institutionalisation also puts it always at risk.¹⁶⁵ A senior official at the GAM justifies ‘the lack of temporary use regulations’ as there needs to be control, planning and ownership.¹⁶⁶ However, as I explored above, there are regulations, there are permits and there are exceptions. That means that they have become part of the regulating system of the GAM, yet these regulations are uncertain.

Vendors feel the market’s insecurity and explain that with the elimination of Al-Abdali Market, their hope to live a decent life had been crushed.¹⁶⁷ Vendors further explain that they have no job stability as this notion does not exist. One vendor explains:

*'It is as if they are nearly executing the markets. We used to sell at Sahab's Monday market, Muqablain's Tuesday market, Naser's Wednesday market and Abdali's Thursday and Friday market and Qweismeh's Saturday market. Our life was tip top; then suddenly Monday market disappeared, Tuesday market vanished, that vanished. They destroyed us; suddenly they deleted us'*¹⁶⁸

The verbal regulations are similarly uncertain in their nature as they are changeable. These include the starting time of the market, the mechanism of loading and unloading, and breaking rules. When I asked a senior director at the GAM about the start of the market, the conditions given were indecisive and conditioned by multiple factors giving the vendors no clear or decisive starting time.¹⁶⁹ The vendors had complained about this issue; some mentioned that they were promised to start at 11 A.M. and related the indecisiveness to the mood of the GAM management team. The site management team themselves were indecisive about its start. I witnessed an array of starting times in my fieldwork at the market.¹⁷⁰

Land ownership

Uncertainty is also manifested in the land’s ownership. The GAM had officially stated its social commitment to the market by land provision.¹⁷¹ The land had been bought by the GAM through acquisition to establish the opera house but till now the project is halted. There is yet no certainty that this will remain so. As the vendors had witnessed, they might be informed one day that the market will not be functioning anymore because of issues of the land ownership,

¹⁶⁵ Interview with EX2M.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with MO5M

¹⁶⁷ Interview with RASa10M.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with RASa14M.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with MO6M.

¹⁷⁰ My fieldwork period: Nov.16-Dec.16.

¹⁷¹ Interview with MO3M.

such as what happened with the Tuesday market incident which was eliminated because its original owner asked for the land's retrieval.¹⁷²

The GAM clearly announces that the land on which the market is functioning is not theirs and that they had taken the permission of the state to establish the market, even if only temporarily.¹⁷³ Thus, there is no guarantee that it will remain so, especially if related to market dynamics. So 'if they are subjected to a phase in which this space becomes a hot space, all dynamics change...it's about where the hot places are...'¹⁷⁴ And all these dynamics are interesting '...because the vendors were kicked out of Al-Abdali just because of new architecture that's going to come and replace them and instead they went to a place where new architecture failed...'¹⁷⁵ So, if the economy flourishes, the land might rise in value again and then the market might be relocated. As explained to me by a senior municipal official, this land had been acquired for at least 10 million JD's, which speaks for the exchange value of the land and its development possibilities when the economy uplifts.¹⁷⁶ The uncertainty of regulation also showcases the value the GAM holds for the market and is related to whom the services are provided. Indeed, the practices of the GAM are very much related to who the clientele are.¹⁷⁷ As a planning expert explains:

'In...Amman Design Week¹⁷⁸, they were open-armed and provided them with anything they needed ...so the GAM made everything so easy for its clientele...decisions are not being institutionalized ...that's why it's very temporal and not for a long period of time.' ¹⁷⁹

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter started by providing a brief history of the market in addition to an illustration of its spatial conditions and activities. It showed that the market does not project an image that the GAM likes to be associated with. It had been subjected to several relocations until it ended up in the Ras Al-Ain area. That is after the Upper Abdali economic development exerted pressures on the GAM for its relocation. The spatial conditions of the new site showcased that the market is placed in a predominantly residential area, has a population with a lower socio-

¹⁷² Interview with RASa10M.

¹⁷³ Interview with MO3M.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with EX2M.

¹⁷⁵ Interview with EX5F.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with MO5M.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with EX2M.

¹⁷⁸ Amman design week is an event held to celebrate and promote design and creativity in Amman. It is part of a large network for design weeks and festivals around the globe.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with EX2M.

economic status and is about a quarter the size of its previous plot in Al-Abdali. Furthermore, it showed that it has a challenging location due to being located at a dangerous traffic junction. Its space has also been challenging because it is walled and has limited services without adequate space. This includes having no loading and unloading area, emergency exits or adequate services for users or vendors. It lacks sufficient W. C.'s and praying spaces. It is, however, deemed successful as it draws in a large, diverse visitor base, inclusive of various social patterns, ethnicities, genders and religions.

The analytical part on the other hand provided the background information for the cross-case analysis of the research's three cases the results of which are discussed and compared in Chapter 9. It explains that the market is in a dual state of management, driven on one hand by the vendors and, on the other hand, by the state's intentions. It is driven by the vendors' intention of livelihood while the state's response is driven by intentional temporariness as a mode of managing the market. Hence, the analysis included two main sections: the intention of the vendors and the response of the state. In the first section, I showed how vendors found their own ways of managing themselves which empowers them and matches and enhances their livelihood. These 'tactics of self-empowerment' took two forms: intangible and tangible tactics. The intangible tactics included: stall renting and subletting, migrant labour employment, internal work organization and chanting. The tangible tactics included establishing their own structures, lighting system, alternative ways of loading and unloading, leaving display structures on site, exceeding the demarcation lines and adding stalls. I argue that these tactics are part of the existential permanence of the market in the sense that they are behaviours that strive for creating a successful livelihood and making their stay possible and efficient. These tactics are just ordinary practices invented by vendors to effect change within their space and are not revolutionary or a form of guerrilla resistance. They are changes that secure their livelihood. Therefore, their aim is not a direct contestation of the GAM's management of the market.

This existential permanence nature of the market is supported by the values its users see in it. These are social and economic values that people see in the market which produced a large and diverse visitor base that forms a social pressure on the GAM to tolerate the market.

The second section tackled the response of the state. It argues that the GAM uses a mode of management that is characterized by intentional temporariness to address this market. I showcase how this mode of management is defined by the GAM's calculated indifference, its mismatched vision and its uncertain temporal regulations. I present *calculated indifference* as

a practice in which the GAM withdraws or limits its market provisions with the intention to depriving the market of any solid sense of legitimacy or permanence. This was illustrated in the GAM's intentional social detachment, and its conscious bypassing of its own criteria for temporary markets. Another aspect of the GAM's intentional temporariness mode of management is its mismatched vision for the market. I show how the GAM's market vision is open to many suggestions without a unified platform. This mismatched vision creates a situation of uncertainty for vendors and keeps the market up in the air. Finally, I illustrate how the GAM regulations for the market are under a larger, dispersed, regulation system that deals with temporary spaces. It also showcases that the market regulations are temporary, lacking security of tenure and are partially inclusive. Thus, despite the GAM giving the vendors access to the city, it is not the same as securing access to the city. Here lies the paradox: they offer the vendors a place to sell but without any security of tenure; they allow them a space to work in but not a secure job; they explain their actions in light of order and aesthetics but withdraw this condition when placed in a poor neighbourhood devoid of efficient services. This uncertainty is apparent in the market's temporariness, both in location and duration, and is a sign of its fundamental insecurity and the conditions of the population it serves.

By providing this detailed description of the case, a rich empirical reference is created. This establishes a detailed understanding of temporary spaces and processes that have usually undergone only statistical understandings, and moreover, lacked an in-depth endeavour to unfold its micro and macro socio-spatial narratives. Such an endeavour is important not only to equip policy-makers with an understanding of alternative strategies to deal with such spaces, but also potentially to provide them with operational knowledge of how to improve them and give general implications for normative planning practices. Specifically, this case provides understandings of temporary urbanism in relation to spaces that have been usually understood through the lens of informality. Hence, it relates temporary urbanism to the assets and capacities of certain social groups and their ability to change their spaces within the structure where they find themselves. Theoretically, various interpretations are produced such as: *existential permanence*, *self-tactics of empowerment*, *intentional temporariness* and *calculated indifference*. These could contribute to existing knowledge, theories and concepts. Specifically, such concepts have the potential to reflect on and relate temporary urbanism to power relations in owning and managing city space and its theorization around agentic practices and urban governance.

CHAPTER 6: NOUR AL- BARAKEH COMMUNITY GARDEN

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6.1 Introduction

This is the second empirical chapter and will cover the findings of my fieldwork on the case of Nour Al-Barakeh community garden (NAB). It will discuss the conditions of the temporary use of the GAM's (Greater Amman Municipality) Princess Iman Garden by NAB. It is organized into 5 sections. The first two are descriptive and include a brief history and an exploration of its socio-spatial dynamics. The following three sections are interpretations of my data. I argue that the appropriation of the garden is a process of negotiation between NAB's community intention of collective empowerment and the GAM's response to its temporary use as an accepted form of informal governance. It furthermore argues that the NAB community was able to create an accepted model of temporary use that the GAM considered as an outsourced enterprise model.

This case will show how the social group of NAB re-creates an existing municipal garden both spatially and imaginatively through agentic practices that work from within the system authorized by the state. Specifically, it will explore how such a social group with an institutional character is able to mobilize in a covert, ordinary and everyday manner to address their needs through state structures. On the other hand, it will examine how the state responds to such agentic practices by building upon them to its own benefit.

6.2 Brief history

Nour Al-Barakeh¹⁸⁰ (NAB) NGO was founded on May 28, 2009 by a group of mothers of adults with intellectual disabilities (AID) and volunteers.¹⁸¹ Specifically, the founding members of NAB are mothers of AID, who are friends, along with their social connections and networks.¹⁸² It is registered at the Ministry of Social Development (Ministry of Social Development (MOSD), 2009). Its primary aim is to create a safe space for AID to socialize and mingle in addition to creating environmental awareness (Lawton, 2014).

The idea was essentially actualized as a result of a series of interconnected social relations amongst a group of women in Amman.¹⁸³ One of whom had the idea to create an independent community following the Camphill community model.¹⁸⁴ This model envisions creating a home community for the AID away from their homes to live with other AID, and to plant, engage in school work and other activities.

¹⁸⁰ Nour Al-Barakeh could be translated to 'the shining blessing'.

¹⁸¹ Interview with NABta2F, NABta4F.

¹⁸² Interview with NABta4F.

¹⁸³ Interview with NABta4F.

¹⁸⁴ For more on the model follow: <https://www.camphillfoundation.org/>

When this collective first started out in early 2009, it was given a piece of land in Wadi Saqra by a friend of someone in the group.¹⁸⁵ While the idea of engaging the AID in planting and community activities was well received, the idea of creating home communities was not an aim that the mothers wanted. The vision thus remained related to engaging the AID with gardening and producing goods.¹⁸⁶ However, the garden's soil did not help ripen this vision and the gardening itself proved being more challenging than expected as the land had been used as a construction dump for years.¹⁸⁷ They therefore approached the GAM to rent out one of its gardens (see Appendix H) after registering themselves as an NGO. The GAM offered them various gardens; however, each one had a problem of its own.¹⁸⁸ Finally, the honorary head of the board found the garden of Princess Iman in Al Rabieh area.¹⁸⁹ She and her daughter had joined the community early in its formation as volunteers, since her daughter was friends with one of the AID mothers.¹⁹⁰ In 2015 the GAM granted NAB a one-year rent contract under several conditions (see Appendix I). The contract rents to NAB an allocated 100m² of the garden for the purposes of building a one-storey community centre, and furthermore, permits the use of parts of the garden to plant and rehabilitate under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture (See Appendix I).

To obtain financial sustainability, NAB had started to organize a Saturday market within the GAM's garden for which they obtained an approval in 2016 (See Appendix J&K).

6.3 Socio-spatial dynamics

6.3.1 Garden location and space

NAB lies in West Amman, in one of Amman's 27 districts called Tlaa' Al-Ali, Um Al Summaq and Khalda district, within Al Salam neighbourhood (one of its eight neighbourhoods) (See Figure 6-1). Tlaa' Al-Ali area is populated with about 5672 person/km². 87.5% of the Al Salam neighbourhood's land use is zoned as housing (A) and (B)¹⁹¹ which is both an indicator of a higher socio-economic background and land value (See Figure 6-3). NAB's community garden is located within Princess Iman Garden which was privately owned but bought by the GAM in 1979 and registered in the name of the Greater Amman Municipality Council. Its area is 3565m². It is centrally located off one of Amman's commercial streets called Mecca Al

¹⁸⁵ Interview with NABta1F, NABta2F.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with NABta3F.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with NABta2F.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with NABta4F, NABta1F.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with NABta2F, NABta3F.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with NABta3F.

¹⁹¹ 92.2% of which is zoned as (A). Source: the GAM.

Mukarama which is a street that connects many parts of Amman. The area is also near many commercial centres, such as Um Uthaina, Shmeisani and Rabieh.

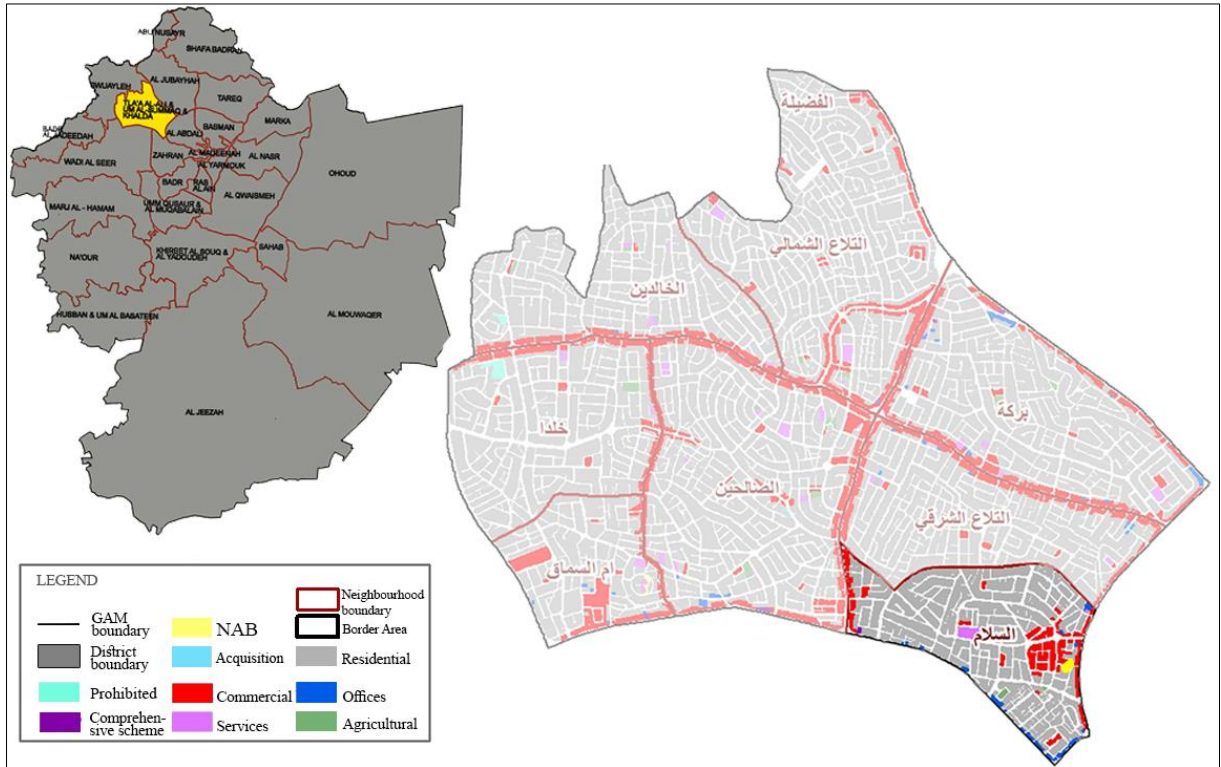


Figure 6-1: NAB district and neighbourhood map respectively. Source: (Amanat `Amman Al-Kubrá, 2008), (Department of GIS, 2014d).



Figure 6-2: NAB site location (in yellow). Source: Bing Maps, 2017; Google Earth, 2017, edited by author.

NAB lies at a dead end that runs around its garden and only cars that need to come to this area would drive in (See Figure 6-2). It is surrounded by 3-5 storey residential blocks (See Figure 6-4 and Figure 6-5).

The space of the garden gives a feeling of being separated in half because it is split in the middle by a green island (See Figure 6-4). To the west of the island is play equipment including three sets of swings, a monkey bar with a climbing structure and a see-saw, which are in good condition (See Figure 6-5).

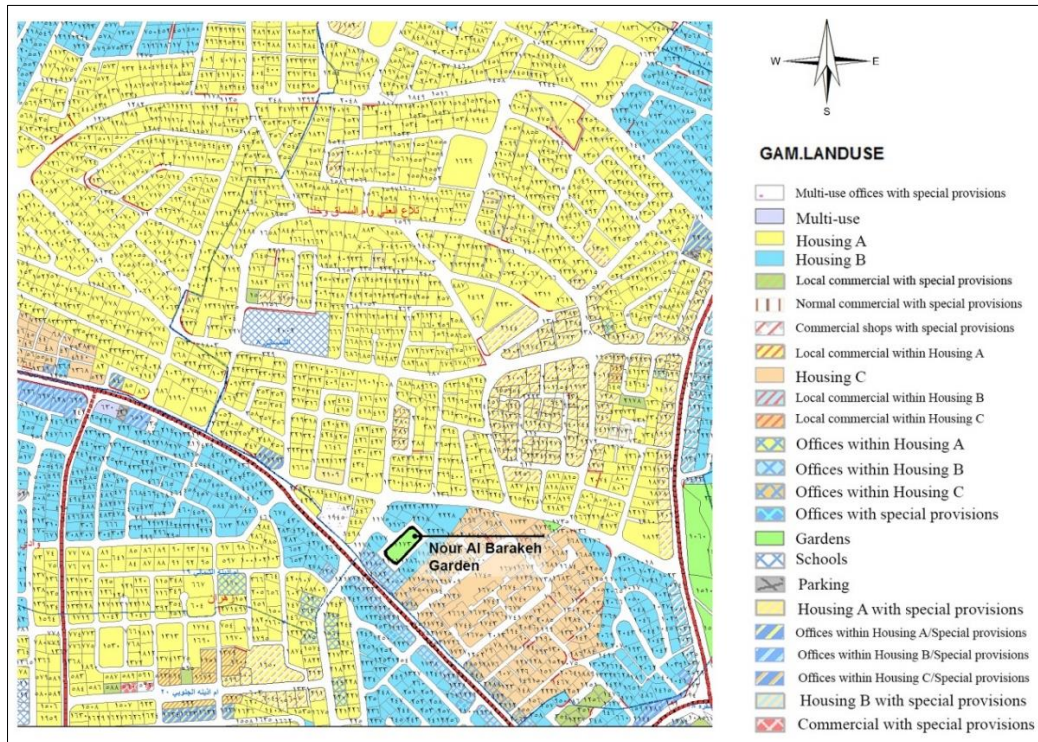


Figure 6-3: 87.5% of NAB's neighbourhood is zoned as A&B. Source:(Department of GIS, 2014c).

To the east are NAB's community centre, NAB's three sheds, two NAB-designed seating areas, NAB's composting area, NAB's permaculture garden and a mini-football field with an adjacent sand area containing adult play equipment (See Figure 6-6 and Figure 6-7). Because the east side has all of NABs facilities, it is perceived to be managed by NAB (CSBE).



Figure 6-4: The green island that separates the garden in two.



Figure 6-5: Western side of the garden showing the play equipment.



Figure 6-6: Eastern side of the garden showing the community building, the football field, and permaculture garden (left to right).

The garden has two gates and is surrounded all around by a wall that is partly stone and partly railing. Both the permaculture garden and community centre are fenced off with an aluminium mesh and have two access points that are opened during AID community activities or when the secretary is in office. The football field and sand area remain accessible to the public. (See Figure 6-7).

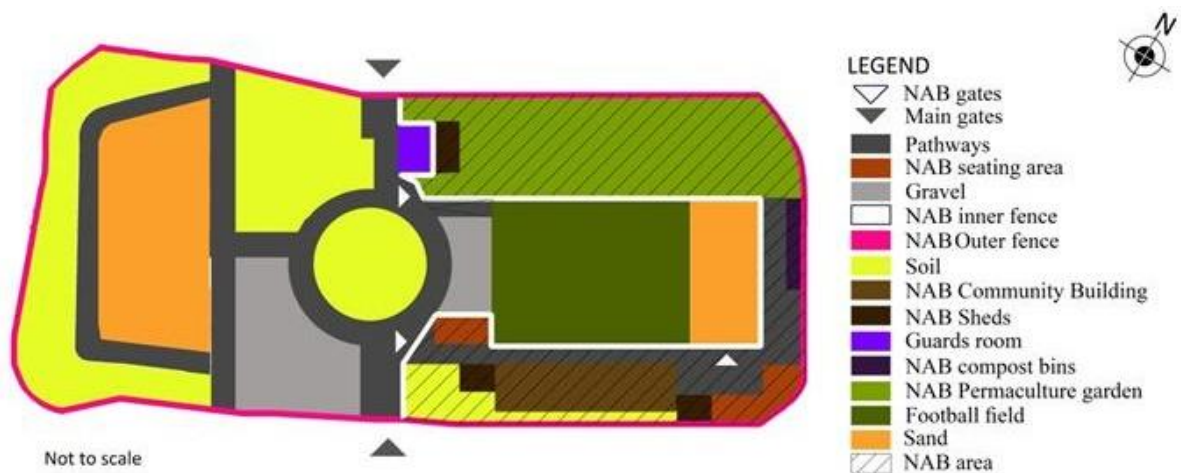


Figure 6-7: Mapping of the GAM garden showing the GAM and NAB areas. Basemap: (Studies and Design Department, 2016), edited by author.

The garden is physically-challenged friendly as all the ground is levelled; furthermore, NAB has equipped its southern gate with a double-sided ramp (See Figure 6-8).



Figure 6-8: Double-sided ramp provided by NAB for the garden.

The garden itself is said to have changed on various levels since the NAB community has started rehabilitating it in 2012. It was said to have been dirty, neglected and subject to acts of vandalism.¹⁹² As one of the board members explains:

*'... the garden was a hotbed of immorality... We saw boys sitting in the corners, taking drugs. You could see syringes on the ground. When we were building here, there were whisky bottles ... Until now we do find these alcohol bottles but not like before.'*¹⁹³

Users and people living around the garden report that it now gives the feel of being well managed, secure and generally better space-wise.¹⁹⁴

The garden was rehabilitated by the NGO to include a fence, a functioning guard's room, 6 picnic tables¹⁹⁵, added trash bins, groomed trees, a community centre, 5 surveillance cameras, a football field, adult sports equipment, a permaculture garden with its own compost system, two designed seating areas, new pathways and three sheds. All of the changes that NAB has made to the garden were at their own expense and through their social networks. They had no financial support from the GAM. They were financed through the funds and donations of NAB members, their families and social networks and connections.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Interview with NABus5M, NABta2F.

¹⁹³ Interview with NABta3F.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with NABpo2F, NABpo4M, NABus5M.

¹⁹⁵ The picnic tables are units that consist of a table and attached facing benches made out of metal.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with NABta2F.

6.3.2 One space, multiple communities and diverse activities

The garden caters to different communities: The AID community, the garden community and the market community. Each community holds a different value and aim for the garden. The section below will explain the communities' differences; furthermore, it shows how the AID community is the major stakeholder of the garden as it introduced a complex web of social actors through its community activities and market.

AID community

The AID community is an interest community as it consists of the AID, their mothers, their families and volunteers. It is not affiliated to the garden's surrounding community. Furthermore, its activity exclusively targets the AID and their support.

The community is organized by the NAB board whose majority are the mothers of the AID in addition to volunteers.¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ NAB is board-organized and consists of 9 core members in addition to 2 on reserve.¹⁹⁹ The number of AID members reached 50 in 2017. However, 10-15 members usually take part in their weekly activity schedule. The AID members mostly come from West Amman and range in age from 18 and above.²⁰⁰ There are five paid employees including an accountant, a secretary, a gardener, a market manager and part-time market helpers that set up the market's tents and tables.²⁰¹

The AID community get together around a self-organized, three-day weekly activity: Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays (See Table 6-1). Various AID activities take place within these three days. The Monday activity is indoors in their community building and includes an hour for arts and an hour for music. These classes are taught by volunteers who come from various backgrounds. One of them is Marwan Al Ghuneim who teaches the AID Capoeira. Others are from charities, such as Harmony of Hope from the UK, who have partnered with NAB to offer music workshops and equipment for the music sessions (Harmony of Hope, 2017).

Working day	Time	Activity	Location
Monday	15:45-17:45	Music and art	Indoors (Community building)
Tuesday	16:30-18:00	Sports + Volunteer integration	Outdoors
Wednesday	16:00-17:00	Playing on sports equipment	Outdoors
	17:00-18:00	Movie	Indoors (Community building)

Table 6-1: AID weekly activity schedule.

¹⁹⁷ 8 out of their 11 members are mothers of AID.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with NABta4F, NABta3F.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with NABta4F.

²⁰⁰ Interview with NABta3F.

²⁰¹ Interview with NABta2F.

Tuesdays is what NAB calls the 'community working day' (See Figure 6-9). This 'community working day' has established a volunteering culture within the NAB garden and targets their primary aim to integrate their children into the society. Each summer and winter semester, NAB contacts various private schools of Amman to send 8-10 students to engage with their children in the garden and their activities.²⁰²



Figure 6-9: Various community working days at NAB. Source: (Nour Al-Barakeh).

The private schools also include international schools that have participated in those varied activities. However, not only schools participate in the 'working day' but also other institutions, such as Al Masar development centre, Lions Club, CISV camp, and Ruwwad Centre, in coordination with mothers from Sana Parent's Support Group (See Appendix L). According to NAB, volunteering not only targets private schools, but also invites society at large to participate in their community activities through their Facebook page. To encourage physical activity for the AID community, NAB had bought outdoor adult equipment at their own expense and placed this on the eastern site of the garden near their community building.²⁰³ The paid sports coach conducts sports activities with this equipment, as well as other sport activities such as football or ball catching on Tuesdays. In addition to the above, the NAB community hosts a yearly Iftar in Ramadan that they organize for their members and supporters²⁰⁴ (2016). On Wednesdays, they have two classes: an outdoor sports class and a movie afternoon. These weekly activities take place year-round except for seasonal breaks and national holidays.²⁰⁵ On Saturdays, some of the AID engage in the weekly market. The AID usually stay at the coffee station and do not exceed 5 members.

The garden's value for the AID is essentially an emotional one. With no dedicated space for the AID in Amman, this space provides a rare outlet opportunity for the AID and their parents. Through this space they establish a presence within society, engage with it and have their own space as explained above. According to an AID parent and the director of NAB:

²⁰² Interview with NABta4F, NABta2F.

²⁰³ Interview with NABta1F.

²⁰⁴ Interview with NABta1F.

²⁰⁵ Interview with NABta4F.

*'... I feel it's my second home... you know my daughter day dreams about the organization, 2-3 hours before its time, she starts asking: when are we going? We tell her it's still early. They finish the activity, next day she asks me: tomorrow, are we going again? the children are happy, happy. '*²⁰⁶

The rarity and importance of this outlet is confirmed by another parent of an AID:

*'...it's the only outlet for my son... it became his obsession...if he knew that there are also Tuesday and Wednesday activities, hell would break out on me!'*²⁰⁷

He further explains how parents support each other by advice and taking over other AID children. Several parents emphasized that it is good for their own psyche as they see parents whose children have the same conditions as their children, which makes them feel better. A mother of an AID explains:

*'...we feel comfortable towards each other because we all share the same problem, so our atmosphere is comfortable and our gatherings are comfortable and we all help each other's children. We became attached to each other, and even the parents come and have fun here. It's more like a family gathering.'*²⁰⁸

The mothers and their children also meet outside the NAB garden. On Sundays, a couple of the old members go out to a private sports club in the summer where the AID would walk on the track, play bowling and eat dinner. In winter, the Sunday outing would be in a mall ending in having dinner.²⁰⁹

The garden and neighbourhood community

The garden's *community* refers to the users of the garden that happen to be located in the neighbourhood community around Princess Iman Garden. The garden therefore offers those users a community common and a neighbourhood resource. The garden's value for this community is a spatial one as it offers an outdoor space for meeting up and socializing.

The garden community mostly uses the western part of the garden because the eastern part is occupied by the community building, the permaculture garden and its two community seating areas with the exception of the football field. The football field is accessible to the surrounding community except on the days in which NAB's AID have their sports activities, on Tuesday and Wednesday.

²⁰⁶ Interview with NABta1F.

²⁰⁷ Interview with NABus5M.

²⁰⁸ Interview with NABta1F.

²⁰⁹ Interview with NABta1F.

The garden community is a diverse set of users. It includes families, mothers with children, fathers with children, mixed gender teenagers, male teenagers, children on their own, females (both individuals and groups), males (individuals and groups) and couples. The football field is the point of attraction in the garden and is mostly used by males (both children and adults), The play area is naturally occupied by families and adults with children. While the picnic tables, which were provided by NAB, provide a good seating opportunity for families and groups as they have two benches attached to a table.

While the adjacent community that overlooks the garden is aware of NAB and its activities, the community further away does not know much about it and, in many cases, have not heard of it.²¹⁰ The notion that NAB's cause and work is not clear or is unknown to users of the garden requires a closer understanding of how much NAB has been reaching out to the community, as well as how much they are engaging non-challenged communities within their community or communities other than their interest community, circle of family, friends and volunteering scheme. A NAB board member explains their community outreach efforts as having been limited and confined to sending them flyers and in one case trying to meet up with one of them. The guard was also sent to them in order to inform them that a window had been opened for them for the compost.²¹¹ However, the gardener reported that the engagement with the neighbouring community has been minimal and that some apartments building guards even threw garbage in the compost as it is nearer than the garbage bins. This reserved approach to communicating with the community led to annoying neighbourhood children that were not able to use the football field during AID activity hours. One of the board members explains:

*The neighbourhood children have also been annoyed at the community's use of the football field on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, yet the board members had reported that they always explain that it is only two hours until the football field would then be vacant for them to play.*²¹²

Yet, in general, the garden was viewed in a positive light; families, however, wished for more playing equipment for their children.

Weekly market and its community

The NAB community is supported by running their own weekly market every Saturday from March until November from 10:00-15:00. This market was established to financially support

²¹⁰ Interview with NABpo2F, NABpo3M, NABpo5M.

²¹¹ Interview with NABta3F.

²¹² Interview with NABta3F.

the NGO. The NGO had depended on funds and donations from individuals, NGO board members and various institutions (See section 6.4.3). However, after some time the NGO needed economic autonomy and with this the idea of the market was born. It was the idea of the honorary chair who is American married to a Jordanian. She has been living in Jordan for over 40 years. She brought what she saw as valuable in her culture into the Jordanian setting of NAB: a farmer's market with a community spirit.²¹³

The market provides an inclusive platform for various businesses conditioned by NAB's limits on the number of stalls and NAB's goods typology. As described by a vendor who has been at the market since its establishment:

*'...It provided a socio-economic platform inclusive of all social classes, the villager, the urbanite, the Southerner, the Westerner...'*²¹⁴

While the stall vendors are diverse in their origin, professional background, merchandise and business setup, they are unified under NAB's overall theme of goods that are healthy, handmade, homemade and local. The vendors include: home businesses, private farm owners, Non-Profit Organizations (NPO's), civil society organizations, companies, women's associations, entrepreneurs and community developers (See Appendix M for a list of vendors). Those can be grouped by intention into business seekers and charity supporters. Despite the vendors' diversity, most of them share a common outlook towards the market as a platform for business. Furthermore, the market is seen as an opportunity to get exposure, to network and to establish corporation opportunities. As a vendor explains:

*'I have gotten to know a lot of people through this market, and these kinds of people are usually very difficult to meet on the streets...their social class is not the usual social class you usually bump into; you would need an event to meet these people. The market gives you the opportunity to deal with them on a weekly basis. You will also get to know new people who introduce you to others...'*²¹⁵

The vendor added how it provided him with networking opportunities:

'I started getting people to visit my farm...I also started receiving foreign volunteers who would sleep over at the farm because they wanted to experience the organic life...I started arranging field trips to the farm which is a very good thing for the farm's profile.'

²¹³ Interview with NABta2F.

²¹⁴ Interview with NABv3F.

²¹⁵ Interview with NABv1M

Other vendors agreed and explained that it is a way to get their brand out there (Awad, 2017) and to get good advertising, especially if they work from home or have a business online.²¹⁶ Other vendors saw it as a source of livelihood:

*'...it's a good opportunity to get our village known...so that our farmers earn their living and sell regularly...'*²¹⁷

Other networking opportunities have been explained as vendors sharing and therefore finding other business opportunities and events.²¹⁸ This business and networking opportunity seemed to make the market a target for entrepreneurs for whom this was an opportunity to start their brand. It also seemed that vendors' major engagement in the market is not specifically targeting civic engagement or to promote a sort of a collective aiming at structural change regarding the overlooked AID social segment. An indication of that is that many of those vendors circulate in Amman's commercial bazaars and markets and not specifically this one. As a vendor confirmed:

*'We sell our products in more than one place. We deliver on Wednesday... participate in the Orthodox market ... we organize bazaars ... we sell within the village...'*²¹⁹

Furthermore, many have businesses established through other platforms. These businesses have formed networks through the NAB market. Yanboot, for example, is a company that produces organic local food and sells it at NAB. It has multiple business partnerships of which some are established with vendors who operate at NAB.²²⁰ It is, however, important to highlight that there were few vendors whom I interviewed that were explicit about participating to support the community. One of those vendors, for instance, sells his farm's organic olive oil at NAB. He only participates in the NAB market and he does that to support the community and promote health awareness through healthy products.²²¹ Another vendor mentioned that she also participates to support the community but also added that it is a good opportunity to get exposure for her online brand.²²² There are also other charities and special needs associations that participate to support NAB, as well as their associations such as the National Association

²¹⁶ Interview with NABv2F, NABv4F.

²¹⁷ Interview with NABv3F.

²¹⁸ Interview with NABv2F.

²¹⁹ Interview with NABv3F.

²²⁰ Such partnerships include, for instance, Kale chips, Maysa's pasta, Futna skincare and other organic produce such as produce from Al Mujeb farms (Yanboot, 2017; Jimenez, 2017; Yanboot, 2018). These products are sold through Yanboot at its own farmers' market and at its company branch in Dabouq, Amman.

²²¹ Interview with NABv5M.

²²² Interview with NABv4F.

for People with Special Needs, St. Vincent De Paul Society and Kamal Gardens (See Appendix M). In addition to business seekers and charity supporters, there are vendors in the market who have made use of the health trend culture that the NAB market is promoting. As NAB's regulations are flexible, some vendors are selling goods as organic, although they are not.²²³ Other free-riders are established companies that sell packaged foods. The products they sell are not organic, but a user would suppose so because they are in the NAB market. One vendor shared his concern about this phenomenon, suggesting that the management should be more careful to vet people's applications to make sure they are authentic.²²⁴ However, business, financial gain and wanted exposure are not an odd combination. The regular presence of vendors and the presence of regular users is an indication of the success of the market and how it is providing vendors with a profitable environment.

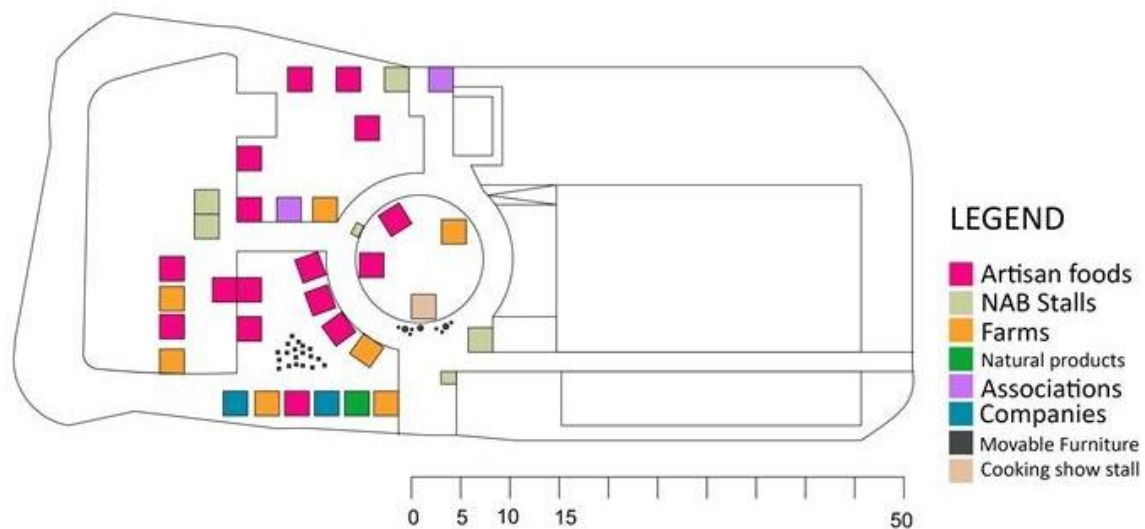


Figure 6-10: Mapping of the Saturday market on 13.5.2015. Base map:(Studies and Design Department, 2016), edited by author.

The market now has a waiting list ²²⁵ and several interviewees reported that the biggest change they were aware of is the increasing number of visiting people.²²⁶ Indeed, its honorary chair explains that the market has become very popular and has now even taken on a life of its own.²²⁷ Most importantly, though, is that the market's success indicates two things: 1. Success of NAB's market organization which leads to 2. NAB is succeeding as an autonomous NGO

²²³ Interview with NABv5M.

²²⁴ Interview with NABv5M.

²²⁵ Interview with NABv4F.

²²⁶ Interview with NABv5M, NABv2F.

²²⁷ Interview with NABta2F.

because it ensures its financial sustainability. This consequently helps them reach their primary aim: sustaining and supporting its AID community.

The market is organized by the NAB director and some of its board members in coordination with their secretary and market manager. The director prepares a location plan showing where each vendor should be placed. Each vendor is given a table, its cover, a chair and a tent with a placard showcasing their preferred naming (See Figure 6-14). The tents range between 30-40 tables, with 40 being the maximum number of tables they accept (See Figure 6-16). A weekly phone call is arranged to contact regular vendors to confirm their presence and arrange their placement within the garden. Other interested vendors have access to the market by telephoning the secretary who books them a table if the number of tables have not exceeded the upper limit of the market. Yet, certain criteria are upheld: vendors should be an NGO, sell homemade goods or locally made goods, or fresh produce from local farms²²⁸ (Figure 6-15).

The market runs between 10:00-15:00 throughout March until November. The secretary, gardener and part-time helpers arrive at 6:00 on the day of the market to organize it. The unfolded tents are placed according to the stall location plan to demarcate the vendor's location (see Figure 6-11&

Figure 6-12). After unfolding the tents, the tables, their covers and chairs, placards are placed for each tent (See Figure 6-13). The whole process takes 2 hours. The tents and tables are foldable which makes the process systematic and quick (See Figure 6-14). 5-7 of the board members are always present at the market, including the honorary president and NAB director. Vendors leave the market mostly around 15:00.



Figure 6-11 The various tents distributed according to the prepared location map.

²²⁸ Interview with NABta2F, NABta4F.



Figure 6-12 Market at the start of its setup.



Figure 6-13: Market after its setup.



Figure 6-14: The market tents, foldable tables and placards.

Each vendor pays 20JDs²²⁹ per table which supports the community financially. The market regulations require the goods to be as much as possible organic, free of pesticides, home products or home grown. It also requires the vendors not to use plastic packaging to sell their products. The market provides the vendors with brown paper bags but as its honorary chair explained, it is hard to make people change their habits in a day or two. Therefore, they are not issuing these regulations as unbreakable laws, also because the organic farmers have to pay the

²²⁹ 22£.

government 10,000JDs²³⁰ for an organic certificate; thus, the smallest farmers will not get such a certification.²³¹ Accordingly, the vendors sign a paper that certifies to the above criteria. There are, however, two companies at NAB that follow a certified organic system in growing their plants.²³²



Figure 6-15: Various vendors that include homemade flavoured popcorn, organic produce and packaged foods made by an NGO targeting individuals with special needs (left to right).

The 30-40 tables include five tables that are run by the NAB community and volunteers. One of those tables is that of the honorary chair of NAB who sells donated things. The other four include tables for: selling compost, selling coffee, hosting children's activities and another for making grass-fed beef burgers. All revenues of these tables go back to NAB. The last two tables are managed by volunteers. The burger corner, for example, is supported by ZainJo Telecommunications Company that supports the community each Saturday by sending in volunteering university students. The children's corner is run by volunteers who apply through NAB's Facebook page or office and run the corner's activities. In addition to these regular activities, NAB also has organized activities that included: cooking shows, live music, a CPR workshop and a Girl Scout workshop (Nour Al-Barakeh).



Figure 6-16: The market with all tents up and functioning.

²³⁰ 11,086£.

²³¹ Interview with NABta2F.

²³² Interview with NABta2F.

While the market was reported to have provided an inclusive platform for vendors, the goods typology, their prices, as well as the values and ideologies that drive NAB, seem to have become potential barriers to the involvement of the wider Jordanian community. The market's users are mostly foreigners, expats, and locals from a specific socio-economic background. As explained by a vendor who has been at the market since its establishment:

*'Generally, the prices here are not affordable prices....so I assume the target here or the people that come are people from West Amman...the prices suit West Ammanis and doesn't suit East Ammanis ...it wouldn't suit villagers...'*²³³

Other vendors describe their customers as mostly Europeans and Americans who come in and know exactly what they want²³⁴; they are, moreover, customers who are interested in the healthy type of goods.²³⁵ One vendor adds that few locals tend to come but that it is all a very new concept for them.²³⁶

The environmental ethos of the NAB community seems to attract environmentally aware users (Lawton, 2014) who can be seen regularly at the NAB market (See Figure 6-17). These users come with their own shopping bags.



Figure 6-17: Environmentally aware users are a regular scene in the NAB market. These pictures were taken in March, April and July 2017.

Some of the foreigners are also fully veiled (See Figure 6-17). These foreigners are married to locals and shop regularly at the market.²³⁷

The market is valued both for its goods and the social atmosphere. Goods are seen as '...unique goods unavailable anywhere else in the city' (Awad, 2017). The atmosphere is essentially seen as a social event (see Figure 6-18) as described by visitors, vendors and people living nearby:

²³³ Interview with NABv3F.

²³⁴ Interview with NABv5M.

²³⁵ Interview with NABv4F, NABv2F.

²³⁶ Interview with NABv2F.

²³⁷ Interview with NABta4F.

*'... it's just about space that brings people together ...most weeks we may have met one or two groups of friends here just as a place to relax but it's also nice to meet people as well...'*²³⁸

*'... it's like a social gathering in a way ... it's very friendly ... very social ... the children are playing so they socialize with other parents of young children ... it's just in a way a social event... it's a social event, not just selling stuff.'*²³⁹

*'... we hear about this from Europeans who have been living in this country for like 20 years, they ... wished that something like this existed. We don't just want to go to Carrefour and do our shopping, we would like things like this, you come informally, you take your children for a day out, have a coffee, meet people...'*²⁴⁰

*'... my neighbours do tea and sit here, they buy something and have their breakfast here...'*²⁴¹



Figure 6-18: The market's value as a social event. Source: (Nour Al-Barakeh).

The market's goods, food, outdoor atmosphere, seating areas and children's playing areas all seem to create a social space in which people meet. This quality of space is valued by users and vendors alike, who describe it as a 'clean space' and a 'family space'.²⁴² What contributes to the feeling of it as a social space is that the market's community is in part a closely-knit society. It has regular customers; friends meet up at the farmers' market, friends of the board of the NGO come to support as well. As a vendor explained: 'Everybody seems to know everybody'.²⁴³ The market's social aspect is also driven by the honorary chair who is the public relations person

²³⁸ Interview with NABus4M.

²³⁹ Interview with NABv2F.

²⁴⁰ Interview with NABv5M.

²⁴¹ Interview with NABpo2F.

²⁴² Interviews with NABus2M, NABus3F, NABv3F.

²⁴³ Interview with NABv2F.

for the American Ladies in Jordan, and invites her friends and advertises through Facebook and the American women's club organization.²⁴⁴

6.4 Intention of the NAB NGO: Collective empowerment

As explained above, the members of the NAB NGO are mostly AID mothers that came together to establish a safe social space for their children. This essentially mother collective established itself as a formal and recognized collective: a registered NGO with a proper board and organizational base. It was founded and envisioned as an interest community. NAB was able to create a space for themselves by repurposing the municipality garden of Princess Iman to meet their needs and ideologies. Within this section, I aim at clarifying that NAB's intention is to arrive at their collective empowerment. As a marginalized section of the society, the AID and their families have no resources to address their needs in Jordan. They are part of a neglected sector in Jordan in which the society of special needs is not fully catered to, neither educationally nor integrated socially or spatially. Their marginalization²⁴⁵ hence is a struggle beyond poverty, a struggle to get recognized and inclusively integrated into the city's spaces and institutional arrangements.²⁴⁶ This garden, that they created, gave them a possibility to create their own community with their own vision. This empowered them as an AID community to meet their needs in a context that is devoid of any such organization. I argue that they were able to arrive at their intention through tangible and intangible tactics including:

- i. formalizing their collective;
- ii. appropriation of the garden;
- iii. social mobilization; and
- iv. using legitimization rhetoric.

I will be explaining these tactics below and illustrating how they contributed to NAB's collective empowerment.

²⁴⁴ Interview with NABta2F.

²⁴⁵ Marginalization 'is the experience of social disadvantage or exclusion of individuals or groups that find people perceiving that they or others are on the fringes of society' (Sherwood, 2014:495).

²⁴⁶ UNDP reports that the world's most marginalized which are also left behind by global development priorities include: people with disabilities, women and girls and rural dwellers among others. Those are excluded by barriers that are not purely economic, but political, social and cultural as well (World's most marginalized still left behind by global development priorities: UNDP report, 2017).

6.4.1 Formalized interest community

To be able to negotiate with a formal entity, it is logic for a social group to establish a formal channel of communication or acquire a formal status through which its demands or needs could be negotiated. NAB formalized its community group by registering at the Ministry of Social Development in 2009 as a charity NGO. The formalization included organizing their existing social group into a proper board, a systemization of the board by setting a two-year period for every president²⁴⁷ and organizing a weekly meeting at their office in the community garden.²⁴⁸ The systematic approach is further apparent in that they organize their NGO through a number of paid employees, including an accountant, a secretary, a gardener, a market manager and part-time market helpers who erect the market's tents and tables. By being an entity of a charity NGO, they were able to approach the GAM and ask for one of its gardens. This would not have been the case if they were not grouped under such a formal and recognized entity. While civil society organizations are viewed sceptically by the state, charity NGO's are recognized and well received because they do not aim at mobilizing on political issues but rather at providing charitable services (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). This provided NAB with legitimacy and access to the GAM. Its systematic organization also included the organization of its Saturday market. Its successful organization meant sustainability of their NGO and community. If the market is sought after both by users and vendors, financial continuity would be achieved and therefore the community would be sustained. This was achieved primarily by establishing themselves as an NGO. The striving for collective empowerment to achieve financial sustainability is apparent in the market's clear management plan, consistent schedule, active staff and a set of aim-related regulations.

The formal status of NAB as an NGO also enabled NAB to establish channels of communication with other formal entities such as private schools and of course the Saturday market. The students help the children in their Tuesday sport session, help in planting, watering and turning the compost.²⁴⁹ After 20 hours of community work, the students are granted an official certificate from NAB.²⁵⁰ This certificate is important for students as it is part of the CAS (Creativity, Action, and Service) requirement when they apply for bachelor's study abroad.²⁵¹ The schools that NAB contacts are well known private schools.²⁵² Providing such

²⁴⁷ Interview with NABta2F.

²⁴⁸ Interview with NABta4F.

²⁴⁹ Interview with NABta1F, NABta2F.

²⁵⁰ Interview with NABta2F, NABta4F.

²⁵¹ Interview with NABta4F.

²⁵² Baccalaureate, Amman Academy, CMS, Mashreq, Montessori, Orthodox, Bishops, National school, Indian High School, Whitman college amongst others.

schools with the CAS certificate increased NAB's formal status as a reference for such a document. It also meant access to the network that connects these schools. Hence, through formalizing their collective as a charity NGO, NAB established a formal status through which they can address state bodies and negotiate their needs. It is also a tactic that helped work towards the endurance, the maintenance and the management of their NGO, because it helped establish their Saturday market, enabling their financial sustainability; moreover, it enabled them to form a recognized body through which volunteering certificates of CAS are granted to private schools in Amman. All of this insured proper reception by society and by the GAM. Indeed, it helped create a positive image of the organization whereby it not only upgraded the garden, but also created a learning platform for volunteers about composting, planting and concepts of permaculture.

6.4.2 Appropriation²⁵³

In 2012 NAB started appropriating the GAMs Princess Iman garden before it was granted a year's contract in 2015 (See Appendix I) (See Figure 6-19). This came for several reasons including: the challenging site of the Wadi Saqra land, the request of its owner to be reclaimed, the unsuitable gardens proposed by GAM.²⁵⁴

The appropriation included various levels of intervention: rehabilitating the garden, building structures, and adding structures.

²⁵³ 'Appropriation represents actions and manners through which the meaning, ownership, and structure of official public space can be temporarily or permanently suspended' (Hou, 2010:13).

²⁵⁴ NAB had a meeting, in 2010, with two GAM officials in which the GAM declared that NAB would be given a garden in Northern Abdoun. This was not carried out as some '...differences came about between the GAM and NAB' (NABta4F). Several other suggestions were given to NAB that were not plausible. The suggested garden was either on the outskirts of Amman (Al Bunayaat), had an electricity power pylon above it (Al Jandaweel) or was too small (Um Al Summaq).

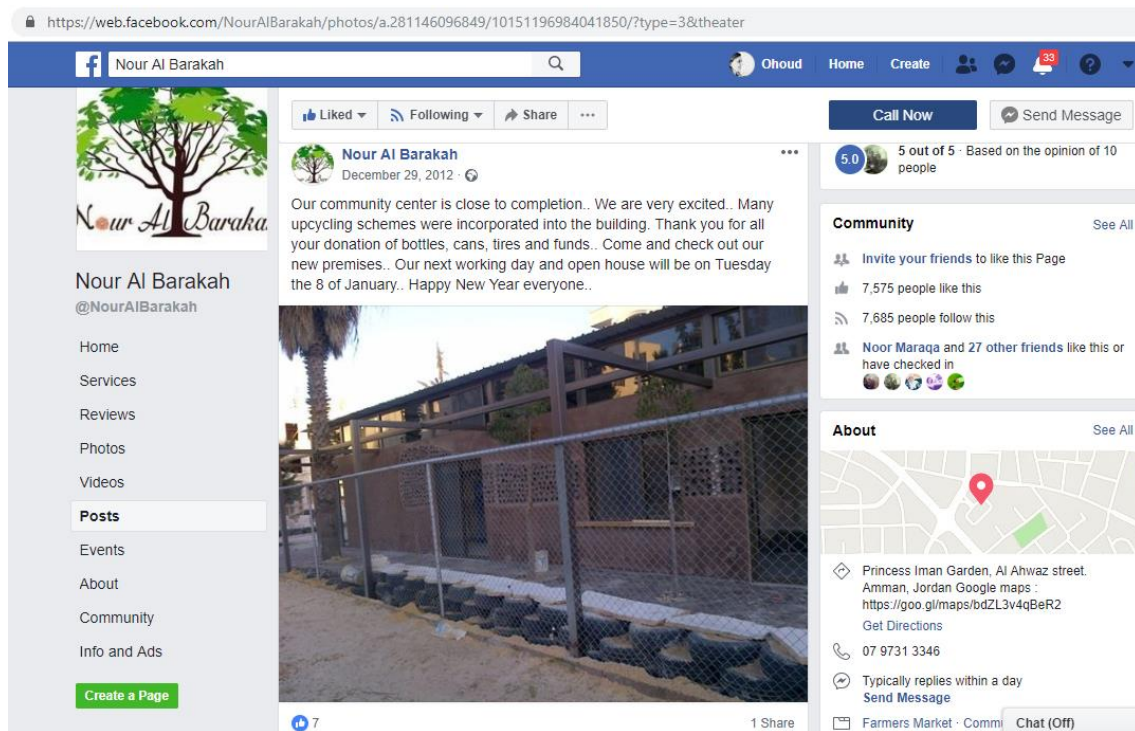


Figure 6-19: NAB announcing the near completion of their community building in 2012.
Source: (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2012a).

In detail the appropriation included taking over the GAM's guard room²⁵⁵, building their community building²⁵⁶ (See Figure 6-19), building three new sheds, new hardscape including corridors and walkways, establishing the permaculture garden, five composting boxes, erecting the inner fence of the sand playing area, and a ramp at the Southern entrance gate (Nour Al-Barakeh) (See Figure 6-8).

The appropriation of the garden allowed the NAB community to materialize their aim of creating a safe place for the AID community, a space within which they could interact with the larger community and arrive at their ethos of creating environmental awareness. The space created by their community building was thus used for their meetings and AID activities. It includes an office for NAB's secretary and its members, two bathrooms equipped for physically challenged and a multi-purpose hall for the AID activities. The community building also followed their environmentally-aware approach. The building was erected using recycled materials²⁵⁷ (See Figure 6-20) (Lawton, 2014). Shade trees were planted in front of the building to help cool it in summer (Lawton, 2014). The outdoor sand area is similarly used for the AID community and volunteers. The permaculture garden and their various building techniques

²⁵⁵ Interview with NABta4F.

²⁵⁶ Interview with NABta1F.

²⁵⁷ These materials included aluminium cans, old iron works and glass bottles.

were a showcase and learning exhibit for the community. Indeed, the various built and hardscape elements of the garden were based on multiple environmentally-friendly principles, including recycling, upcycling, using local material, working with contextual climate and waste management techniques²⁵⁸ (Lawton, 2014). Their three sheds followed those principles: the wall of one shed was made of upcycled plastic bottles while the other shed was made out of industrial pallets and the third was made out of upcycled molasses barrels (see Figure 6-21). The same barrels were also used to produce trash bins to supply the garden. The sheds are used for storage (see Figure 6-21). Pathways around the building were constructed using old tiles and granite slabs (Lawton, 2014) (See Figure 6-20).

NAB's permaculture garden has four planted strips with three walkways in between (See Figure 6-22). There are various plants and vegetables planted such as rosemary, green beans, radishes, beetroots and sage. The garden exhibits principles of permaculture, such as swales to slow down water runoff, companion planting to eliminate the use of pesticides, and mulches to help reduce water evaporation (Lawton, 2014). The permaculture garden has its own organic-producing compost system with five bins allocated to collect green household waste and brown waste (See Figure 6-22).



Figure 6-20: Upcycled material used in flooring (left) and community building (right).



Figure 6-21: The three sheds made of upcycled plastic bottles, upcycled molasses barrels and industrial pallettes (from left to right).

²⁵⁸ Both grey and black water.



Figure 6-22: Permaculture garden and compost bins (left to right).

Starting in 2012 and onward, NAB also started working with associations and schools to come into NAB for activities and volunteering. Those included schools such as the National Orthodox School and Ahliyyeh School, as well as other associations such as Al Masar, CISV, Lions Club, Sana parents support group and APN (Arab Group for the Protection of Nature) amongst others (Nour Al-Barakeh) (See Figure 6-23& Figure 6-24& Figure 6-25& Figure 6-26) (For full list see Appendix L).

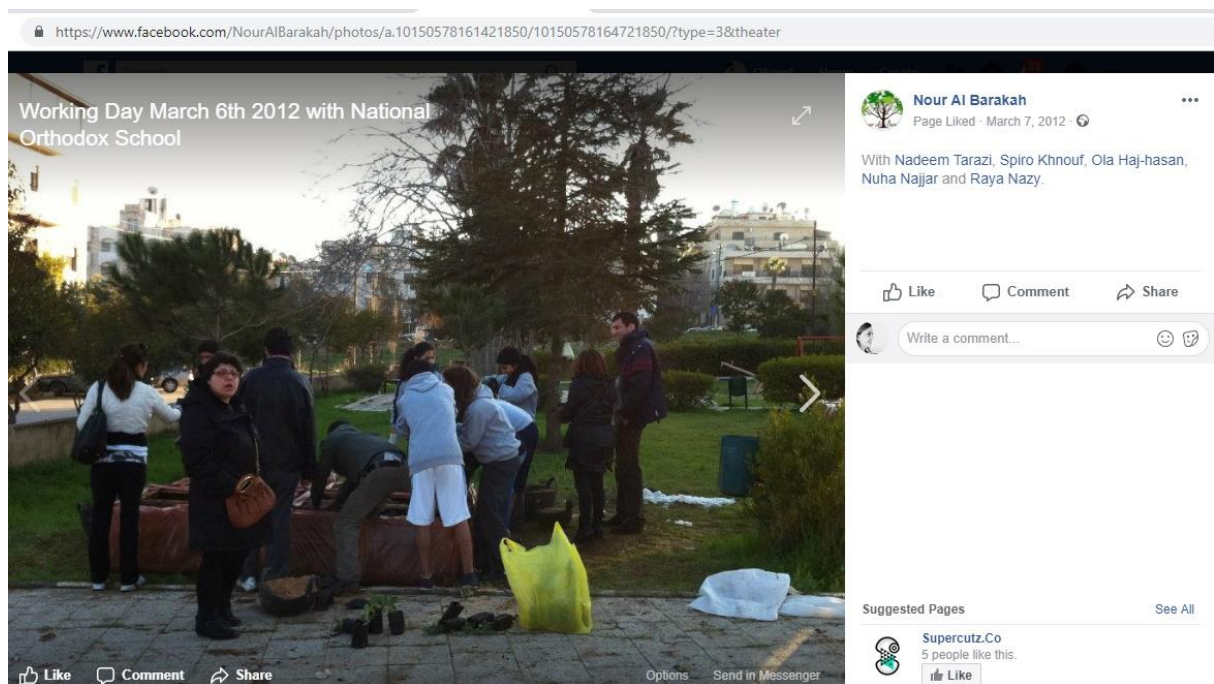


Figure 6-23: Working Day with the National Orthodox School in 2012. Source:(Nour Al-Barakeh, 2012b)

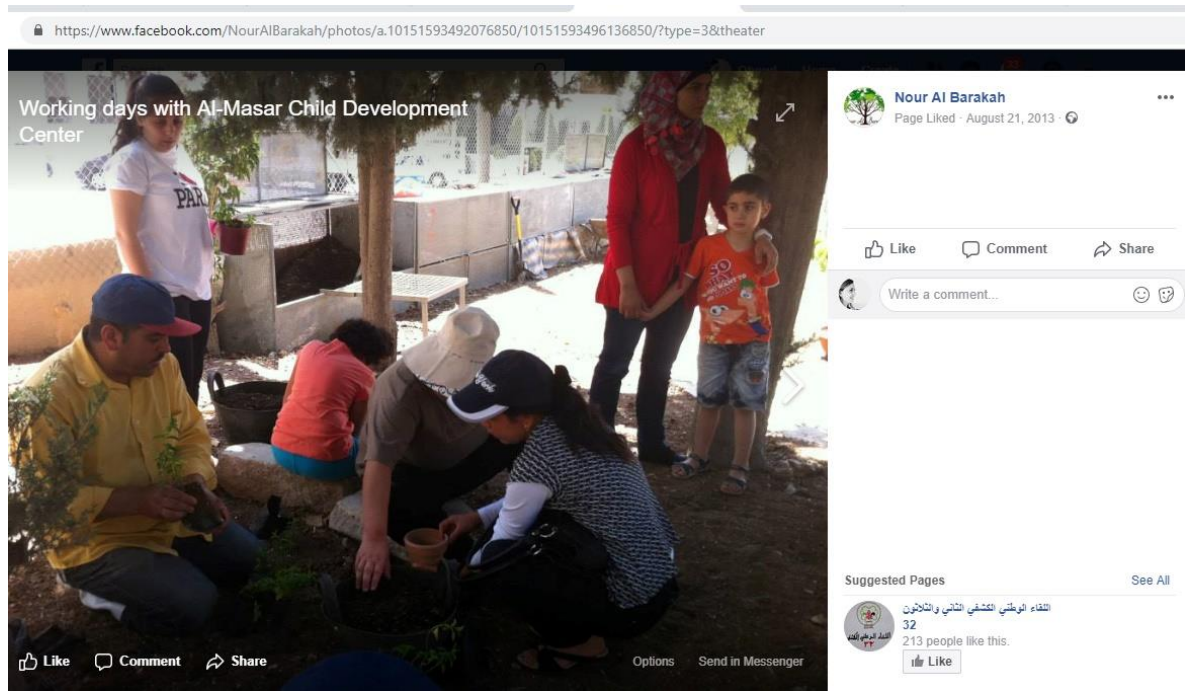


Figure 6-24: Working day with Al Masar Child Development Centre in 2013.
Source:(Nour Al-Barakeh, 2013c).



Figure 6-25: A Visit to NAB from the Lions Club in 2012. Source:(Nour Al-Barakeh, 2012c).



Figure 6-26: A seminar on permaculture by APN in NAB's garden in 2014. Source:(APN, 2014).

By 2014, NAB had also appropriated the eastern part of the garden for their weekly Saturday market (See Figure 6-29). The market had started out in the community building (See Figure 6-27); then NAB started organizing it outdoors in the eastern part of the garden.



Figure 6-27: One of NAB's first markets organized in 2014 in their community building. Source: (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2014b).

Tent-like structures, tables and chairs were brought in for vendors while stools and small tables were offered for the public (See Figure 6-28).

The contract that NAB had obtained in 2015 specified multiple issues highlighted in section 6.2²⁵⁹ but none of the approved conditions included holding a weekly market. After the contract was established, the GAM had gone for a routine visit to the garden and saw the market. The NGO was warned, and an infraction was issued. It was only in 2016 that NAB gained permission to hold the market (See Appendix K).

Hence, NAB's appropriation repurposed the eastern side of the garden into a space that represents and functions as a place that they can call their own. The garden gained a new meaning. It became their community garden: a repurposed garden space in which they come together as a community to socialize, run their activities and gatherings and hold their meetings autonomously. It is also a space that is organized by them and for them according to their visions and aims. This gives the community a sense of collective empowerment. Furthermore, NAB's establishment of their farmers' market transforms the garden into a socio-economic hub largely visited by expats and foreigners and their families, an appropriation that also enabled NAB to attain financial sustainability to support their community and its activities and contributed to this sense of empowerment.



Figure 6-28: One of NAB's first weekly markets in 2014. Source:(Nour Al-Barakeh, 2014a)

²⁵⁹ For the full contract see Appendix I.



Figure 6-29: NAB market announcement in 2014. Source:(Nour Al-Barakeh, 2014c)

High level of participation

The NAB community is characterized by its high level of participation. The garden was repurposed and designed by the community itself in coordination with volunteers. NAB also manages and organizes the garden as a whole. The community building was designed and built by the daughter of the honorary chair who is an architect. With the help of the NAB board members, AID members and volunteers, they erected the 70,000JD's²⁶⁰ building in addition to the sheds, established the pathways, seating areas and the permaculture garden. Her daughter was also in charge of the permaculture lectures given in the garden. NAB has also charged itself with the maintenance of the whole garden, including the removal of litter, pruning the trees and adding six picnic tables and bins. They invested 1000JD's²⁶¹ in the garden's public picnic tables. They found a picnic table in a scrap yard and painted it themselves. When they were able to collect money, they manufactured another six tables for the whole garden, as well as the bins. NAB had also added a 6000JD's²⁶² fence around the garden. NAB installed adult sports equipment and improved the children's playground by installing high quality play equipment. On her own initiative, the honorary chair redesigned the sidewalk of the garden and repaved it to make space for the garbage cans as they would otherwise have been in the middle of the

²⁶⁰ 77,827£.

²⁶¹ 1,111£.

²⁶² 6,670£.

street.²⁶³ A director at the GAM explains that the NGO also pays for city water and electricity.²⁶⁴ NAB had also tried to connect to the surrounding community.²⁶⁵ Its five compost bins are accessible from both inside and outside the garden. A sign in Arabic hangs facing the community side, explaining what compost is and what should and should not be placed in it (See Figure 6-30). They sent the guard to inform the neighbouring community that they had provided them with an external access to the gardens compost bins. Although not all cooperate, some do and send their compost. NAB also tried at one time to send them flyers to explain what they wanted to do, and asked once to meet with someone from the surrounding community.²⁶⁶ This level of participation and the direct involvement of the NAB community created a sense of control and a psychological sense of ownership of the garden.



Figure 6-30: Sign hung on the outer wall of the garden explaining what compost is and what could be added into the bins.

Sense of ownership

Because the garden is the primary recreational space for the AID, NAB's board and members are protective towards it. It is like their second home²⁶⁷, their only outlet²⁶⁸ and a place where parents feel surrounded by others with similar problems.²⁶⁹ This seems to have created a sense of ownership over the garden. This sense of ownership amongst the NAB community seems to have been facilitated through 'the intensity of investment and control in the process of collective production and determination of space...' (Eizenberg, 2012). Indeed, as discussed above, the

²⁶³ Interview with NABta2F.

²⁶⁴ Interview with MO8M.

²⁶⁵ See section 3.9.

²⁶⁶ Interview with NABta3F.

²⁶⁷ Interview with NABta1F.

²⁶⁸ Interview with NABus5M.

²⁶⁹ Interview with NABus6F.

community has invested both money and personal effort to create the garden as it is today. The sense of ownership becomes visible in how they exhibit their presence within the garden. The value they place on their achievement can be seen on multiple levels. One example is the amount of signage they have placed in and outside the garden. While there is one sign that indicates that the garden belongs to the GAM, there are three signs of NAB hung at the two gates of the garden, in addition to one hung on the guards shed (See Figure 6-31). Setting rules and making them visible contribute to showing authority and a sense of ownership. One example of this is the signage hung by NAB announcing that the garden is a smoke-free environment and another promoting the ‘refuse the plastic straw’ campaign (See Figure 6-32). While in Europe, smoke-free environments are already established, in Jordan smoking still occurs in public spaces with few exceptions. Similarly, awareness about plastic waste is still nascent in Jordan.



Figure 6-31: NAB Signage.



Figure 6-32: NAB signage announcing the garden as 'smoke free' (left) and promoting the 'refuse the straw' campaign (right).

On the other hand, the sense of ownership is exhibited by their meticulous maintenance of the garden. They have employed a gardener of their own, who not only takes care of their eastern part but of the whole garden.²⁷⁰ The members themselves also collect litter from the garden. Hence, there is a sense of ownership and a sense of responsibility that has materialized with the space of the garden.

6.4.3 Social mobilization

NAB had various expenses to cover in order to establish and sustain their community. Despite the board members' and their supporters' monetary contributions, the community needed financial support in order to repurpose the garden and build their community.²⁷¹ As the garden was in a state of neglect, it not only needed maintenance, but also basic infrastructural rehabilitation.²⁷²

The social group of NAB's board consists mostly of well-known families²⁷³; its honorary chair is the wife of a businessman who stems from a historically renowned mercantile family in Jordan (Hanania, 2014). His father was the founder of the region's first locally owned electric company and several other pivotal companies in Jordan (Jordan TV, 2018). These include (Jordan TV, 2018):

²⁷⁰ Interview with NABta2F.

²⁷¹ Interview with NABta2F.

²⁷² Interview with NABta3F.

²⁷³ Interview with NABta3F, NABv5M.

- Jordan Insurance Company (JIC) (Founder);
- Jordan Phosphate Mines Co. (Founder); and
- Jordan's Petroleum Refinery Company (Co-founder).

He himself holds and has held important positions in other notable companies of Jordan. These include (Arabia Insurance Cooperative Company, 2017; German Jordanian University, 2017; Jordan Insurance Federation, 2017; Decypha, 2018; Jordan Insurance Company, 2018):

- Jordan Insurance Federation (President of board of directors (two consecutive councils));
- Jordan Insurance Co. Ltd. (Chairman);
- German Jordanian University (Chairman of the board);
- Arabia Insurance Cooperative Co. (Board member); and
- Jordan Electric Power Co (JEPCO) (Deputy chairman of the board).

He has also been chairman for a number of other notable companies.²⁷⁴ He also funded several projects, including the Jordan River Foundation and the German Jordanian University. The honorary chair herself is the public relations officer of the American Women in Amman, founding board member of the royal NGO, Al Hussein Society for training and inclusion (AHS) and individual sponsor of AHS (Al-Hussein Society, 2017).²⁷⁵ She is one of the prominent foreign women who took on leadership roles in working with people with disabilities, along with Queen Noor, Princess Muna, Princess Sarvath, Princess Majda, Karen Asfour and Rebecca Salti (Rutherford, 2007). Her active role in civil society, her husband's positions and her social networks facilitated the NGO's attracting funds and donations and established a link between the NGO and her social connections. The funds to support building the wall and community building were facilitated by her social connections and dedication to the cause of AID and environmental awareness. She was able to attain 6000JD's²⁷⁶ from the Housing Bank and the Jordan Insurance Company to raise the wall.²⁷⁷ In coordination with others, she was able to raise 70,000JDs²⁷⁸ in individual donations to build the building. Her social connections helped at other levels, including attaining permaculture knowledge for the garden and conducting publicity for the market.

²⁷⁴ He was previously the Chairman of Al Amal Financial Investments Co. and Vice Chairman of National Oil & Electricity Production from Oil Shale Co. Plc. He also served on the board at OFFTEC Holding Group PLC and The Consultant & Investment Group (4-traders.com, 2018).

²⁷⁵ She is also a frequent donor to various organizations and associations such as ACOR (American Centre of Oriental Research) and Hand on Hope NGO.

²⁷⁶ 6,678£.

²⁷⁷ Interview with NABta2F.

²⁷⁸ 7,7920£.

Through their social connections, the other board members were also able to mobilize other bodies to support their community. These bodies include:

- UNWG (United Nations Women's Guild);
- Arabtech Jardaneh Engineering Consultancy;
- Nestle Co., Zain Telecommunications Company (See Figure 6-34);
- TactiX Strategic Consulting; and
- school volunteers, amongst others (See Appendix L).

Access to UNWG, for instance, was facilitated by a friend of one of the board members.²⁷⁹ The UNWG contributed 7,000€ to build the toilets in the community building. This funding was part of the 2012 UNWG charity projects carried out in 32 countries (UNWG, 2012). Nestle provides water for the AID every Saturday, while Arabtech Jaradaneh had supported them with 200 JD's monthly.²⁸⁰ On the other hand, TactiX supported them by providing them with advertisement consultation. This included free advertising and promotion via Facebook and Twitter, and sending invitations to select individuals as part of TactiX community support programme (Tactix Strategic Consulting, 2016). Other mobilization targeted similarly oriented local NGOs, organizations and other civil society groups, such as (See Appendix L):

- Al Masar Development Centre (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2013c);
- Ruwwad Al Tanmeya non-profit organization (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2013a);
- Harmony of Hope charity (Harmony of Hope, 2017);
- Lions Club (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2012c);
- YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association)(Al-Najada, 2011);
- CISV Camp (formerly Children's International Summer Villages) (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2013b);
- Jordan Paramedic Society (Be A Community Beat, 2017);
- APN (The Arab Group for the Protection of Nature) (APN, 2014);
- American Embassy (Facebook, 2017) (See Figure 6-33).

The mobilization included establishing joint activities, volunteering sessions and workshops. These different collaborations created a multi-scale network.

²⁷⁹ Interview with NABta3F.

²⁸⁰ Interview with NABta4F.

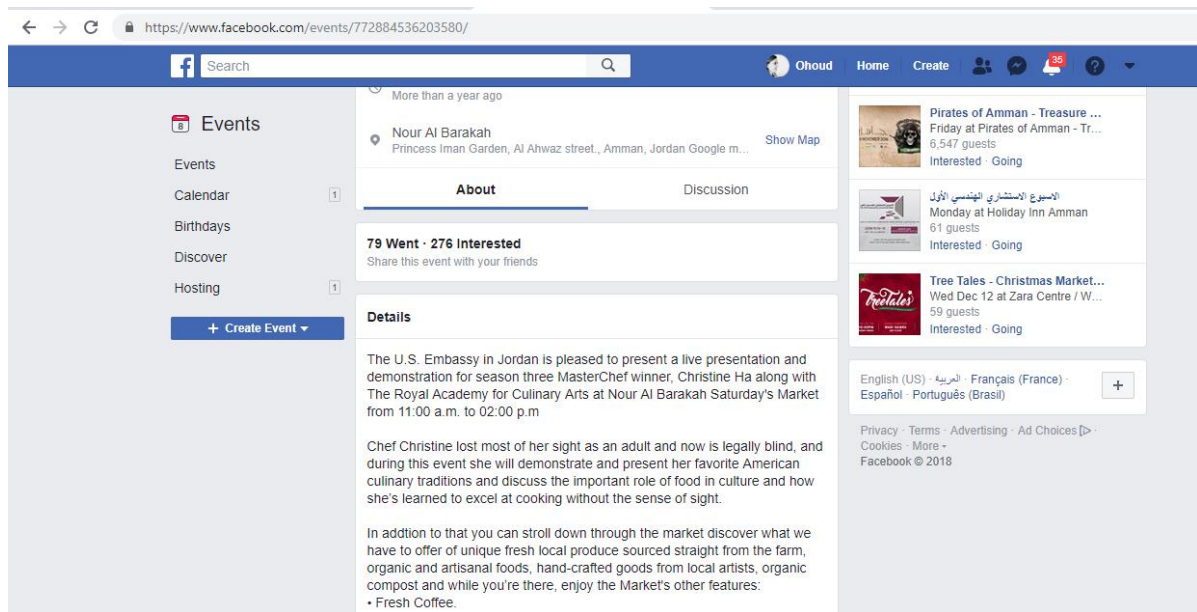


Figure 6-33: U.S. Embassy presents an event in collaboration with NAB to take place at its garden. Source:(2017).



Figure 6-34: ZainJo Telecommunications volunteers operating the burger station of NAB.

Through this multi-scale network, NAB was able to establish, develop and promote their community. Furthermore, it worked towards its 'longevity ...through maximising volunteer involvement ...' (Firth *et al.*, 2011, p. 566)

6.4.4 NAB's Rhetoric

NAB projects both a formal and an informal rhetoric--the formal one aimed at the state and the informal one aimed at society. The duality of rhetoric aims and was able to engage the two separate entities in ways that elicit a positive reception and mobilization around NAB's ideas. This meant that NAB needs to speak to what the state deems as legitimate and what society finds to be of value. Addressing these different interests successfully would enable their community to be sustained and supported at both state and society levels. Below I will explain the formal rhetoric that was used in NAB's letter correspondence with the GAM, as well as the informal rhetoric that was used by NAB to address society through their Facebook page.

Formal rhetoric

The formal rhetoric combines nationalism and philanthropy. This formal rhetoric was used in NAB's letter correspondence with the GAM (October-November 2016) (See appendix N). Both are used to create a sense of legitimacy, credibility and trustworthiness.

Nationalism is highlighted in NAB's letters to the GAM by reflecting on what they do as transcending doing good for the AID. Their work and ambition are to benefit society at large, which includes small producers as well as social and civil groups.²⁸¹ Moreover, NAB's actions are explained as benefiting the surrounding neighbourhood as the garden was transformed from being a site of vandalism into a community garden full of life.²⁸² Nationalism was further highlighted by explaining their project as being coherent with and in support of the King's and state's vision: to grant and achieve a good life for its citizens. It is so because the garden not only targets the weakest category in society (AID), but also provides and promotes, through its created space and activities, a safe and healthy space that encourages positive interaction within the wider public and its surroundings. As seen in their correspondence with the GAM:

'We as the administrative body at NAB work hand in hand with the GAM to develop our beloved homeland to support our people so that everyone could enjoy a decent life which is the embodiment of his Majesty King Abdullah II's vision, may God protect him and safeguard him as a sponsor of the homeland and the citizen. We have worked hard with sincerity to develop and activate Princess Iman Garden with the support of the unified Jordanian people and the United Nations. The garden therefore was transformed from a space filled with acts of vandalism to a garden that's now guided by both local community and expats'.²⁸³

²⁸¹ (Barakeh, Nour Al. Received by Greater Amman Municipality, 19 Oct. 2016).

²⁸² (Barakeh, Nour Al. Received by Greater Amman Municipality, 21 Nov. 2016).

²⁸³ (Barakeh, Nour Al. Received by Greater Amman Municipality, 21 Nov. 2016).

Nationalism was also highlighted by explaining that this project is a one-of-a-kind project that is built and developed by Jordanian civilians which establishes a positive role model to follow. This concept of 'nationalism' is confirmed by the selective terminology that accentuates NAB's action towards or issues of: volunteering citizens, dedicated citizens, being in the service of Jordan, well-being of the beloved homeland, Jordan's prosperity, homeland protection and concern for fellow citizens.

'...we abide by the law and are volunteering citizens towards the service of Jordan and service of this group that needs support, furthermore, we work hand in hand towards the well-being of our beloved homeland... '.

'Long live Jordan in prosperity'.²⁸⁴

'All ... is a reflection of dedicated citizens that are not only protective towards their homeland but towards all of their counterpart citizens'.²⁸⁵

The philanthropic rhetoric, on the other hand, stressed the idea that NAB is a charity that provides support for the well-being of the AID and the Jordanian population as a whole; furthermore, that their association is run by volunteers which additionally established a volunteering culture and environmentally responsible actions amongst schools and the community. Moreover, NAB stressed the importance of supporting their charity so that it continues its efforts towards the AID community.

'Nour Al-Barakeh is providing a great service to the community, we are providing a safe and clean environment for our youth with special needs to have afternoon activities every day and on Saturday a wonderful market place for people from all sectors to gather in a community activity that provides income for local food and vegetables producers'.(Bdeir, 2017)

'Our association has established the principle of volunteerism within schools as it welcomes every cycle an organized group of school volunteers that volunteer weekly to work hand in hand with our disabled adults as well as educating them to be environmentally responsible'

'Our association is run by sincere Jordanian volunteers ...which does not aim at any financial gain but recycles all money into organizing free activities for adults with disabilities... '

²⁸⁴ (Barakeh, Nour Al. Received by Greater Amman Municipality, 19 Oct. 2016).

²⁸⁵ (Barakeh, Nour Al. Received by Greater Amman Municipality, 21 Nov. 2016).

'We hope that you sustain your support for charity which is our aim and goal'.²⁸⁶

The informal rhetoric

The informal rhetoric was used in NAB's market event announcements and online posters posted on their Facebook page (2013-2018)²⁸⁷ (See Figure 6-35). The informal rhetoric is targeting the public and is considering certain values in Amman's society in doing so. It has developed its rhetoric into three different versions:

- i. a healthy trend;

The healthy trend builds on the presence of local organic farmers and the availability of fresh organic produce (See Figure 6-35&Figure 6-36 &Figure 6-37).

- ii. a spatial trend; and

The spatial trend builds on the natural, outdoor setting of the garden and presents it as 'fun, friendly and fruitful' (See Figure 6-35). It is additionally presented as being a great outdoor outlet for friends and family, which permits enjoying the weather and activities for everyone (See Figure 6-36).

- iii. a socially responsible trend.

The socially responsible trend invites people to come so that they raise awareness about the environment and NAB's special needs community and to generally discover the spirit of NAB and support their community (See Figure 6-35&Figure 6-37).

²⁸⁶ (Barakeh, Nour Al. Received by Greater Amman Municipality, 21 Nov. 2016).

²⁸⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/NourAlBarakah/>



Figure 6-35: Informal rhetoric of NAB. Source: (Nour Al-Barakeh)

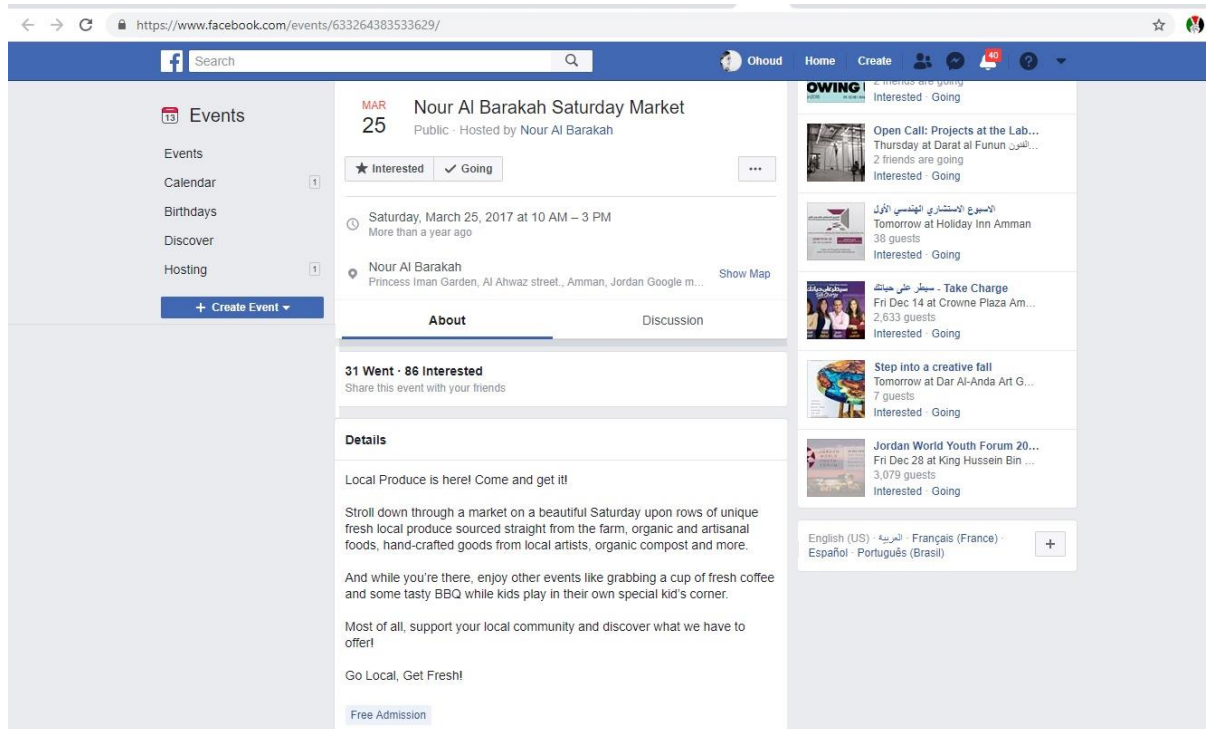


Figure 6-36: Event informal rhetoric building on the idea of healthy produce, events and ongoing activities. Source: (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2017)

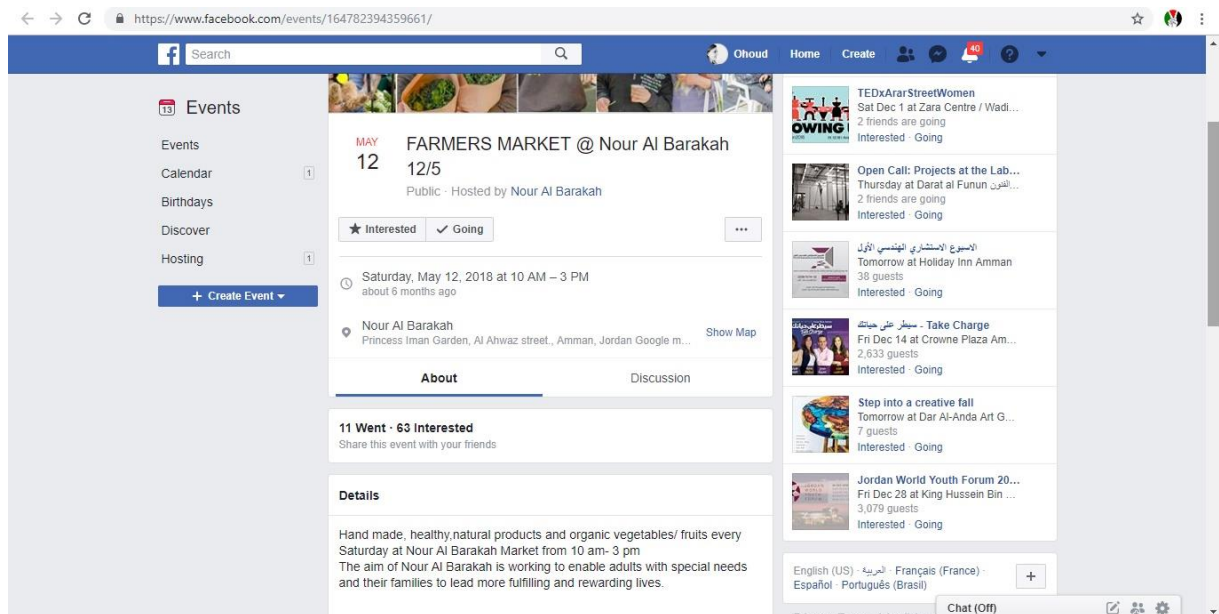


Figure 6-37: Event informal rhetoric building on the idea of healthy, organic produce and support of AID. Source: (Nour Al-Barakeh, 2018)

6.5 The GAM's response: Accepted form of informal governance

Within this section, I will discuss the GAM's response to NAB's demands. After a brief opening on the GAM's usual forms of permits and agreements, I will look into how the GAM's perception of the NGO evolved into an accepted form of informal governance. I will explain this evolution in the light of NAB being an accepted form of NGO and the GAM's new understanding of the garden as an outsourced enterprise. Finally, I will illustrate the challenges that NAB still faces internally as an NGO and externally in its relations with the GAM.

6.5.1 Temporary use permits and agreements for the GAM property

As NAB has rented the GAM property, I will be exploring the usual forms of temporary permits for the GAM's properties.

Temporary permits are given out by various departments of the GAM and their conditions vary according to the renter's aim, the GAM property type and the related GAM department. The usual permits for the temporary use of GAM property are those established for bazaars. These include charitable and social bazaars.²⁸⁸ Such permits are issued depending on the type of GAM facility being sought. The facility could either be a social centre, a public space or a cultural centre. The major condition for issuing a temporary use permit for a social centre is that the

²⁸⁸ Interview with MO13M.

requesting body is a charitable one.²⁸⁹ In this case, the facility is provided for free and its duration varies from one day to three maximum.²⁹⁰ The activity then takes place under the supervision of the GAM and the presence of the GAM representatives.²⁹¹ An example of social bazaars is Jara Market that runs from May-September in a public space (dead-end street) in Jabal Amman. Its permit is issued by the GAM²⁹² in coordination with the area manager. Ras Al-Ain Hanger, on the other hand, is an example of a cultural facility of the GAM that is rented for a temporary period through the centre's director. Hence, there is no unified body that gives out temporary permits and their conditions vary according to the renter's aim, the GAM property type and the related GAM department. Other instances where GAM property is made temporarily available are through an agreement called a customization agreement. As explained by a senior director at the GAM:

*'...it's not ownership, it's a customization agreement for certain and specific purposes. So, the other party cannot break the agreement, it cannot for instance overtake the whole garden or for instance disallow someone to use it, it's for the public. Hence, it has this area that it specified for the activities that addresses a certain category with the goals that it has written down in the agreement we had issued...The agreement includes the duties and commitments of both parties...'*²⁹³

The GAM issues such an agreement in which it designates part of the space to the other party, temporarily, if they believe in the cause.²⁹⁴

Hence, if temporary use for a social activity is allowed, it is allowed through the use of municipal property and not outside the legal framework of the GAM. On the one hand, these arrangements facilitate a system through which one is granted a temporary permit, and they grant a finished space for free. Yet, on the other hand, these arrangements could also potentially limit the temporary use and its potential creative possibilities to the conditions of the GAM and their designated spaces.

6.5.2 Unusual contract for NAB

When NAB approached the GAM in 2010, it was the time of the Arab Spring in the region. The Arab Spring prompted the prime ministry to disallow any renting of open spaces.²⁹⁵ It also

²⁸⁹ Interview with MO4F, MO14M, MO13M.

²⁹⁰ Interview with MO4F.

²⁹¹ Interview with MO1F.

²⁹² Specifically, Taiki house.

²⁹³ Interview MO1F.

²⁹⁴ Interview with MO1F.

²⁹⁵ Interview with MO17M.

coincided with the period when the 'Green Amman 2020' committee was established by Princess Rahmeh Bint Hassan, with the aim of promoting a greener Amman; accordingly, renting or building within gardens was forbidden.²⁹⁶ Thus, it can be rightly assumed that in such circumstances it would have been hard to establish a contract to rent a garden.

The process of renting the GAM's garden of Princess Iman was not clarified; nor were the exact procedures followed; neither by the GAM regulators nor by NAB. The few procedures that were mentioned had multiple versions. The interviews included three NAB board members and five GAM regulators.²⁹⁷ One of NAB's board members described the process:

*'We went to the Department of Gardens and requested a garden...then we wrote an official paper to the GAM in which we gave all information of the NGO's aim and such... from where our funding is...of course this was addressed to the mayor... when the mayor approved it we started the required approval procedures...'*²⁹⁸

On the one hand, the honorary chair referred me to other members, including the president, explaining that she was not amongst the members who went to the GAM. The president similarly explained that she was not amongst the three ladies who had pursued the matter with the GAM. On the other hand, one of the regulators had switched off the recorder when asked about details of NAB and how they were able to attain the contract. The Director of Tlaa Al-Ali area, under whose jurisdiction the garden lies, explained that he had no exact information about the process. What he knows, though, is that if Mayor Aqel Beltaji leaves the GAM, the garden contract will leave with him.²⁹⁹

A director at the GAM explained the process as:

'Usually an official request is sent to the GAM by the applicant. The applicant then carries out a presentation that is requested from them. The matter is then raised through the concerned departments to senior management. The senior management's approval is taken in order to present the request to the specialized committees. The specialized committees shall then determine the approval or non-

²⁹⁶ Interview with MO15M.

²⁹⁷ The 5 regulators included: The Director of Social Centres Department, Director of Agriculture (previously Gardens Directory), Director of Properties, Director of Property and Acquisition, and the Director of Tlaa Al Ali area at the time. The Director of Properties and the Director of Property and Acquisition were directly involved with the contract.

²⁹⁸ Interview with NABta4F.

²⁹⁹ Interview with MO12M.

*approval of the request. In the case of NAB, the approval was made by the Property and Acquisitions Committee.*³⁰⁰

A director at the GAM, who was one of the two witnesses at the signing of the contract (See Appendix I), reports that after NAB had submitted a request for renting Princess Iman Garden at the Department of Property, it was forwarded to the Committee of Property and Acquisitions, after which it was presented to the Amman Municipality Council. And because the contract is for three years it was transferred to the prime ministry³⁰¹ for approval.³⁰² In addition to the lack of clarity of the process of the contract, the contract itself is described as unusual by a director at the GAM responsible for such contracts.³⁰³ He explains that the usual contract format would renew the contract automatically after it ends in three years, but this one specified that it is not renewable unless NAB writes to the GAM three months prior to the ending of the contract and the GAM accepts this request.

6.5.3 NAB as an accepted model of civil-society organization

Although NAB is not a political movement, and its aims are geared towards providing a service rather than enacting structural change, they became political the moment they were able to negotiate and achieve their aims. NAB had not created a political party or formulated political demands; nor did they engage as citizens in grassroots practices to tackle their demands for a lacking social need. Yet they are political as they were able to negotiate a temporary suspension of the GAM's garden ownership policy in a time that was charged with political unrest and in which the Ministry of Interior had forbidden any rental of gardens; furthermore, this was a time when Princess Rahmeh had started an initiative to green Amman that had forbidden any building within gardens. Yet, as much as it concerns the GAM, NAB fits the Jordanian political view of NGOs as charitable bodies that provide services to the disabled, rather than one enabling citizens to mobilize on policy issues (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). So, in the state's view, NAB does not pose any threat to national stability; they simply fit the government's view of how legitimate NGOs should operate.

Within the context of the Arab world, civil-society organizations have always been viewed with suspicion (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). In Jordan, political parties were outlawed in 1957

³⁰⁰ Interview with MO8M.

³⁰¹ As the contract was established in 2014, it was written according to the municipalities' law of 2007. The new amended law was issued in 2015 and with it the period was amended to five years after which the contract would be transferred to the prime ministry.

³⁰² Interview with MO17M.

³⁰³ Interview with MO8M.

(Lust-Okar, 2001) and only legalized in 1992 (Robinson, 1998). Its NGO scene has long been dominated by large and formalized NGOs of royal and foreign patronage, as well as quasi-governmental NGOs (quangos) and 'government'-NGOs (GONGOs) (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Civil-society organizations have therefore faced many obstacles in order to establish themselves as active bodies within the society. They are '...heavily controlled by the state – whether through heavy regulation; complicated bureaucracy; challenges to the formal associational entities outside informal tribal and religious associations...' (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016, p. 8). One of the heavy regulations is the requirement to give prior notice to the Ministry of Social Development if they want to hold a meeting; moreover, the minister or any representative could sit in on their meeting (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Thus, there are deeply rooted state concerns when it comes to civil society and an intricacy system for how the state deals with them to ensure that no political affiliations exist. This can be clearly noted in the state's definition of an association. According to the Amended Associations Law No. (22) for the year 2009:

'The term "association" means any legal person composed of a group of persons not less than seven and registered in accordance with the provisions of this law to provide services or carry out activities on a voluntary basis without the intention to profit and share or to achieve any benefit to any of its members or to any specific person or achieve any political objectives within the scope of activities and activities of political parties in accordance with the provisions of the legislation in force.'

This paves the way for understanding why NAB did not receive positive reactions from all departments of the GAM. Scepticism, mistrust and a technical view of what an NGO should be still play a role in how NGOs are perceived.

6.5.4 Princess Iman Garden as an outsourced enterprise

Yet what is different about NAB? How was it able to establish itself as legitimate in the eyes of the GAM and the state?

As illustrated in section 6.4.3, the board members hold multi-scale social capital but most importantly the GAM had come to see them as a politically acceptable NGO.

The GAM had kept a close eye on the NGO. It had several site visits by undercover cadres to check on the activities and concluded that '...they are charitable in every sense of the word' (MO8M). NAB is regularly required to provide a copy of the stall rentals to the Ministry of

Social Development so that they can be watched financially. Additionally, they are under the supervision of the Committee of Property and Estates that do field visits.³⁰⁴ They came to conclude that this type of NGO fits the image and function that the government can tolerate. Its operators are neither a demanding class nor does the NGO pursue any progressive political demands. They are a charity working for their AID children and their environmental ethos. With time, the GAM has actually seen its relation to NAB as beneficial. The GAM's garden became an outsourced enterprise: a space which the NGO is maintaining and managing.³⁰⁵ Consequently, NAB became a service provider. NAB upgraded the infrastructure of the garden with new hardscape and softscape. They maintain, manage and activate it, and, moreover, pay all required bills including water, electricity, gardener, secretary and accountant.³⁰⁶

That is also why the garden changes that NAB made were tolerated by the GAM. NAB is seen to have created the garden's sustainability; furthermore, all what it had done is '...aesthetic, they have not misused the garden or behaved in a wrong way.'³⁰⁷ The GAM went even further in saying that the garden would not be the way it is now if it had remained in their own hands.³⁰⁸ Hence, the GAM had found an opportunity to rent out their garden as an outsourced enterprise to deal with the municipality's service difficulties of maintenance and security.³⁰⁹ It is also seen as a partnership.³¹⁰

6.6 NAB's precarious situation

In this section I will explain the conditions that produce the precarious situation of NAB. I will cover it on two levels: an internal one that corresponds to the NAB NGO and an external one that corresponds to the GAM. In both sections I will discuss what might be putting the NGO at risk and how this risk came to be.

6.6.1 Internal conditions

As explained in section 6.4.1 and 6.4.3, the NGO is efficiently organized and organization is key for the sustainability of a community. Indeed, community involves '... the "craft" of building an enduring network of people, who identify with common ideals and who can act on the basis of those ideals' (Stall and Stoecker, 1998, p. 730) and to '... build bridging links with

³⁰⁴ Interview with MO8M.

³⁰⁵ Interview with MO8M.

³⁰⁶ Interview with NABta2F, NABta3F.

³⁰⁷ Interview with MO8M.

³⁰⁸ Interview with MO8M.

³⁰⁹ Interview with MO8M.

³¹⁰ Interview with MO15M.

other community groups and support networks to enable them to share ideas and good practice' (Firth *et al.*, 2011, p. 566)--both key points that NAB has been able to establish (See sections 0 6.4.1 & 6.4.3).

Board members have engaged and are engaging their other non-AID children to get familiarized with the organization so that at some stage they could take it over.³¹¹ However, the board members were not clear, even to themselves, about what would happen if the contract got dissolved³¹², especially since they have invested a lot of money and effort in establishing the garden yet they own nothing. Everything that they have put into the garden belongs to the municipality and the public.³¹³ Thus, how enduring is this community? And how transportable is it? How transportable are the relationships that have been formed? Can they go find another space? And do the same thing there?

As the managing group is an interest group and the majority happen to be friends, their aims are intimately shared. The success of their NGO management is apparent in their market's success that has even 'taken on a life of its own'³¹⁴ and become a popular place for expats and people from high socio-economic status. This has not only provided them with financial sustainability but also promoted business for the vendors. This gives a reason for the vendors to come back, and a reason for the market to keep on going. Yet not all users of the garden and market were acquainted with the initiative. Their concept was either unclear³¹⁵ or unheard of.³¹⁶

Therefore, a multiplicity of internal conditions might put NAB at risk including: an absence of future plans and prospective, and a potentially restrictive approach towards community engagement.

6.6.2 External conditions

The GAM's lack of commitment

The GAM officials' stance and actions towards NAB as an NGO has been overall positive; moreover, the officials that carried out the contract and agreements with NAB view their relation as a kind of partnership. However, there have been several instances that indicate that the GAM has no clear commitment to this partnership, and that, moreover, manifest the GAM's disconnectedness with itself and its various departments and their mismatched vision towards

³¹¹ Interview with NABta1F.

³¹² Interview with NABta2F, NABta3F, NABta1F.

³¹³ Interview with NABta2F.

³¹⁴ Interview with NABta2F.

³¹⁵ Interview with NABpo5M, NABpo2F, NABpo6M,

³¹⁶ Interview with NABus2M, NABus3F, NABus4M.

NAB. One of those instances dates back to 2016. The municipality had a royal fund to install new equipment and rubber ground.³¹⁷ They cemented over the sandy playing area that NAB had built, and removed fences and the existing playground (Sawalha, 2016). Other damages reported were the breakage of the floor tiles and trees.³¹⁸ This had been done without referring back to NAB or the community (Sawalha, 2016). NAB resorted to social media and contacted the mayor at the time upon which the initiative was stopped.³¹⁹ A director at the GAM who had been involved with NAB's various paper work explains that he does not believe that the department responsible for the garden redesign had the record that the garden was rented out; however, the head of the department stated that the department knew of NAB but insisted that it was a royal fund that should have been carried out.³²⁰

More recently, in 2018, the GAM decided to plant 68 trees in the garden to celebrate 'Day of the tree' (Al Sabeel, 2018). Various trees were planted in the presence of the mayor of Amman and other officials.³²¹ The outer wall was painted and thus NAB logos were painted over. The trees took over several spaces that NAB uses for their market (See Figure 6-38).

Despite NAB having an official acceptance for their market from the Ministry of Social Development, Investment Authority and the previous mayor (See Appendix J&K), they were neither involved nor considered when carrying out this plan. The representative of the directorate of Tla Al-Ali explained:

'let them find their own solution because anyway we haven't been informed about this market, additionally, they have anyway transcended the approved 100 m² given to them by the municipality and they have taken about 500 m² from the garden and this is transgression'.

³¹⁷ Interview with MO16F.

³¹⁸ Interview with NABta4F.

³¹⁹ Interview with MO16F.

³²⁰ Interview with MO16F.

³²¹ Other officials included Deputy Mayor of Amman, the head of the Traffic Department, a representative of Tla Al Ali directorate, the head of the Agricultural Department, and the Deputy Director of the City for Health and Agriculture Affairs and a number of the Secretariat's Directors and officials of the Department of Traffic. Others present included The Jordanian TV.



Figure 6-38: The GAM planting 68 trees in Princess Iman Garden in areas of NAB's market space.

The GAM's communication director, on the other hand, commented they can use the garden entrance area, its corridors, football field and the gravel area instead of the newly planted areas that previously hosted their stalls. He added that greening the city is the priority.

The GAM's mismatched vision

Through the interviews carried out with various GAM officials, it is clear that they do not assign the same value to NAB. As explained above, the general stance towards the NGO has been a positive one, yet its existence and its appropriation has not been viewed the same way.

Several directors at the GAM engaged with its contract saw their relation to NAB as a partnership through which NAB has been granted the garden as an outsourced enterprise.³²² The director of property added that NAB is totally legal; he has specifically spoken out about how they had asked for everything in a legal way. This is supported by another director responsible for renting the garden.³²³ On the other hand, it had been the case that an official had switched off the recorder, and asked for her opinion to remain unpublished. A director in relation to gardens and landscape at the GAM had reported that she sees the concept as illegal, as 'they had taken over the garden'.³²⁴ She sees that NAB did not stick to the 100m² that were allocated for them; furthermore, her department was stopped by the NGO from carrying out the royal garden initiative that had allocated funds to install new structures and rubber ground within the garden. This, in her opinion, blocked a service that would have benefited all of society, including the society that resides around the garden. She adds that this illegality is also manifested in their market whose vendors are not the AID and their mothers but rather organic farmers and the like who are not the special segment of the society that needs support. A

³²² Interview with MO8M, MO15M.

³²³ Interview with MO17M.

³²⁴ Interview with MO16F.

representative of the area (Tla Al-Ali), in which the garden is situated, agrees with her and describes their presence as transgression as they have taken more than specified in the contract.

The GAM's disconnectedness

There have been various opinions about how the relation to NAB had been legalized. While the director of property and director of property and acquisition agreed that it had been a contract³²⁵, others such as the director of agriculture and executive director of engineering described the bounding relation by a customization agreement.³²⁶

There has also been a misinformed stance towards what NAB and its market actually are. The director of agriculture described it as an NGO that provides services for the needy and poor.³²⁷ Another representative from the Tla Al-Ali directorate described the farmers' market as a bazaar that sells embroidery and the like.

6.7 Conclusion

An institution such as the GAM which is staffed by ' mostly technical people, engineers and...have very little education or training in the background in anything to do with community development'³²⁸, found it hard to accept and understand the concept of NAB, especially situated within Jordan's scepticism of NGOs and its lack of active civil society. Yet the GAM had found an opportunity to instigate and establish a mutual benefit relation with NAB through accepting a new type of governance: a form of informal governance in which governance over the garden has been conducted outside the formal boundaries of the GAM and through NAB and other informal processes. The garden's design, maintenance, activities and security became a process that NAB took over. The relation between NAB and the GAM had been legalized through a year's contract bound by several specific conditions including the building of a 100m² building and planting parts of the garden, and legalizing their Saturday's farmer's market. NAB, however, had started appropriating the garden before the contract had been established, and, moreover, transcended that contract to establish its own meaning and sense of ownership towards the garden. It temporarily suspends the GAM ownership by using and establishing the gardens space outside the framework that had been set by the contract. NAB uses the garden space three days a week for its own AID activities; it built accessible sheds, a permaculture garden, composting area, seating areas, benches, its own garden fence, plus additional garden pathways and ramps. This created a new space dynamic by which new agents and users were

³²⁵ Interview with MO17M, MO8M.

³²⁶ Interview with MO1F, MO15M.

³²⁷ Interview with MO15M.

³²⁸ Interview with EX1F.

introduced. Multi-scale volunteers, associations and organizations engage weekly within the garden's space. Users of different categories were established: Expats, foreigners, West Ammani's and environmentally aware groups started coming to the garden. This was enabled by NAB's formalized entity as an NGO, their efficient organization, social mobilization and being regarded by the GAM as an 'accepted model of civil society'. Hence, the GAM outsourced their garden to deal with the municipality's service difficulties of maintenance and security. Yet conditions of precarity put the NAB community at risk. The GAM's lack of experience of partnerships, deeply rooted scepticism of any civil collective, lack of commitment and mismatched vision coupled with an absence of proper engagement of NAB with its neighbourhood community and an unplanned future outside the GAMs binding contract all lead to the question: How permanent of a model is NAB?

While answering this question is time dependent, it is clear that the case has provided a rich empirical reference that establishes a detailed understanding of multiple processes of formality and informality that in their interrelation explain this case's spatial creation. Specifically, it offers understandings of temporary urbanism in relation to social mechanisms behind NAB's initiative which reveal new modes of negotiation and their materiality in space. Theoretically, various interpretations are produced through engaging with Western and non-Western lenses, that establish potential building material for new concepts. Specifically, these have the potential to reflect and relate temporary urbanism to power relations in co-managing city space and its theorization around urban governance, urban development policy discourse and general planning policy in relation to temporary urbanism.

CHAPTER 7: 'THE VISTA' AT JORDAN STREET

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7.1 Introduction

This is the third and last empirical chapter. It will discuss the conditions of the temporary appropriation of a plot of *musha'a* land³²⁹ (*shared* in Arabic) located at Jordan Street, east of Abu Nseir and Mubis villages. It is organized into 4 sections. The first section is descriptive and provides a brief history of the case. The following two are analytical and argue that the operator's intention with the land's temporary appropriation is a process of *existential permanence*. Within this presentation, I argue that the operators of the space (called 'The Vista'³³⁰) are able to temporarily appropriate the land by building upon a gap in Jordan's planning framework that made its use possible; and furthermore, that the GAM's response to this temporary use is retroactive and rooted in the GAM's history of dealing with temporary structures. The last section is the conclusion of the chapter.

This case will show how the temporary space of JS is created spatially and imaginatively through agentic practices that work outside the system authorized by the state. Specifically, it will explore the temporary urban space creation by social groups without an institutional character that are able to mobilize in a covert, ordinary and everyday manner to address their needs outside any state structure. On the other hand, it shows how the state will manage this space in a flexible way in order to manage this social group.

7.2 Brief history

Jordan Street was established in 2005 as a major highway connecting Amman and northern cities. The street is an alternate route to several important destinations, such as downtown Amman, *Dakheleyye* roundabout and University Street, which suffer from traffic jams most of the day. The highway was carried out by the GAM in cooperation with the Ministry of Public Works and Housing at a total cost of about 50 million JD's (Addustour, 2005).

Before the street was cut through, residents report the area along 'The Vista' was forest-like with many trees, an area no one dared to visit.³³¹ After the street was constructed, the area became accessible to cars and was supplied with street lights. The street is cut through a hilly topographic formation and offers unobstructed views overlooking the surrounding areas. It overlooks the agricultural areas of Baqa'a and Ain Al-Basha³³², the outskirts of Sweileh,

³²⁹ *Musha'a*, in the contemporary sense of land tenure, means land having more than one owner due to inheritance. As both civil law and the British land code specified that all heirs are to be given a share of the deceased's land, some land became owned by numerous heirs, thus complicating its subdivision (Fischbach, 2000).

³³⁰ That is how it is known and called. 'Al-Mattal' in Arabic.

³³¹ Interview with JASpo1M.

³³² Interview with MO10F.

province of Jerash, as well as the mountains of Salt (Hazzain, 2016). It was therefore named by Arabia Weather³³³ as a unique spot for photography lovers (Hazzain, 2016). (See Figure 7-2 & Figure 7-3& Figure 7-4).

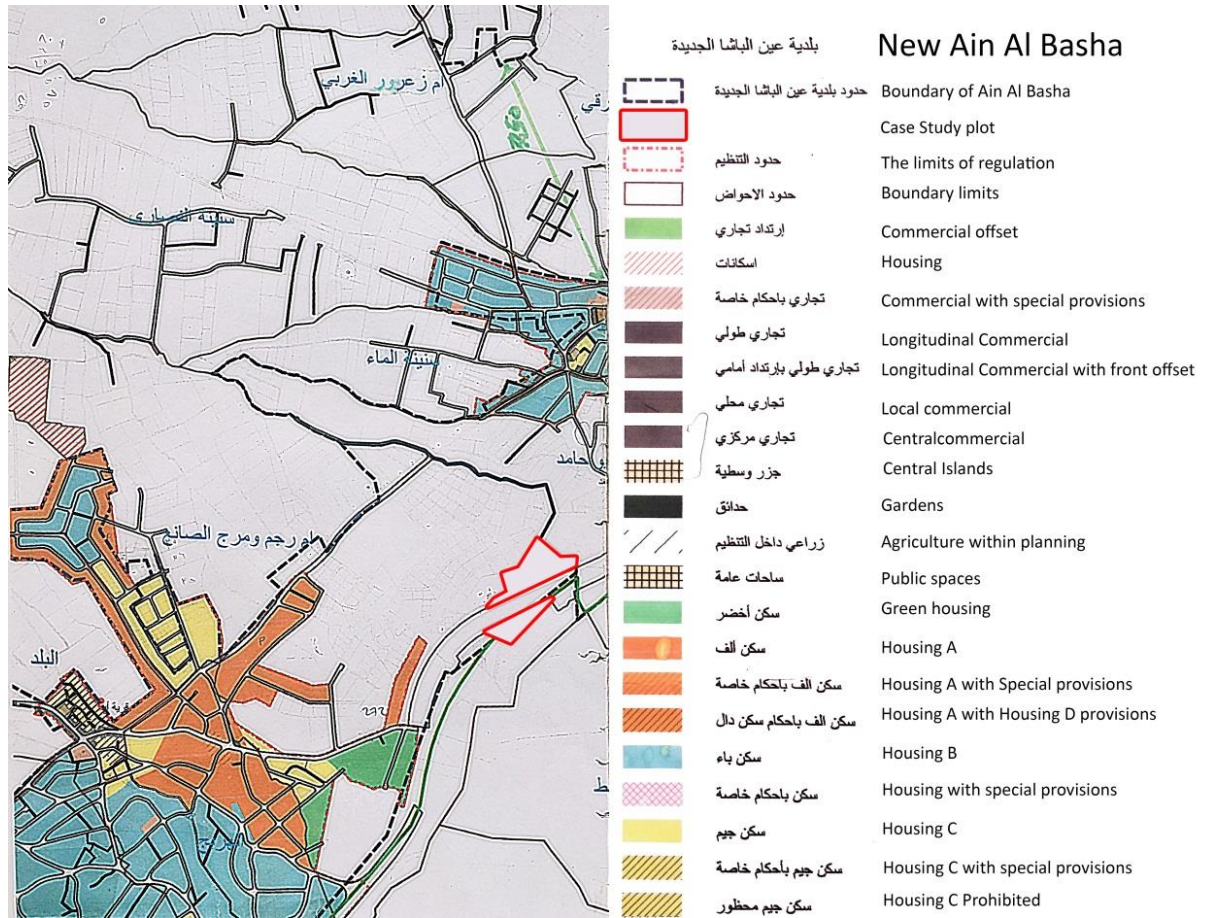


Figure 7-1. Land use of 'The Vista' area. White areas are all outside any planning frameworks. Source: (Ain Al-Basha new municipality, 2011).

With the opening of the street, people recognized the area's natural qualities and it became a regular scene to see people stop, both day and night, at various sections of the street³³⁴ to enjoy the view and its natural characteristics.

³³³ Arabia weather is a private weather company that provides weather services to consumers and businesses in the Arab world.

³³⁴ Jordan Street starts at Wadi Al-Hadadeh and ends in the city of Irbid. The sections that people usually use are after Queen Alia Hospital, Jubeiha, and near Abu Nseir and Mubis villages.



Figure 7-2 View from 'The Vista' at night. Source: (Alawneh, 2018)

In 2005, a group of private individuals started appropriating a plot of *musha'a* land that lies to the East of Jordan Street near Abu Nseir and Mubis villages, with neither the owners' consent nor a permit³³⁵ (See Figure 7-3). It is known as 'The Vista of Abu Nseir'.³³⁶ They appropriated the land and created a leisure space with an entrance fee, seating options and some services.



Figure 7-3 'The Vista' (yellow circle) and the agricultural lands and hills it overlooks to the West. Source: (Bing Maps, 2017).



Figure 7-4 View from 'The Vista' during the day overlooking the hills of Al-Salt and the agricultural plots of Baqaa' and Ain Al-Basha'.

³³⁵ Interview with JASa1M

³³⁶ Mattal Abu Nseir in Arabic.

The *musha'a* land belongs to a number of owners from the Wareikat tribe³³⁷, who originate from Abu Nseir village. The *musha'a* land use is designated as agriculture and it lies outside the planning framework³³⁸ (See Figure 7-1).

7.2.1 Context: A culturally permanent phenomenon

It is a common scene around Amman to see people picnicking on the sides of arterial roads. These roads are characterized by their width and the open, unbuilt, natural landscape on each side. Examples of this are Jordan Street, the Airport Road and the road leading to the Dead Sea resorts. Despite Amman having several natural parks, such as King Hussein Park, Amman National, Ghamadan, Independence Park--also known as New Bader Park, Prince Hamzah, and Yaacoub Salti Parks (Goussous, 2016), their over-crowdedness is a clear signal that they are not sufficient for Jordan's and Amman's growing population. Jordan's population reached 10,129,806 in 2018 (Department of Statistics, 2018) and Amman was estimated at 4,226,700 in 2017 (Department of Statistics, 2017). It is also seen as a sign of the failure to provide public spaces that correspond to the needs of the users.³³⁹

The natural landscape that these roads offer seems to attract people due to their tranquillity and natural characteristics.³⁴⁰ Yet what sets these spaces apart is that they perhaps give a sense of freedom and privacy not found in the overcrowded natural parks in Amman. Within these transient spaces, there are no legal restrictions that prohibit their usage as the municipality has no possibility of interference or control, because it is private land.³⁴¹ Thus, people follow their own rules and seem to feel free to use the land via activities they deem valuable. These activities usually include picnicking, barbequing, smoking *shisha*, playing cards and outdoor sports, such as badminton. As a previous planning director described: 'You could dance on the table and sing, and no one would care about you'.³⁴² So, the key difference to existing public spaces is ultimately the unbuilt nature of these spaces, their freedom and privacy.

7.3 Intention of the operators: Existential permanence

Within this section I argue that the operator's intention is a process of *existential permanence*. I argue that *existential permanence* is an ordinary practice of everyday life produced by the operators to affect certain change. This change is produced by tactics through which they

³³⁷ Interview with JAS1M, MO10F.

³³⁸ Interview with MO10F.

³³⁹ Interview with EX4M.

³⁴⁰ Interview with MO10F.

³⁴¹ Interview with MO1F.

³⁴² Interview with MO10F.

proclaim their presence in pursuit of their livelihood and therefore contest the existing land management dynamics.

I will be exploring these tactics through situating them within the cultural context of Amman, the tribal background of the operators and the quality of space they created.

7.3.1 Resilient operators

I explore within this section the conditions and strategies that the operators create to ensure their existential permanence, as well as the quality of space that they produced that plays a role in sustaining their resilience.

Background: Tribal collective

The operators are from tribal sub-sections that stem from the Adwan and Bani Hassan tribes. The major operators are Al-Khalaylah (a sub-section of the Bani Hassan tribe) (Peake, 1934), while the others are Wareikaat (a sub-section of the Adwan tribe). Both tribal collectives live near 'The Vista' in the villages of Bereen and Abu Nseir, respectively³⁴³ (See Figure 7-5).

Historically, there has always been a strong relation between the Hashemite regime and Jordanian tribes. This dates back to the establishment of the Emirate of Jordan as the regime depended on the tribes for survival and the tribes depended on the regime for socioeconomic and cultural interests (Massad, 2001). The earliest example of regime support was in 1916, when a coalition of tribes participated in the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire. In the first years of its establishment, the nascent regime, with British assistance, '...delivered large-scale patronage to protect tribal livelihoods, such as land grants, agrarian subsidies, and tax abatements.' (Yom, 2014, p. 240). Of such land grants are the 50,000 dunams in al-Muwaqqar and 70,000 in the Jordan Valley that were granted to the Bani Sakhr and Adwan tribes (Kark and Frantzman, 2012). Thereafter, the tribes were deployed in the army to combat different political upheavals, such as the crushing of the 1930's Palestinian Revolt, the popular demonstrations of the 1950's and the Palestinian guerrillas in the 1970 civil war (Massad, 2001). Thus they contributed greatly to the survival of the Jordanian state and its consolidation (Eilon and Alon, 2007).

³⁴³ Interview with JASaIM.



Figure 7-5 The Territories of Jordan's Main Families and Tribes in 1929. Source: Ababsa, M. ed., 2014

Later, the state reserved jobs for them in the army and civil service, and promised them essential services such as transport, water and electricity (Abu Jaber and Garaibeh, 1980; Ababsa, 2013b). Moreover, the tribes benefited '...from a system of customary jurisdiction in the form of tribal courts... separate constituencies and reserved seats in parliament...' (Méouchy *et al.*, 2013). Thus, rather than being subjugated, the tribes have been integrated into Jordan's political order and were built upon for its legitimacy (Eilon and Alon, 2007).

In 1976, there was a governmental push for detribalization to better unite the nation of Jordan (Massad, 2001). Nevertheless, the tribes retained their special status. They '...continued to be privileged in the army, and were favoured by a quota system in public universities.' (Méouchy *et al.*, 2013). Tribes hence feel that they have been the backbone of the regime and are entitled to make demands at moments of crisis, based on the rhetoric of their continuous historical support of the regime. Thus, they have resorted to numerous riots over the years when they felt they were being economically marginalized. Most prominently were the riots of the 1970's, 1988 and 2002 (Méouchy *et al.*, 2013). These riots have always been taken seriously to the extent that when a limited rebellion of the Bedouin military forces took place in the 1970's, demanding a pay raise equal to that of civilian employees, King Hussein returned immediately from abroad and demanded that this raise be granted to the military (Massad, 2001).

With the economic reforms of the 1990's and Jordan's new era with King Abdullah, tribal engagement and influence has been diminishing. While subsidy removal started in the 1980's as a result of the fiscal austerity imposed by IMF and World Bank bailouts, it was only after 1999 that the neoliberal programme took shape, not only reducing welfare entitlement but also encompassing privatization and introducing free trade. This meant price rises, the elimination of subsidies and the reduction of price supports. This was coupled with tribes' marginalization at the royal court. As one example: 'Various senior military promotions were no longer carefully distributed to balance tribal affiliations, but instead conducted in a more meritocratic system' (Yom, 2014, p. 239). Taken all together, these changes triggered the creation of the 2011 *Hirak*³⁴⁴, a group of young men of tribal backgrounds that demanded political change (Yom, 2014). This was at the time of the Arab Spring. Within this same timeframe, various tribes raised demands for *miri* land³⁴⁵, owned by the state treasury, to be given to the tribes that have inhabited these areas since the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan, which was the prevailing custom before the independence of the emirate in 1946 (Abid, 2018). This resulted

³⁴⁴ *Hirak* means 'movement' in Arabic.

³⁴⁵ *Miri* land: '...land owned by the state but whose usufruct or possession (*tasarruf*) is held by private individuals...' (Razzaz, 1991:82).

in some tribes obtaining hundreds of hectares of *miri* state land, known as *wajihat* (Méouchy *et al.*, 2013).

One of those tribes has been Al-Khalaylah that has been engaged in these demands for more than 10 years (Abid, 2018). They have been protesting against their exclusion from their historical right of *wajihat*, in addition to what they consider to be a 'formalized policy of marginalization' in appointments (Hasanein, 2018). The popular demands have taken various forms: from peaceful demonstrations to acts of violence like burning tyres and closing off vital routes, such as the road to Queen Alia International Airport, roads in the South of the Kingdom, as well as in the Aujan Triangle area of Zarqa (Abid, 2018). In 2011, the Khalaylah in addition to Al Zawahrah were promised *wajihat* by a representative of the Royal Court, Sharif Fawaz Zabin, after they had organized a sit-in on the land they considered to be theirs. However, it was revealed later that 80% of the land had been acquired by multiple stakeholders (Abid, 2018). Moreover, the transferal of the remaining 10,000 dunums (out of 50,000 dunums)³⁴⁶ had never taken place (Abid, 2018).

There is then a sense of social exclusion that the tribes of Al-Khalaylah feel. They have not been granted ownership of what they regard as their historical right; nor have they been integrated into the state through appointments.

Economic hardship

13 years ago, a man of Al- Khalaylah tribe (Khalaylah Sr.) sat with his family at the edge of Jordan Street enjoying the view known now as 'The Vista'. He had no money³⁴⁷ and no job at the time. While sitting with his family members, the idea of transforming this 'natural opportunity' into a 'public space' occurred to him. He had neither continued school; nor had any of his 11 family members; nor did any of them have a job.³⁴⁸ Two of his family members reported that they had tried many times to join the Jordanian police force or gendarmarie but with no success. One of them said that he had applied for the past three years and each time was rejected. With this idea of an unconventional type of public space, this man created his sole source of livelihood, which he spends on his family of five, in addition to his father and 11 siblings. He explains:

³⁴⁶ 1000 Ha (out of 5000 Ha).

³⁴⁷ The NVivo term that M. Khalaylah used was *emfallis* in Arabic which can be translated as 'being broke'.

³⁴⁸ Interview with JASaIM.

'What does it mean to me? It means a lot of things to me...that's how I started and how I created my own life...this place is the livelihood of 11 people...my siblings...none of them is employed...none of them has a governmental job'.

The family had asked to be given permits for their stalls many times but the government would not give them permits.³⁴⁹ The man's cousin (Khalaylah Jr.) added that they would be in a better economic situation if they did have a permit; moreover, they could offer better services and facilities.

*'If we would have a permit, we would have set up a cafeteria, but we don't have permits and thus we have nothing ...we are working with God's blessings.'*³⁵⁰

Yet the absence of a permit is not hindering them, nor are the state's various raids aimed at their removal. They feel strong and competent with their tribal collective as their backbone, which they say is what makes them strong, and will transform any interference with this solidarity into an *explosion [Sic]*:

'I don't think that they will issue permits for us, they refused to give us permits but we will remain... let me inform you we here are one hand... the tribe of Bani Hassan and Adwan... we are one hand...thus if fat and fire would meet [Sic], God forbid what you will witness... we are one hand here [Sic]...no one dares to come near us...we protect the area despite God of course being the ultimate protector[Sic]'.³⁵¹

Hence, there seems to be a sense of ownership of the area in which they operate not from a legal point of view (not property rights), but from the idea that this is the land that provides their livelihood, and with their tribal background and solidarity, they would protect it against anything.

As the space stops operating in winter, the 'director' of the vista resorts to working as a bus driver until the summer season starts and people flock to 'The Vista'.³⁵²

7.3.2 The land's appropriation and the operators' temporal tactics

While the case of 'The Vista' is rooted in the cultural phenomenon of using arterial streets as picnicking sites, this case is different because there was planned appropriation of a privately-

³⁴⁹ Interview with JASa1M.

³⁵⁰ Interview with JASa2M.

³⁵¹ Interview with JASa1M.

³⁵² Interview with JASa1M.

owned land. Moreover, it has been operated through a tribal collective that systematized the usage of the land as will be explained below. I will explain the appropriation of the *musha'a* land on two levels: tangible and intangible appropriation. I do this in order to explain how the operators were able to create a space that is organized for themselves but also for others and is governed by the new order they established.

Tangible appropriation: space creation and temporary structures

When the space was first envisioned, the operators first created the *saha*³⁵³, the open space proper. As the land next to the street was narrow and had a steep edge, there was little space to use. At the time, many trucks had been transporting rubble construction piles through the area from nearby construction sites in Abu Nseir on their way to the dumping ground in Zarqa. The operators thus established an informal business deal with the pile transporters to dump the piling on the land illegally with no permit. As the land was nearer for the trucks, the drivers agreed to the offer. After many dumping sessions, the pile was flattened and sprinkled with water to settle it:

'So rather than going to the official dumping ground in Zarqa which would take him one or one-and-a-half hour, it would take him ten minutes to dump it here...of course without a permit'.³⁵⁴

While the land was being appropriated, the land owners were notified by people living nearby. The multiple owners objected to the exploitation of their land. After negotiations, the owner of most of the land agreed to rent the land informally to Khalaylah Sr. for 500 JD's monthly in summer and 150 JD's monthly in winter.³⁵⁵ The land on which the operators created 'The Vista' is 27 dunums³⁵⁶ and part of the larger 82 dunums³⁵⁷ of land.

After agreement on the informal contract, the land was organized into 5 different spaces separated by boundaries of rubble. Each space or *saha* is run by a different person but all originate from the Bani Hassan or Adwan tribes. The rubble is an indication of the temporary ownership of the space by its operator. While rubble showcases a very primitive tool of ownership indication, it also manifests the temporariness of the ownership and its fragility. Rubble is easily removed or levelled. As the operators view themselves as one tribe, the rubble becomes a management tool rather than a territorial indicative (See Figure 7-6).

³⁵³ *Saha* is the Arabic word defined as a public square or place (Hakim, 2013).

³⁵⁴ Interview with JASa2M.

³⁵⁵ Interview with JASa1M.

³⁵⁶ 2.7 Ha.

³⁵⁷ 8.2 Ha.



Figure 7-6 Symbolic ownership boundaries of rubble.

At night, the spaces are lit by strings of light bulbs attached to wooden poles. There are 32 poles separated by 15 m. The poles are fixed in a hole in the ground supported by stones. No high-tech or complicated procedures are used to fix the pillars that hold the electricity cables. This is also an indication of how the operators feel about their stay. The bulbs are lit by an electricity generator that is brought in every day in their functioning seasons. The bulbs are not taken out even though the space only functions after 4:00 P.M. (See Figure 7-7 & Figure 7-8). Khalaylah Sr. explains that no one would ever steal from them because they are well known in the area.

'...we would rarely even find a broken bulb'.³⁵⁸

He further explains that he has been here for 13 years and thus knows all the surrounding land and villages, and all the residents of the area and those who are near this land.



Figure 7-7 The light poles in the day showing the hanging light bulbs.



Figure 7-8 The lighting at night.

³⁵⁸ Interview with JASaIM.

Various structures have been brought in by the operators to service the visiting population. These are characterized by their efficiency and affordability. They include a derelict car and multiple table-like structures to cater to the services they offer which include: hot drinks and *shisha*.

The derelict car turns into a service car every day after 4:00 P.M. (See Figure 7-9). It has a gas cylinder connected to a cooking surface on which the various hot drinks are prepared. Opposite to it is a table of wood and plastic on which the *shisha* pipes and materials needed for their preparation are placed. While the car is not a temporary structure, it is of no value due to its condition. It is not a functioning car and is used as an alternative to a stall. The car's lack of value indicates the temporality of the operators' stay. M. Khalayleh Sr. reports that they had built stalls which were 'clean, tidy and beautiful' but the GAM did not allow them to continue with those. They had been raided many times by security services and gendarmerie who would remove them.³⁵⁹ Despite that, they still operate in the area as before, but their equipment is of temporary value only, to accommodate any raids or police visits.



Figure 7-9 The derelict car transformed at night into a kiosk to serve hot drinks.

Their other table-like structure is a simple structure that has no financial value (See Figure 7-10). It is made of bricks and a thin wood-like surface. It is also easily dis-assembled. This, similarly, indicates the temporary nature of the operators' stay.

³⁵⁹ Interview with JASa1M.



Figure 7-10 The temporary table-like structure.

Intangible appropriation: social zones and pricing

This research explored the *saha*³⁶⁰ of Khalaylah Sr. who invented the idea of 'The Vista,' which is one of the five spaces. He is the director and owner of the space while his cousin is the manager who get the supplies, organizes the space and solves any problems at hand.³⁶¹

The *saha* operates from 4:00 P.M. until 4:00 A.M. in the months of April-September. The spaces are transformed into segmented seating areas with plastic chairs and tables ready to open for customers at 6:00 P.M. The 5 *sahas* are zoned into 2 social categories: (1) families or women only, and (2) young men. The Khalaylah's *saha* and the neighbouring one are zoned for families and female groups, while the others are for young men. The operators envisioned this as a solution to the problems they faced with young men³⁶² that they described as 'trouble makers'.³⁶³

The services are reported to be systemized under fixed pricing that changes according to the season. As explained by Khalaylah Sr., 'it's 3 JDs as an entry fee, 3 for the *shisha* and any other order for 1 JD... this pricing changes in summer because it's the touristic season, thus prices change because I pay the land owner more'.³⁶⁴

7.3.3 Affordable leisure and social flexibility

Jordan Street is clearly a response to a need.³⁶⁵ It is providing affordable leisure, moreover, a space that gives you the feeling that you own it.³⁶⁶ As a planning expert describes:

³⁶⁰ *Saha* is the Arabic word defined as a public square or place (Hakim, 2013).

³⁶¹ Interview with JASa2M.

³⁶² Interview with JASa1M.

³⁶³ *Zo'raan* in Arabic.

³⁶⁴ Interview with JASa1M.

³⁶⁵ Interview with EX4M.

³⁶⁶ Interview with EX5F, EX2M.

'... these areas are a sign of affordability in the city...Amman is not affordable... so we can't really go every time to a fancy place and pay for the view...so I think people have...managed to bootstrap in a way and find different ways of leisure like affordable leisure and this is one of them and all it takes is a bunch of plastic chairs and your own...nuts (bezer) or coffee and shisha (argeleh) and sit there and the worlds is yours'.³⁶⁷

As reported by its users, it does not require a lot of money to spend time there:

'Now sometimes we have limited pocket money as university girls, these areas are thus more suitable for us ... this place does not need lots of expenditure'.³⁶⁸

It is also seen as an alternative space for a segment of society that feels excluded. This segment is described by a senior planner as searching for:

'...an alternative, an affordable alternative and an alternative where they don't really feel as being the other, so they are the kings of this place, of course they would go and appropriate places such as Al Mattal...'.³⁶⁹

Indeed, 'The Vista' has social and cultural values that clearly respond to the need for such a space, such as: the view, the clean air, the typology of the space as anti-mall, and tranquillity. Users and the population around it report that:

'It has a magnificent view...especially if one needs to be brainwashed [Sic] from all negativity...even when my uncles come from the States, we go to look at this view...'.³⁷⁰

'...it's a strange view, you will never find one like it... you can never have this vast overview from anywhere else...'.³⁷¹

'When one goes there, one simply feels psychological serenity'.³⁷²

'It's a lovely place that gives you the opportunity to unwind especially since it's not a closed-off space or a mall'.³⁷³

³⁶⁷ Interview with EX5F.

³⁶⁸ Interview with JASus2F.

³⁶⁹ Interview with EX2M.

³⁷⁰ Interview with JASpo1M.

³⁷¹ Interview with JASpo3F.

³⁷² Interview with JASpo5M.

³⁷³ Interview with JASus2F.

But what might distinguish spaces such as 'The Vista' from other type of public or leisure spaces is its social flexibility. It is not an official public space that is governed by certain regulations. Thus, people have their own rules to follow and seem to feel the freedom to use the land with activities they deem valuable. These activities could include picnicking, barbequing, *shisha*, playing cards, listening to music, dancing amongst other activities (see Figure 7-11).



Figure 7-11 The flexibility of space. Various activities: Dancing *Dabke*³⁷⁴ to music (left upper corner), barbequing (upper right), shisha and food (lower left) and simply sitting (lower right).

Yet it also means that other social behaviour might occur that is not normally accepted within the public realm in the cultural setting of Jordan; moreover, illegal behaviour has been reported. A male resident of the area says, that they used to find parked cars in which unacceptable things happened.³⁷⁵ Additionally, that residents would find drug leftovers and bottles of alcoholic drinks. He explains that he used to go there but does not anymore. He prefers not to be associated with the reputation “The Vista” has acquired, explaining:

'...because of the lack of surveillance, the situation worsens... any other vista would be better than this, why should I be associated with its reputation?'

Another nearby male resident confirms that such unacceptable behaviour includes some young men sitting with their girlfriends in an unacceptable manner.³⁷⁶ Residents of the area, in

³⁷⁴ Dabke is a native Levantine folk dance.

³⁷⁵ Interview with JASpo1M.

³⁷⁶ Interview with JASpo4M.

particular, seem not to go to 'The Vista'. A female resident of the area says that she and her family would never go there, explaining that they became accustomed to the fact that this particular place is not to be visited.³⁷⁷ A supermarket owner who lives and has his business across from 'The Vista,' says that he never sat there and will never ever do so.³⁷⁸

The operators, on the other hand, report that they work hand-in-hand with the state in bringing people in.³⁷⁹ Khalaylah Sr. added that by being in this desolate area, they actually provide a high sense of security as the security agencies withdraw after midnight. Moreover, he reports that they had turned in drug dealers and even ISIS members. He reinforces this by stating that families and young girls stay late in their space until 12:00 or 4:00am. Users of 'The Vista' have not reported any particular negative behaviours.³⁸⁰ Some of these customers included a group of university girls, a group of mixed gender friends, families with young children and couples. One of the female visitors explained that she had heard of the suspicious reputation of 'The Vista'; however, when she and her friends visited it, they discovered that if a person keeps to themselves, they would not have any problems.³⁸¹

These conflicting reports problematize the conditions of 'The Vista' and subject it to conditions of precarity: an unclear identity, and a problematic image with no clear legitimacy.

7.4 Response of the state: Reactive processes

In the following section I will be exploring the state's response to the operators of the Jordan Street 'Vista'. I will be explaining its response as a reactive process. I will situate this reactive response within the planning context of the *musha'a* land, showcasing how the absence of the state created the phenomenon in the first place. The state that neither addressed the gap in planning policies regarding *musha'a* land, nor found alternative solutions to the phenomenon of stalls that has been going on for years in Jordan. I argue that this absence of the state produced an informal partnership between the owners of a *musha'a* land, who strive to invest in their land, and, on the other hand, the operators who strive to find a source of livelihood.

7.4.1 Gap in planning: *musha'a* land at standstill

With the construction of the Jordan Street, much investment potential is expected for the land near the street, especially because of its natural characteristics, such as the views that would

³⁷⁷ Interview with JASpo3F.

³⁷⁸ Interview with JASpo2M.

³⁷⁹ Interview with JASpo1M.

³⁸⁰ Interviews with JASus3M, JASus2F, JASus4M.

³⁸¹ Interview with JASus2F.

make them a good target for investment (Al-Qodaa, 2017). Yet despite the street having solved traffic problems and created access to cut-off areas, the area has not gained anything from this street.³⁸² The land was not invested in, nor did it gain access to any planning framework. Much of the area³⁸³ around the land is still outside the planning framework.³⁸⁴

With the establishment of the street, the area became isolated from the GAM. Furthermore, the highway has cut the village of Abu Nseir in two: West and East Abu Nseir. The highway has also consumed many private properties that were acquired by the state without any compensation, although the size of the confiscated land is greater than what the state is allowed to take without compensation.^{385 386}

As mentioned earlier, the land of 'The Vista' is *musha'a*. Such land constitutes 25% of Amman's land (GAM, n.d.). Until now, the laws concerning *musha'a* land have not addressed the circumstances that problematize their investment or parcelization. As there are co-owners, the possibility of investment is problematic. The reasons are multi-fold:

- i. Not all owners might agree on the investment;
- ii. some land cannot be subdivided because this would result in parcels of less than the required 150 m² as a result of the processes of inheritance (Tewfik, 1989), or 4 dunums for agricultural land³⁸⁷; and
- iii. in some instances, the land is outside the planning framework.

In 2017, however, the Department of Land and Survey issued the Real Estate Property Bill that aims to tackle the problems of *musha'a* land amongst other problems. The draft law aims to assemble the special legal provisions on real estate and its regulation into one legislation (Al-Rai, 2017a). Amongst other issues addressed, the law proclaims that it would address the problem of *musha'a* by solving disputes between owners through 'agreed parcelization' or 'judicial parcelization' if no agreement is reached. The latter is a complicated process as it requires legal experts, judges, witnesses and an authorized surveyor amongst other things.

³⁸² Interview with MO9M.

³⁸³ No exact masterplan has been produced till this date.

³⁸⁴ Interview with MO10.

³⁸⁵ Interview with MO9M.

³⁸⁶ 'The municipal council has been empowered to delineate land readjustment zones and can take, without compensation, up to one-third of the area of a plot in order to provide utilities and community facilities' (Serageldin, 1990).

³⁸⁷ Interview with MO9M.

A previous director of Abu Nseir area, says, however, that regardless of his opinion, the law is useless as the end result is the same as before.³⁸⁸ Hence, *musha'a* lands remain facing the same problem that takes them out of the market.

Informal partnership: A substitute planning agency

'The Vista' is one of those problematic lands. In addition to the problem of *musha'a*, which the bill is said not to have resolved, it is also outside the planning framework. Additionally, because it is an 'international' street, it has multiple stakeholders. Those include: the owners of the *musha'a* land, the municipality, security agencies and the Ministry of Public Works.³⁸⁹ There are several other problems that emerge from the land being outside the planning framework: it is deprived of supporting infrastructure and the owner is not able to change its landuse.

Hence, the prospect of investment would be hard to achieve. The only way to deal with the problem would be to designate the land as an 'investment project'.³⁹⁰ This in itself is a long and expensive process. This is due to it involving multiple authorities such as the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and the Higher Planning Council. It would also need various permits and as there is no infrastructure, the investor would need to pay a lot of money to carry out the investment.³⁹¹ The investment complexity is exacerbated by the lack of a master plan for the area. In 2009 a comprehensive plan was initiated independently by the New Ain Al-Basha municipality. It was then referred to the Ministry of Municipals Affairs. Till this day it has been on hold.³⁹² Thus the land, like much of the neighbouring land, is at a standstill and suffering from legal, planning and legislative complications. This created a gap in planning that deprived this type of land, situated in this contextual setting, of any chance of investment. Yet this gap in planning created an opportunity that both the operators and owner(s) of the land built upon: a partnership outside the municipality's planning framework. They emerged as a substitute planning agency in an area where the state was absent. In this partnership a verbal agreement was established that conditioned the use of the land in terms of rent and space used.

Indeed, this group of operators plan and manage the space that would normally be governed and regulated by the government. Yet as this land is outside the planning framework and is at a standstill, they created their own planning system. They established their own infrastructure of water, electricity and piling work. They assigned a new land use to the space with their own

³⁸⁸ Interview with MO9M.

³⁸⁹ Interview with MO9M.

³⁹⁰ Interview with MO10F.

³⁹¹ Interview with MO9M.

³⁹² Interview with MO10F.

zoning and usages. All this is situated within a partnership that is outside any formal regulatory framework and one that is produced by a gap in planning.

7.4.2 State interventions: A reactive response

As stated earlier, the operators of 'The vista' started running their *saha* by establishing stalls. After many evictions, they resorted to creating 'temporary' versions of stalls. Yet, the GAM actions towards those operators are still under the rhetoric of 'illegal stall removals' (Al-Abaddi and Al-Sukhun, 2014; Al-Talafha, 2015).

The way the GAM has been dealing with stalls could be described as inconsistent. Despite stall permits being suspended since 1993, they were still issued until 2000 after which they were stopped.³⁹³ Yet in the most recent decision in 2016, stall permits are issued again (Al Tawil, 2016). Nonetheless, a head of a department at the GAM, asserted that decisions regarding stalls are not final and depend on circumstances.³⁹⁴

The way the GAM and the state had been dealing with the operators of the Jordan Street 'Vista' reflects the above-stated strategy towards stalls. Although the Jordan Street stalls have no permit, the GAM strategy towards them matches the ebbs and flows of measures regarding Jordan's stall phenomenon in general. Various campaigns have been launched to try to tackle the problem at hand. Yet, throughout the GAMs various campaigns to eliminate illegal stalls, one thing is clear: The stalls always return. Abu Khalil (2014), a journalist who has long written about stalls set up by the poor and illegalities in the Jordanian context, describes the GAM actions towards illegal stalls as a lost battle (Abu Khalil, 2014). An area resident, describes the resilience of the operators and clarifies that whenever they are removed, they always return.

'The Vista' has now been operating for 13 years. This in itself is an indication that the state's intervention strategies are not working. Furthermore, the problems that surface also show the lack of proper surveillance within the area due to the state's absence. The previous area director reports that currently there is no means of control. Furthermore, there needs to be many other levels of management in the area, such as environmental, health and security.³⁹⁵ The problems are reported to be related to the location, the operator's exploitative prices and improper management, as well as social problems. The location is an isolated area that suffers from lack of security as no proper security management exists within the area.³⁹⁶ Social problems include

³⁹³ Interview with MO11M

³⁹⁴ Interview with MO11M.

³⁹⁵ Interview with MO9M.

³⁹⁶ Interview with MO9M.

reported unacceptable behaviour which leads to the suspicious reputation that 'The Vista' has acquired over time.³⁹⁷

In the case of 'The Vista', state intervention is related to certain complaints or threats. 'As long as there are no complaints, the state will not interfere. Yet the moment anyone complains, the state will'.³⁹⁸ Indeed, operators, the population of the area and the previous area director have reported that the police raid 'The Vista' whenever a complaint surfaces.³⁹⁹ Two workers from the other *saha* also stressed that the police do not usually come to check on them except if a problem surfaces such as someone being unhappy with his bill and reporting to the police. Indeed, the complaints are reported to be usually related to money disputes between the operators and their clientele.⁴⁰⁰ The operators reported that they have varying prices according to season.⁴⁰¹ Yet, other than that, the prices are fixed. Nonetheless, they indicated that 'People are willing to pay in tens and twenties'.⁴⁰²

On the other hand, state intervention was also related to political turmoil:

'After the Arab Spring the state suddenly raided us... it was not one or two patrols; it was a mobile team of 40 or 50 patrols to get us out of this area'.⁴⁰³

Within the context of complaints, the state has dealt with them using various methods including: issuing warnings, demolishing stalls (Al-Abaddi and Al-Sukhun, 2014), removing the stalls (Addustour, 2015) and prevention of return at some point (Al-Talafha, 2015). Nonetheless, the operators return and function up until now. A supermarket owner across from 'The Vista', reported one of those incidents that happened five years ago in which the state intervened after receiving complaints from the area residents; he says that the operators returned just as they were. He explains:

'... when the Gendarmerie forces removed them, they (the Gendarmerie)covered their space with soil...and when they went, the operators brought bulldozers and loaders and the place became just like it was...if it were me, it would have taken me two months to go back to where I was...'.⁴⁰⁴

³⁹⁷ Interview with JASpo1M, JASus2F, JASpo4M, JASpo3F.

³⁹⁸ Interview with JASpo2M

³⁹⁹ Interview with JASpo2M, MO9M.

⁴⁰⁰ Interview with MO9M, JASpo2M.

⁴⁰¹ Interview with JASpo1M.

⁴⁰² Interview with JASpo1M.

⁴⁰³ Interview with JASpo1M.

⁴⁰⁴ Interview with JASpo2M.

Until this date there has been no change in tactics. The stalls remain despite the various complaints and problems. Throughout the place's history, it has been so that whenever the situation is heightened, the state might interfere.

7.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter it has been showcased how 'The Vista' of Jordan Street is a case of a contextualized form of order that has been established based on the temporary nature of its operators'. Through this new order, the operators established a new type of space. They transformed a privately-owned urban land into an informally privatized public space. A privatization that is driven by informal livelihoods that carved out an alternative way of business. This new order consisted of creating a new type of space that is governed by: a working hour system, social regulatory system, management system and spatial system. The temporary nature of the operators' drove their new order into tangible and intangible tactics that offer the operators the possibility to function. The tangible tactics include their temporary structure, temporary infrastructure and temporary tools, while the intangible tactics consist of a working hour system, social regulatory system and management system.

In this way, they offered an alternative form of organization for themselves but also for others. With the absence of the state and the inevitability of the deadlock over the land due to its being *musha'a*, and thus being outside the planning framework and without a masterplan, the owner of the land and the operators resorted to an informal partnership. Indeed, the gap in planning created a partnership outside the municipality planning framework. They emerged as a substitute planning agency in an area where the state was absent. Through this process, they addressed a pressing need in Jordanian society: the need for an alternative space of leisure, an affordable one and one that is characterized by social flexibility. Backed by their tribal collective, their appropriation tactics, and the value of the place, they were able to establish a resilient space that provides for their livelihood.

The response of the state is characterized as reactive in which the operators' background of tribal collective might play a role in how the state calculates its response. Hence, only at times of crisis does the state interfere. That the operators have been more than 13 years in re-creating this space is enough evidence that the state's procedures are not working.

In conclusion, a case such as JS contributes to understanding a temporary space process that was organized through a social group without an institutional character. While many temporary urban space studies that relate to informal practices might interpret it as insurgency, this case acknowledges other types of temporary urban space creation that create such space through

everyday spatial practices that shape the city through informal politics. This case contributes to the opportunity of exploring the idea of unrecognized alternative planners and their assets in creating, re-organizing and managing city spaces outside any institutional setting. This has important implications for normative planning practices and policies. Furthermore, it argues for an understanding of temporary urban space creation through the assets of such unrecognized actors rather than their demands. Theoretically, various interpretations are produced that might contribute to existing knowledge. Specifically, such concepts have the potential to reflect and relate temporary urbanism to the assets of informal agents in establishing city space and its potential theorization around alternative planners and unconventional typologies of urban space.

CHAPTER 8: TEMPORARY SPACE PHENOMENON IN AMMAN

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8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters 5, 6, and 7, the empirical findings of the three cases and their interpretation were presented. In this chapter, I will bring the three cases in conversation. The conversation takes the form of contrast and comparison of the three cases with the aim of: (1) understanding the creation process of the cases; (2) understanding the power relations within the cases; (3) identifying common themes and patterns among them and (4) linking the conversations back to literature. The aim is not to generalize among the cases, but rather it is a reconciliation of '... an individual case's uniqueness with the need for more general processes that occur across cases' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 173). It is organized into four sections. The first three sections contrast and compare the cases and discuss the themes and patterns that cut across the cases. The last section ends the discussion in a conclusion.

8.2 The social groups: intentions and organization

This section will contrast and compare the type of social groups of the three cases, why they resort to temporary spaces and how they organize themselves (See Figure 8-1). The aim of this brief introduction is to provide a background to understanding the following sections.

All of the groups involved in the three cases are driven by their interests. Shared interests are a fundamental building block of an interest group; however, it is not only interests that create interest groups, they also require organization (Ainsworth, 2003). Indeed, communities do not just happen; rather, there must be some degree of organization. While all groups are interest driven, their organization has differed, clearly geared to the group's ability to manoeuvre within the state's structure. RAS is organized around the state's category of informal economy and the sellers' intention of earning a livelihood, while NAB is organized as an NGO with their intention of filling a gap in social services, and JS is organized around its tribal collective and intention of earning a livelihood (See Figure 8-1). These groupings have shaped the way these community groups were able to manoeuvre their spaces.

RAS sellers are a group of informal economy sellers that, in their majority, attend Amman's various informal markets. The majority come from Al Tafaylah neighbourhood. The group is managed by the GAM that produced a set of temporal written regulations in addition to verbal ones. The written regulations include conditions of stall ownership and description of violations, while verbal rules include managing the market's opening times. Yet the market also has a dispersed everyday organization as lived out by its sellers. It is not that sellers agree collectively to adhere to a certain mode of organization; it is so that the organizational tools they use are consistent amongst the various sellers and thus appear as a group tactic. Other

organizational skills seem to appear at times of crisis or threat. At such times, sellers move collectively. A time of such crisis was when the GAM declared the relocation of the market from Al-Abdali to Ras Al-Ain. That was the time when sellers organized themselves as an entity and contested the move collectively.

NAB, on the other hand, identified themselves as an interest community that organizes itself around the issues of adults with intellectual disabilities (AID), their social integration and environmental awareness. NAB's formalization took shape by registering themselves as a charity NGO with the Ministry of Social Development. The formalization included organizing their existing social group into a proper board whose majority are the mothers of the AID in addition to volunteers. Their organization also included setting a two-year term for every president, and, moreover, organizing a weekly meeting at their office in the community garden. The systematic approach is further apparent in that they organize their NGO through a number of paid employees. What strengthens their organization are their strong network, their high level of control and participation, as well as their profound psychological sense of ownership reflected within the garden's space.

Finally, JS operators are from tribal sub-sections that stem from Al-Adwan and Bani Hassan tribes. They organized themselves around their tribal collective and intention of earning a livelihood. This intention is driven by their economic hardship as they have no secure jobs. Their tribal collective is the backbone of their organization which they say is what makes them strong and resilient in the face of any formal interference.

The social groups of all three cases are value driven as explained above. Indeed, they are driven by their need. Yet this drive has also benefited the community at large. RAS vendors address certain social and economic values of the community; Nour Al-Barakeh community garden addresses AID's need for a social outlet but also the need of other parts of society for an outlet through its farmers' market, and Jordan Street addresses the society's need for affordable leisure.

In conclusion, RAS is organized around the state's category of informal economy and the sellers' intention of earning a livelihood. Nour Al-Barakeh is organized as an NGO with their intention of filling a gap in social services, and Jordan Street is organized around its tribal collective and intention of earning a livelihood.

8.3 Self-provision practices: a conscious creation for needs achievement

The following section will help clarify how the social groups of the three cases were able to respond to their needs. I will clarify this through the notion of 'self-provision practices'.

With the absence of the state or its inability to address the needs of the different community groups, the groups came up with self-provision practices. Self-provision practices are practices in which social groups resort to their own resources to meet their needs within the existing structures. They are used by the three social groups and include tangible and intangible tactics as will be explored in this section (See Figure 8-2). These practices enable the different groups to meet their needs; additionally, they are a tool to succeed at what they are doing with the aim at some sort of permanence. Permanence is important for the various groups as it means that RAS's and JS's intention of earning a livelihood and NAB's intention of filling a gap in social services would be sustained. However, these practices vary due to the social groups' category; the social groups' resources, i.e. social capital; the aim of the community group; and the regulatory frameworks within which they exist, i.e., temporary permits, contract ...etc. (See Figure 8-1). These variations mean that they do not all have the same degree of access to or autonomy from state-sanctioned, urban regulations. This can be identified by the form of regulatory framework granted by the GAM to the social groups (See Figure 8-1). While RAS has a temporary permit, NAB has a temporary contract. JS is outside any regulatory framework.

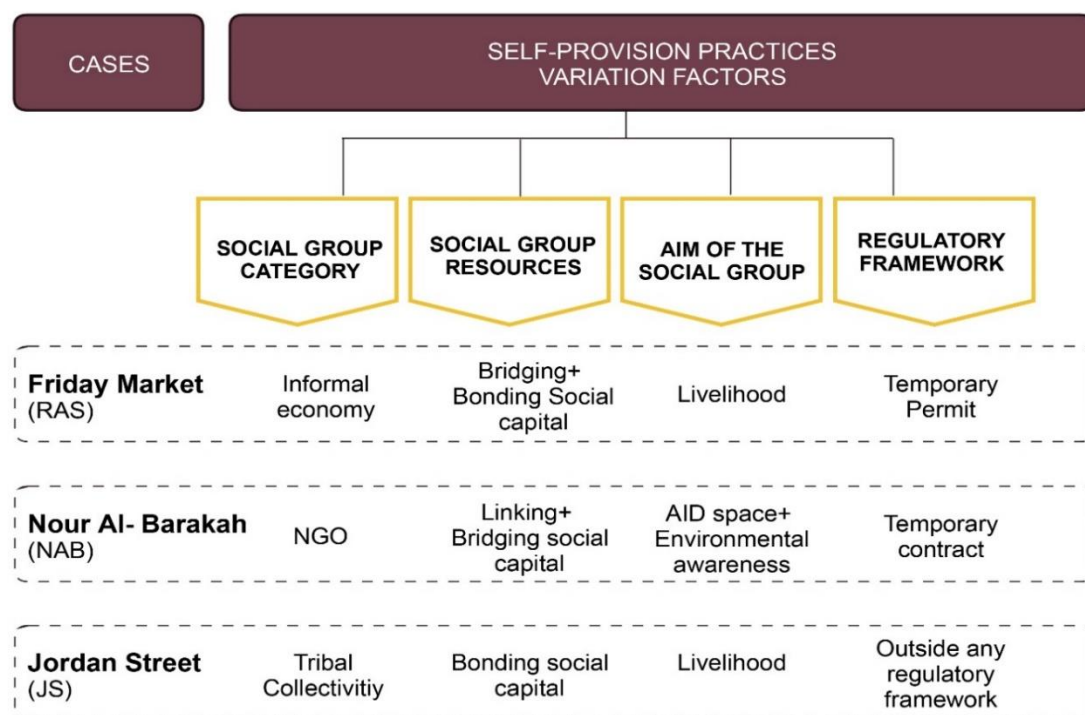


Figure 8-1 Self-provision practices-variation factors.

In detail this means that the self-provision practices of RAS sellers are structured within the state's management of the market. The GAM gives a temporary permit to the sellers. Hence, in contrast to NAB and JS, the market is an entity formalized by the GAM and run by the GAM. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 5, despite the GAM's formalization, the permit does not provide any security of tenure. It is a temporary permit that is structured by many conditions that make it impossible for sellers to have any sense of permanence (See chapter Chapter 5:& Appendix D&E&F). This uncertainty is apparent in the GAM's management which is characterized by calculated indifference, uncertain and temporal regulations, and the GAM's mismatched vision of the market. This uncertainty threatens the vendors' intention of earning a livelihood and thus they resort to tangible and intangible tactics of self-provision that contest the GAM's regulations. These practices were created to make their stay possible and financially successful (See Figure 8-2). While these practices were not able to change the status quo of the temporality of the permit, they contested many of its conditions. This contestation meant the transcendence of those conditions. The tangible tactics include: Setting up an independent lighting system; sellers bringing in their own structures; leaving display structures on site; exceeding demarcation lines, adding stalls and finding alternative ways to unload and load. Meanwhile, the intangible tactics include: Migrant employment; stall renting and subletting; and internal work coordination. (See Figure 8-2).

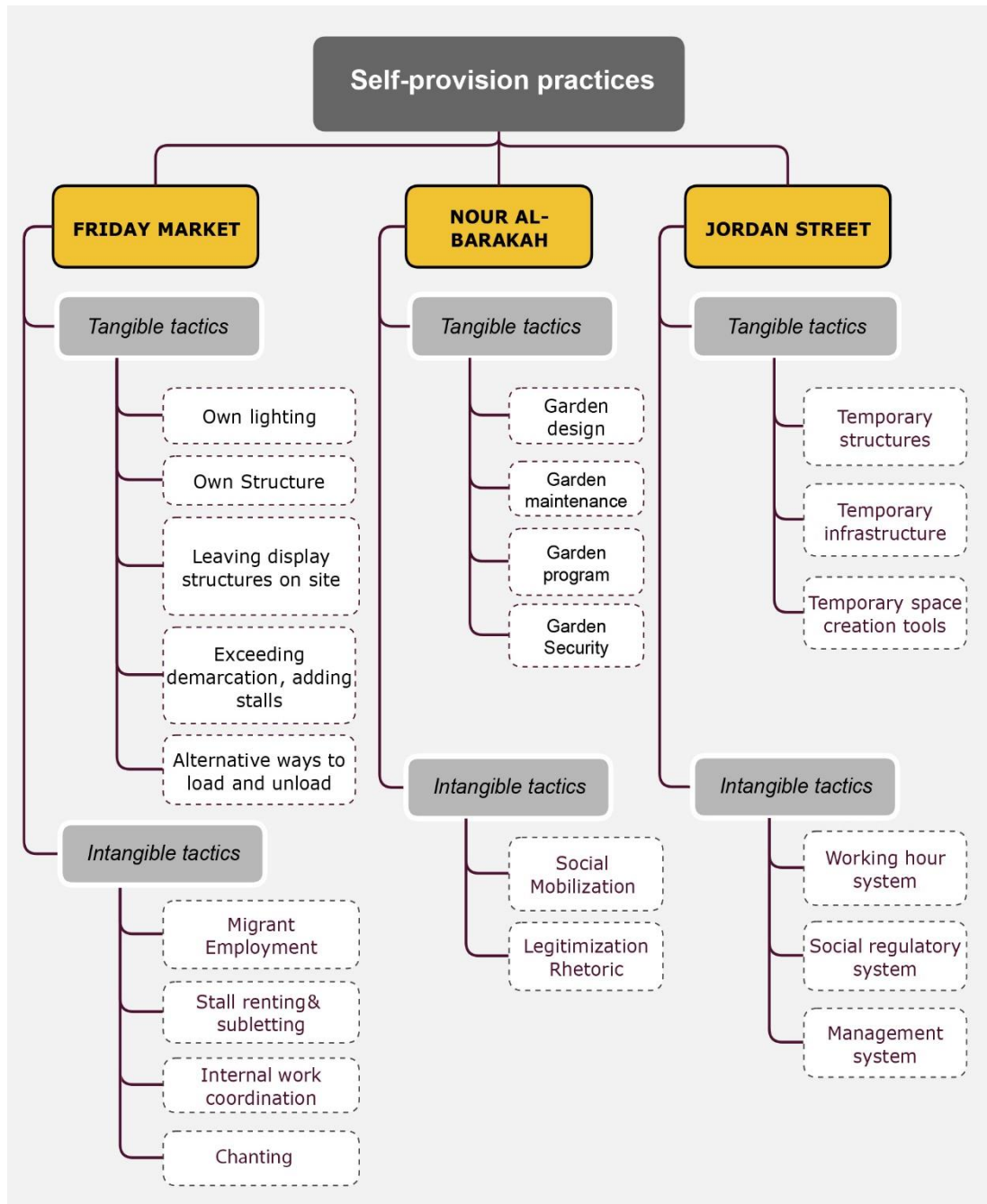


Figure 8-2 Self-provision practices of the cases.

On the other hand, NAB created its own space. They formalized their collective as a charity NGO, whereby they achieved a formal status through which they can address state bodies and negotiate their needs. Through using intangible tactics of social mobilization and legitimization rhetoric, NAB was able, after negotiations, to establish a formal contract with the GAM and thereby created their space within the GAM's garden. In its correspondence with the GAM to ask for usage of the garden and to establish its market, NAB used a formal rhetoric of nationalism and philanthropy. It also addressed society through informal rhetoric that speaks to their values of healthy products, the unique socio-spatial quality of its space and social

responsibility towards their community. Both forms of rhetoric were used to attain a sense of legitimacy, credibility and trustworthiness. Through its members, NAB was able to effectively mobilize people and organizations in its support. Various connections were established with the GAM, people and organizations, all of which contributed to the creation of a larger, multi-scalar network, financial support and establishment within the GAM's garden. Protected by its legitimization rhetoric and social network, the garden space was appropriated by NAB and with time became generally regarded by the GAM as an outsourced enterprise. Yet the level of appropriation transcended many levels of its formal connection with the GAM, and had started before any formal contract with the GAM. The tangible tactics included NAB taking over the garden's design, programme, maintenance and security (See Figure 8-2).

Finally, JS is outside any formal status. Within the restrictive position, the operators created their practices to match their status. They resorted to intangible and tangible tactics that ensure their organization, functionality and protect them in case of state intervention. The intangible tactics include: a working hour system, social regulatory system, a management system and strategic decision-making system. The working hour system organizes their working hours; the social regulatory system organizes the different open spaces into different social zones; the management system assigns tasks to each operator, while the strategic decision system includes what structures to use within their site. The tangible tactics include the various structures that have been brought in to service the visiting population and the new open space. These structures include: temporary structures (chairs, tables and serving tools), temporary infrastructure (light bulbs, pillars and electricity generators) and temporary space creation tools (excess piling to create space and piling for zone demarcation). (See Figure 8-2).

Various forms of self-provisioning, such as the cases describe, have been tackled in literature that collectively points to the ability and knowledge of city dwellers to address their needs and to find their own ways in planning their spaces (Simone, 2008; Hou, 2010; Pieterse, 2013b; Rosa and Weiland, 2013; Kamel, 2014; Douglas, 2018). Such an ability and acts are conceptualized in various manners and take various scales. These include concepts such as 'self-provisioning' (Simone, 2008), 'tenacious insurgent activism' (Pieterse, 2013b), 'place-making tactics' (Kamel, 2014), 'self-help' (Hou, 2010), 'help-yourself city' (Douglas, 2018), 'insurgent urbanism' (Hou, 2016; Andres *et al.*, 2019) and 'handmade urbanism' (Rosa and Weiland, 2013). Like the cases, these concepts showcase how dwellers provide a certain level of change in their own neighbourhood or community with their own hands and means. Kamel (2014) particularly shows the residents 'tactics' and confirms through his empirical work how '...opportunistic, calculated and autonomous actions by local actors' are able to '...redefine

and renegotiate space outside the realm of legal use of the built environment’ (Kamel, 2014, p. 120) in which such tactics are seen as ‘practices that are carried out by marginalized residents, are unsanctioned, create spaces for social and economic activities...’ (Kamel, 2016, p. 44). Hou (2016, p.198) agrees and sees such agency of ordinary citizen as ‘...tactical responses to different structural barriers in the respective urban settings’

While some literature sees such practices as survival (Pieterse, 2013b; Hou, 2016), other literature sees such practices as beyond survival and rather as a means of reconstructing one’s right to the city outside of and in spite of existing formal definitions of ‘city rights’ (Kamel, 2014). The literature also takes different positions towards what dimension such practices take. Those include the more oppositional (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006; Hou, 2010) but also the more mundane practices (Simone, 2008; Rosa and Weiland, 2013; Kamel, 2014). Yet what they all seem to agree upon is that such practices exist and that at instances of city failure, absence or withdrawal, city dwellers find their own ways of self-provision that address their needs and aspirations (Mady, 2010; Al-Nakib, 2016; Elsheshtawy, 2019).

8.3.1 Social capital as a resource for ‘self-provision practices’

The cases demonstrate that different social community groups have resorted to self-provision practices to meet their needs. These needs have not been fulfilled due to the absence of the state or its inability to provide them. The complexity and variation of these practices depend on the social group’s category, resources, aim, and the regulatory framework within which they operate. These varied dependencies play a major role in their survival and acceptance. Social capital, in this instance, seems to have been used by the various groups in mobilizing resources to actualize their need, and establish their ‘Self-provision practices’. The community groups used different sorts of social capital as resources for mobilization to realize their need. Yet not all community groups have access to the same type of social capital. The various community groups of the three case studies were not similarly grouped. Each had built upon their own accessible type of social ties and networks: RAS through a bridging-and-bonding, social capital, NAB through a linking-and-bridging, social capital and JS through a bonding social capital (See Figure 8-1).

RAS sellers build upon their bonding-and-bringing relations for self-empowerment to establish their tangible tactics. Their work bonds and sometimes their tribal collective established their solidarity, and produced and enabled their stay within self-made conditions. NAB used its multi-scalar networks to achieve access to the GAM and other NGO's, institutions and people. They achieved access to financial support and also gained access to changing urban policies to

their own advantage. This meant a temporary contract and the acceptance of their NGO as an informal form of governance over the GAM's garden. JS has used its tribal collective as a form of solidarity as well as a framework for mobilizing resources for the establishment of its space. Through their networks and relations, they appropriated the land and re-imagined it to function as a source of their livelihood.

Building on one's social network and connections to reach certain aims has been a valid discussion in literature (Coleman, 1988; Bebbington and Perreault, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Stoker and Young, 2004; Glover *et al.*, 2005; Firth *et al.*, 2011; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014; Ruef and Kwon, 2016; Cox, 2017; Wentink *et al.*, 2017). Indeed, various groups do resort to social capital as a resource for mobilization and organization that helps them realize their needs (Glover *et al.*, 2005). This could improve the efficiency of those social groups by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam *et al.*, 1993). Undeniably, it could be seen as a way that helps them leverage a variety of resources (Glover *et al.*, 2005). Hence, social capital has been viewed as a potential resource and as a possibility to benefit group members and as a means for manoeuvring, establishing links and achieving aims. Yet, as showcased above, and as the cases confirm, not all social groups have access to the same type of social capital and therefore several typologies of such capital emerge (Woolcock, 2001; Lin, 2002; Hawkins and Maurer, 2009). These typologies logically reflect each group's ability to manoeuvre and achieve things in various manners. This is apparent in the types of tangible and intangible tactics that the community groups resorted to (See Figure 8-2). But it is not only the ability of a community group that social capital reflects, but also the response they might receive from the formal authority. As clearly demonstrated through the case studies, each social group has received a different degree of regulation (See Figure 8-1).

But why is that? Why are some forms of temporary urban spaces not accepted and thus rendered illegal while others are accepted and institutionalized?

Douglas (2018) explains that the degree to which a temporary space initiative is positively received is closely related to identity politics that are based on issues such as class. This highlights a sense of class privilege associated with temporary-spaces initiatives that favour some over others '...due to common societal prejudices and inequality in the eyes of the law (Douglas, 2018, p. 18). On the other hand, Groth and Corijn (2005) describe how different types of organization determine the level of 'legality' and acceptance they receive (Groth and Corijn, 2005). Therefore, a case such as NAB would be assumed to be favoured because it is an NGO in contrast to the other cases of RAS and JS. Yet such an explanation, like the above,

explains temporary activists' acceptance or failure because of a certain characteristic. Hence, if they were from a certain class or social organization, that would determine their acceptance or not. While such literature might be useful to explain the acceptance or unacceptance of temporary activists, it might not have taken the macro processes and structural processes into account. On the other hand, social capital as an 'informal platform for self-organizing' provided a possibility to understand the dynamic relation between the temporary-space activists and the state. Such a concept problematizes the possibility of their acceptance or rejection beyond certain characteristics of the temporary-space activists such as their class or social background. It places the acceptance or failure of temporary spaces within a dynamic process of power interplays, between the ability of the temporary activists' social networks to address their needs and the possible response of the state that it formulates towards such relations.

There is an absence of literature relating social capital to temporary activists and the dynamic relation it might create with the state. But as discussed above, the general literature on social capital asserts that:

- social relations can facilitate access to other resources (Glover *et al.*, 2005);
- social capital is a resource for some sort of action (Coleman, 1988);
- it is a resource to benefit an interest group (Firth *et al.*, 2011);
- it is a strategy to establish claims on other actors or establish access to other forms of capital (Bebbington and Perreault, 1999);
- it is an important source and outcome of temporary-space users (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013).

8.3.2 'Self-provision practices' as everyday activism

I argue that the self-provision practices are characterized as everyday activism. This is a form of activism that is explained as everyday actions that indicate a conscious decision to fill a certain gap. Driven by necessity, everyday activism is a self-generating activism by various marginalized groups of different classes for space, but not for demanding rights. These groups are neither an organized movement aiming at structural change nor is their activism a conscious political act. Everyday activism is rather characterized as being non-confrontational in nature with no aim of direct confrontation with the state. Situated within a socio-political context in which society has not acquired or normalized a populist movement to ensure its demands, these groups resort to everyday activism in which they act as temporary space activists.

This everyday nature of action can be seen in the self-provision practices of RAS in which sellers work parallel to the system authorized by the GAM. These practices create self-

orchestrated conditions of work that are characterized by their non-confrontational nature. The sellers of RAS bringing in their own structures, creating their own lighting system and finding alternative ways of loading and unloading are all examples of the ordinary and non-confrontational nature of these Self-provision practices. They contest GAM's management system as they carve out their own ways of management; yet they do not aim by this to produce any structural changes or to mount any confrontations. Similarly, NAB resorted to encroaching the GAM's system from within. Through social networks and mobilization, they transcended the GAM's bureaucratic boundaries and were able to informally govern a municipally owned garden. JS's self-provision practices built upon their transient nature and the operators created a space outside any reference to formal apparatuses. Their self-provision practices, such as their temporary structures, infrastructure and space creation tools, were simple and functional tools that aimed at facilitating their stay in a very ordinary manner.

What these social groups are aiming at is not resistance; it is about filling a gap. While the gaps are varied in their nature and while the actors addressing these gaps are various social groups, all of those groups are similar in resorting to everyday activism as a way to address certain gaps. Such activism is characterized as everyday because, in a sense, these tactics are not aiming to mobilize community segments; nor are they consciously acquiring a grassroots base or advocating systematic change of the governing system. It is striving through everyday, ordinary acts to reach its needs and aspirations.

Situated within the context of Amman, it seems that these community groups are under political constraints which pushes them to resort to this particular form of activism (Bayat, 2012). Indeed, the state's scepticism regarding NGO's, political restrictions on the development of civil society, and lack of understanding of the vital role civil society all seem to have played a role in how the public sphere has developed in Amman and Jordan (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Despite the existence of various types of NGOs and social groups, Jordanian society appears to lack meaningful formal or informal mechanisms for communicating concerns or demands to the government (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Most of the NGOs seem to be dominated by large and formalized NGOs of royal or foreign patronage (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016), while other types of civil society are being steered by aware, well-educated society members that strive for empowering the community on issues they value as important. Jordan has also not undergone the social and political transformations that other regions of the world have undergone associated with the rise of capitalism and the industrial revolution (Kienle, 2011). This determined that its social organization is mostly based on ties of family, religion and other particularistic identities (Bayat, 2013). This meant that popular social movements are

said not to be an integral part of Jordanian history because such movements as exist seem to lack mass coordination, a clear vision and organization (Al-Majali, 2015).

However, the form of activism that the cases describe (that is covert and, in a sense, mundane) is not a standard interpretation of 'activism'. Indeed, there is literature that relates activism to the overt, spectacular forms of 'resistance' and also to the creation of movements (Snow *et al.*, 2011; Saunders, 2013). But then again, there are others who argue that there are forms of activism that are related to 'unspectacular' actions and activities that might be considered insignificant because they are atomized and small in geographic scale (Appadurai, 2001; Martin *et al.*, 2007). Hence, there is a broad spectrum of understandings that activism can range '...from survival strategies and resistance to more sustained forms of collective action and social movements' (Bayat, 2002).

This 'everyday' form of activism that the cases demonstrate seems synonymous with a range of literature that researched conditions in which activists choose a less oppositional and more everyday form of approach (Scott, 1989; Chase *et al.*, 1999a; Bayat, 2013; Iveson, 2013; Kamel, 2014; Perera, 2015). Despite such literature agreeing to the existence of such a form, they differ in how they see it is formed. This includes seeing it as formed through atomized practices (Bayat, 2013; Perera, 2015), organized practices (Rosa and Weiland, 2013; Douglas, 2018), or both (Pieterse, 2013a). The aspiration driving those actions is also seen to be ranging from survival strategies and achievement of certain needs to creative expression (Chase *et al.*, 1999b; Hou, 2010; Pieterse, 2013a). This means that it could be driven by the marginalized or by a 'creative class'. Nonetheless, there seems to be a general consensus that there is a form of ordinary, everyday acts that people resort to in situations of precarity, imbalance or opportunity.

Now, having established through literature that such tactics of social groups could be seen as activism, we can problematize and assert those tactics within their socio-political context. This would drive the researcher or reader towards a more extensive understanding of the driver and power dynamics of such activism. It points to a problem. As activism emerges, it derives its legitimacy from a cause, a certain drive or conviction. Hence, when addressed as activism, a direct and spontaneous question would be: Activism for what? To achieve what end? It presents a certain urgency in those actions. Within the cases, it was an activism towards establishing their livelihoods (RAS and JS) and an activism towards addressing their need to achieve an outlet for the marginalized community of AID (NAB). Indeed, such forms of activism could be used to address livelihood or values, combat poverty or make use of a creative opportunity.

From the above, it is obvious that interpreting the actions of temporary-space creation are varied. This study being situated in the global South should also not lead the researcher to analyse its community group actions as rebellion. As Roy (2009:84) states: ‘It is tempting to interpret the tactics and struggles of the urban poor in the cities of the global South as instances of rebellion and mobilization’. Indeed, it is actually the case that most research on history and politics focuses on the ‘...organized, large-scale protests, rights-based movements, and oppositional claims that appear to challenge the state and capital’(Perera, 2009, p. 55). Everyday activism in this sense is a powerful instrument to understand the conscious decision of community groups to fill a certain gap working from within opportunities of contestation that do not aim at structural change. It is in this sense that temporary spaces can be thought of as a necessity. This is quite different than thinking of temporary spaces as a tool, strategy or expression. From this platform, everyday activism contributes to the many existing lenses and yet again produces another challenge to its growing typologies and lenses of study. This is so because everyday activism, as a lens, allows for problematizing and leads to asserting temporary space activists and their actions within their socio-political context. Framed within the problematized socio-political context, it leads further towards understanding the intention of the temporary space activists, the activists’ typology and the gaps they are trying to address. It also addresses the gap in literature on the actions of marginalized groups of different classes that are produced in the margins through everyday practices that do not aim at structural changes.

8.3.3 ‘Self-provision practices’ resulted in forms of appropriation

The self-provision practices resulted in the appropriation of urban spaces and their transformation into spaces that match the needs and aims of the community groups of RAS, NAB and JS. The processes of appropriation involved a level of self-management to address their needs that either worked from within the existing state managing systems (NAB) or parallel to them (RAS and JS) (See section 8.4.1). In the three cases, the temporary activists were appropriating their space to regulate their everyday concerns. Tangible and intangible tactics were utilized to achieve those appropriations (See Figure 8-2). The land use and location of the spaces that the different temporary space activists appropriated indicate the value assigned and help explain the actions taken by GAM towards the groups. RAS was placed on unutilized land that is categorized as well as surrounded by ‘Housing (D)’ and located in East Amman, which is an indicator of a lower socio-economic background and land affordability.

NAB appropriated a neighbourhood garden surrounded by housing zoned as (A) and (B)⁴⁰⁵ and located in West Amman which is an indicator of a higher socio-economic background and land value. JS temporary activists were able to appropriate a land categorized as agricultural land that is outside any planning framework, is situated at Amman's outskirts and isolated from residential or commercial agglomerations (See Table 8.1).

These forms of appropriation, such as the cases describe, have been documented and narrated in several manners (Simone, 2008; Chen, 2010; Hou, 2010; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Pieterse, 2013b; Kamel, 2014; Chalana and Hou, 2016; Douglas, 2018). The drivers of such appropriation have been varied: driven by 'need' at times but also by 'desire' (Devlin, 2018). Furthermore, some were institutionalized (Colomb, 2017; Arefi and Kickert, 2018b), while other forms have functioned outside any formal regulatory framework (Pieterse, 2013b; Kamel, 2014; Chalana and Hou, 2016). Hence, what this means is that different people with different intentions have different access to city spaces and therefore create different forms of appropriation. Therefore, such forms materialize differently within city spaces. Some might be more tactical (Kamel, 2014) or atomized (Pieterse, 2013b) and others more visible, materialized and established (Douglas, 2014; Colomb, 2017). But the important issue is not whether such acts of appropriation are spatial or not, but that such actions do take place and are practiced by various citizens around the world. Hence, be it small-scale, or large scale, more tactical in nature or apparent on the ground, what is clear is that such actions take place and have been empirically drawn upon. The three cases add to the diversity of such acts of appropriation and demonstrate the variety of scales which such actions take, including: land ownership, location, level of appropriation, land use, created use, city scale and the spaces' major stakeholders.

⁴⁰⁵ 92.2% of which is zoned as (A).

	SPACE CONDITIONS						
	Land ownership	Location	Appropriation	Land use	Created use	Scale	Major Stakeholders
RAS Case #1	GAM Property	Urban/ East Amman	Temporary	Housing 'D'	Second-hand Market	City Scale	GAM
NAB Case #2	GAM Property	Urban/ West Amman	Temporary + Permanent	Neighbourhood Garden	Community garden + Farmers market	Site Scale	GAM
JS Case #3	Private <i>musha'a</i>	Amman Outskirts	Temporary	Agricultural	Recreational space	Site Scale	Multiple

Table 8-1 Space conditions comparison between the three case studies.

8.4 Opportunities of Agency: power relations at play

Within the following section, I argue that the self-provision practices were initiated due to opportunities for agency. I will argue that these opportunities for agency arise due to:

- a gap in the planning framework; and
- the state's flexibility in its urban policy sanctions.

While the gap is a system inadequacy, flexibility is a state strategy.

The gaps will be clarified below and include:

- Ras Al-Ain market: Calculated indifference of the GAM, the GAM's mismatched vision of the market and dispersed regulations.
- Nour Al-Barakeh: the GAM's budgetary problems, lack of social centres catering for AIDs and social mobilization possibilities within the GAM.
- Jordan Street: Gap in urban planning framework and lack of alternative strategies towards the phenomenon of stalls.

Flexibility takes the form of suspending or extending urban policy sanctions.

8.4.1 Gaps in the planning framework

One of the gaps that created opportunities for agency within RAS is that the GAM has been dealing with RAS with calculated indifference. This means that the GAM has systematically withdrawn and/or limited its market provisions with the intention to prevent the market from acquiring any solid sense of legitimacy or permanence. Multiple conditions have produced this calculated indifference. The GAM has not been committed to its relocation promises to sellers, to create a world-class, high-standard market with security, services and surveillance that will ensure success in its new location. Yet the GAM's calculated indifference is not confined to its promises but goes further in that the market's location, spatial conditions, management and services do not correspond to the sellers' or users' needs. All of those conditions put the market in a state of precarity, and, furthermore, create gaps in servicing the market sellers and users. The gap in planning was further exemplified by the GAM's mismatched vision and dispersed regulations. The GAM has no unified vision towards the market but rather multiple mismatched visions. These mismatched visions create a situation of uncertainty for vendors and keeps the market up in the air without a decisive and clear vision. While the uncertainty of the regulations introduces a margin of manoeuvre for the GAM without the need to come under pressure to grant extensive changes in their system that organizes the market, it also means that the GAM's

management system of the market is not fixed. These gaps gave rise to sellers' agency. These instances of agency were translated into their Self-provision practices. As explained above, they included tangible and intangible tactics.

While RAS's agency arose alongside the GAM's structure, NAB's was carried out through the GAM's structure. This can be understood through the gap in planning frameworks that unleashed their agency. These include: The GAM's budgetary problems, lack of any social centres catering for AID and possibilities to use connections to advance personal interests within the GAM. Faced by budgetary problems, the GAM found an opportunity of renting out their garden as an outsourced enterprise to deal with the municipality's service difficulties of maintenance and security. Opportunities to advance personal interests and override the rule of law is another gap within the GAM. Personal connections are a useful tool when formal networks fail or are not efficient; hence, people resort to and rely on their networks to achieve things. In Jordanian society, it is a particular phenomenon that people rely on their networks to achieve their aims (Al-Nasser and Affairs, 2016). Such behaviour is not absent within the GAM and is utilized by many individuals and groups. NAB is thus not particular in this but interestingly is particular in that the opportunity provided by this gap gave rise to NAB utilizing its social networks to produce a formal contract with the GAM in which their relation became legitimized. In contrast to RAS, NAB's agency was translated into extremely tangible appropriations (see section 8.3). This created a new space dynamic by which new agents and users were introduced by NAB. Multi-scalar volunteers, associations and organizations engage weekly within the garden's space. Users of different categories were also established which include: Expats, foreigners, western Ammanis⁴⁰⁶ and environmentally aware groups.

JS is similar to RAS in that it works parallel to the governing structure yet contrasts to both RAS and NAB in working outside any regulatory framework. What gave rise to JS's agency is the gap in the urban planning framework and lack of alternative strategies towards the phenomenon of stalls. The land which JS appropriated suffers from several gaps in planning on a contextual and national level. Contextual gaps include the land being outside the urban planning framework and the absence of a masterplan. While the national gap is confined to the land being *musha'a*, which is a land category in Jordan that has been suffering, since Jordan's establishment, from lack of proper by-laws to activate its investment. These gaps created a deadlock over the land which created an opportunity for the land's appropriation by a social group looking for an alternative way of business. The absence of alternative strategies to

⁴⁰⁶ Western Ammanis refers to people living in West Amman. Such terms are used in Amman to indicate a wealthier West in contrast to a lower socio-economic East.

address the stalls phenomenon also created a gap within which these temporary space activists operate. The street stalls phenomenon has faced ebbs and flows of actions by the authorities. And till this day, there have not been any alternative strategies developed. As with the previous gaps, this gave rise to JS agency. Similarly, to RAS and NAB, the agency of JS was translated into tangible and intangible tactics.

The empirical findings of the cases are consistent with literature that engages in understanding temporary spaces in cities and their relation to gaps in planning (Carr *et al.*, 1992; Groth and Corijn, 2005; Franck and Stevens, 2007; Andres, 2013; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013; Moore-Cherry, 2016; Colomb, 2017; Foo, 2017; Gebhardt, 2017). While the details of the underlying issues vary, overall, they can all be understood as a result of some sort of gap in planning. These gaps, addressed in the literature, could be synthesized as resulting from: an inability to deal with a crisis/problem, restrictive strategies/policies or absence of alternative planning strategies. As discussed in chapter 2, such gaps could include weak property markets⁴⁰⁷, land disputes between owners or stakeholders or certain restrictions on planning policies⁴⁰⁸ (Andres, 2013). At times, this opens the opportunity for temporary users to live out their alternative sets of values and urban imaginaries and construct their own conditions for their enactment. At other times, it is an opportunity for governments to find solutions to planning challenges, such as unutilized land. This resonates with the gaps found in RAS, NAB and JS. In RAS, such gaps included calculated indifference in the GAM's market management, the GAM's mismatched vision towards the market and the GAM's dispersed regulations. In the NAB case, the gaps included the GAM's budgetary problems which resulted in its inability to maintain the garden or provide social centres for the AID. This inability to deal with problems is also related to its institutional structure that was unable to deal with the phenomenon of using social networks to mobilize for specific issues. Lastly, JS came to exist and was facilitated because of an incapacity to deal with the land tenure problem of *musha'a* and the lack of alternative strategies towards the stalls' phenomenon.

8.4.2 Introduced flexibility to urban policy sanctions

Within this section I argue that the state's responses to the cases are grouped around an introduced flexibility towards urban policy sanctions. I argue that flexibility is an introduced measure towards urban governance in which urban sanctions are extended, or suspended. This measure is a state strategy to preserve a social order in relation to certain social groups, and

⁴⁰⁷ Due to financial crisis or excess vacant land.

⁴⁰⁸ Such as land use modification.

furthermore, resolve urban issues. Thus, one category of social group might be subject to a different measure of flexibility than another group. Under some conditions, the state in the form of the GAM is forced into this flexibility and under other conditions, it is a useful condition that the GAM capitalizes upon. While flexibility is argued to have been introduced for different reasons, it will be shown how it has played a significant role in the rise of the agency of the different community groups.

In RAS, it was introduced as a measure to control the informal market, while in NAB it was so that the NGO remained an unthreatening collective that proved to be beneficial to relieve the GAM of its budgetary and maintenance difficulties. JS, which is part of a wider phenomenon of informal stalls, has only been sanctioned at moments of problems to absorb a problem that is out of hand. Hence, I will be exploring the state's responses to each one of the cases, how they responded and what regulatory framework, if available, was produced. This will illustrate the different levels of flexibility introduced by the GAM and the interface between the GAM and the temporary space activists.

The GAM was forced to create the RAS market because of all the disputes and tensions that arose since announcing their decision to relocate Al-Abdali Market. An official at GAM involved with the relocation has reported that the creation of this new market happened against their will. At the relocation, the vendors proved that they can move collectively at moments of crisis. The GAM therefore formalized the market through temporary permits. The six-months permit, however, does not provide the vendors with any security of tenure or any working rights and could be characterized as being only partially inclusive (See 5.6.3). The same applies to the pledge that the vendors have to sign (See Appendix D&E&F). The permit and pledge are clearly not paperwork to ensure any rights to the vendors but are tools to ensure the sovereignty of the GAM as the managing body with its forced tolerance of the market. What contributes to pressuring the GAM towards such forced tolerance is the view, values and aspirations of the market's users. Those views, values and aspirations form the social and economic logic of the market. This social and economic logic of the market creates pressure on the GAM to tolerate it and the GAM does exactly that because it wants to ensure social stability and remain the authority. This produced measure of flexibility towards social pressure is logical for the GAM because what the vendors are producing are claims and not rights and thus, they remain at the mercy of the GAM. Other pressure comes from certain community groups. One such community group is a tribal collective that comes from the neighbourhood of Tafaylah in reference to their original city of Tafileh, in South Jordan. Many RAS vendors were reported to have come from this neighbourhood and played a big role in the havoc played out when the

market was to be relocated (See chapter Chapter 5:). It has been reported that they pressured the GAM to establish the new market, and furthermore, to get a good number of stalls within the new market.

Thus, this informal market is tolerated through temporary permits that enable the vendors to work yet without any security of tenure, nor any working rights. Their tenure is complicated by certain permit conditions that give the vendors no voice in legal contestation. However, the GAM designates them space to work, and turns a blind eye towards their tangible and intangible tactics. Flexibility hereby is a paradox. The GAM was able to create a strategy to manoeuvre these informal sellers in the form of flexibility towards urban sanctions, yet this exact flexibility created the sellers' agency. Agency, nonetheless, is temporal as what the GAM has given the sellers is a space for claims not rights as the GAM does not provide the sellers with any permanent legalization to their space and activity. Learning from RAS history, just as agency is temporal, so is flexibility. The moment flexibility is challenged, the GAM asserts its authority as when the RAS relocation took place and the sellers' protests turned into vandalism. Gendarmerie and police were sent in to eliminate the protests.

In contrast to RAS's informal-economy vendors', NAB is an NGO that fits the Jordanian political view of NGOs as charitable bodies that provide services to the disabled rather than one enabling citizens to mobilize on policy issues. So, in the state's view, NAB does not pose any threat to national stability; they simply fit the government's legitimate view of how NGOs should operate. Having been supervised over time by multiple agencies, the GAM came to the conclusion that this type of NGO fits the image and function that the government can tolerate. With time, the GAM has actually seen its relation to NAB as beneficial. The GAM's garden became an outsourced enterprise: a space which the NGO is maintaining and managing. A temporary contract was established between the GAM and NAB which outsourced a specific area of the garden to the NGO. Furthermore, the GAM had also legalized NAB's Saturday market. Consequently, NAB became a service provider, but more importantly a depoliticized body, in the eyes of the GAM, that remains unthreatening because it does not pursue any radical changes within the political system nor advocate for grassroots agents of change. This flexibility extended certain urban policies and provided NAB with a temporary legitimacy over the garden until announced otherwise. NAB's agency can be seen in the improvements that they made in the garden and responsibilities they took over. That is also why the changes to the garden that NAB made were tolerated by the GAM. NAB is seen to have created the garden's sustainability. This measure is seen as a beneficial step for the GAM as it relieves it from its budgetary problems concerning the garden.

In the case of 'The Vista' in JS, state intervention has been reactive and related to specific complaints or threats. Thus, as long as there are no complaints or threats, the state will not interfere. Within the context of complaints, the state has dealt with them using various methods including: issuing warnings or demolishing stalls, removing the stalls, and prevention of return at some point. In response, the operators ignited tyres and closed off main roads. On the other hand, state intervention was also related to political turmoil, such as in the time of the Arab spring. Within this context, a status of flexibility emerges that creates a 'hands-off' approach. Hence, as long as there are no problems or moments of crisis, there will be no interference from GAM. This flexibility created an opportunity that allowed the operators of JS to thrive and spatially appropriate their area. Using flexibility in this way, the state attempts to ensure social stability as these operators proved they could move collectively at moments that threaten their livelihood. This flexibility is also clear in the GAM's stall regulations which underwent recurrent changes. The GAM had also reported that decisions regarding stalls are not final and depend on certain circumstances. Similar to RAS and NAB, flexibility provided the operators with an opportunity for agency. Using their tangible and intangible tactics, they created their space in times of state absence. An absence that was produced by the states flexible approach towards this stall phenomenon. While the state refused to give out permits to these operators, they do not interfere or eliminate them unless problems or moments of crisis emerge. This creates a level of flexibility that produces a strategy to manoeuvre vis-à-vis these collectives to insure social stability.

From the three cases, there is a clear indication of the connection between the category of the social group concerned and the level of state flexibility, and therefore the legalization level into which flexibility is translated (See Figure 8-1). The researched cases are not what GAM has envisioned to exist within the city but are tolerated. RAS and JS are tolerated to ensure a certain social stability while NAB is useful to address GAM's budgetary problems. Flexibility is therefore seen as a state strategy utilized at moments of urban challenge.

Such flexibility and exceptions to rules that the cases have empirically demonstrated, are common in city governance and in relation to temporary spaces. Exceptions to rules are made by the state. These have been seen as a 'political decision' (Schmitt, 1985), 'a principle of sovereign rule' (Agamben, 1998), an 'extraordinary departure in policy' (Ong, 2006), government strategy (Roy, 2009) and as a form of state rule (Fawaz, 2017). Empirical studies have also shown that flexibility in urban policy sanctions would be employed because certain temporary uses would benefit the city at a certain level (Andres, 2013; Patti and Polyak, 2015; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2016). Indeed, governments re-address their belief in traditional

long-term planning strategies and introduce a flexible approach towards temporary space phenomenon in certain urban crises. Yet, as both literature (Tonkiss, 2013; Colomb, 2017; Fawaz, 2017; Arefi and Kickert, 2018b) and the cases studies have shown, flexibility could take various forms. These forms could be categorized as: a positive model of policy and planning; a permissive mode of planning and policy; a model of proscription; and a politics of abandonment (See section 2.2.2). This leads the discussion again to the role of the social category of temporary-space activists and their social network in creating and establishing the response they receive, in addition to the strategic vision of the state in how and when such flexibility is used (See Table 8-2). Arefi and Kickert, for example, explain the strategic entity form that some positive models of policy and planning have taken in which 'Governments are becoming interested in informality as an urban driver.' (Arefi and Kickert, 2018a, p. 6). Stevens (2007:2) agrees that flexibility is strategic and sees it as exploitation by '...governments and investors to serve instrumental ends of power and profit'. Others such as Foo (2017) detail the ways in which municipal governments strategically employ temporary methods to stabilize and build up land values. This highlights that governance within this framework relies on hierarchy or on market mechanisms (Kjaer, 2009). This goes back to the statement made earlier about the connection between the temporary-space activists and the level of flexibility that the state introduces. The practice of flexibility, then, is not an alien principle to city governance. Hence, questioning the state's flexibility might not be as important as questioning why it is resorting to flexibility and for whom and to what end. These answers might lead to a better understanding of the power dynamics within a society and provide interpretations of the state-planning discourses. Here it is useful to understand such flexibility and rule of exception as a '...mode of planning the production of the city, managing its populations, and organizing its spaces...' (Fawaz, 2017, p. 1941). This understanding clarifies flexibility as a powerful instrument in all cases and how the state has strategized it as a tool to create convergence between inclusion and exclusion of the various social groups in the city. In the case of RAS, its temporary permit and its conditions clarify that the GAM provided RAS vendors with a claim to space but not rights to space. This permit creates no legal binding for the GAM towards the market's vendors.

	TEMPORARY SPACE ACTIVISTS					STATE ACTORS	
	Intention	Group type	Organization		Mobilization	Response	Legitimacy framework
RAS Case #1	Livelihood	Informal Economy	GAM managed	Everyday management by temporary activists	Bridging+ Bonding Social capital	Forced Tolerance	Permit
NAB Case #2	Service provision	NGO	Board organized		Linking+ Bridging Social capital	Outsourced Enterprise	Contract
JS Case #3	Livelihood	Tribal collective	Tribally organized driven by intention		Bonding Social capital	Reactive	No permit

Table 8-2 Interface between temporary space activists and the state (the GAM) reaction.

It clearly states that this market could one day be eliminated, and vendors would have no right to object, but would be tried at the court of justice if they do so. NAB, on the other hand, is 'legally' included through a temporary contract, yet the conditions of its renewal cast it in a temporary light. What adds to its precarity is the GAM's lack of commitment, mismatched vision and disconnectedness (See section 6.6.2). The GAM's flexibility, apparent in its reactive response to JS vendors, renders GAM's action vague. Its prolonged, episodic abandonment of action towards such stalls renders its actions spatially inclusive, yet the lack of permits or any other legalization framework make its actions converge with exclusion. The convergence between inclusion and exclusion created by the state's flexibility is a useful tool for the state, and it is used strategically to deal with issues, such as managing informal sellers (RAS & JS) or relieving itself of much-needed service provision (NAB).

8.5 Conclusion

Through contrasting and comparing the three cases of this research, this discussion chapter has engaged with the cases' findings and interpretations to arrive at the aims of the research in understanding the process of becoming and being of those temporary spaces, the needs that drive them, the urban life they are expressing and the power dynamics they involve.

Essentially, these cases demonstrate that there is a foundational relation between temporary urban spaces, their social groups and the state. This has been shown through the contrasting and comparing of the empirical cases and their interpretation. This showed that different social groups have resorted to self-provision practices to meet their needs, which the research argues should be characterized as everyday activism. The self-provision practices resulted in the appropriation of urban spaces and their transformation into spaces that match the needs and aims of the community groups. Such self-provision practices were possible due to opportunities for agency that arose due to gaps in the planning framework and the state's flexibility in its urban policy sanctions. Specifically, different types of social groups were able to fill a certain gap around various types of social capital. This social capital permitted them to enact what they see as 'their right', a need that they had aimed to achieve. It was translated through self-provision practices which enabled the social groups to achieve those needs. The self-provision practices take various forms according to the social group's category, resources, i.e. social capital, the aim of the community group and the regulatory frameworks within which they exist, i.e. temporary permits, contract ...etc. I have argued and shown that self-provision practices are a form of everyday activism. Everyday activism consists of everyday actions that indicate a conscious decision to fill a certain gap. These actions are not confrontational in nature. Hence,

they are neither demands on the system, nor an organized movement aiming at structural change. They are a contestation of the status quo by various marginalized groups of different classes with no aim of direct confrontation with the state. They make conscious claims on and for space but do not demand rights. Situated within a socio-political context in which society has not developed or normalized a populist movement to ensure its demands, these groups resort to everyday activism in which they act as spatial agents.

While self-provision practices are based on the group's social capital, it takes other conditions to help them spatialize. I argue that self-provision practices were employed due to opportunities of agency which arose due to a gap in the planning framework and the state's introducing flexibility to urban policy sanctions. While the gap is a system inadequacy, flexibility is a state strategy. While the gaps are issues relating to urban planning frameworks, flexibility was defined as an introduced measure towards urban governance in which urban sanctions are extended, or suspended. This measure is a state strategy to preserve social order in relation to certain social groups, and furthermore, to resolve urban issues. Hence, while the social category of RAS was granted temporary permits, NAB was granted a temporary contract and JS was not granted any kind of legitimization. Thus, one category of social group might be subject to a different measure of flexibility than another group. Under some conditions, the state in the form of the GAM is forced towards this flexibility and under other conditions, it is useful for the GAM to capitalize on. Regardless of the various factors that produced the state's flexibility, it is clear that it played a significant role in the rise of the agency of the different community groups. Whether this agency will remain is a question of why flexibility was introduced. Moreover, it depends on the space conditions that are there and on the community group's own abilities, meaning their social capital, their social backgrounds and their intentions.

From my empirical findings and their interpretation through literature, I have also shown that the permanence of such spaces stands in direct relation to the reasons why the state's strategy of flexibility is used. As long as the reasons for the flexibility remain, so will those spaces. Flexibility is there as a state strategy. In both the cases of RAS and JS, it was related to preserving social order, and in the case of NAB to solve the GAM's budgetary problems. Hence, as long as NAB remains an unthreatening NGO and as long as they prove essential in managing an outsourced enterprise, it will remain. However, the moment the GAM's interests are at stake, its strategy of flexibility will vanish. This conclusion might well be placed within the conditions of the other two cases. RAS endurance is subject to any conditions of instability or threat that the GAM receives. This can be clearly seen in JS which has always been raided and targeted by the state whenever complaints or political turmoil have arisen, yet has been tolerated

otherwise. Thus, these spaces will always remain at the mercy of the state because their claims have not yet been translated into rights. Nonetheless, those cases in their totality remain a permanent phenomenon. They might be ephemeral as separate cases because they depend on precarious conditions but in their totality, they seem to be a permanent phenomenon. Needs will always remain in the city and history tells us that people will always find a way to address those needs if the system does not provide them with it.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

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9.1 Introduction

In this dissertation I seek to understand the process of the creation of three temporary spaces in Amman: Ras Al-Ain Market (RAS), Nour Al-Barakeh community garden (NAB) and Jordan Street (JS). In detail this means addressing the following questions: What is the range of purposes that temporary initiatives serve? How and under what conditions do they emerge? What are the conditions under which they operate? What are the responses of the official state authorities?

The research has examined the creation process of these temporary spaces, the needs that drive them, the urban life they are expressing and the power dynamics they involve. It applied a heuristic approach for its analysis and is an attempt to bridge various bodies of literature to develop a comprehensive analytical framework for understanding the creation of temporary spaces.

In the following sections, I will present an overview of the main research findings, discuss their importance and finally explore future research possibilities.

9.2 Main research findings

What I have shown in my research is that the temporary spaces serve a purpose, are produced by different typologies of community groups, have different capacities and thus get different responses from the state actors, which lead to different outcomes. Below are the main findings that relate to the above which are categorized around:

1. Temporary space activists are driven to address a need;
2. Temporary spaces are created through Self-provision practices;
3. Social capital is a resource for Self-provision practices;
4. Self-provision practices are a form of everyday activism;
5. Self-provision practices result in forms of appropriation;
6. Temporary space is possible because of a gap in planning;
7. Temporary space is possible because of instances of state flexibility; and
8. Temporary space in Amman is a co-creation of everyday activism and state flexibility.

9.2.1 Temporary space activists are driven to address a need

In describing and analysing my cases, I showed how all temporary space activists of the three cases are driven by a need. The range of purposes that temporary initiatives serve include the need for livelihood outlets and service provision. The need for livelihoods is driven by the economic hardship while the service provision is driven by their marginalisation. The economic hardship is produced because of the lack of alternative policies towards certain urban phenomena while the service provision is produced because of a certain institutional crisis within the municipality. Yet this drive has also benefited the community at large. RAS vendors addressed the society's social and economic value of the market; Jordan Street addressed the society's need for affordable leisure; and Nour Al-Barakeh community garden addressed the need for a social outlet for the AID, but also the need of other sectors of society for an outlet through its farmer's market.

9.2.2 Temporary spaces are created through self-provision practices

I developed the concept of 'self-provision practices' from an examination of literature on the idea of city dwellers finding their own ways to plan their spaces (See section 2.5). More specifically, I derived the concept of 'self-provision practices' as an interpretive lens from a reinterpretation of the work of Simone (2008), Pieterse (2013b), Kamel (2014), Hou (2010), Douglas (2018) and Rose and Weiland (2013) regarding notions of 'self-provisioning'. While these authors conceptualize 'self-provisioning' in slightly different terms, together they advance two aspects of it that are relevant to the study of the temporary actors' agentic practices: (1) the dwellers' ability and knowledge in addressing their needs; and (2) the creation of alternative narratives of city-making. I argue that using 'self-provision practices' as a conceptual lens provides insights into: real demand and legible flaws in current policy; new modes of negotiation, participation, and cooperation; and operational knowledge about the dwellers' strategies.

In analysing the different cases, I showed how the different social groups resorted to self-provision practices to achieve their aims. I defined provision practices as practices with which social groups resort to their own resources to meet their needs within the existing structures. Such practices are used by all social groups to create their own spaces to fill a gap and meet their needs within the structure where they exist. They vary due to the social groups' category, the social groups' resources, i.e., social capital; the aim of the social group and the regulatory frameworks within which they exist, i.e., temporary permits, contract, etc. I extended the notion of 'self-provision practices' to include both the social groups' tangible and intangible tactics.

Hence, I argue that using self-provision practices as a lens to understand the actions of temporary-space activists gives an understanding of what tactics people resort to when their need is not addressed, what resources these groups have and how they contest the system. In turn, this contributes to understanding space creation, accessibility of the city and alternative urban arrangements.

9.2.3 Social capital is the resource for self-provision practices

Building on the previous concept of self-provision practices, I argue that social capital is the resource for self-provision practices. I developed the concept of ‘social capital as a resource for action’ by examining different literature on social relations and their interpretation as a resource for mobilization and organization such as Coleman (1988), Putnam (2000) and Glover et al. (2005). Despite scholars having slightly different definitions of the concept, they all seem to agree that it is a means for manoeuvring, establishing links and achieving aims (See section 2.3). I therefore argue that each social group used certain types of social capital as resources for mobilization which helped them realize their need. By building on the previous scholars as well as on Woolcock’s (2001) three types of social capital, I illustrated through empirical data that not all social groups have access to the same type of social capital and that social capital is a possible tool used to achieve aims. Hence, each group built upon the types of social ties and networks to which they had access. These included bridging, bonding and linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001).

9.2.4 Self-provision practices are a form of everyday activism

I developed the concept of everyday activism from the cross-case analysis of the three case studies of the research, and through an exploration of literature tackling ordinary forms of activism within different disciplines. More specifically, I derived the concept of everyday activism as an analytical device from a reading of the works of Scott (1985), de Certeau (1982), Chase et al (1999), Hou (2010), Bayat (2012), Tonkiss (2014), Douglas (2018), Arefi and Kickers (2018), Roy (2009), and Perera (2009). Although their lenses came from varying disciplines⁴⁰⁹ and were not all directly related to temporary spaces, nonetheless, they were useful in explaining and asserting the notion of everyday activism, what forms it may take and the reasons behind its formation. The varying disciplines also contributed to a more complex understanding of the phenomenon inclusive of other dimensions of society, including the material, political and social. I argue that everyday activism is the form of activism which the

⁴⁰⁹ Including urban planning, sociology, philosophy, political science and anthropology (See section 2.4).

various temporary activists resorted to and which indicates a conscious decision to fill a certain gap. I define it as a form of activism inscribed in everyday actions. Situated within political restrictions and an urban context that did not undergo the social and economic transformation associated with the industrial revolution and rise of capitalism, these various social groups resorted to another form of mobilization. These everyday actions are neither demands on the system nor an organized movement aiming at structural change. They are a contestation of the status quo without aiming for direct confrontation with the state. They are conscious claims of various marginalized groups of different classes on and for space but not demanding rights. Situated within the context of Amman, it seems that these social groups are under political constraints which push them to resort to this particular form of activism. I showcase how everyday activism is the form of the self-provision practices that the temporary activists resorted to. Hence the main characteristic of self-provision practices are grouped under the typology of everyday activism that enabled them to manoeuvre within the political context in which they are situated.

9.2.5 Self-provision practices resulted in forms of appropriation

The self-provision practices resulted in the appropriation of urban spaces, turning them into forms of space that matched the needs and aims of the different temporary activists. Those appropriations included an informal market, a social garden, and a temporary public space. These are spaces that exist outside normative planning sanctions. The process of appropriation involved a level of self-management to address their needs that either worked from within the existing state managing system (NAB) or parallel to it (RAS and JS). Within the three cases, the operators were appropriating the space to regulate their everyday concerns. Tangible and intangible tactics were utilized to achieve those appropriations. The land use and location of the spaces that the different temporary space activists appropriated indicates the value assigned and actions taken by GAM towards the groups.

9.2.6 Temporary space is possible because of a gap in the planning framework

Based on my cross-case analysis and its situation within literature, I argue that, within urban planning discourse, temporary spaces come to exist and are facilitated because of a gap in the planning framework. This gap is seen as a system inadequacy that gives the opportunity for temporary activists to spatialize their conscious decision to fill a certain gap and address their needs. It also enables them to carve out ways to construct their conditions to achieve their aims. In other words, those gaps opened up opportunities of agency for the temporary space activists.

These include: gaps in the urban planning framework, absence of alternative urban policies, budgetary problems, gaps in service provision, dispersed regulations and problems with the planning's institutional structure. Those could be understood under the general categories of inability to deal with some sort of a crisis/problem, absence of alternative planning or strategies or restrictive strategies/policies.

9.2.7 Temporary space is possible because of state flexibility

I developed the concept of state flexibility from my analysis and through an exploration of literature tackling 'exception of rule' within different interpretations. More specifically, I derived the concept of 'state flexibility' as an analytical device from a reading into the works of Schmitt (2005), Agamben (1988), Ong (2006), Roy (2017) and Fawaz (2017) regarding the notion of 'exception' by extending it to the understanding of the state's intention (GAM in this case), its urban conditions, and its terms of inclusion and exclusion. While the authors above interpreted 'exception' in dissimilar urban conditions, still their lens was useful in understanding and explaining the retreat of state rule. This is relevant to this study in two aspects: (1) using exceptions as tools of strategic convergence between inclusion and exclusion, and (2) advancing the rule of exception to deal with urban issues. I put flexibility forward as an introduced measure towards urban governance in which urban sanctions are extended or suspended. This measure is a state strategy to preserve social order categorized around social groups, and furthermore, to resolve urban issues. I have empirically shown how the state suspends or extends urban sanctions towards certain social groups and their produced temporary spaces (Ch.6-9). Paradoxically, this flexibility allows for opportunities of agency for the different social groups. They are able to mediate their temporary spaces. Temporary spaces are therefore in direct relation to the reasons for which the state's strategy of flexibility is used. As long as the reasons of the flexibility remain, so will those spaces. Thus, flexibility is temporal and context related and so is the agency of the social groups. I thus argue that state flexibility can be used to analyse the precarity of temporary spaces, in a sense, how temporary or permanent they might be.

9.2.8 Temporary space in Amman is a co-creation of everyday activism and state flexibility

Said (2012) argued that 'Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings'(Said, 2012, p. 7).

Undeniably, the contestation of space lies in its nature of relationality. From the discussion and cross-case analysis it has been clarified that the different spaces have been intermingled with different visions, contestations, and fixations of value. It was also clarified that there is a notion of agency in each case that took shape through a form of everyday activism. Each group was able, either individually or collectively, to address their need. Yet this spatial agency did not happen in a vacuum but within a system run by the state. This system, however, was not in full control over the three explored spaces; nor were the agents in full control over their spaces. Therefore, what these cases essentially are showing is that temporary spaces are created by everyday activism but equally because of the state strategy of flexibility. This was clarified in my empirical findings and their interpretation through literature, in which I have shown that the permanence of such spaces stands in direct relation to the reasons why the state's strategy of flexibility is used, but also in direct relation to the agentic practices that are possible because of certain social capital that the groups resort to, to fill certain gaps. Indeed, as shown in the discussion chapter, there are gaps within the states system through which agents can operate; at the same time, there is a certain flexibility produced within the state system that creates this gap for the agents. This, however, does not mean that the state does not reinforce any framework within which the agents work. Indeed, there is a framework, yet it is precisely that the gaps within it open up opportunities of agency creating the processes of temporary space. The agency takes form in every activism and the structure takes form in the state strategy of flexibility. And this relation between state actors and non-state actors is what neither permits the state authorities full control, nor delivers for the non-state actors any assurance of permanence. That is unless a new framework would be produced defining a new set of spatial relations between the state and the non-state actors. Yet the production of such a framework is not the intention of the GAM because it is exactly this flexibility that is giving it control over such spaces, whereby it manages not only the spaces but also its populations. It ensures that there are no clear notions of permanence for the non-state actors yet provides a certain notion of manoeuvrability that ensures its authority.

9.3 Research contribution and its implications

Most literature on the concept of 'temporary urbanism' has been generally focused on the context of North America and Europe and mostly examined the concept in a practical and empirical way (Madanipour, 2017). Despite few valuable contributions to its theorization, there is still a need to diversify and problematize such a phenomenon from different lenses and different geographies. Particularly, there is a need to further problematize the power dynamics

that shape the phenomenon of temporary urbanism--how it is structured, the power interplays between its actors and how such interplays affect how the phenomenon takes shape within a city. There is therefore an opportunity to interrogate ‘a perplexity of spatialities’ and create ‘new geographies of theory’ that can draw upon ‘the urban experience of the global South’ (Roy, 2014, p. 15) and ‘move beyond the tendency to generalize from the prevalent phenomenon’ (Amin and Thrift, 2002, p. 8). There is also a need to reflect on the spatial contours of such spaces (Arefi and Kickert, 2018b; Moatasim, 2019) and to further acknowledge such practices as everyday spatial strategies that are able to shape the city through formal and informal politics (Miraftab, 2011; Pieterse, 2014).

This dissertation hereby contributes to diversifying and offering alternative understandings to the growing concept of temporary urbanism. Particularly, it contributes to understanding agentic modes of temporary urban space creation with diverse institutional and non-institutional arrangements, their tangible and intangible tactics and how such agentic modes are structured within state strategies. While literature on the global South particularly tends to view instances of ‘tactics’ as rebellion or mobilization (Perera, 2009; Roy, 2009), and the global North seems to view actions of temporary actors as formed by ‘desires’, this dissertation details much needed understanding of temporary spaces created by mundane everyday spatial practices through various scales of informal and formal politics or a combination of both to fill a certain gap. This is different from understanding temporary spaces organized through opposition or insurgency or spaces in which temporary actors create their formal temporary spaces within an institutionalized vision. In other words, it contributes to establishing alternatives to understanding spaces created through organized grassroots movements that seek structural changes and an alternative to the normative social mobilization mode of getting things done. Hence, this dissertation adds to the multiplicity of perspectives that strive to understand everyday actions in the global South and share stories of underrepresented groups.

On an empirical level, this means that the dissertation offers a detailed description of temporary spaces within the global South context and specifically Amman, through both its spatial and social contours. Explicitly, it describes processes of such temporary spaces that include how the social groups re-articulate the meaning of urban management and how they create their alternative forms of spatial organization. Furthermore, it describes state strategies towards such spaces and how they take shape. Such an empirical contribution challenges the usual stigmatization of ‘informal’ practices in Amman that categorize them as chaotic and unsystematic, and offers an alternative view of the assets of ‘informal’ or ‘non-institutionalized’ actors and their ability to make changes and organize their spaces. This is

important as there are few in-depth studies of how such formal and informal processes take shape within the structural and social context in Amman, through a clear exploration of how actors are allocated within the processes and the interplay between them. Moreover, such a description of state strategies provides an alternative narrative of how states deal with ‘informal’ practices. Despite the establishment of a nuanced understanding of certain spatial temporalities and their actors’ tactics in nearby regions⁴¹⁰, such understanding had remained established within the local and micro descriptions of the phenomenon which produces specific and particular knowledge. Such knowledge is important in uncovering the micro process of such spaces and places and understanding its contextual urban character. Yet, transferrable knowledge is also important in which linkages to other contexts are made possible. There has also been local study within the Ammani context⁴¹¹ which contributes to understanding this phenomenon from a practice point of view. While this might help create potential practice models, this dissertation is about the creation of a critical understanding of this phenomenon through an analytical reading of such spaces as they are happening.

To move beyond particularism, the cases were not understood as separate spatial practices but rather through their socio-spatial process that was interpreted through a multi-scalar approach in which macro and structural processes were taken into account. This was made possible by situating the case within its historical lineage and engaging with a variety of Western and non-Western lenses and literature from different disciplines. This enabled a multi-layered interpretation to understand the complexity of this phenomenon and showcase the multitude of actors and actions that shape the city within a relational understanding. This interpretation elucidated the temporary-space activists’ intention, their resources, their strategies, and the processes of their creation as situated within power dynamics. Understanding the power dynamics paved the way to elucidating the responses of the state, their interpreted intention and their strategies towards the temporary spaces and their activists. Finally, by engaging the descriptions and analysis, the interaction and interface between state agency and temporary activists’ agency is clarified. This multi-layered process in understanding the cases elucidated the context and specificity of Amman yet also connected to the ‘global’ understanding of the ‘temporary urbanism’ phenomenon and normative urban planning practices.

Theoretically, two potential evidence-based analytical frameworks were established through the cross-case analysis: everyday activism and state flexibility. The importance of such frameworks lies in the potential they provide to understand the intersections between the state’s

⁴¹⁰ Such as Beirut, the UAE and Kuwait (See Mady (2010), Elsheshtawy (2019), and Al-Nakib (2016)).

⁴¹¹ See Tarawneh (2017).

structure and the temporary-space activists' agency. Despite everyday activism being related to the temporary-space activists' agency and flexibility being related to the state structure, both those frameworks place agency and structure within their socio-political context. This means that they provide an ability to understand the interaction between them. Framed within the problematized socio-political context, everyday activism leads to understanding the agency of the temporary-space activists within their structural conditions. This necessitates understanding the structure they exist within and how interaction with it produces such temporary spaces. Similarly, flexibility questions the structure of the state within its socio-political context and situates structure in reference to agency. This leads towards understanding the structure of the state in interaction with the temporary-space activists' agency.

Looking at the potential of those analytical frameworks separately, everyday activism extends the notion of the marginalized within the temporary-space phenomenon to include other social groups of varying social classes. These not only include the poor but also segments of society that are well-established financially but are weaker subjects due to other reasons. This is important as it establishes the variation of intentions within everyday activism and promotes the opportunity to understand how different classes with different social capital receive different responses from the state and produce different temporary spaces. It also addresses the need for research that goes beyond the focus on '...organized, large-scale protests, rights-based movements, and oppositional claims that appear to challenge the state and capital' (Perera, 2009, p. 55); it offers a lens to bridge the gap in the literature in order to understand the achievements of weaker subjects of different classes that are produced on the margins through everyday practices that do not aim at structural changes.

Flexibility, situated within the global South, provides the opportunity to transcend the usual understanding of the state's dispersed actions as a failure or absence of planning and rather provides the possibility to interpret these actions as a state's strategic logic of using exceptions and flexibility towards certain urban sanctions as a manoeuvring tool in various urban conditions. It moreover produced the opportunity to compare such flexibility with its other forms in the global North. Both are similarly strategic in their intentions; however, in the cases of this research, it was rather a calculated withdrawal of state power which created a new logic of resource allocation and mode of space production. And while it helped explain specific instances of suspension or extension of urban sanctions within my cases, it still reflects the global norm of state sovereignty throughout its different agencies. It reflects the fact that there are urban conditions that the state accepts and other conditions that the state does not accept. Within these instances of acceptance and unacceptance, possibilities of state manoeuvre occur

in which flexibility towards urban sanctions is practised in terms of what the state accepts and what it might not accept vary globally. However, it is always so that the state deals strategically with temporary spaces as reflected in my concept of flexibility. It is for this reason that I argue that it could be a possible analytical tool to assess other temporary spaces in relation to state practices. Comparing the findings of this research to other cases, through the lens of flexibility, might give further insights into its various modes and the urban policy arrangements that the state resorts to.

In conclusion, the findings of my research generate empirical contributions and new insights into how non-conventional means are employed by a variety of social groups to achieve a need spatially. It unfolds unstudied mechanisms of temporary-space production. Most importantly, it places temporary-space production within power dynamics. Throughout my cases I contrast the intention of the social groups and the response of the state and bring them all together within the discussion to unfold two un-researched processes of temporary-space creation related to both society and the state: everyday activism and flexibility as a state strategy.

9.3.1 Research implications

I believe my research raises a number of opportunities. More research will in fact be necessary to refine and further elaborate my findings. Future research could include:

The first topic that needs more understanding is the unconventional everyday spatial practices that shape the city through temporary spaces. In contrast to the conventional typology of public spaces, the three cases offer other typologies that do not fit into those categories. This gives an opportunity to theorize on new categories of public space in contrast to their conventional forms, and furthermore, on new modes of space creation. This exploration and potential theorization points to new insights into urban theory; it offers possibilities to understand social change and space negotiation processes and has implications for normative urban planning practices. This understanding and theorization might also lead to questioning the assumption that permanence is a norm within the planning paradigm and propose the need to move beyond the belief that temporariness is a reflection of instability.

A second research topic would address the idea of social groups as alternative planners and its indication of alternative forms of governance. Most literature dismisses the fact that many marginalized groups re-articulate the meaning of urban management and create alternative forms of spatial organization. A more detailed investigation of such alternative planners is a good tool to better understand the context in which they exist, i.e., the power relations involved

in owning and managing the space and its theorization around urban governance. A contrasting approach could be taken in which the traditional planning procedure is contrasted to the alternative planning procedures of social groups. This might offer significant implications for planning policy arrangements as it unveils how planning takes place outside its disciplinary framework, providing a contrast between how it should take place by planning standards and how it actually does take place by alternative non-professional planners. This draws attention to agentic practices and often-ignored local logics that are hidden in more top-down approaches to studying cities. This has the potential to shift the focus from the needs and demands of urban dwellers to their assets and capabilities.

A third research topic could be investigating the problem of *musha'a* land in relation to urban development policies. This would introduce a comparative approach with similar contexts or similar vacancy phenomena, such as shrinking cities or post-crisis space vacancy. With over 24% of *musha'a* land at a standstill in Amman, this exploration will offer a comparative approach to vacant-land policies. Its aim could be to introduce more coherent urban growth development scenarios. It could also provide insights into alternative urban policy possibilities.

9.3.2 Practical implications

This research has the potential to equip policy-makers with insights on how to improve urban policies because it provides them with the lived experience of urban spaces in Amman that they seek to help but perhaps tend to ignore. This comes in the form of much-needed empirical data on three spaces that have had both their successes and failures. Indeed, by juxtaposing the intention of the social groups with the response of the state to them, a starting-point is established ‘...for thinking about the possibilities of planning [that] lies in understanding the potentials which emerge from the highly varied nature of interactions across this interface’(Watson, 2009, p. 2261).

These data are important given that there are few comparable, in-depth studies regarding these spaces; mostly, statistical data has been gathered regarding informal economics in general or there have been specifically empirical studies that engaged with the spatialities of such spaces devoid of their micro socio-spatial narratives. Such a narrative, as presented in this research, would be useful in unveiling the real demands and legible flaws in current policy, because it has produced operational knowledge about tactics that urban dwellers use to create change in their environment. It has equally produced operational knowledge about the GAM’s current policies towards such spaces.

9.3.3 Theoretical implications

My research contributes to insights about the contemporary practice of planning in the global South; in particular, it uncovers new modes of urban-space production. Such insights were interpreted in the light of two evidence-based frameworks: everyday activism and state flexibility. Their theoretical implications contribute to knowledge about conceptualizing alternative narratives of city-making and theorizing city responses in a way that transcends the usual understanding of state policies as a failure of planning and instead uncovers specific strategies that are used for managing their population and organizing their spaces.

The dissertation also provides potential building material for new concepts. These include themes that emerged from the various cases, suggesting new concepts such as *existential permanence*, as well as *self-tactics of empowerment*, *self-provision practices*, *intentional temporariness* and *calculated indifference*. These concepts provide interesting and perhaps promising areas to work on, such as the ideas of social groups as alternative planners and using temporariness as a mode to manage city spaces and their populations.

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APPENDIX A: THE PRELIMINARY SHORTLIST OF CASE STUDIES

TEMPORARY SPACE	SPACE TYPOLOGY		ACTIVITY			LOCATION			REGULATION		
			Type	Typology	Timescale	West	Downtown	East	Planned	Unplanned	Hybrid
1. JARA market (Jabal Amman Residents’ Association)	Spaces of Exchange	Street	Creative commerce	Handicraft market	Every Friday (May 13-Sep.9)		X		X		
2. Al-Sodfeh Market			Creative commerce	Artisan goods	Twice a month (<i>STOPPED</i>)		X			X	
3. Friday Market			Informal commerce	Second hand market	Every Thursday, Friday and Saturday (All year through) ¹		X				X
4. Al-Joura			Informal commerce	Second hand market	Every Friday (All year through) (<i>STOPPED</i>)		X			X	
5. Nour Al-Barakeh		GAM Garden	Creative commerce	Artisan Goods	Every Saturday (March-November)	X					X
			Community initiative	Outdoor activity	Every Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday						
6. Jordan Street		Spaces of Leisure	Street	Leisure	Collective gathering	All year though	X				X
7. Street to royal Palaces	X									X	
8. Airport road	X									X	
9. Paris Circle	Roundabout						X			X	
10. Jordan University circle							X				X

APPENDIX B: LIST OF QUESTIONS

Questions for experts

- How would you describe Amman's Identity? Social identity, Place identity
- How do would you define Amman's public spaces?
- How would you explain the confrontation between how spaces are planned and how people are actually using urban spaces such in the cases of Friday market, Jordan street vista and Nour Al-Barakeh garden?
- What are the dynamics of the production of urban spaces in Amman? As in the cases of Friday market, Jordan street vista and Nour Al-Barakeh garden?
- How would you describe Friday market, Jordan street vista and Nour Al-Barakeh garden?
- How would you explain their appearance?
- How would you describe their Space typology and type of land?
- How would you describe their selection of land for the activity?
- How would you describe their conditions of occurrence?
- What do you think about Friday market, Jordan street vista and Nour Al-Barakeh garden?
- What sort of collectives do you see these spaces?

Questions for temporary activists

- Could you tell me how it all started: the incentive, aims and aspirations?
- Tell me a bit about this land, why did you choose this place for your activity?
- Since when have you been here? What encouraged you?
- What is the nature of relation between you and the municipality?
- Tell me a bit about the costs you incur?
- Tell me a bit about any problems you are facing or problems you faced?
- Tell me a bit about this land and how it changed since you came here.

- Could you tell me a bit about the Organization of the place?
- What other activities take place here?
- Tell me a bit about the other people in this place. What is your relation to the others?
- What does this place mean to you?
- What happens if this is resolved? how will you be affected?
- Tell me a bit about yourself? (Nationality, occupation, place of residence, household, education).

Interview of regulators

- How would you explain the confrontation between how spaces are planned/envisioned and how people are actually using spaces?
- What is your vision towards unplanned activities or temporary uses in urban spaces of Amman?
- What are the main general criteria used to approve an urban space to be used for temporary uses? And specifically, for cases such as Friday market, Nour Al-Barakeh and Jordan street vista?
- How are spaces for informal activities managed and regulated? What do the regulations cover?
- How was (Friday market, Nour Al-Barakeh, Ras Al-Ain, Jordan street) established? (space, typology, users, infrastructure...etc.)
- To what extend do you think that the present regulations and urban policies for these spaces are appropriate?
- Based on your experience what do you think is the best way to address the issues concerning non-planned activities?
- What are the future plans concerning these temporary spaces?
- How would you describe (Friday, Nour Al-Barakeh, Ras Al-Ain, Jordan street vista)?

Interviews of populace

- How did you come to know about this place?
- How was this land before?
- Tell me a bit about the organization of this place?
- How did it change with the temporary activities?
- How do you see this place in the future? how would you like to see it?
- How did the area change with the presence of this space?
- How did it effect you? Why?
- Why do you go there? How often?
- How do you spend your time there?
- How would you describe the place to someone willing to visit but has not seen it yet?
- What does this place mean to you?
- What do you value most in this setting? why?
- What bothers you about this space? Why?
- Tell me a bit about any problems you heard of in relation to this place.
- What would happen if this activity moves? And if it stops, would it affect you?
- Tell me a bit about yourself? (Nationality, ancestors' birthplace, household, occupation, residence)

Interview of users

- How did you come to know about this place?
- Since when have you been coming here?
- Tell me a bit about any problems you heard of in relation to this place.
- How was this land before the activity came here?
- How did it change with the temporary activities?
- What interests you most here? Why?

- What annoys you most here? why?
- How do you see this place in the future? how would you like to see it?
- What attracted you to come here?
- How often do you come? What influences this frequency?
- How do you spend your time here?
- How would you describe the place to someone willing to visit but has not seen it yet?
- What does this place mean to you?
- What do you think of this initiative?
- What do you value most in this setting? why?
- What would happen if this activity moves? and if it stops, would it affect you?
- Tell me a bit about yourself? (Nationality, ancestors' birthplace, household, occupation, residence).

APPENDIX C: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

This appendix presents the list of interviewees of the three case studies. These include temporary space activists, users, populace, municipality officials and experts. A text reference was produced which indicates the interviewee as used in Chapters 5,6, and 7. All interviewees except experts and municipality officials will have a reference indicating the case study as some experts and Municipality officials have been interviewed on multiple if not all cases.

Key: example: RASus1F

Key: example: EX1M

Hence, the reference is explained as follows: the first set of letters indicate the interviewee in relation to case study, if applicable: *RAS* for Ras Al-Ain, *NAB* for Nour Al-Barakeh and *JS* for Jordan street. The following references are *ta* and responds to temporary space activists, *us* to users, *po* to populace, *MO* to municipality officer and *EX* to experts. The following number indicates the number of the interviewee. The third letter is the respondents' gender: *F* for female and *M* for Male.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
MO1F	Jordanian	40's	Executive director of engineering	27-Nov 2016
MO2F	Jordanian	40's	Director of Amman's comprehensive plan	4 Dec. 2016
MO3M	Jordanian	50's	Director of the department of markets specialized utilities	8 Dec. 2016
MO4F	Jordanian	40's	Director of social centers department	29-Nov. 2016
MO5M	Jordanian	60's	Amman's mayor assistant	11-Dec. 2016
MO6M	Jordanian	40's	Executive director of the markets	18-Dec. 2016
MO7M	Jordanian	50's	Executive director of communication and Amman identity	11-Dec. 2016
MO8M	Jordanian	30's	Director of properties	15-June 2017
MO9M	Jordanian	50's	Previous director of Abu Nsier area	9-April 2018
MO10F	Jordanian	30's	Previous director of Ain Al Basha Planning	9-April 2018
MO11M	Jordanian	40's	Head of the jobs and permits department	8 Dec. 2016
MO12M	Jordanian	50's	Director of Tlaa' Al-Ali area	3-Jan. 2017

MO13M	Jordanian	40's	Director of cultural programmes	15-June 2017
MO14M	Jordanian	40's	Executive director of culture	16-July 2017
MO15M	Jordanian	50's	Director of agriculture	22-June 2017
MO16F	Jordanian	40's	Director of landscape design	14-Aug.2018
MO17M	Jordanian	50's	Director of property and acquisition	18-Dec.2016

Table C- 1 List of interviews with Municipal officials.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
EX1F	Jordanian	60's	Arab Council for the Social Sciences Social Science Research Council	3-Dec. 2016
EX2M	Jordanian	50's	German-Jordanian University (GJU) Turath: Architecture & Urban Design Consultants	29-Dec. 2016
EX3F	Jordanian	30's	Architect at Symbiosis Designs Visual Artist	6-June 2017
EX4M	Jordanian	40's	Architect and founder of Syntax Design	14-Dec. 2016
EX5F	Jordanian	30's	World bank consultant and Architect/Urban Planner	13-Dec. 2016
EX6F	Jordanian	50's	CEO Producer& Director at Ma3mal 612 productions/ Entrepreneur at 'A Glance at the View' initiative	16-Jan. 2017
EX7F	Jordanian	30's	Interior designer/entrepreneur at Khorda initiative	19-Dec. 2016

Table C- 2 List of interviews with experts.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Place of residence/ Neighbourhood	West/ East Amman	Interview date
RASpo1F	Jordanian	20's	Housewife	Nazzal	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASpo2F	Jordanian	50's	Housewife	Nazzal	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASpo3F	Jordanian	60's	Housewife	Jabal Al Akhdar	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASpo4F	Jordanian	40's	Housewife	Jabal Al Akhdar	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASpo5F	Jordanian	20's	School student	Muhajerin	East	1-Dec. 2016

RASpo6F	Pilipino	30's	House cleaner	Muhajerin	East	1-Dec. 2016
RASpo7F	Jordanian	40's	Teacher	Muhajerin	East	1-Dec. 2016
RASpo8F	Jordanian	30's	Chef	Muhajerin	East	1-Dec. 2016
RASpo9M	Jordanian	40's	Pharmacy owner	Ras Al-Ain	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASpo10M	Jordanian	school	School student	Muhajerin	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASpo11M	Jordanian	20's	Carpenter	Jabal Al Akhdar	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASpo12M	Jordanian	40's	Restaurant owner		East	1-Dec. 2016
RASpo13M	Jordanian	50's	Supermarket owner	Ras Al-Ain	East	1-Dec. 2016
RASpo14M	Jordanian	30's	Pastry maker	Ras Al-Ain	East	1-Dec. 2016
RASpo15M	Jordanian	30's	Seller at furniture shop	Ras Al-Ain	East	2-Dec. 2016

Table C- 3 Interviews with populace around Ras Al-Ain market.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Place of residence	West/ East Amman	Interview date
RASus1F	Jordanian	Tee	Student	Al-Rabyeh	West	25-Nov. 2016
RASus2F	Jordanian	30's	Housewife	Tabarbour	East	25-Nov. 2016
RASus3F	Jordanian	20's	Veiled	Wadi Al seer	West	25-Nov. 2016
RASus4F	Jordanian	20's	Employee at Qatar Airways	7th circle	West	19-Nov. 2016
RASus5F	Jordanian	Teen	Student	Armenian quarter- Jabal Ashrafeyye	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASus6M	Jordanian	20's	Teacher/ Programmer	Dahiet Al-Rasheed	West	23- May 2017
RASus7F	Jordanian	20's	Housewife- Previously	Kilo circle	West	23- Dec. 2016

			Business developer			
RASus8F	Jordanian	30's	Nursery teacher	Marj Al-Hamam	West	2-Dec. 2016
RASus9F	Jordanian	30's	Jobless	New Bader	West	20-July 2017
RASus10M	Jordanian	30's	Employee at private sector/Housewife	Dahyeit Al-Yasmeen	West	2-Dec. 2016
RASus11F	Syrian	40's	Housewife	Hashmii	East	25-Nov. 2016
RASus12F	Jordanian	40's	School teacher	Basman	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASus13M	German	20's	Student at GJU	Lweibdeh	Downtown	2-Dec. 2016
RASus14M	Jordanian	20's	Jordan petroleum refinery			23-Dec. 2016
RASus15M	Jordanian	30's	Employee	Marj Al-Hamam	West	2-Dec. 2016
RASus16M	Jordanian	40s	Government employee	Tabarbour	East	2-Dec. 2016
RASus17M	Jordanian	40's	Employee at Jordan Electricity Company	Princess Haya		23-Dec. 2016
RASus18M	Jordanian	50's	Tourism employee at the Airport	Yasmin quarter_Nazzal	East	16-Dec. 2016
RASus19M	Jordanian	60's	Retired-Currently director of school instruction center	Radio and television	East	2-Dec. 2016

Table C- 4 List of Interviews of Ras Al-Ain market users.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
RASa1M	Jordanian	20's	Stall seller	25-Nov. 2016
RASa2M	Jordanian	30's	Stall seller	23-Dec. 2016
RASa3M	Jordanian	20's	Stall seller	26-Nov. 2016
RASa4M	Jordanian	40's	Stall seller	16-Dec. 2016
RASa5M	Jordanian	40's	Stall seller	25-Nov. 2016

RASt6M	Jordanian	50's	Stall seller	25-Nov. 2016
RASt7M	Jordanian	50's	Stall seller	25-Nov. 2016
RASt8M	Jordanian	20's	Stall seller	23-Dec. 2016
RASt9M	Jordanian	60's	Stall seller	23-Dec. 2016
RASt10M	Jordanian	50's	Stall owner	2-Dec. 2016
RASt11F	Jordanian	40's	Stall seller	23-Dec. 2016
RASt12M	Jordanian	50's	Stall owner	16-Dec. 2016
RASt13M	Jordanian	50's	Stall seller	15-Dec. 2016
RASt14M	Jordanian	40's	Stall seller	2-Dec. 2016

Table C- 5 List of interviews of Ras Al-Ain temporary activists.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
JSpo1M	Jordanian	30's	Accountant	7-Sept. 2017
JSpo2M	Jordanian	40's	Supermarket owner	5-Oct.2017
JSpo3F	Jordanian	20's	Nursing student	8-Sept. 2017
JSpo4M	Jordanian	50's	Car seller	8-Sept. 2017
JSpo5M	Jordanian	Teen	Popular restaurant worker	7-Sept. 2017

Table C- 6 List of interviews of Jordan street populace.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
JSus1M	Jordanian	30's	Maintenance worker	31-Aug. 2017
JSus2F	Jordanian	20's	Student at Applied Science University	31-Aug. 2017
JSus3M	Jordanian	40's	Car repairs	31-Aug. 2017
JSus4M	Jordanian	20's	Human resources	31-Aug. 2017
JSus5M	Jordanian	20's	Clothes seller	31-Aug. 2017

Table C- 7 List of interviews of Jordan street users

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
JSta1M	Jordanian	40's	Jobless	31-Aug. 2017

JSta2M	Jordanian	20's		
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Table C- 8 List of interviews of Jordan street temporary activists

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
NABus1M	Lebanese/married to Scottish	80's	Retired	22-Apr.2017
NABus2M	Jordanian	50's	Employee	22-Apr.2017
NABus3F	Jordanian	20's	Student	22-Apr.2017
NABus4M	Australian	30's	NGO (Humanitarian Organization)	22-Apr.2017
NABus5M	Jordanian	60's	Engineer	28-Mar.2017
NABus6F	Jordanian	50's	House wife	25-Apr.2017

Table C- 9 List of interviewees of Nour Al-Barakeh users.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
NABta1F	Jordanian	50's	Director of NAB	18-July.2017
NABta2F	Jordanian/American	70's	Honorary chair of NAB	15-Apr.2017
NABta3F	Jordanian	40's	Member of board of directors of NAB	3-March.2018
NABta4F	Jordanian	60's	Member of board of directors of NAB	22-July.2017

Table C- 10 List of interviews of NAB's temporary space activists.

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview date
NABpo1F	Jordanian	60's	House wife	10-Dec.2017
NABpo2F	Jordanian	50's	House wife	10-Dec.2017
NABpo3M	Jordanian	40's	Graphic designer	25-Apr.2017
NABpo4M	Jordanian	40's		2-Feb.2018
NABpo5M	Jordanian	20's	Student	2-Feb.2018
NABpo6M	Jordanian	60's	House wife	10-Dec.2017

Table C- 11 List of interviews of NAB's temporary space populace

Name	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Interview place
NABv1M	Jordanian	20's	Teebeh farms co-owner	8-Apr.2017

NABv2F	Jordanian/English	70's	Home business (Felt creations)	8-Apr.2017
NABv3F	Jordanian	40's	Business owners (Bayyoudah village produce)	13-May.2017
NABv4F	Jordanian	20's	Home business (MedShed)	15-Apr.2017
NABv5M	Jordanian/German	70's	Financial consultant	13-May.2017

Table C- 12 Vendors interviewed in NAB

APPENDIX D: STALL PERMIT OF RAS AL-AIN MARKET STALLS

Stall permit in Ras Al-Ain popular market

Permit Number ()

Permit number.....issue date.....period of permit.....

Name.....

Personal identification document.....type.....number.....

Type of stall..... Occupational type.....

I, the undersigned, acknowledge that all information provided above is correct and that I have examined the conditions set out by the GAM in the pledge, that I accept them on pain of prosecution, that the GAM has the right to eliminate the stall if I violate any of its conditions, to commit not to object or ask for any compensation for material or moral damage which, if happens, would end in me being in court.

I, the bearer of this permit, agree and accept the following:

- i. I commit to work at the stall designated to me personally and not to employ anyone else to work at it.
- ii. I commit to the exercise of the profession assigned to me by the GAM.
- iii. I commit to the space and area allocated to me by the GAM.
- iv. I commit not to rent or sell my stall that has been allocated to me by my name.
- v. I commit to the period of the temporary permit and the GAM's conditions.
- vi. I commit to sustaining the cleanliness of the market and the stall and to the overall image of the market.
- vii. I commit to all previous and subsequent conditions that the GAM issues in relation to working at the popular market.
- viii. The GAM has the right to revoke the permit and/or annul it in the case of me infracting any of its conditions.
- ix. The GAM has the right to eliminate the permit and relocate the stall in or out of the market without me calling that into question or to demand any compensation whatever they might be at regular courts.

تصريح بسطة في سوق رأس العين الشعبي

تصريح رقم ()

رقم التصريح تاريخ الإصدار مدة التصريح
الاسم
وثيقة أثبات الشخصية نوعها رقمها
نوع البسطة نوع المهنة الحالي

أنا الموقع أدناه أقر بأن جميع المعلومات الواردة أعلاه صحيحة وأقر بأنني أطلعت على شروط الأمانة الواردة في الإقرار والتعهد وأوافق عليها تحت طائلة المسؤولية القانونية ويحق للأمانة إلغاء التصريح في حال مخالفتي لأي من الشروط وبحال رغبة الأمانة إلغاء أو نقل السوق أتعهد بعدم الاعتراض أو المطالبة بأية تعويضات عن أية أضرار مادية أو معنوية وقد تلحق بي لدى المحاكم النظامية.

أتعهد وأوافق أنا حامل هذا التصريح على ما يلي:

- ١- ألتزم بالعمل على البسطة المخصصة لي شخصيا وعدم توكيل أحد بالعمل عليها.
- ٢- ألتزم بالمساحة والمكان والمهنة الممنوحة لي.
- ٣- ألتزم بعدم تأجير أو بيع البسطة التي تم تخصيصها باسمي من قبل الأمانة
- ٤- ألتزم بمدة تصريح البسطة المؤقتة وشروط الأمانة
- ٥- ألتزم بالمحافظة على نظافة السوق ونظافة البسطة والصورة الجمالية في السوق الشعبي
- ٦- ألتزم بكافة التعهدات والشروط السابقة واللاحقة التي تحددها الأمانة للعمل في السوق الشعبي
- ٧- يحق للأمانة سحب التصريح (و/أو) إلغاءه في حال مخالفتي لأي شرط من شروط الإقرار والتعهد
- ٨- يحق للأمانة إلغاء التصريح ونقل موقع البسطة إلى داخل أو خارج السوق دون حق الاعتراض على ذلك أو المطالبة بأية أضرار أو تعويضات عند أي إجراء النقل لدى كافة المحاكم النظامية.

APPENDIX E: STALL PLEDGE OF RAS AL-AIN MARKET STALLS

I, the undersigned, owner of stall number.....and upon which I work to sell.....pledge that I do not work and that I am not an employee anywhere else and to abide to the following regulations which have been written by the GAM with the aim to apply organizational standards and to be held responsible against any infraction and for the GAM to apply any institutional and judicial measures that it sees as appropriate in case of violating any of the below permit conditions.

- i. I commit to work at the stall designated to me personally and not to employ anyone else to work at it.
- ii. I commit to the exercise of the profession assigned to me by the GAM.
- iii. I commit to the space and area allocated to me by the GAM.
- iv. I commit not to rent or sell my stall that has been allocated to me by my name.
- v. I commit to the period of the temporary permit and the GAM's conditions.
- vi. I commit to sustaining the cleanliness of the market and the stall and to the overall image of the market.
- vii. I commit to all previous and subsequent conditions that the GAM issues in relation to working at the popular market.
- viii. The GAM has the right to revoke the permit and/or annul it in the case of me infracting any of its conditions.
- ix. The GAM has the right to eliminate the permit and relocate the stall to any place without me calling that into question or to demand any compensation whatever they might be at regular courts.

Name and signature of the stall owner

إقرار وتعهد

أتعهد أنا الموقع أدناه.....
صاحب البسطة رقم..... والتي أعمل عليها لبيع..... أقر بأنني لا
أعمل ولست موظفا بأي مكان وألتزم بالشروط التالية والموضوعة من قبل أمانة عمان الكبرى بهدف تطبيق
معايير التنظيم وأتحمل مسؤولية أية مخالفة ولأمانة عمان اتخاذ الإجراءات التنظيمية والقانونية التي تراها
مناسبة في حال أي مخالفة لأي شرط من هذه الشروط في التصريح.

- ١- ألتزم بالعمل على البسطة المخصصة لي شخصيا وعدم توكيل أحد بالعمل عليها.
- ٢- ألتزم بممارسة المهنة الموافق عليها من الأمانة.
- ٣- ألتزم بالمساحة والمكان المخصصة لي من قبل الأمانة
- ٤- ألتزم بعدم تأجير أو بيع البسطة التي تم تخصيصها باسمي من قبل الأمانة
- ٥- ألتزم بمدة تصريح البسطة المؤقتة وشروط الأمانة
- ٦- ألتزم بالمحافظة على نظافة السوق ونظافة البسطة والصورة الجمالية في السوق الشعبي
- ٧- ألتزم بكافة التعهدات والشروط السابقة واللاحقة التي تحددها الأمانة للعمل في السوق الشعبي
- ٨- يحق للأمانة سحب التصريح (و/أو) إلغائه في حال مخالفتي أية شرط من شروط الإقرار والتعهد
- ٩- يحق للأمانة إلغاء التصريح ونقل موقع البسطة إلى أي مكان دون حق الاعتراض لي
على ذلك أو المطالبة بأية أضرار مهما كانت لدى كافة المحاكم النظامية.

أسم صاحب البسطة وتوقيعه

APPENDIX F: RAS AL-AIN MARKET REGULATIONS

Internal memorandum

From the mayor to Deputy director for districts / Chairman of the Abdali Market Transfer Committee.

Greetings,

Please work on adopting the following principles to identify the eligible in Friday market (Abdali previously) to transfer them to Ras Al-Ain popular market and they are the following:

1. For the eligible to be one of those who had stalls in the previous Abdali market.
2. The eligible should not be a public official in any department or governmental or public institution or an employee at the GAM.
3. Avoid giving more than one stall to the same person.
4. Avoid giving more than three stalls to the same family record book whose ages are above 18 years.
5. The stall owner has to pledge not to sell or rent the stall allocated to him and/or to assign anyone to work at the stall.
6. The stall owner has to commit to the place and area assigned to him by the GAM.
7. The stall owner has to commit to practising the profession authorized to him within his stall only.
8. A permit is issued in the name of the person to whom the stall had been allocated and he should commit to work at it by himself.
9. The stall owner has to commit to carry the temporary stall permit issued with his name.
10. The GAM has the right to withdraw the permit and/or eliminate it in case a violation has been practised by the stall owner.
11. The GAM has the right to relocate the stall to any place without having any right to calling that into question and/or to demand any compensation.
12. The stall owner has to commit to sustaining the market and its cleanliness and the cleanliness of the stall and the overall image of the market.
13. The stall owner has to commit to all pledges and conditions issued by the GAM to work within the popular market.
14. The stall owner has to commit to the issued time-limits to work in the market as in its starting and ending times.
15. The stall owner has to commit to sign the contract and the payment of a service allowance if it is required in the future.

Assurance of our highest consideration and esteem,

Mayor of Amman

X

A copy to:

- His Excellency the Governor of the capital
- His Excellency the Deputy Secretary
- His Excellency City manager
- His Excellency Inspector General
- Deputy director for districts and environmental affairs
- Chief of the Greater Amman municipality control/ Audit Bureau
- Departments concerned ()

مذكرة داخلية

التوقيع التاريخ

إلى
النائب لشؤون المناطق /
رئيس لجنة نقل سوق العبدلي

أمين عمان

الرقم

١.
٢.
٣.
٤.

تحية طيبة وبعد،،،

- يرجى العمل على اعتماد الأسس التالية لتحديد المستحقين في سوق الجمعة (العبدلي سابقا) لنقلهم إلى سوق رأس العين الشعبي وهي كما يلي:
- ١- أن يكون المستحق ممن لهم بسطات في سوق العبدلي سابقا.
 - ٢- أن لا يكون المستحق موظفا عاما في أي دائرة أو مؤسسة حكومية أو عامة أو موظفا في أمانة عمان.
 - ٣- عدم إعطاء أكثر من بسطة للشخص نفسه.
 - ٤- عدم إعطاء أكثر من ثلاث بسطات لنفس دفتر العائلة ممن أعمارهم تزيد عن (١٨) سنة.
 - ٥- يتعهد صاحب البسطة بعدم بيع أو تأجير البسطة المخصصة له (و/أو) توكيل أي أحد بالعمل عليها.
 - ٦- يلتزم صاحب البسطة بالمكان والمساحة المحددة له من قبل الأمانة.
 - ٧- يلتزم صاحب البسطة بممارسة المهنة المصرح له ممارستها على البسطة فقط.
 - ٨- يصدر تصريح باسم الشخص المخصص له البسطة ويتعهد بالعمل عليها بنفسه.
 - ٩- يلتزم صاحب البسطة بحمل تصريح البسطة المؤقتة الصادرة باسمه.
 - ١٠- يحق للأمانة سحب التصريح (و/أو) إلغائه في حال صدور أي مخالفة من صاحب البسطة.
 - ١١- للأمانة نقل البسطة إلى أي مكان دون حق الاعتراض على ذلك (و/أو) المطالبة بأي تعويض من قبل صاحب البسطة من جراء ذلك.
 - ١٢- يلتزم صاحب البسطة بالمحافظة على السوق ونظافته ونظافة البسطة المخصصة له وعلى الصورة الجمالية للسوق بشكل عام.
 - ١٣- يلتزم صاحب البسطة بكافة التعهدات والشروط المعقدة من قبل الأمانة للعمل في السوق الشعبي.
 - ١٤- يلتزم أصحاب البسطة بالمواعيد المحددة لعمل السوق من حيث بداية ونهاية عمل في السوق.
 - ١٥- يلتزم أصحاب البسطة بتوقيع عقود وبدفع بدل الخدمات الذي تقدره الأمانة إذا استدعى ذلك مستقبلا.

واقبلوا الاحترام،،،

أمين عمان

نسخة إلى:

- عطوفة محافظ العاصمة / إشارة لكتاب عطوفتكم بتشكيل اللجنة
- عطوفة نائب الأمين
- عطوفة مدير المدينة.
- عطوفة المفتش العام.
- النائب لشؤون المناطق والبيئة.
- رئيس مراقبة أمانة عمان الكبرى / ديوان المحاسبة.
- الدوائر المعنية)

APPENDIX G: WATERMELON PERMITS

Terms and conditions required for watermelon and honeydew tents for the season of year 2017.

General terms:

1. The permit is to be considered as a seasonal and temporary permit and it does not permit its holder to stay a longer period than granted.
2. The need to attain a written approval from the lands owner and attaching it to the permit request.
3. The applicant pledges to bear all legal and administrative consequences in the case of the lands owner's objection. This also means that the tent will be removed without any previous warning and confiscation of the Insurance. The GAM will not bear any financial, administrative or legal implications.
4. Applications for watermelon and honeymelon permits are submitted at the Central Market Department by the person concerned and with personal proof.

Regulatory requirements

1. Provide an appropriate aesthetic appearance for the tent that would be get accepted by the Disclosure Committee.
2. The tent should not exceed an area of 50m². The melons should be displayed within the tent in a way that does not distort the public image and they should be protected from damage and no other products are allowed to be displayed outside this area.
3. The permitted area should be at least 12m away from the street. It should have an entry and exit and a parking area and adequate flooring that is laid out with gravel so it can be used as a parking space for customers' cars.
4. The designated area should be at least 200m away from turns, intersections, bridges, tunnels, schools, traffic lights and places of worship and to be at least 500m away from popular markets. It also should not cause any roadblocks. The Disclosure Committee has the right to assess the tent and its suitability to specifications and its decisions are considered final and bounding.

Health conditions

1. The owner of the permit is obliged to sustain the cleanliness of the site and collect the garbage in plastic bags that are disposed within a sealed container provided by the permit holder before attaining the required permit.

2. The owner is to dispose any damaged products that are not suitable for human consumption.

Services and insurance allowance

1. The owner of the permit shall pay (250 JD) to the GAM in lieu of permit services. The amount shall be deemed to be the municipality's right and is not refundable. The Municipality's Fund shall also be provided with cash insurance to be refunded in the event that the authorized person complies with the conditions and instructions and the decisions of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and other related parties. Reinsurance shall only be carried out if the tent and its waste are removed after the 31st of October each year immediately and up to one month from the date of expiry of the permit.
2. The Central Market Department shall collect a sum of (20 JD) sensory allowance and shall be renewed after fourteen days of payment in the event that the applicant fails to return for the continuation of the procedures.
3. The value of the insurance is not recycled for the following seasons for any reason. The value of the insurance is deposited on 31.12.2017 into the Municipal Fund in case the owner did not redeem it and he is not allowed to demand it after the mentioned date.
4. The paid insurance shall be returned after the removal of the tent and its waste by a report from the district manager. The municipality has the right to confiscate the insurance in full or any part thereof or deduct any amounts to cover the expenses of removing the tent or its waste in case that was not performed by the owner of the tent.

Commitment

1. The authorized person shall comply with the laws, regulations, decisions and instructions issued by the concerned ministries and departments, including those issued by the municipality and those which shall be issued later in this regard.
2. The sales at the tent is restricted to water and honey melons which is in accordance with the permit given for this purpose that has been issued by the municipality. These products are to be purchased from the Central Market and should have fulfilled the fees prescribed by ongoing regulations. The owner of the tent shall maintain the official selling certificate issued by the Central Market Department which shall be shown upon request.
3. The municipality has the right to eliminate the permit and remove the tent at the end of the season or during it in case any conditions were infringed. The owner of the tent would not have the right to object at the municipality or any other party.

I have read the above conditions and I commit to them.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: / /

الشروط و المواصفات المطلوبة لمعرشات البطيخ و الشمام لموسم عام 2017م . تعليمات عامة.

- 1 - يعتبر التصريح موسمي ومؤقت ولا يكسب المصريح له حقا بالإستمرار فترة أطول من المسموحة.
 - 2 - الحصول على الموافقة الخطية لمالك قطعة الأرض وتقديمها مع الطلب .
 3. يتعهد مقدم الطلب بتحمل كافة التبعات القانونية والمالية والإدارية المترتبة في حال إعتراض صاحب الأرض تحت طائلة إزالة المعرشة دون سابق إنذار ومصادرة التأمين ودون تحمل أمانة عمان لأي تبعات مالية أو إدارية أو قانونية .
 - 4 - تقدم طلبات الحصول على تصاريح المعرشات لبيع البطيخ و الشمام لدى دائرة السوق المركزي من صاحب العلاقة وبموجب إثبات شخصية .
- ### الشروط التنظيمية.
- 1 - توفير المظهر الجمالي لشكل المعرشة الذي يتم الموافقة عليه من قبل لجنة الكشف .
 - 2 - إن لا تتجاوز مساحة المعرشة بمساحة (2p50) ويتم عرض البطيخ و الشمام داخل المعرشة بطريقة لا تشوه المنظر العام وأن يتم حمايتها من التلوث أو التلف ولا يسمح بعرض أي منتجات خارج هذه المساحة .
 - 3 - يجب أن يبعد الموقع المصروح به 12 متر كحد أدنى عن الشارع وأن يتم تسهيله وفرشه بالحصى ليستعمل كموقف لسيارات الزبائن بعد تأمينه بمدخل ومخرج لموقع المعرشة وتوفير ساحة للمواقف .
 - 4 - أن يبتعد الموقع عن الأسواق الشعبية والمنقطعات والجسور والأنفاق والمدارس والإشارات الضوئية ودور العبادة مسافة لا تقل عن (200م) وأن يبتعد عن الأسواق الشعبية مسافة لا تقل عن (500م) وأن لا يشكل أي عائقا مروري ولجنة الكشف الحق في تقدير وضع المعرشة وملائمتها للمواصفات والشروط المطلوبة حسب ما تراه مناسبة وتعتبر قراراتها نهائية وملزمة .
- ### الشروط الصحية .
- 1 - يلتزم صاحب التصريح بالمحافظة على نظافة الموقع وجمع القمامة في أكياس بلاستيكية توضع ضمن حاوية محكمة الإغلاق يتم توفيرها من قبل صاحب التصريح قبل منحه التصريح المطلوب .
 - 2 - التخلص من المنتجات التالفة وغير الصالحة للإستهلاك البشري وإتلافها حسب الأصول .
- ### بدل الخدمات والتأمين .
- 1 - يدفع طالب التصريح إلى صندوق الأمانة مبلغ وقدره (مائتان وخمسون دينار) نقدا وذلك بدل خدمات التصريح ويعتبر المبلغ من حق الأمانة وغير مسترد ، كما يقدم إلى صندوق الأمانة تأمينا نقديا وقدره (ألف دينار) تسترد في حال التزم المصريح له بالشروط والتعليمات وقرارات وزارة الصناعة والتجارة وأية جهة أخرى ذات علاقة ولا يعاد التأمين إلا بعد إزالة المعرشة ومخلفاته بعد تاريخ الحادي والثلاثين من شهر تشرين الأول من كل عام مباشرة ولمدة شهر من تاريخ إنتهاء التصريح .
 - 2 - تستوفي دائرة السوق المركزي مبلغ وقدره (عشرون دينار) بدل كشف حسي ويتم تجديده بعد مرور أربعة عشر يوما من الدفع في حال عدم مراجعة صاحب الطلب لإستكمال الإجراءات .
 - 3 - لا يتم تدوير قيمة التأمينات للمواسم المقبلة لأي سبب أو ظرف كان ، وتودع قيمة التأمينات بتاريخ : 2017/12/31 لدى صندوق أمانة عمان الكبرى في حال عدم إستردادها من قبل صاحب العلاقة ولا يجوز المطالبة بها بعد التاريخ المذكور .
 - 4 - يعاد التأمين بعد إزالة المعرشة ومخلفاته بتقرير من مدير المنطقة والأمانة أن تصدر التأمين كاملا أو أي جزء منه أو أن تقتطع أية مبالغ لتغطية نفقات أية أعمال تقوم بها بسببها صاحب المعرشة كإزالة المعرشة أو مخلفاته في حال ورود تقرير من مدير المنطقة المختص بذلك .
- ### تعهد والتزام.
- 1 - يلتزم المصريح لهم تطبيق القوانين والأنظمة والقرارات والتعليمات الصادرة عن الوزارات والدوائر المعنية بما فيها أمانة عمان الكبرى، الصادرة والتي ستصدر لاحقا في هذا الشأن.
 - 2- التقيد التام ببيع منتجي (البطيخ و الشمام) دون سواها وفقا للتصريح الممنوحة لهذه الغاية والصادر عن أمانة عمان وشريطة أن يكون قد تم شراؤها من السوق المركزي واستوفى عنها الرسوم المقررة والمنصوص عليها بالانظمة المعمول بها . وأن يحتفظ صاحب المعرشة بسند البيع الرسمي الصادر من دائرة السوق المركزي وإبرازه حال الطلب .
 - 3 - لأمانة عمان الكبرى حق إلغاء التصريح وإزالة المعرشة عند إنتهاء الموسم أو أثناءه في حال الإخلال بالشروط والمواصفات المطلوبة دون أن يكون لصاحب التصريح أي حق بالإعتراض سواء لدى أمانة عمان الكبرى أو أي جهة أخرى .

اطلعت على الشروط أعلاه ومتعهدا بالالتزام بها وعدم مخالفتها
المستدعي/ المقر والقابل بما فيه

الإسم: _____

التوقيع: _____

التاريخ: / /

APPENDIX H: NOUR AL-BARAKEH LETTER OF INTEREST

The Greater Amman Municipality

Letter of interest

His excellency mayor of Amman/ Engineer X

Following our previous letter on the 30th of September 2010, and our meeting within the municipality's offices with: X and Mr. X, we enclose hereby the required information in order to proceed with the required legal arrangement for the placement of 'Al-Osra garden' hawd 26, piece number 359 and 934 in Northern Abdoun to 'Nour Al-Barakeh association'.

We would like to let you know that Nour Al-Barakeh had met with Mrs. X (the director of garden at the GAM) on the 25th of November 2009 upon which it was agreed that Nour Al-Barakeh is to be given a garden that would match its aim and goals.

The associations full name: Nour Al-Baraka Charitable Society

Nour Al-Baraka Charitable Society is a non-profitable association and is registered at the ministry of social development under the number X

Address 47: Wadi Saqra street

Telephone X

Nouralbarakah@gmail.com

The associations aim:

The associations aim is to broaden the circle of partnerships with the local society and to work along the GAMs developmental aims to increase the green area within neighbourhood gardens by merging special needs people from the society within the garden though working together in it and making it greener.

السادة أمانة عمان الكبرى

رسالة اهتمام

معالي أمين العاصمة/ المهندس المحترم

لاحقا لخطابنا لكم بتاريخ 2010/9/30 و اجتماعنا في مكاتب الأمانة مع السادة :
السيد د. نرفق طيه المعلومات اللازمة من أجل البدء بالإجراءات القانونية من أجل
تتسيب "حديقة الأسرة" حوض 26 قطع رقم 359 و 934 في عبدون الشمالي الى "جمعة نور
البركة".

نود أن نحيطكم علما بأن جمعية نور البركة كانت قد اجتمعت مع السيدة :
الحدائق في أمانة عمان بتاريخ 2009/11/25 حيث تمت الموافقة على اعطاء الجمعية إحدى
الحدائق حسب ما يتناسب مع أهداف الجمعية و شأيتها.

الاسم الكامل للجمعية: جمعية نور البركة الخيرية

جمعية نور البركة الخيرية جمعية غير ربحية و هي مسجلة في وزارة التنمية الإجتماعية تحت رقم

المنوان 47 : شارع وادي صقرة.

هاتف

nouralbarakah@gmail.com

أهداف الجمعية:

في إطار توجه جمعية نور البركة لتوسيع دائرة الشراكة مع المجتمع المحلي و تماشيا مع خطط
الأمانة التنموية لزيادة الرقعة الخضراء في حدائق الأحياء السكنية, تتماشى أهداف الجمعية مع
رؤية الأمانة , و ذلك من خلال عمل الجمعية لهدف دمج ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة في المجتمع
من خلال العمل سويا في الحديثة المقترحة و تخضيرها ..

APPENDIX I: NOUR AL-BARAKEH CONTRACT WITH THE GAM

Department of Property and Estates

Rent contract

First party (lessor): The Greater Amman Municipality Council represented in this contract by Amman's mayor, X.

Address: Amman- Ras Al-Ain-Omar Matar street-P.O.Box 132 (11118)

The second party: Nour Al-Barakeh Charitable Society

Chosen address for issues regarding this contract and other issues in relation to correspondence, warning or notifications is the rented site/ or the following address:

National number of the association: x

City: Amman/ Al Rabieh

Street/ Al Ahwaaz/ Princess Iman garden

Telephone: x

P.O. Box: x

Introduction:

As the first party is the owner of the garden that is currently on the plot number (1173), Hawd (8) named Shmeisani and as the second party has shown interest in renting what is about 100 m² from the mentioned gardens total area, according to the decision of the Property and Estates Committee Number (34) on 4/2/2015, both parties came to an agreement with the following:

Firstly:

The introduction and/or any annexes are to be considered part of the contract upon which both parties agree and sign.

Secondly:

The first party is to rent out about 100m² from the current garden that is based on the plot number (1173), hawd (8) Shmeisani and according to the attached drawing that is to be considered part of the contract. That is to build a small one-storey building to service persons with special needs.

Thirdly:

The period of this contract is three years which is non-renewable unless a written approval from the GAM has been attained and with the need to submit a request by the second party to the first party three months prior to the contracts end.

Fourthly:

The contract starts on the 2/12/2014.

Fifthly:

A sum of 100 JD's is to be paid yearly as rent and is to be paid at the beginning of each contract's year.

Sixthly:

The second party is to commit to submit building drawings of the proposed building so as for the GAM to provide a written approval for it.

Seventhly:

The second party is to commit to the aim of the rental and that is building a small one-storey building to service persons with special needs and the second party is not allowed to change this aim unless it attains a written approval from the first party.

Eighthly:

The second party is not allowed to waive the leased space or the construction established on it or rent it all or part of it or use it for any other purpose except the purpose it was constructed for as clarified in this contract.

Ninthly:

The second party is to personally concur all costs needed to build the building on the rented and described area in the second item of this contract.

Tenthly:

The second party is to concur any taxes or fees or/and government or municipal revenues that need to be paid for the rented piece of land and what would be established on it from buildings. The second party also has to concur any taxes or fees that are an outcome of establishing this contract and any service allowance which would service the building be that electricity, water, phone or any other expenditures.

Eleventh:

The second party is to obtain all required approvals in order to construct the building.

Twelfth:

The lessee is to commit to the regulations that are issued by the GAM and to maintain healthy conditions within the garden as well as its overall cleanliness. It is not allowed to use or exploit any area outside the rented area and if so, the GAM has the right to eliminate the contract and take back what has been rented. Within such an incident, the GAM has the right to sustain all its financial, legal and contractual rights.

Thirteenth:

In case this contract was terminated, eliminated or has run out for any reason, all erect constructions are considered belonging of the GAM free of charge and the second party has no right to demand any compensation nor reimbursement of construction cost.

Fourteenth:

The GAM has the right to terminate the contract and eliminate and withdraw the land and what is constructed on it without the second party having the right to demand any compensation in any of the following cases:

- No payment of the rent
- The infraction of any of the conditions of this contract
- In the case this contract with the GAM has ended
- In the case this contract had been terminated
- In the case the contracts period has ended and has not been renewed by the GAM
- In case that the legal status of the association has ceased for any reason.

Special conditions:

The second party is allowed to utilize areas within the garden for purposes of gardening to rehabilitate it under permission and supervision of the department of gardens at the GAM.

1. The second party is to commit not to erect any other constructions that might affect the garden
2. The second party is to commit to construct the building with environmentally friendly material.

Notes: this contract consists of four pages and fourteen items and three special conditions. This is what both parties have agreed and signed upon on the 30/3/2015.

First party: Amman's mayor, X.

Second party: Nour Al-Barakeh association, represented by Mrs. x. National number (x).

عقد إيجار

الفريق الأول (المؤجر): مجلس أمانة عمان الكبرى، و يمثله في هذا العقد امين عمان

عنوانه: عمان- رأس العين- شارع عمر مطر- ص.ب: 132 (11118).

فريق ثاني:- السادة/جمعية نور البركة الخيرية .

عنوانه المختار لأغراض هذا العقد و ما يتعلق به من مراسلات أو إنذارات أو إشعارات هو موقع المأجور و / أو العنوان التالي:

الرقم الوطني للجمعية) (.

المدينة: عمان /الرابية
هاتف) (

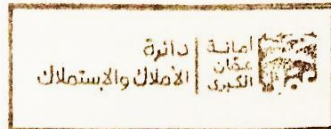
الشارع / الاهواز/حديقة الاميرة ايمان
صندوق بريد: ()

مقدمة:

حيث أن الفريق الأول يملك الحديقة القائمة على قطعة الأرض رقم(1173) حوض رقم (8) والمسمى (الشميساني) و حيث أن الفريق الثاني أبدى رغبته في استئجار ما مساحته (100) 2م من مساحة الحديقة المشار إليها أعلاه و استناداً إلى قرار لجنة الاملاك و الإستملاك رقم (34) تاريخ 2015/2/4 فقد توافقت نية الفريقين بموجب أهليتهما المعتمدة شرعاً و قانوناً و تم الاتفاق فيما بينهما بالقبول والرضا على ما يلي:

أولاً :-

تعتبر مقدمة هذا العقد و/أو أية ملاحق يوقع عليها الفريقين جزءاً لا يتجزأ من العقد وتقرأ معه كوحدة واحدة .



ثانياً :-

يقوم الفريق الأول بتأجير ما مساحته 2p(100) من مساحة الحديقة ألقائمه على قطعة الأرض رقم (1173) حوض (8) الشميساني وحسب الكروكي المرفق الذي يعتبر جزءاً من هذا العقد لأقامة بناء صغير من طابق واحد لخدمة ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة .

ثالثاً :-

مدة هذا العقد ثلاث سنوات غير قابله للتجديد الا بموافقة الامانه الخطية وبناءاً على طلب يقدمه الفريق الثاني للفريق الاول قبل نهاية العقد بثلاثة شهور .

رابعاً :-

يبدأ العمل بهذا العقد اعتباراً من تاريخ 2014/12/2 م .

خامساً :-

يكون بدل الايجار مبلغ وقدره (100) مائة دينار اردني سنوياً يدفع في بداية كل سنه من سنوات التعاقد .

سادساً :-

يلتزم الفريق الثاني بتقديم مخططات أصولية للبناء المقترح انشاؤه لغايات المشروع لموافقة الأمانة الخطية عليه .

سابعاً :-

يلتزم الفريق الثاني بالغاية التي تم من اجلها التأجير وهي إقامة بناء صغير من طابق واحد لخدمة ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة ولا يجوز للفريق الثاني تغيير الغاية الا بموافقة الفريق الاول الخطية .

ثامناً :-

لا يجوز للفريق الثاني التنازل عن المساحة المؤجرة له او العقار المنشأ عليها او تأجيرها كله او جزء منه او استعماله لاي غرض غير الغراض التي انشئ من اجلها بموجب هذا العقد .

تاسعاً :-

يتحمل الفريق الثاني كافة تكاليف البناء المراد انشاؤه على المساحة المؤجرة له والموصوفه في البند الثاني من هذا العقد وعلى نفقته الخاصة.

امانة دائمة
م. الكيري
المستشار والمستملك

عاشراً :-

يتحمل الفريق الثاني اية ضرائب او رسوم و/او عوائد حكوميه و/او بلديه قد تستحق على الارض المؤجره له وما يقام عليها من مباني ومنشآت كما ويتحمل الفريق الثاني كافة الضرائب والرسوم الناشئه عن ابرام (و/او) تنفيذ هذا العقد وبدل الخدمات التي تقدم للمنشآت المراد إنشاؤها سواء أثمان استهلاك الكهرباء او المياه او الهاتف او اية مصاريف اخرى.

الحادي عشر :-

يلتزم الفريق الثاني بالحصول على الموافقات اللازمة لإقامة المشروع من الجهات المعنية والخاصة .

الثاني عشر :-

يلتزم المستأجر بالتقيد بالتعليمات التي تصدرها الأمانة من وقت لآخر والمحافظة على الشروط الصحية والنظافة العامة وعدم استغلال أي مساحه خارج حدود المساحة المؤجرة لهم وخلافاً لذلك يحق للأمانة فسخ العقد وإنهاؤه واستعادة المأجور مع احتفاظ الأمانة بكافة حقوقها المالية والقانونية والتعاقدية .

الثالث عشر :-

في حال إنهاء العقد مع الأمانة أو فسخه أو انتهاء مدته لأي سبب من الأسباب تؤول جميع الإنشاءات القائمة على الأرض إلى الأمانة ودون أي مقابل ولا يحق للفريق الثاني بالمطالبة بأي تعويض حتى عن بدل تكلفة الإنشاء .

الرابع عشر :-

يحق للأمانة فسخ العقد وإنهاؤه واستعادة الأرض وما عليها من إنشاءات دون أن يكون الحق للفريق الثاني المطالبه بأي تعويض في أي من الحالات التالية :-
عدم دفع بدل الإيجار .

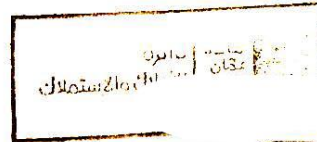
الإخلال بأي شرط من شروط هذا العقد .

• في حال إنهاء العقد مع الأمانة .

• في حال فسخ العقد .

• في حال انتهاء مدة العقد ولم يتم تجديده من قبل الأمانة .

• في حال زوال الصفة القانونية للجمعية لأي سبب كان .



شروط خاصة :-
❖ يسمح للفريق الثاني باستغلال مواقع ضمن الحديقة لغايات الزراعة بهدف تأهيلها وذلك بموافقة وتحت اشراف دائرة الحدائق بأمانة عمان الكبرى المسبقه .
1. يلتزم الفريق الثاني بعدم القيام بأي انشاءات اخرى غير المسموح له بموجب هذا العقد قد تؤثر على الحديقة القائمة .
2. يلتزم الفريق الثاني بإنشاء البناء باستخدام مواد صديقه للبيئة .

ملاحظات :-
هذا العقد يتكون من اربع صفحات واربعة عشر بنداً وثلاثة شروط خاصة .
هذا ما تم الاتفاق عليه بين الفريقين ووقعاه في تاريخ :- 2015/3/30 م .

الفريق الثاني
الساده/جمعية نور البركه الخيره
ويمثلها : السيدة

الفريق الأول
أمين عمان

الرقم الوطني ()

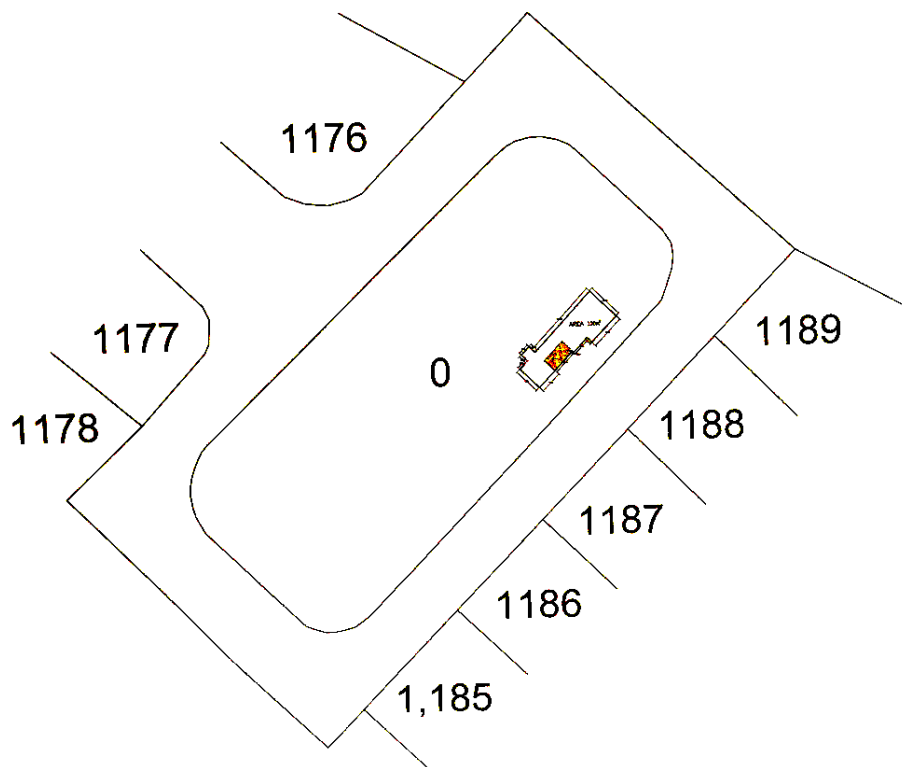
جمعية نور البركه الخيره
N

شاهد
مدير دائرة الاملاك والاستملاك
(المهندس)
عمان الكبرى

شاهد
رئيس قسم الاملاك
السيد

تم تسديد رسوم وطوابع واردات على العقد مبلغ وقدره (1.000) دينار
بالوصل رقم 3130219 (تاريخ 26 / 3 / 2015 م .

ر.س



APPENDIX J: THE GAM APPROVAL OF NOUR AL-BARAKEH MARKET

Nour Al-Barakeh Charitable Society

Greetings,

In reference to the request submitted by you on 19/10/2016 regarding organizing activities and projects in support of integrating special needs persons within Princess Iman garden, we would like to let you know that that GAM has no objection regarding establishing activities that aim at integrating persons with special needs on Saturday within Princess Iman garden until you complete the legal procedures for granting you the use of the garden.

Sincerely,

Amman's mayor,

Aqel Beltaji

Copy/

Deputy Secretary

City Manager

Deputy Director of the city for financial and administrative affairs

Executive Director of Investment and Supply Chain

Director of Property Department

السادة / جمعية نور البركة الخيرية

تحية طيبة وبعد،،،

أشارة الى الاستدعاء المقدم من قبلكم بتاريخ ٢٠١٦/١٠/١٩ بخصوص اقامة نشاطات و مشاريع داعمة لدمج الاعضاء من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة و ذلك ضمن حدود الحديقة الاميرة ايمان .

اود إعلامكم بأنه لأمانع لدى أمانة عمان من إقامة الفعاليات و الانشطة الداعمة لدمج الاعضاء من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة أيام السبت وذلك ضمن حديقة الاميرة ايمان الي حين استكمال الاجراءات القانونية المتعلقة بمنحكم استغلال الحديقة وفقاً للغاية المطلوبة باستدعائكم وفقاً للأصول .

واقبلوا فائق الاحترام

أمين عمان

نسخة /

- عطوفة نائب الامين.
- عطوفة مدير المدينة .
- عطوفة نائب مدير المدينة للشؤون المالية والادارية .
- المدير التنفيذي للاستثمار وسلسلة التوريد.
- مدير دائرة الاملان

APPENDIX K: NOUR AL-BARAKEH MARKET APPROVAL BY MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Ministry of Social Development

President of Nour Al-Barakeh Charitable Society

Subject: Programme and activities

Concerning the letter number 11/2016 sent by you on 28/11/2016 regarding your intent of establishing the activity of a market, we have no objections to approve the market activity which aim is to support the associations work and integrate adults with special needs and develop their abilities and provide activities for them. Please find attached the agreement with GAM to activate the garden through the market. The attached includes the investments committees approval for the activity to take place every Saturday. Hence, no objections to approve this activity as long as all managerial and financial measures are taken.

Sincerely.

X

Director of the Directorate of Social Development

West Amman

Copy/

Head of Associations Section

For filing



وزارة التنمية الاجتماعية

٩٦٢٣

الرقم ٩٢٢/ع
التاريخ ١٤٣٧/١١/٢٨
الموافق ٢٠١٦/١١/٢٨

السيدة رئيسة جمعية نور البركة الخيرية

الموضوع / البرامج والأنشطة

تحية طيبة وبعد :-

إشارة لكتابكم رقم ٢٠١٦/١١/٢٨ تاريخ ٢٠١٦/١١/٢٨ والمتضمن نية الجمعية إقامة نشاط السوق بهدف دعم أعمال الجمعية ودمج الشباب من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة وتطوير قدراتهم وتوفير الأنشطة لهم ومرفقة الاتفاقية المبرمة مع أمانة عمان لأشغال حديقة الأميرة إيمان لتنفيذ النشاط وعدم ممانعة من هيئة الاستثمار وذلك كل يوم سبت من تاريخه.

للتكرم بالاطلاع والعلم بعدم الممانعة من إقامة النشاط على ان يتم اتخاذ الاجراءات الادارية والمالية الخاصة بذلك.

واقبلوا الاحترام



نسخة / رئيس قسم الجمعيات
نسخة / الملف
٧/٢٨

APPENDIX L: MULTI-SCALAR NETWORKS OF NOUR AL-BARAKEH

Organization	Location	Type
Al Masar Development centre	Jordan	Special education school
American Embassy	Jordan/US	State organization
American women's club organization	Jordan	Social collective
AMMUN (Amman UN)	Jordan	Private schools
APN (The Arab Group for the Protection of Nature)	National	NPO
Arabtech Jardaneh	Jordan	Company
CISV	US	NGO
Magazines	Jordan	Magazine
Friends of nature (RSCN)	National	Independent organization
Girl scouts of Jordan	National/ UK	National organization
Harmony of Hope charity	UK	Charity
Jordan Paramedic society	Jordan	NGO
Lions Club	Jordan	NPO
Nestle	Jordan/Switzerland	Company
Permaculture research institute	Australia	Research institute
Ruwwad Al-Tanmeya	Jordan	Non-profit community
Sana for special needs	Jordan	NGO
School volunteering*	Jordan/ International	Private schools : Jordan and abroad
TactiX Strategic Consulting	Jordan	Consultancy Firm
United nations	US	Intergovernmental organization
UNWG	Vienna	United Nations Women's Guild
Vendors social capital	Jordan	Social relations
YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association)	Jordan/ Switzerland	Organization
ZainJo	Jordan	Telecommunication company
Volunteers	International	Independent individuals

APPENDIX M: NOUR AL-BARAKEH STALLS

All natural beauty products	Arts, crafts & books	Artisan foods				Companies	Local organic food	Pet food	Associations & institutions
Exotic soaps and SUDS	Ann O'Neill- Photography crafts	Creative Gift Basket	Barakah bites	Italian recipes- Italian foods	Bayoudha village for local produce	Juthour- Organic products	Yanboot Farms	Ithmor Organic Fresh	National Association for People with Special Needs
Dr. Hilo-natural products	Felt creations- Felt handmade toys	Bread and Paste- O	Maqrouta- homemade sweets	Zaid's kitchen- homemade goods	Jeddo Saif Natural Juice and fruit salad	Ithmar Supply Company	Jabbok Farms		Nashmiyyat Al-Shu'leh women co-operative- Homemade foods
SWOOSH- Homemade beauty and bath products	Gowarah - Cactus in Cute Pots	Maysa's Fresh Pasta & Ravioli – artisan pasta	Unoud Qtefan- Food Preserves	Moms kitchen- cakes and cookies	POP: healthy flavored pop corn	Morganite- packaged foods	Taybeh Farms		St. Vincent De Paul Society
Futna- Organic skin and body care products	Maktabet.com (Publishing and distributing)- Books	Peanut Better – all natural nut butters	Food cups- homemade foods	A real treat- sugar free sweets	Abeer cooking- Palestinian pastries	Eat Smart, (menu delivery service)	Mazraati Farms		Tell Rumman women's association
Aleppo Castile soap & perfumes	Hikayati by Rania El Turk-Books	Boutique Bakery – Austrian Bakery for artisan bread & European delicacies	Jiddo's dates	The Medshed- healthy treats	Mona's cookies	Simply Quiche	Odeh Farms		Royal Academy of Culinary Arts
	Raghad & Dania Accessories	Suzy's Corner	Hanan's Honey bee and jam	Nancy Isheqat- Homemade foods	Butter bros- Homemade butters	Al Nowah for trading and distribution	Green Apple		

All natural beauty products	Arts, crafts & books	Artisan foods	Companies	Local organic food	Pet food	Associations & institutions	All natural beauty products	Arts, crafts & books	Artisan foods
	Potolitos Potolitos- Recycled glass bottle items	Sana's Gourmet- Preserves and cookies	Kids booth- crepes	Lina Arafeh- Homemade foods	Hakoura- Fresh bake				
	Hijabi & Fabric Trims	Kip's Kale Chips	Cupcake fashion	Fat Smart- homemade foods	Joudy Kitchen- Homemade foods				
	GemLava- Handcrafted accessories	Excellence Dates – Jordanian Medjool and Barhi dates	Syrian Kitchen- Homemade foods	Sugar and Salt Maison- Homemade foods					
	Humam's accessories	Kamal Gardens- Homemade preserves	Inas Sourdough Makers- breads	Lukma- Homemade preserves					
	DIY It- accessories	Argentinian food	Zain's corner- pastries	Mayasem products- Natural food and honey					
	Ayman's art								
	Rozana Accessories								

APPENDIX N: NOUR AL-BARAKEH LETTERS TO THE GAM

Date: 19/10/12016

Gentlemen of the Greater Amman Municipality,

Greetings,

We thank the Greater Amman Municipality for its continuous support of Nour Al-Barakeh non-profit association and enabling it to achieve its aims towards integrating adults with special needs and the community in general.

We kindly request you to approve the activities and projects we aim at organizing which support the social integration of Adults with special needs. These activities would take place within the whole area of the garden. These activities include social , civil groups and small producers and specifically adults with special needs. Its worth noting that this group is considered the weakest in society and needs most for support. These activities and projects would also achieve the goals of the association and assure its sustainability.

As we abide by the law and as we are volunteering citizens towards the service of Jordan and service of this group that needs support. Furthermore, as we work hand in hand towards the well-being of our beloved homeland, we kindly request you to look into and quickly consider our request because of the importance of these activities to support the association and the groups taking part.

Many thanks and long live Jordan in prosperity.

President of Nour Al-Baraka Charitable Society

Mrs. x

Written by hand: urgent to Mr. x. Signed by Deputy director of the city, Engineer x 19/11/2016.

Written by hand: very urgent: to be shared with contract management. Signed by x, Director of Property Department 20/11/2016.



التاريخ : 2016/10/19

السادة / امانة عمان الكبرى المحترمين

تحية طيبة وبعد.....

نشكر القائمين في امانة عمان الكبرى على دعمهم المتواصل لجمعية نور البركة الخيرية الغير ربحية من أجل تحقيق أهدافها وهي نمج ودعم الشباب ذوي الإحتياجات الخاصة والمجتمع بعامه .

نرجو التكرم بالموافقة على إقامة نشاطات ومشاريع داعمة للمج الأعضاء من ذوي الإحتياجات الخاصة وذلك ضمن حدود الحقيقة كملنة . هذه النشاطات تضم فئات أهلية واجتماعية وصغار المنتجين وبالأخص من هم من ذوي الإحتياجات الخاصة وللظلم أن هذه الفئات تعتبر الأضعف في المجتمع والأجدر في المازرة وتحقيق أهداف الجمعية واستمراريتها .

وصلا بلحكاه القانون وعلمنا بأننا مواطنون متطوعون لخدمة الأردن وخدمة هذه الفئة المستحقة للدعم . وكوننا نعمل معكم بدا بيد لمصلحة الوطن الغالي نرجوا منكم التكرم بسرعة النظر في طلبنا هذا وذلك لإهمية هذه النشاطات في دعم الجمعية والفئات المشاركة .

وشكرا لكم ودام الأردن بخير .

رئيسة جمعية نور البركة الخيرية

السيدة

2016/8

Nour Al Barakah Society

نائب مدير المدينة

Nour Al Barakah Society, P.O.Box 940882 Amman 11194 Jordan Tel: +962.797313346

المهندس

إدارة أصول
لناتقاصلا صبا
مدير دائرة الأصول

21/11/2016 Gentlemen of the Greater Amman Municipality,

Greetings,

We at the administrative body at NAB work hand in hand with the GAM to develop our beloved homeland to support our people so that everyone could enjoy a decent life which is the embodiment of his Majesty King Abdullah II vision, may God protect him and safeguard him as a sponsor of the homeland and the citizen.

We have worked hard with sincerity to develop and activate Princess Iman garden with the support of the unified Jordanian people and the United Nations. The garden therefore was transformed from a space filled with acts of vandalism to a garden that is now guided by both local community and expats.

The activity taking place on Saturday does the following:

1. It activates and qualifies the garden and transforms it from a deactivated space to a space full of life that is used by families which benefit from effective mingling with all segments of the society.
2. It embodies the association's aim of socially integrating adults of special needs with the society.
3. It helps small producers and artisans to introduce and market their products.
4. Educate and encourage all members of the society towards environmentally responsible actions.
5. Reflect a positive image about Jordan as this project was established by Jordanian skills and this reflects exactly what foreign institutions and American funds aim at establishing with no reservation.
6. These types of markets are found around the globe and are popular initiatives to give small producers a chance and to support small scale projects.
7. Our association is run by sincere Jordanian volunteers and we are proud by this national achievement which does not aim at any financial gain but recycles all money into organizing free activities for adults with disabilities such as giving them music, art and sports classes that equip these adults with a sense of respect, engagement and to give them part of the rights that their counterparts enjoy.

8. Our association has established the principle of volunteerism within schools as it welcomes every cycle an organized group of school volunteers that volunteer weekly to work hand in hand with our disabled adults as well as educating them to be environmentally responsible.

All of the above is a reflection of dedicated citizens that are not only protective towards their homeland but towards all of their counterpart citizens. We kindly hope that you would support our work to ensure its continuity and we are at most ready to commit to any needed procedures or other duties.

We hope that you sustain your support for charity which is our aim and goal.

Administrative Board of Nour Al-Barakeh non-profit association.



٢٠١٦/١١/٢١

السادة أمانة عمان المحترمين
تحية طيبة و بعد

نود ان نؤكد نحن في الهيئة الادارية في جمعية نور البركة اننا نعمل مع امانة عمان يداً بيد للارتقاء ببلدنا الحبيب ولدعم ابناء و بنات شعبنا من اجل ان ينعم الجميع بالحياة الكريمة تجسيدا للدعوة الدائمة لصاحب الجلالة الملك عبد الله الثاني، حفظه الله و حماه راعياً و حامياً للوطن و المواطن.

لقد عملنا بجد و اخلاص من اجل تحسين و تفعيل حديقة الاميرة ايمان و بدعم من افراد الشعب الاردني الواحد و مؤسسة الامم المتحدة، حيث انتقلت الحديقة من بؤرة للعبث و التخريب الى حديقة يؤمها جميع افراد المجتمع المحلي كما افراد المقيمين الاجانب.

١. ان النشاط المقام يوم السبت يقوم بما يلي
١. يُفعل و يُهزل الحديقة و يبعثها من الخمول الى الحياة حيث يؤم الحديقة العائلات و ينعموا بالاستفادة من الاختلاط الفعال مع جميع فئات المجتمع.
٢. يجسد هدف الجمعية بدمج ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة بالمجتمع
٣. يساعد صغار المنتجين و الحرفيين بعرض منتجهم و تسويقه
٤. تثقيف افراد المجتمع و تشجيع التصرفات الرفيعة بالبيئة
٥. عكس الصورة الايجابية عن الاردن كون هذا المشروع بني بسواعد اردنية، و هو يعكس تماما ما تسعى لاجرازه المؤسسات الاجنبية و المنح الامريكية التي تحظى بدعم المؤسسات و التي لا تجد اي عقبات في تنفيذ هكذا مشاريع كما في سوق تكامل
٦. في كل ارجاء العالم نجد امثال هذه الاسواق و هي مبادرات شعبية لاعطاء الفرصة امام صغار المنتجين و دعم المشاريع الصغيرة
٧. ان جمعيتنا و التي تقوم بكافة على جهود افراد من متطوعين اردنيين مخلصين ، تفاخر هذا الانجاز الوطني و الذي لا يهدف الى اي ربح بل يعاد تدوير اي دخل الى اقامة نشاطات مجانية لذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة حيث تقوم الجمعية بتوفير حصص الرياضة و الموسيقى و الرسم للاعضاء من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة و ذلك من شأنه رفع احساسهم بالاحترام و المشاركة و إعطائهم بعضاً من الحقوق التي ينعم بها اقارنهم
٨. لقد ارسيت جمعيتنا مبنياً التطوع بين الشباب و الشابات من طلاب المدارس حيث نستقبل في كل دورة مجموعة منظمة من طلاب المدارس للعمل التطوعي اسبوعياً للعمل جنباً الى جنب مع الاعضاء من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة و التثقيف بالتصرفات الرفيعة بالبيئة

ان ما سبق هو منحصر للعمل المنشود من كل مواطن حريص و غيور على وطنه و مواطنيه بكافة. و نرجو منكم الدعم بأن تقوموا مشكورين بدعم استمرارية هذا العمل و نحن على اتم الاستعداد للقيام بكل ما يترتب على الجمعية من واجبات.

و دمت مؤازرين و داعمين لعمل الخير الذي هو هدفنا
الهيئة الادارية لجمعية نور البركة الخيرية
Nour Al Barakah Society الخيرية