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The Politics of Shaping Space

**A socio-political approach to the narrative of space production in
Slemani, Iraqi Kurdistan, between 2003 and 2013**

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Abstract

This PhD offers an insight into the powers that governed processes of space production in the city of Slemani, the Kurdistan region of Iraq. It concentrates on the decade proceeding the US-led war which consequently overthrew Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003. In addition to exploring the role of power, the thesis proposes an alternative strategy for political space making; a strategy which grew out of both the literature review and the subsequent analysis of the forces of productivity which exist in the city.

The research studies the built environment within the Kurdish context, choosing to take an atypical socio-political approach which is developed in relation to western literature. An original conceptual framework is largely constructed through the use of 'elite' theory as well as Henri Lefebvre's readings of space. Both of these scholarly concepts help to set the scene for an empirical investigation. The methodology is designed from a qualitative perspective, which in turn curates an approach centred on case studies. These studies highlight three spatial categories which differ in scale and feature the following: investment-driven projects, government-sponsored construction and privately-sponsored housing. The objective behind splitting the cases into three categories ranging from macro to micro scales was to reveal how social forces interact on different levels. These cases were chosen according to the power of their producers, as well as their physical properties (cost, location and scale). Data was collected through the methods of 'mapping controversies' and questionnaires. It was then analysed from a thematic lens with the support of three techniques: story configuration, mapping and descriptive analysis.

The thesis concludes that certain intellectual, business and political decision makers exerted significant influence over processes of shaping the built environment, leaving extremely narrow opportunity for the rest of the inhabitants of the city to involve. This mode of spatial production has prompted unprecedented urban segregation because it resulted in the creation of 'abstract spaces', which are detached from their social, natural and historical contexts. Interestingly, power relations among social groups changed according to the scale of space: the city inhabitants did not challenge the authority of decision makers who had repurposed and commodified urban lands.

However, important to note, is that these same inhabitants reacted and opposed decision makers when it came to the negotiation of their private spaces. This, generally speaking, indicates that the inhabitants paid more attention and were perhaps more invested in the nature of their private interests rather than public concerns.

The politics of shaping space in Slemani, and other Kurdish cities, has been heavily criticised by numerous voices including academics and some urban officials, who have appealed for comprehensive alternatives. Therefore, this PhD proposes two sets of reforms: one is tangible and targets formal and informal governing structures, and the second is intangible. The latter has an ideological nature and aims to improve social consciousness in regard to space making. Similarly, it also encourages the local community to question the multiplicity of power structures which are commonly taken for granted.

In a broad sense, the thesis contributes to theoretical, methodological and pragmatic arguments. Each of them is derived from one of the main components of this research. The theoretical contribution is related to the literature chapter and the pragmatic to the empirical study. Moreover, the methodological input is focused on creating a novel empirical approach based on the complex philosophical works of Lefebvre, who has been criticised by his scholars for not introducing a well-defined methodology. The thesis also customises the method of ‘mapping controversies’ in order to suit the scope of the research. The pragmatic contribution is divided into two levels: the actual and the alternate. The first is related to the role of identifying the underlying nature of the politics of spatial configuration in the context of Slemani, and the second is connected to the propositions that have been made as alternatives to the specific political approach found in the city or beyond it. In other words, Slemani is viewed here as a typical symbol of the urban transformations which have occurred in other cities within Iraqi Kurdistan, namely Erbil and Dohuk. Thus, the outcomes of this work can be mobilised elsewhere in the region, or even potentially outside this geographical territory.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgments.....	3
Table of Contents update	5
List of Figures	11
List of Tables.....	11
List of Acronyms	15
Key Terms.....	17
Chapter 1 : Introduction	21
1.1 Overview	21
1.2 Research Context	24
1.2.1 Socio-political environment of Iraqi Kurdistan.....	24
1.2.2 Literature review: Space as a product of political forces	25
1.2.3 Hypothesis	28
1.2.4 Questions and methodology	28
1.3 Importance of the research	30
1.4 Aims and objectives	31
1.5 Structure of the Thesis	31
Chapter 2 : Literature Review	35
2.1 Overview	35
2.2 The concept of power: its elements and forms.....	36
2.2.1 Forms of power	39
2.3 The forms of power and the concept of production: Marxist doctrine and Lefebvrian approach	45
2.3.1 Elite theory: ‘Power-over’ and mental and material productions	49
2.3.2 ‘Elites’ and ‘non-elites’ and production of architectural spaces	52

2.3.3 The three moments of production: The conceived (the mental production), the perceived (the physical production) and the lived (the social production)	53
2.3.4 ‘Elite’ groups and mental production: Representation of space and the concept of ‘abstract space’	57
2.3.5 ‘Non-elite’ groups and social production: Representational spaces.....	62
2.3.6 ‘Elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups and production of ‘absolute space’: The form of ‘power-with’ and the concept of ‘absolute space’	64
2.3.7 The approaches of empowerment and participation: The forms of ‘power- with’ and ‘power-within’ in the context of post-conflict zones.....	66
2.4 Concluding remarks	71
Chapter 3 : Introduction to the socio-political environment in Iraqi Kurdistan	78
3.1 Overview	78
3.2 Who are the Kurds?.....	78
3.3 Iraqi Kurdistan: the political background.....	79
3.3.1 Political ‘elites’	86
3.3.2 ‘Non-Elite’ groups: Groups outside power spheres	95
3.3.2.2 Female population: The status of women in a male-dominated society....	96
3.3.3 The city of Slemani: The context of urban planning and architecture	98
3.4 Concluding remarks	112
Chapter 4 : Methodology	115
4.1 Overview	115
4.2 Ontological and epistemological positions	117
4.2.1 Interpretive and critical paradigms	119
4.2.2 Using the two paradigms in the context of this research.....	120
4.3 Research design.....	123
4.3.1 Data collection.....	129
4.3.2 Data analysis.....	137

4.3.3 Research credibility	146
4.4 Pilot study in the city of Erbil	148
4.4.1 Methodological approach and the results of the study	151
4.4.2 Theoretical and methodological lessons learnt from the pilot study	157
4.5 Case studies	158
4.5.1 Decisions on the site of the case studies and research feasibility	159
4.5.2 Criteria of choosing case studies	159
4.5.3 The four case studies	160
4.5.4 How the case studies are analysed?	163
4.5.5 How the case studies contribute to answering the research questions.	168
Chapter 5 : Investment-Driven Projects—The Case of Grand Millennium	
Sulaimani Hotel	171
5.1 Overview	171
5.2 The demand for luxury and spectacular hotels	173
5.3 The mental production of GMSH: Conceiving the design scenario of GMSH .	177
5.4 The physical production of GMSH: Materialising the design of GMSH	181
5.5 The social production of GMSH: The project in everyday life	200
5.5.1 The Arguments of the ‘non-elites’	204
5.6 The shaping powers of GMSH: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project	219
5.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped GMSH	220
5.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity	223
Chapter 6 : Investment-Driven Projects—The Case of ‘Garden City’	226
6.1 Overview	226
6.2 The demand for expensive housing spaces	228
6.3 The mental production of GC: An insight into the design scenario of GC formed by the ‘elites’	231

6.4 The physical production of GC: Materialising the design	238
6.4.1 Acquiring the site of the project	238
6.4.2 Launching construction	240
6.5 The social production of GC: The project in everyday life.....	251
6.5.1 Concerns raised by the dwellers of ‘Garden City’: Prioritisation of profits over dwellers	253
6.5.2 Concerns raised by residents outside ‘Garden City’: Prioritising the wealthy class	257
6.6 The shaping powers of Garden City: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project	263
6.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped GC	264
6.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity	268
Chapter 7 : Government-Sponsored Constructions — Women’s Shelter and Development Centre	268
7.1 Overview	269
7.2 The demand for a protective and developing space for women.....	270
7.2.1 Gender-based violence	270
7.2.2 Inadequacy of existing shelters and development centres.....	274
7.2.3 Women in the workforce	276
7.3 The mental production of WSDC: conceiving the design of the project	278
7.4 The physical production of WSDC: changing the design of the project and the disintegration of the shared space	289
7.5 The social production of WSDC: The project in everyday life.....	294
7.6 The shaping powers of WSDC: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project	304
7.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped WSDC	304
7.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity	307

Chapter 8 : Private-Driven Constructions—The Case of Self-Supervised Houses (SSHs)	309
8.1 Overview	309
8.2 The demand for SSHs	311
8.3 The mental production of SSHs: an insight into the design scenarios formed by the owners of SSHs	317
8.3.1 Houses A, B, C & D	319
8.3.2 The design scenarios of the four SSHs	325
8.4 The physical production of SSHs: materialising the design scenarios of the four houses	336
8.5 The social production of SSHs: SSHs in everyday life	346
8.6 The shaping powers of SSHs: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project	353
8.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped SSHs	354
8.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity	356
Chapter 9 : Conclusion and Discussion.....	358
9.1 Overview: Summary of the thesis and this chapter.....	358
9.2 Discussion and findings	362
9.2.1 The concept of power: the capacity to act and relations between contradictions	362
9.2.2 Space as a product of socio-political forces: The impact of different forms of power on space production	364
9.2.3 The politics of space production in Slemani	365
9.2.4 Potential alternative for the local politics of space production	375
9.3 Contributions of the thesis	379
9.3.1 The theoretical contribution	379
9.3.2 The methodological contribution	381
9.3.3 The pragmatic contribution	382

9.4 Limitations of the research	383
9.5 Recommendations	385
9.5.1 Recommendations to improve policy procedures and practice guidelines.	385
9.5.2 Recommendations for future research	386
Bibliography.....	387
Appendices.....	409

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Figure 2-1: Steven Lukes's conceptual map of power and its cognates	41
Figure 2-2: Power components and forms	46
Figure 2-3: An illustration of the spatial triad of Henri Lefebvre.....	55
Figure 2-4: The three moments of space production	75
Figure 2-5: The relationship between forms of power and produced spaces.....	76

Chapter 3

Figure 3-1: Map of Great Kurdistan.....	80
Figure 3-2: Map of Iraqi Kurdish borders.....	82
Figure 3-3: The key authorities in Iraqi Kurdistan.....	83
Figure 3-4: The political map of Iraqi Kurdistan	87
Figure 3-5: The average earnings of the middle income public sector employees between 2003 and 2013.....	97
Figure 3-6: Map of Slemani	99
Figure 3-7: Ethnographic map of Iraq.....	101
Figure 3-8: The urban development of Slemani before 2003.	102
Figure 3-9: Urban growth of Slemani between 2003 and 2013.	103
Figure 3-10: The administrative structure of the Kurdish territories in 2013.....	105
Figure 3-11: A sample of construction standards which was originally cast by European planners and are imposed by Slemani Municipality.....	108
Figure 3-12: Two masterplans of Slemani in 2009 and in 1958.....	109
Figure 3-13: Built-up areas in Slemani between the 1990s and 2000s.....	110
Figure 3-14: Some versions of the masterplan created by IGCO	112

Chapter 4

Figure 4-1: The interactive model created by Joseph Maxwell	122
Figure 4-2: Explanation of the use of mapping technique.	140
Figure 4-3: Erbil citadel	148
Figure 4-4: The project of BZEC	150
Figure 4-5: The facade of one of the building within the BZEC	151
Figure 4-6: The conceptual framework which was used to analyse BZEC	154
Figure 4-7: The criteria of choosing the case studies.....	159

Chapter 5

Figure 5-1: The first proposal of GMHS.....	178
Figure 5-2: The second proposal of GMSH	180
Figure 5-3: The third proposal of GMSH.....	181
Figure 5-4: The location of the site of GMHS in Slemani.	183
Figure 5-5: Alternative path to GMSH	188
Figure 5-6: The distribution of the three plots which was carried out by the investor and the PUK party.	189
Figure 5-7: The terraces which were added (during the construction) based on the investor’s specification.....	191
Figure 5-8: The location of the internal bridge which was specified by MCH.....	193
Figure 5-9: Adding secondary entrances to facilitate the movement of the hotel guests who use the car parks on the lower level	195
Figure 5-10: Modifications ordered by MCH.	196
Figure 5-11: A proposal for covering the roundabout by a glazed dome..	197
Figure 5-12: GMHS dominating the urban scene	199
Figure 5-13: The locations of Group A and B	201
Figure 5-14: The responses of Group A.....	204
Figure 5-15: Visualisation of the responses of Group A.....	205
Figure 5-16: The spatial issues dominated the answers of Groups A	206
Figure 5-17: The location of the surrounding streets of GMHS	208
Figure 5-18: The project edges.....	209
Figure 5-19: Group B responses.....	211
Figure 5-20: Additional responses of Group B	213
Figure 5-21: Visualisation of the production of GMSH.	219

Chapter 6

Figure 6-1: The housing project Pak City	230
Figure 6-2: The first concept of GC.	233
Figure 6-3: The site plan of GC.	234
Figure 6-4: The change imposed by SM on the design of GC.....	235
Figure 6-5: The site of GC in Slemani.	239
Figure 6-6: The three phases of construction as planned by HGH leaders	240
Figure 6-7: The site plan of ‘Garden City’ after the changes.....	245
Figure 6-8: Satellite image showing some details of GC.....	248

Figure 6-9: Locations of Group A and Group B	250
Figure 6-10: Responses of Group A.....	252
Figure 6-11: Additional responses of Group A.....	253
Figure 6-12: The issue of the proximity of GC buildings.....	256
Figure 6-13: Responses of Group B.....	257
Figure 6-14: Responses of Group B.....	259
Figure 6-15: Visualisation of the processes of the creation of GC	264
Chapter 7	
Figure 7-1: Violence against women in Iraqi Kurdistan.....	271
Figure 7-2: Unemployed women in Iraqi Kurdistan.....	275
Figure 7-3: The procedure of the creation of the WSDC.....	277
Figure 7-4: The site of WSDC in the late 2000s.....	281
Figure 7-5: The concept of the shared space.....	283
Figure 7-6: The shelter and the development centre.....	284
Figure 7-7: The location of the dividing wall	286
Figure 7-8: Modifications ordered by the ED.....	288
Figure 7-9: Modifications ordered by the ED.....	290
Figure 7-10: A satellite image and panoramic view of WSDC	293
Figure 7-11: The concept of Participant 30 about WSDC	296
Figure 7-12: Visualisation of the processes of the creation of WSDC.....	304
Chapter 8	
Figure 8-1: The location of the district of Rapareen	310
Figure 8-2: The average earnings of public sector employees.....	312
Figure 8-3: The development of Rapareen in the space of 10 years.....	314
Figure 8-4: Typical arrangement of domestic spaces of SSHs in Rapareen	318
Figure 8-5: The procedure of obtaining construction permission before 2011.....	324
Figure 8-6: The spatial limitations imposed on SSHs by BRs.....	326
Figure 8-7: The approved plans of House A.....	328
Figure 8-8: The approved plans of House B.....	329
Figure 8-9: The approved plans of House C.....	331
Figure 8-10: The approved plans of House D.....	332
Figure 8-11: The plans of House A after the changes.....	333
Figure 8-12: The plans of House A after the addition changes.....	336
Figure 8-13: The plans of House B after the owner extended the balconies.....	338

Figure 8-14: The plans of House C after the changes.....	239
Figure 8-15: The ground floor plan of House C after the additional changes.	241
Figure 8-16: The changes occurred to House D.....	242
Figure 8-17: House D after the additional changes.....	243
Figure 8-18: A survey performed on 568 SSHs.....	245
Figure 8-19: The SSHs continued to change.....	247
Figure 8-20: Some facades of SSHs in Slemani	249
Figure 8-21: Visualisation of the production of the four SSHs.....	253

Chapter 9

Figure 9-1: Visualisation of the alternative politics of space production that I propose based on the theoretical and empirical studies of this PhD.....	376
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List of Tables

Chapter 4

Table 4-1: Relevant codes to power forms and components. Source: Drawn by the author based on the literature chapter.....	142
Table 4-2: Participants' codes and relationships to GMSH.....	162
Table 4-3: Participants' codes and relationships to GC.....	163
Table 4-4: Participants' codes and relationships to WSDC.....	164
Table 4-5: Participants' codes and relationships to SSHs.	165

Chapter 9

Table 9-1: The analysis of the case of GMSH. Source: The author.....	366
Table 9-2: The analysis of the case of GC. Source: The author.....	367
Table 9-3: The analysis of the case of WSDC. Source: The author.....	368
Table 9-4: The analysis of the case of SSHs. Source: The author	369

List of Acronyms

Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)	Directory of Audit of Slemani Province (DASP)
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)	Garden City (GC)
Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)	Engineer Adnan Saffarini (EAS)
Honour-based crime (HBC)	Halabja Group Holding (HGH)
Slemani Governorate Headquarter (SGH)	Women's Shelter and Development Centre (WSDC)
Development Board (DB)	Committee of Women (CW)
Doxiadis Associates (DA)	Law for Combating Domestic Violence (LCDV)
Buffer Zone of Erbil Citadel (BZEC)	Provincial Council of Slemani (PCS)
Erbil Citadel Revitalization (ECR)	The Engineering Department (ED)
List of World Heritage Sites (LWHS)	Directorate for Combating Violence against Women (DCVW)
High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization (HCECR)	Self-Supervised Houses (SSHs)
Buffer Zone of Erbil Citadel Revitalization (BZEC)	The Engineers' Union (EU)
Slemani Municipality (SM)	Building regulations (BR)
General Directorate of Agriculture (GDA)	Construction permission (CP)
'Grand Millennium Sulaimani Hotel' (GMSH)	
Millennium and Copthorne Hotels (MCH)	
Directorate of Investment Board of Slemani (DIBS)	
Faruq Group Holdings (FGH),	

Key Terms

For the purpose of this thesis, the main terms are conceptualised as follows:

Power

Power is understood here through four main elements: capacity, action, relations and the duality of object and subject. These four elements are organised around the concept of objects and subjects: (a) objects can be human or non-human. The human actors often have a relatively greater capacity to pursue mental or physical actions, which result in the controlling masses of humans. In this sense, objects are associated with the theory of 'elite', meaning a minority who rules the majority of people. Non-human actors can invisibly influence the behaviour of massive populations, as they are linked to social and cultural norms. (B) Subjects are those humans who are controlled by 'elites' or by common beliefs, and they have less capacity to perform actions similar to those of 'elites'.

Power is sometimes depicted in the literature as having four forms: power-over, power-to, power-with and power-within which are in turn contingent to three elements (capacities, actions and relations). For instance, within the first form, 'power-over', objects have more capacity to make decisions than subjects who have less, and the actions of objects are thus featured with control, domination, and discipline. Relations in 'power-over' are characterised by rejection and exclusion.

Elites

The term 'elite', as Alan Harding defines it, refers to 'the group(s) of individuals whose decisions play a crucial part in shaping the lives, choices and futures of the mass of people'¹. In architecture, the term indicates the groups which have the authority to shape architectural spaces. These groups could be architects, urban planners, politicians or businessmen.

1 Alan Harding, *Theories of Urban Politics*, ed. David Judge, Gerry Stoker, and Harold Wolman (SAGE Publications Limited, 1995).

Non-Elites

Non-Elites are the groups which have less capacity to access decision-making institutions. In the context of this research, these groups are those have everyday-life relationships with the spaces which are produced by the ‘elite’ groups. In this sense, ‘non-elite’ people can be the users or the inhabitants of the spaces, or those who are affected by the spaces, especially those who live in the neighbouring areas.

Production

Three types of production are discussed in this research: the physical, the mental and the social. In a broad sense, the term production refers to the ‘making or growing something’², and it is viewed here as physical or material production. In this research, this is linked to construction works. Mental production is related to the action of thinking and producing ideas.³ This is associated with the creation of design concepts or themes. The third type, social production, refers to productive activities which are carried out by ‘non-elites’ after they occupy space or develop an everyday life relationship with it, and these activities can be mental or physical.

Space

The common meanings of space denote time, place or emptiness.⁴ The term space was used by numerous philosophers in countless ways. In his study, *Space as a Key Word*, David Harvey suggests that the use of the word depends on the context in which it is used.⁵ Similarly, Michel Foucault suggests that contemporary space is no longer constrained by physical boundaries.⁶

2 Margaret Deuter, *Oxford Collocations Dictionary: For Students of English* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 6234.

3 See Christian Schmid, ‘Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a three-dimensional dialectic’, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, trans. Bandulasena Goonewardena (Routledge, 2008), p.40.

4 Deuter, pp. 7534–36.

5 David Harvey, *Space as a Keyword* (na, 2006).

6 Michel Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces,’ *Diacritics*, 1986, pp.22–27.

Space is sometimes used to refer to physical or non-physical aspects. In this research, space has been used in both senses depending on the context: space can refer to an architectural project, time or moment of production, or metaphorical place where ‘elite’ or ‘non-elite’ people operate, for instance, the space of ‘elites’. Two types of space are borrowed from French philosopher Henri Lefebvre’s book of ‘The Production of Space’: ‘abstract space’ and ‘absolute space’.⁷ In simple and architectural terms, ‘abstract space’ refers to a project which is produced by a group of ‘elites’ and in isolation from ‘non-elite’ population, and sometimes these projects are designed to serve the needs of the ‘elites’. ‘Abstract spaces’ are usually detached from natural, social, or historical contexts. On the other hand, ‘absolute spaces’ represent projects which are constructed based on the cooperation and collaboration between ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ people, and the produced spaces serve the interests of both groups. Thus, ‘absolute spaces’ are engaged with natural, historical and social contexts. In this case, everyday life knowledge and practices, which stem from the three contexts, are the basis for creating design themes (mental production), taking constructional actions (material production) and living in space (social production).

Production of Space

The phrase *The Production of Space* was coined by Lefebvre in his book, which consequently takes the same title. The philosopher theorises how social spaces, which can be physical and non-physical, are produced by human agency. One of the core concepts presented in the book is the spatial triad which contains three interrelated elements: the representation of space (conceived space), the representational space (the lived space) and the spatial practice (lived space). I have looked at the book and a number of his other texts from the lens of an architect, who also bears knowledge of urban design. Hence, the term is used here to refer to the sense of the production of physical (architectural) spaces on different scales whether micro or macro.

7 See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991).

Mapping Controversies

The methodological approach of ‘mapping controversies’ is a method for collecting and analysing data. This method was originally developed by the academic Albena Yaneva, who authored *Mapping Controversies in Architecture*.⁸ The method relies majorly on spoken and written sources, such as interviews, newspapers, articles and archival documents, and it helps to analyse data through using visual aids. Yaneva suggested three empirical guidelines: to follow, to document and to map. I slightly adjusted this approach in order to meet the context of this PhD which is about power, space and production. However, the guidelines have been used to map the production of the built environment in the following sense: the first to follow decision makers; the second to document processes of architectural production through gathering all relevant materials. The last to map the process of production, which is an analytical technique. Mapping here means, in general, to carry out a couple of steps: capturing the dynamic of production and visualising it, by relying on still-images.

⁸ Albena Yaneva, *Mapping Controversies in Architecture* (Routledge, 2016).

Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Overview

The semi-autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan witnessed dramatic changes in its political and economic environment after the US-led war in 2003. These changes impacted the built environment which promoted unprecedented urban sprawl in major Kurdish cities, including Slemani whose footprint almost doubled within a mere decade, from 2003 to 2013. The rapid expansion, which has been labelled ‘chaotic’ and ‘unplanned’ by dozens of critics⁹ including the head of the provincial council of Slemani, Participant 23¹⁰, caused numerous architectural, social and political issues. This phenomenon interested me as both an urban scholar and a professional architect and has thus become the core focus of my thesis. It attempts to understand the forces behind the development of urban spaces and aims to contribute to improving the strategy of that development. Further, the intention of this study was to gather accurate and objective information on the ground without unfairly criticising any individual stakeholder.

As a researcher who worked in the Kurdish academic environment for several years, I argue that architecture in Iraqi Kurdistan has rarely been investigated through the lens of power relations among social classes due to numerous social and academic factors. One prime reason is located in the fact that urban and architectural studies were initiated in the Kurdistan region only in the mid-1990s. The first architecture department was established in the capital city of Erbil and studies in this discipline were very limited at that time as well as in the preceding decade. Further, Iraqi Kurdistan encountered several socio-economic unrests due to armed conflicts and political crises which impacted the quality and orientation of academic investigations.

This thesis starts with an overarching question: what were the powers behind spatial production in Slemani between 2003 and 2013? This is followed by two groups of sub-questions which are related to the theoretical aspects of power and space, as well as the socio-political context of Slemani where processes of spatial formation occurred.

9 The critics were professional architects, urban scholars, and ordinary inhabitants of Slemani

10 This individual was one of the urban officials who were interviewed within the course of the empirical study

In order to answer these questions, two interrelated aspects are explored: the theoretical and the empirical. The theoretical section develops a unique conceptual framework based on theories of power and the production of space. It begins by shaping an explanation for the concept of power, in relation to its components and manifestations. From here, the relationship between power and space is explored, using two theoretical approaches: Henri Lefebvre's readings of space and understandings of 'elite' theory. The conceptual framework sets the stage for the empirical study which is qualitative in nature and uses a case-study approach. The case studies are located in the Kurdish city of Slemani, and they include three categories of space each with different scales, from smaller individual buildings to larger urban projects. Within this overarching spatial trichotomy there are different project types: investment-driven projects, government sponsored constructions and privately sponsored houses. The case studies were determined by two criteria: the anticipated power of decision makers who shaped each space and the properties of the spaces, such as the cost, scale and location within the city.

In the empirical investigation, situated research provided the data for analysis. Within this situated process, two methods were used to collect data. The first, influenced by the 'mapping controversies' project, largely depended on the collection and analysis of spoken and written sources, such as interviews, newspapers, articles and archival documents. I adjusted this approach in order to meet the context of this PhD: instead of focusing on controversies around space, I paid more attention to three elements which are power, space and production. The second method was the questionnaire, which was used to gather first-hand accounts from pre-identified (non-elite) populations. The questionnaire was structured around three sections: the first was concerned with the respondent's profile, the second asked structured questions that were attached to fixed answers, and the last allowed respondents to express their imagination and opinion about the case study. The data was then analysed through a thematic approach which relied on a matrix devised from the literature review on the forms and elements of power. The analysis is supported by three techniques: story configuration, mapping and descriptive statistics. In each case study chapter information is structured according to two elements: the conceptual framework and the technique relating to the story configuration.

Each case chapter concludes with an analytical section, which identifies the powers that governed the mode of producing the case study: on the one hand it clearly reveals the ‘elites’ in relation to their actions and relations, while on the other it highlights the non-human forces that invisibly contributed to shaping the case.

The PhD aims to contribute towards developing the politics of planning and architectural strategies in Iraqi Kurdistan. The long-term goal is to establish a culture of deconstructing and consequently reforming existing and often unquestioned power relations, which shape urban constructions within my country and beyond.

I encountered many difficulties during the course of this PhD. One of the challenges was the nature of the Kurdish socio-political context which was problematic. Firstly, Iraqi Kurdistan saw several armed conflicts that resulted in socio-economic unrest, and caused significant reduction in the technology of information distribution. Most government institutions had poor online-databases, which were neither digitalised nor archived in a systematic way. This caused considerable struggles to find even basic data that was needed for the case studies, such the year of construction and the completion date. In addition, much of the information about the spaces, especially the ones that I looked at on a large scale, were guarded due to their sensitive political nature. This means that the disclosure of such information would likely provoke a public outcry. On some occasions, I relied on personal connections to gain valuable data, without which this work would have been impossible. Secondly, witnessing private lives is an inevitable part of the majority of qualitative case-study methodologies; this was something that became a challenge during my research due to the political nature of its line of inquiry.

This research appreciated that some cases required a delicate approach as they involved powerful urban ‘elites’, including political individuals, within the city of Slemani. It was anticipated that the discussion of such cases could raise heated controversy or provoke public anger. These reasons prevented potential participants from taking part in this study because they believed that their involvement was a threat to their positions and jobs, as well as their political or social reputation. Therefore, the ethical guidance, provided by the School of Architecture at Sheffield University, was carefully followed and issues of confidentiality and anonymity have been discussed (whenever required).

1.2 Research Context

1.2.1 The Socio-political environment of Iraqi Kurdistan

Politics in Kurdistan is run by powerful parties ... parliament and governmental institutions have limited roles ... every party has its armed forces and its resources.¹¹

This statement by the prominent and long-serving politician Mahmood Othman, who has been in politics since the mid-1950s, elucidates how politics operates in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. Power, in a broad sense, is in the hands of well-defined ‘elites’ who belong to the two long-time ruling parties: the KDP and the PUK. These ‘elites’ have been controlling most aspects of economic and social life since 1991 when, with the aid of international forces, those parties removed Saddam Hussein’s authoritarian regime which governed the three Kurdish governorates, Slemani, Erbil and Dohuk. The two parties were able to dominate elections throughout the 1990s and the 2000s and therefore easily formed government cabinets.¹² Unlike political conventions in the UK or many states in the global north, where parties have no direct connection with military structures, both Kurdish factions have their own armed forces and financial resources which provide them with a high level of independence from the public sector.¹³

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- 11 Hakar Nihiely, ‘*Interview with the prominent politician Mahmood Sorani*’, *Romali Taybat* [Special News Coverage], TV program, NRT (news agency) Erbil - Iraqi Kurdistan, 12.10.2015 available at: www.nrt.com, [accessed 23 July 2016].
 - 12 Anonymous, ‘Fact Sheet: About the Kurdistan Regional Government’, *Kurdistan Regional Government*, government website, 2018 <<http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?l=12&p=180>> [accessed 27 February 2018].
 - 13 See Triska Hamid, ‘*Corruption and Cronyism Hinder Kurdistan*’, *Financial Times*, 5 September 2012 <<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/ea716668-f759-11e1-8c9d-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3DqfVKP1v>> [accessed 20 September 2014]; Adil Murad, *Corruption in Iraqi Kurdistan*, interviewed by Hevidar Ahmed, Rudaw (news agency), 01 April 2012, also available at: <<http://www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2012/4/state6050.htm>> [accessed 21 August 2013]; Hasan Baram, *Encyclopedia of Political Parties in Kurdistan and Iraq 1908 - 2005*, First (Slemani, 2012); Carl Dahlman, ‘The Political Geography of Kurdistan’, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 43.4 (2002), pp.271–99.

Some urban leaders, who are supported by the KDP and the PUK, allegedly had strong interventions in business and other disciplines. The leaders have been repeatedly blamed, by their opponents, for manipulating ownership rights of urban lands, the built environment and the construction industry. This widespread control left a narrow space for non-elites, especially non-members of both parties, to take part in decision-making processes. The most marginalised (or powerless) ‘non-elite’ groups are non-partisan female populations (who live in a male-dominated and party-controlled society).

In the context of Slemani, the authority of the PUK was institutionalised between 1991 and 2013. Members of the party held the majority of the top government positions in the city, and they allegedly managed to shape some social and economic conditions according to certain political and private goals.¹⁴ The power of the PUK ‘elites’ affected the built environment at both macro and micro scales. For example, this research found that one of the major reasons for prolonging the processes of creating a masterplan for the city in the mid-2000s, was due to the absence of a unanimous agreement among ruling elites who were accused by their opponents of prioritising their own agenda and subsequent benefits instead of the wider community.

1.2.2 Literature review: Space as a product of political forces

*Architecture at every stage of its existence—from design through construction to occupation—is buffeted by external forces. Other people, circumstances, and events intervene to upset the architect’s best-laid plans. These forces are, to a greater or lesser extent, beyond the direct control of the architect.*¹⁵

14 See Ranj Sangawi, TV program: ‘گرفته‌کانی نه‌خشه‌دانانی ناوهدانی له باشووری کوردستان’ [*Issues of Development Planning in Southern Kurdistan*], Rudaw (news agency), Iraqi Kurdistan: the office of Slemani, 2016, available at: <http://rudaw.net/sorani/onair/tv/episodes/episode/lagal_ranj_01092016> [accessed 8 September 2016].

15 Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (MIT press, 2009), lv, p. 1.

In line with postmodern philosophy, the academic and writer Jeremy Till shifts the focus from architects, the apparent shapers of space, to those invisible human and non-human forces which impact architectural production. This concept is also at the core of this PhD which sought to discover the key forces that produced macro and micro spaces in Slemani over a ten-year period, from 2003 to 2013.

Numerous writings investigate space from a political lens. One of the most prominent examples of such writings is the work of the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, who stated that ‘there is a politics of space because space is political’¹⁶. Lefebvre argues that architectural production is governed by instrumental relations among social groups and resultant spaces are products of those relations. This approach is linked to three interrelated elements, all of which contributed to the conceptual framework of my research: power, space, and production. The meanings and indications of these three elements or terms are very broad, and therefore I sought to explore their definitions in the literature before forming the conceptual framework of this research.

Firstly, **power** is seen here as having four interconnected elements: capacity, action, relation and the duality of objects and subjects. All of these elements operate in the following sense: (a) objects are human or non-human agencies which often have the capacity to make decisions or influence the actions of subjects. This represents those humans who have less power and are always controlled by human and non-human agencies; and (b) relations between the object and the subject depend on the actions and capacities of both sides. Human agencies are associated, in the context of this thesis, with ‘elite’ groups and subjects are aligned with ‘non-elite’ people. The term ‘elites’, in this context, denotes the groups who usually have the authority of making decision about social affairs, including the built environment. On the other hand, ‘non-elites’ are the populations who do not have such powers to make decisions or to shape architecture, and therefore they are always impacted by the decisions made by the ‘elites’.

Power can take four key forms: ‘power-over’, ‘power-to’, ‘power-with’ and ‘power-within’. In each form, the elements of power (capacities, actions and relations) change.

16 Henri Lefebvre, ‘*Comments on a New State Form*’, *Antipode* 33, no. 5 (2001): p.774.

For instance, in ‘power-over’ the ‘elite’ has full capacity to make decisions and control the actions of ‘non elites’. The relationship between the two groups is thus characterised by exclusion.

Secondly, **space** has various meanings and can be used to refer to physical or non-physical entities. In this research, space has been used in both senses and according to the context: the term is used to refer to architecture, time or a moment of production, or similarly a metaphorical place for ‘elites’ or ‘non-elites’. In addition, further understandings of space are used—most importantly the notion of ‘abstract’ and ‘absolute’ spaces, borrowed from Lefebvre, as they relate to power, architecture and production. In plain terms, ‘absolute space’ represents a mode of production where ‘elite’ and ‘non-elites’ operate together to shape architecture, whereas ‘abstract space’ is the inverse mode where only ‘elites’ function; controlling most production processes and imposing their strategies on ‘non elites’.

Thirdly, **production** also connotes multiple meanings. In Marxist thought it is divided into two types: mental production, which is often controlled by ‘elite’ thinkers, and material production, which is governed by a ruling class (‘elite’ capitalists or politicians). Material production, which is the main interest of Marx, has four interrelated moments: production, distribution, exchange and consumption.¹⁷ Henri Lefebvre further developed these concept and linked them to space, which he regarded as a social product. He argues that there are three moments of material production: the conceived (the mental), the perceived (the physical) and the lived (the social). These moments form the so called *Spatial Triad*. Here, the concepts of Lefebvre have been initially investigated, then adapted and reproduced by linking them to processes of shaping the built environment. This led to creating a conceptual framework comprising of three moments of production and each one of them is seen as representing one of the typical stages of architectural production: (a) the mental—in which architectural design processes take place; (b) the physical—when construction works begin; (c) the social— which represents the occupation phase after completion of building works, and whereby a project is experienced by ‘non-elites’.

17 Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Martin Nicolaus, New York: Vintage Books, 1973, pp. 25–41.

1.2.3 Hypothesis

As a native of the region and an architect and academic who has operated for many years within the Kurdish and Iraqi contexts, I was aware that urban lands and the production of the built environment were under the control of a few dominant urban leaders. It seemed that these leaders had the capacity to mobilise public resources and legislative support, and that large-scale projects would not have been built without the support of those leaders. At the same time, it also seemed to be widely acknowledged that those who were not within the same sphere of power, occupied by these decision makers, had no real influence on the formation of space. To a large extent, the hypothesis above, along with my background, shaped the course of this PhD in terms of its theoretical and methodological positions. In particular, the use of Elite Theory and the selection of case studies were chosen to test the hypothesis.

1.2.4 Questions and methodology

The methodology designed for this PhD is directed towards answering the overarching question: **what were the powers behind spatial production in Slemani between 2003 and 2013?** The question set the stage for two groups of sub-questions which narrowed down the focus of the investigation to the theoretical principles of power and production, while also aligning with the socio-political context of Slemani.

The first group of sub-questions are related to the theoretical level: (a) what is the concept of power?; (b) what is the relationship between power and space?; (c) how does this relationship influence processes of space production?; and (d) how do different power structures produce divergent spaces?

The second group of sub-questions are related to the empirical section of the thesis, and they encompass four sub-questions: (a) what were the reasons or motivations behind the rapid architectural development between 2003 and 2013?; (b) who exerted power over architecture and urban spaces in the city?; (c) which mechanisms shaped the built environment?; (d) what invisible or non-human forces were involved in processes of production?; and (e) what are the possibilities for shaping an alternative (s) to the politics of space production in Slemani?

The first group of sub-questions were addressed in the literature chapter. The concept of power was analysed and interpreted as having four interconnected elements: capacity, actions, relations and the duality of objects and subjects. In addition, four forms of power were identified and linked to theories of space which were, predominantly, drawn from the writings of Lefebvre. These materials helped to create a conceptual framework in order to guide the empirical endeavour, which was designed to answer the second group of the sub-questions.

The methodology was influenced by the notion of ‘relative ontology’, whereas the epistemological perspective borrows elements from two prominent qualitative paradigms: the interpretive and the critical. The approach of the case studies were chosen and determined on the basis of two key criteria: (a) the anticipated power of the decision makers who produced the case; and (b) the architectural, economic and social features of the case. Three categories of architectural spaces have been considered as case studies in the empirical work: investment-driven projects, government-sponsored constructions and privately-financed houses. There are four case studies within this research: two developments with different uses and conceived by business ‘elites’, a project built by the local government, and small-scale houses constructed by middle income or ‘non-elite’ people. However, at the same time, each space was seen as a product of the political interaction between the ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups and a reflection of the power relations between them. Although case study investigations have their limitations¹⁸, some measures can be taken to address these issues, and thus this research adopts a triad of inquiry, elements developed by Michael Patton, the author of *Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis*.¹⁹

In terms of methods, ‘mapping controversies’ and questionnaires have been used separately to obtain data from various sources, and then this data was subjected to a thematic analysis. The themes were extracted using a matrix which was created out of the literature chapter, and includes various power elements and forms.

18 Phil Hodkinson and Heather Hodkinson, ‘The Strengths and Limitations of Case Study Research’, in *Learning and Skills Development Agency Conference at Cambridge*, 2001, i, pp. 5–7.

19 Michael Q. Patton, ‘Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis.’, *Health Services Research*, 34.5 Pt 2 (1999), p. 1189.

This was supported by the techniques of story configuration, mapping and descriptive analysis. The research design was developed after conducting a pilot study in Erbil, the capital city of Iraqi Kurdistan, which further affected the decision of choosing the sites of the final cases. Prior to the study, I had two sites of consideration: the two major Kurdish cities of Erbil and Slemani. However, this was reduced to one (Slemani) as a result of the pilot study and other theoretical and methodological factors.

1.3 Importance of the research

The importance of this PhD lies in its theoretical, methodological and pragmatic contributions.

Firstly, originality stems from the way in which this research adapts complex western philosophical writings on power into a conceptual structure that can be applied within the urban context of the Middle East. The second contribution, from a methodological perspective, is connected to the development of an empirical model that is based on Lefebvre's writings on space. The creation of this model has not been an easy task, as the philosopher did not develop any form of a sophisticated methodological framework.²⁰ Finally, the pragmatic input is related to the local politics of space production in Iraqi Kurdistan.

This PhD has identified the core issue which are embedded in the nature of power relations between those who have the capacity of making decisions to shape the built environment, and those who lack such capacity. Further, the embeddedness is located within those invisible non-human powers which are taken for granted and govern architectural production. In this research, I propose two strategies to develop urban policies and architectural practices.

20 According to Christian Schmid, one of prominent Lefebvrian scholars, Lefebvre himself did not present a well-defined methodology, and thus his scholars devised various methodological frameworks based on the existing methods. See *Urban Revolution Now: Henri Lefebvre in Social Research and Architecture*, ed. by Dr Ákos Moravánszky and Lukasz Stanek (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), pp. 27–33 (pp. 34–35).

The first targets the existing institutional and informal governing structures, and the second strategy has an ideological nature and aims to improve social consciousness through media and educational organisations. These strategies would assist in achieving the ideal (or absolute) mode of production which can be only materialised by involving ‘non-elite’ populations in processes of space production; and considering future spaces in relation to their natural, social and historical contexts.

1.4 Aims and objectives

The overarching aim is to understand the politics of space in Iraqi Kurdistan, through studying one of its major cities, Slemani, in an attempt to contribute towards the development of its politics. This is in response to calls from urban officials, academics, and numerous local agents, for enhanced planning and architectural practices in the region. This demand gave rise to the following objectives: (a) assessing the literature in order to initially define the highly contested concept of power, which would then help to establish the relationship between power and architecture. This process allowed for the creation of a theoretical structure which could investigate existing issues found within the Kurdish context of spatial politics; (b) designing a relatively valid methodological framework for the above purpose; (c) studying how human and non-human forces interact when it comes to shaping the built environment; and (d) proposing alternative strategies of space production. The long-term goal of my work, but one that remains on the outside of my remit for this PhD, is to establish an alternative politics of space, which similarly promotes a culture of disturbing unquestioned power structures which have been governing architecture in my country.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured into nine chapters. It begins with a review of the literature relating to power and architecture and then introduces the socio-political background of Iraqi Kurdistan and Slemani. This is followed by a discussion of methodology and an exploration of the case studies. Each chapter ends with an individual conclusion drawn from the section of writing.

Chapter 2 discusses the literature on power and production, with a focus on Elite Theory and Lefebvre's writings on 'the production of space'. The chapter ends by creating a conceptual framework that is based on the two theoretical grounds. In order to contextualise this research, **Chapter 3** is a historical review of the formation of urban and political 'elites', as well as those who are outside such power spheres. In the context of this thesis they are defined as the 'non-elites'. **Chapter 4** explains the methodology, which largely comprises the following elements: the ontological and epistemological position; the design of the inquiry which is created based on a case-study approach; and the process of data collection which uses the techniques of 'mapping controversies' and questionnaires. **Chapter 5** discusses an investment project constructed in the core of Slemani, known as the Grand Millennium Sulaimani Hotel (GMSH) or, locally, as Shary Jwan (The Beautiful City). This massive construction dominates the architectural landscape of the city, and it was created by the most powerful urban 'elites'. The production of this type of construction has been a common phenomenon in the city in the late 2000s, and has sparked various debates on the power of business and political leaders and the ways in which they deal and develop urban spaces. **Chapter 6** is about a housing project bearing the English name of 'Garden City'. This case shares similar properties with GMSH because it is an investment project and was similarly created by business 'elites'. However, the debate here focuses on the phenomenon of the 'gated community' due to the fact that this urban space has been dedicated to high-income dwellers. **Chapter 7** documents a government-sponsored project which has two parts: the first is called the Women's Shelter, which was built to protect women who have escaped domestic violence or experienced extreme social oppression, and the second, named Women's Development Centre, was dedicated to developing the skills of female employees who reside in the Women's Centre as well as female government employees. A different type of 'elite' produced this case and it is represented here by 'cultivated elites' or 'intellectual elites'. As the architect who designed the project, I was one of the 'elites' who strongly influenced the architectural form of this project. This project caused tensions between the residents of the shelter and the inhabitants in the neighbouring areas, and the chapter aims to explore this alongside the powers which shaped this space.

Chapter 8 focuses on small-scale houses, constructed by the city's inhabitants, which I call 'Self-Supervised Houses (SSH). The majority of SSH were produced by people with limited incomes and whom this PhD considers 'non-elite' people. SSH are small-scale constructions that are usually located in relatively low priced sites. There are conflicting views on the building regulations which limit many aspects of the houses. 'Cultivated elites' aimed to toughen building regulations, which resulted in SSH owners viewing the changes as unduly constraining their freedom to shape their own spaces. Finally, **Chapter 9** is the concluding chapter and it begins with an overview of the research. It explains how the conceptual framework was used to study the four cases in this PhD. This is followed by a discussion of the theoretical and methodological contributions. Finally, the limitations of the thesis and future research directions are outlined.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review

2.1 Overview

This chapter attempts to explain the relationship between two interconnected subjects: power and space. The main argument here is that the formation of the built environment is heavily impacted by power relations among social classes, and architectural features of space are contingent on the nature of these relations. Two major categories of space, based on the writings of Henri Lefebvre, are presented: 'abstract space' and 'absolute space'. While the first is linked to a mode of production in which 'elite' groups dominate architectural production, the second is connected to a mode of production collectively governed by 'elites' and 'non-elites'.

Two key theoretical perspectives are used: 'elite' theory, which theorises power relations between social groups, and Henri Lefebvre's work of 'the production of space', which links power to architecture. Further, other concepts were used to support these two main theories. In this chapter, a discussion of elite theory is preceded by an explanation of the concept of power and its forms: 'power-over', 'power-to', 'power-with' and 'power-within'. Two of these forms, 'power-over' and 'power-with', are then discussed in relation to architectural production.

The phenomenon of production is seen from a Marxist lens, and thus the work of the Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre, in particular his writings on the production of space, is the viewpoint of this lens. The chapter ends with concluding remarks and the articulation of a theoretical framework, which is created based on Lefebvre's readings on 'the production of space'. His work is largely about power and space and how those forces unite to create urban and architectural spaces. Lefebvre's account cannot be understood without reference to Marx's work on power and production. Connections between literature on Marx and Lefebvre's theory are made throughout discussions on power and production. The reason for focusing on these two theorists in relation to my subject was due to their ability to take a materialistic approach to power and production. This chapter begins with an explanation of the concept of power which is then proceeded by sections which highlight the relationship between power and architectural production.

2.2 The concept of power: its elements and forms

This section defines the term power and identifies its elements and forms. The concept of power is quite broad and has been contested and defined in various ways. Power is described by the political scholar, James Murphy, as ‘a dispositional concept’²¹ because for him, it ‘is in principle unobservable and can be studied only indirectly’²². However, in the literature, four interrelated principles are often associated with power: capacity, action, relation and the duality of object and subject.

In terms of the first element, sociologists Raymond Aron and Erik Wright, highlight two common definitions of power specifically ‘the capacity to do, make or destroy’²³, or the capacity to ‘produce effects’²⁴. This suggests that capacity and the second principle (actions) are correlated because the possession of a capacity leads to the production of action..²⁵ Michel Foucault stresses the significance of actions and believes that power ‘exists only when it is put into action’²⁶, meaning that capacities can only be visible through actions. The third component, relation, occurs between subjects and objects in different ways. In his book *Power*, the political theorist Steven Lukes, identifies a range of relations between subjects and objects.

*All talk of power is the notion that A in some way affects B. But, in applying that primitive (causal) notion to the analysis of social life ... we all affect each other in countless ways all the time: the concept of power, and the related concepts of coercion, influence, authority, etc. pick out ranges of such affecting as being in significant ways.*²⁷

21 James Bernard Murphy, ‘*Perspectives on Power*’, *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 1 (2011): p.94.

22 Ibid

23 R. Aron, *Peace and War*, Transaction Publishers, 2003, p. 47,

24 Erik Olin Wright, ‘*Transforming Capitalism through Real Utopias*’, *American Sociological Review*, 26 December 2012, 0003122412468882, doi:10.1177/0003122412468882.

25 Adam D. Galinsky, Deborah H. Gruenfeld, and Joe C. Magee, ‘From Power to Action.’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85, no. 3 (2003): 453.

26 Michel Foucault, ‘*The Subject and Power*’, *Critical Inquiry*, 1982, p.788.

27 S. Lukes, *Power*, Second Edition: A Radical View (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.30.

Lukes refers to the common talk of power which is embedded in a primitive relationship between A (object) who has the capacity to influence B (subject), and this relationship takes various forms in social life; forms that will be elaborated in the next section. Objects can be human or non-human; the concept of the power of non-human actors has been discussed in various ways in classic and modern philosophies. For instance, it appeared in the work of Karl Marx, and later it was broadened by other philosophers such as Michel Foucault and Bruno Latour. In Marx's philosophy, non-human actors influence the understanding of social life because whatever exists depends on matter.²⁸

In general, one key Marxian concept can be demonstrated here in regard to the power of non-living things—the concept of productive forces and ruling ideas. In terms of productive forces, Marx refers to the power of non-living objects in enabling production and he assumes that the objects, along with human power, constitute what he calls the productive forces. He names these as labour power (human) and means of production (non-human objects) such as tools and raw materials.²⁹ In the same vein, Henri Lefebvre argues that Marx refers to the 'instruments of labour'³⁰ as being forces of production, and these instruments can be either technology or knowledge. In regard to the power of ruling ideas, they refer to the ideologies which govern production processes, and this is related to the phenomenon of elitism, which is elaborated on in section 2.3.1.

Turning to Foucault's account, power is sometimes linked to non-materialistic forces; Foucault believes that certain social, economic, or scientific norms have the capacity to turn masses of population into subjects³¹. Foucault defines this as 'cultural mechanisms that ensure the control of people'³².

28 Tom Bottomore, ed., *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, Basil Blackwell, 1983, p.225.

29 *Ibid.*, p.178.

30 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991), p.69.

31 Foucault, '*The Subject and Power*'.

32 Michel Foucault, '*The Meshes of Power*', in *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, ed. Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden, trans. Moore Gerald (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007), p.153.

Further, these norms have the capacity to influence human behaviour and thoughts.³³ Moreover, Foucault uses the terms ‘technology of power’³⁴ and ‘devices of power’³⁵, which indicate the planning of strategies, scientific rules and political agendas. These elements represent power and consequently they discipline or regulate actions of people.³⁶ Similarly, Bruno Latour uses the concept of ‘non-human actor’ to suggest that social actions are not only caused by human power, but also ‘other types of forces’³⁷. These forces, alongside human power, are ‘woven together’³⁸. To explain this, the term ‘actor’ should be defined first. An actor, in Latour’s words, refers to ‘anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference’³⁹. The actor is not an alien object making change in isolation from other actors, rather actors are meshed in a network and each of them has its role and has the ability to affect each other. Latour refers to this as an ‘Actor Network’.⁴⁰

To sum up, power is seen here as having four interconnected elements: capacity, action, relation and the duality of objects and subjects. All of these elements operate in the following sense: (a) objects refer to human or non-human agencies which often have the capacity to make decisions or influence the actions of subjects. Subjects represent those humans who have less power than objects and are always controlled by these agencies; and (b) relations between the object and the subject depend on actions and capacities of both sides. Objects are associated with ‘elite’ groups and subjects with ‘non-elite’ people.

33 Foucault, ‘*The Meshes of Power*’.

34 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (Allen Lane, 1979), p.108.

35 Ibid. p.86.

36 Foucault, ‘*The Meshes of Power*’, 161; Arthur L. Wilson, ‘Creating Identities of Dependency: Adult Education as a Knowledge-Power Regime’, *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 18, no. 2 (1999): pp.85–93.

37 Bruno Latour, ‘*Reassembling the Social-an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*’, *Reassembling the Social-An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, by Bruno Latour, Pp. 316. Foreword by Bruno Latour. Oxford University Press, Sep 2005. ISBN-10: 0199256047. ISBN-13: 9780199256044 1 (2005): p.70.

38 Ibid., p.75.

39 Ibid., p.71.

40 Bruno Latour, ‘*On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications*’, *Soziale Welt*, 1996, pp.369–81.

The next section explains how the four elements—capacity, actions, relations and the duality of object and subject—change when they exist in different forms of power.

2.2.1 Forms of power

Across multiple interpretations of power found within the literature, four major forms can be highlighted: ‘power-over’, ‘power-to’, ‘power-with’, and ‘power-within’.⁴¹ Sometimes these terms are linked to visible and non-visible power⁴², or expressions of power, which are explained below.⁴³ The focus here is on objects, which often hold power, and subjects, who are usually influenced by objects. The first form, ‘power-over’, denotes the action of control, domination, and discipline, and it is exercised by an object which possesses a certain capacity over another which has less capacity. Relations in ‘power-over’, according to Michel Foucault, are coloured with ‘rejection, exclusion, refusal, blockage, concealment, or mask’⁴⁴. Robert Dahl, a leading theorist of power, explains the concept of ‘power-over’ as ‘A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do’⁴⁵. This form of power, according to the philosopher Bertrand Russell, has overt and covert aspects. The first denotes power exercised on human bodies and behaviours in an obvious way and in the sense that a person, or a group of people who exert power can be identified easily. The second refers to power which cannot be clearly attributed to a person or a group, for instance the power which is exerted on financial interests, or ideologies of people.⁴⁶

41 See Maro Pantazidou, ‘*What Next for Power Analysis?*’, 2012.

42 John Gaventa, ‘Finding the Spaces for Change: *A Power Analysis*’, IDS Bulletin 37, no. 6 (2006): 23; Lisa Veneklasen and Valerie Miller, ‘*Power and Empowerment*’, PLA Notes 43 (2002): pp.39–41; John Gaventa and Andrea Cornwall, ‘Challenging the Boundaries of the Possible: Participation, Knowledge and Power’, IDS Bulletin 37, no. 6 (2006): pp.122–28.

43 See Pantazidou, ‘*What Next for Power Analysis?*’

44 Michel Foucault, ‘The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume I’, *Trans. Robert Hurley*. New York: Vintage, 1990, p. 83.

45 Robert A. Dahl, ‘*The Concept of Power*’, Behavioral Science 2, no. 3 (1957): p.203.

46 Bertrand Russell, ‘*The Forms of Power*’, in Power, ed. Steven Lukes, Readings in Social and Political Theory (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p.283.

Steven Lukes studied the visible and invisible types of ‘power-over’ and the concept of three-dimensional power.⁴⁷ In his account, power is practised over four major aspects: physical bodies, behaviours, agendas, and views (or consciousness). Lukes highlighted three parameters for testing his theory: behaviours, policies and beliefs. As shown in Figure 2-1, the writer concludes that relations between objects and subjects shift from coercion (first dimension) to manipulation (second dimension), and finally to influence (third dimension). In addition, the nature of power changes gradually from overt to covert and this is accompanied by a gradual disappearance of conflicts and physical actions. This means that when power becomes invisible, conflicts vanish. To explain this further, objects operate on three levels or dimensions: in the first, they control the behaviour of subjects (the most obvious dimension); in the second, they dominate governmental agendas; and in the third, they shape the views and beliefs of subjects. In other words, objects operate on three levels or dimensions: in the first, they control the behaviour of subjects (the most obvious dimension); in the second, they dominate governmental agendas; and in the third, they shape views and beliefs of subjects. The last dimension is the most influential in the sense that when beliefs and values have been shaped by objects, the behaviour and policies of subjects will be strongly impacted. Lukes writes:

Is it not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping perceptions, cognitions, and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial. ⁴⁸

The gist of the above statement refers to the moment when a belief system of people has been shaped by a force in a certain way. In this case, the people will be controlled or mobilised for action without visible tensions or conflicts because they simply do not see an alternative to what they are doing.

47 Lukes, *Power*, Second Edition: A Radical View, pp.108–52.

48 Ibid, p.28.

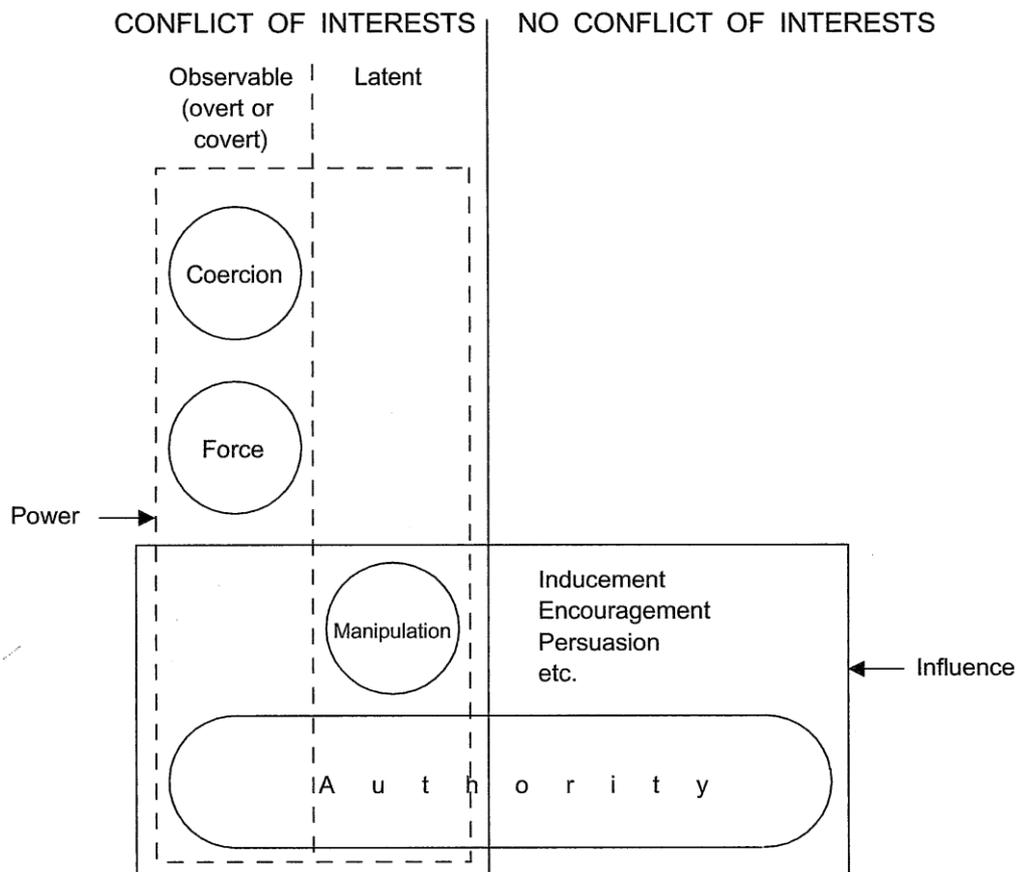


Figure 2-1: The writer suggests that power has two forms, visible and invisible, and when it becomes observable, in the case of coercion or force, it highly likely causes conflict of interests between objects and subjects. Source: Lukes (2005), p.36.

‘Power-to’ is the second form of power and tends to be similar to the first form. ‘Power-to’ occurs when certain powerful groups (objects) lack the full capacity to act independently, and thus the group depends on another group with a similar capacity.

For instance, political theorist Clarence Stone says that cooperation between powerful businessmen and politicians exemplifies the form of ‘power-to’. The authors of *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics*, Lisa VeneKlasen et al., show that this form of power features ‘mutual support’⁴⁹ in the sense that powerful groups always demonstrate ‘joint actions’⁵⁰. Stone proposes that the objective here is to gain ‘a shared set of purposes’.⁵¹ This scholar highlights the similarity between this form of power and the previous form, by stating that ‘Although power-over and power-to are conceptually distinct, in political reality they are intertwined’⁵². This is because the power remains in the hands of a minority of people (objects), who control masses (subjects).

‘Power-with’ is in contrast to ‘power-over’ and ‘power-to’, as it is about shared power and objectives between objects and subjects.⁵³ John Gaventa, a political sociologist, suggests that ‘power-with’ ‘refers to the synergy which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others’⁵⁴. The use of the two words, collaboration and partnership, refer to actions which are taken by both objects and subjects to gain shared interests. Bruce K. Berger, in his study *Power Over, Power With, and Power to Relations*, compares ‘power-over’ and ‘power-with’ in a unique way by connecting them to relations and actions.

49 Lisa VeneKlasen et al., *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation* (Practical Action Pub., 2007), 45; John Holloway, ‘Twelve Theses on Changing the World without Taking Power’, *The Commoner* 4 (2002): p.3.

50 Lisa VeneKlasen et al., *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation* (Practical Action Pub., 2007), 45; John Holloway, ‘Twelve Theses on Changing the World without Taking Power’, *The Commoner* 4 (2002): p. 3.

51 Clarence N Stone, ‘*Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach*’, *Journal of Urban Affairs* 15, no. 1 (1993): p.8.

52 Ibid.

53 See Meredith Minkler, Nina Wallerstein, and Nance Wilson, ‘IMPROVING HEALTH THROUGH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY BUILDING’, *HEALTH BEHAVIOR*, 2005, pp.292–93.

54 Gaventa, ‘*Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis*’, p. 24.

The author argues that while ‘power-over’ is about control and domination (of groups of people over the masses of people), ‘power-with’ is about ‘dialogue, inclusion, negotiation, and shared power’⁵⁵.

Likewise, Amy Allen, the writer of *Rethinking Power*, distinguishes between ‘power-to’ and ‘power-with’. She theorises that while the former focuses on joint actions of powerful groups towards their interests, the latter is about collective actions of these groups and the wider population (subjects) to achieve common goals.⁵⁶ Collective actions feature ‘power-with’, and the political theorist Hannah Arendt argues that co-operators act in concert.⁵⁷ Jeanne Neath and Kay Shrinier state that actions and capacities are in harmony through the sense that their major aim ‘to act together as equal partners’⁵⁸. Objects, according to the political scholar, Marry Follett,⁵⁹ have to involve subjects in the process of decision-making, and objects take responsibility for clarifying why and how the decision should be made.⁶⁰ ‘Power-with’ has been strongly associated with the concept of community empowerment.⁶¹ The concept of empowerment has also been linked to ‘power-within’, which is a challenge to ‘power over’ and ‘power-to’, as power here shifts from the possession of a minority to a majority of people. This form of power concentrates on the concept of empowering each individual in a given society.⁶²

55 Bruce K. Berger, ‘Power Over, Power With, and Power to Relations: Critical Reflections on Public Relations, the Dominant Coalition, and Activism’, *Journal of Public Relations Research* 17, no. 1 (2005): p.6.

56 Amy Allen, ‘*Rethinking Power*’, *Hypatia* 13, no. 1 (1998): pp. 21–40.

57 Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1970), p.44.

58 Jeanne Neath and Kay Schrinier, ‘Power to People with Disabilities: Empowerment Issues in Employment Programming’, *Disability & Society* 13, no. 2 (1998): p.218.

59 One the prominent writers in this form of power.

60 Mary Parker Follett, *Creative Experience*, vol. 3 (Рипол Классик, 1924).

61 Minkler, Wallerstein, and Wilson, ‘IMPROVING HEALTH THROUGH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY BUILDING’; Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris, ‘Empowerment through Photo Novella: Portraits of Participation’, *Health Education & Behaviour* 21, no. 2 (1994): 171–86; Rosalind Eyben, ‘2. Linking Power and Poverty Reduction’, *Power, Rights, and Poverty: Concepts and Connections*, 2004, p.15.

62 Lisa Veneklasen and Valerie Miller, ‘Power and Empowerment ‘’, *PLA Notes* 43 (2002): p. 39.

This enables the individual to challenge imposed social norms or structures which constrain participation in decision-making processes.⁶³ The action of challenge, John Gaventa states, comes from supporting three elements of ‘power-within’: ‘self-identity, confidence and awareness’⁶⁴. Empowerment is a shared concept between ‘power-within’ and ‘power-with’. However, empowerment in these forms differ when it comes to interests.

Empowerment in ‘power-within’ targets certain social classes which are considered to be vulnerable, and it aims to include a wider population within ‘power-with’.⁶⁵ In the same vein, ‘power-within’ has been frequently associated with those social classes which are perceived in some societies as powerless, such as women.⁶⁶ In this respect, Marion Khamis et al., the authors of *Women’s Rights in Climate Change*, write:

*A sense of 'power within' is essential for women to realise their rights - since this is the dimension of power that gives them a sense of their own potential to change their lives and destinies, and enables them to have the confidence to analyse the problems they are facing.*⁶⁷

This statement focuses on the three elements of ‘power-within’: awareness, confidence and self-identity. These elements, according to Khamis, enable women to advocate for their rights.

63 Jethro Pettit, ‘*Empowerment and Participation: Bridging the Gap between Understanding and Practice*’, United Nations Headquarters, 2012, pp.3–5.

64 Gaventa, ‘*Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis*’, p. 24.

65 Robert Chambers, ‘*Transforming Power*’, IDS Bulletin 37, no. 6 (2006): pp.99–110.

66 Hedayat Allah Nikkhah, Marof Redzuan, and Asnarulkhadi Abu-Samah, ‘*Development of Power Within among the Women: A Road to Empowerment*’, Asian Social Science 8, no. 1 (2011): p.39; Charlene Spretnak, *The Politics of Women’s Spirituality: Essays on the Rise of Spiritual Power within the Feminist Movement* (Anchor, 1982); Laurie E. Hicks, ‘*A Feminist Analysis of Empowerment and Community in Art Education*’, Studies in Art Education, 1990, 36–46; Marion Khamis, Tamara Plush, and Carmen Sepúlveda Zelaya, ‘*Women’s Rights in Climate Change*’, Gender & Development 17, no. 1 (2009): pp.125–35.

67 Khamis, Plush, and Zelaya, ‘*Women’s Rights in Climate Change*’, p.130.

Similarly, the women's rights activist, Marilee Karl, addresses in her book *Women and Empowerment*, the issue of women's struggle to gain access to institutions of decision-making in different regions of the world.⁶⁸ Further, she believes that power structures in many countries are male-dominated to the extent that these structures have been taken for granted and challenging these structures should be done by women themselves. The four forms and elements of power are shown in Figure 2-2. It shows that objects gradually lose power when objects fall under the form of 'power-within'. Conversely, the subject starts to gain power when it is within the same category. Actions and relations vary according to the degree of capacity that the object and subject have.

2.3 The forms of power and the concept of production: Marxist doctrine and Lefebvrian approach

The theoretical trajectory of this research is based on the writings of Karl Marx and Henri Lefebvre's repertoire on power and production. This, as mentioned previously, is due to their ability to take a materialistic approach to both subjects, which is appropriate for the context of this PhD. The reasons for this approach are detailed below.

Firstly, the notion of dialectical materialism helps to provide a distinct explanation for power. Contrary to Hegelian idealism⁶⁹, Marx believed that the power of human agency is a social construction.⁷⁰ In this regard, Lefebvre elaborates on Marxist dialectics by saying that 'humans as social beings are said to produce their own life, their own consciousness, their world'⁷¹. One of the key concepts of Marx, according to Lefebvre, lies in the discussion of the relationship between contradictions such as super-structures and base-structures, as well as ruling 'elites' and the working class.⁷²

68 Marilee Karl, *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision Making* (Taylor & Francis, 1995), x.

69 See Karl Ameriks, 'Hegel and Idealism', *The Monist*, 74.3 (1991), 386–402.

70 Henri Lefebvre, *The Sociology of Marx* (Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 8–9.

71 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.68.

72 Lefebvre, *The Sociology of Marx*, pp. 7–13.

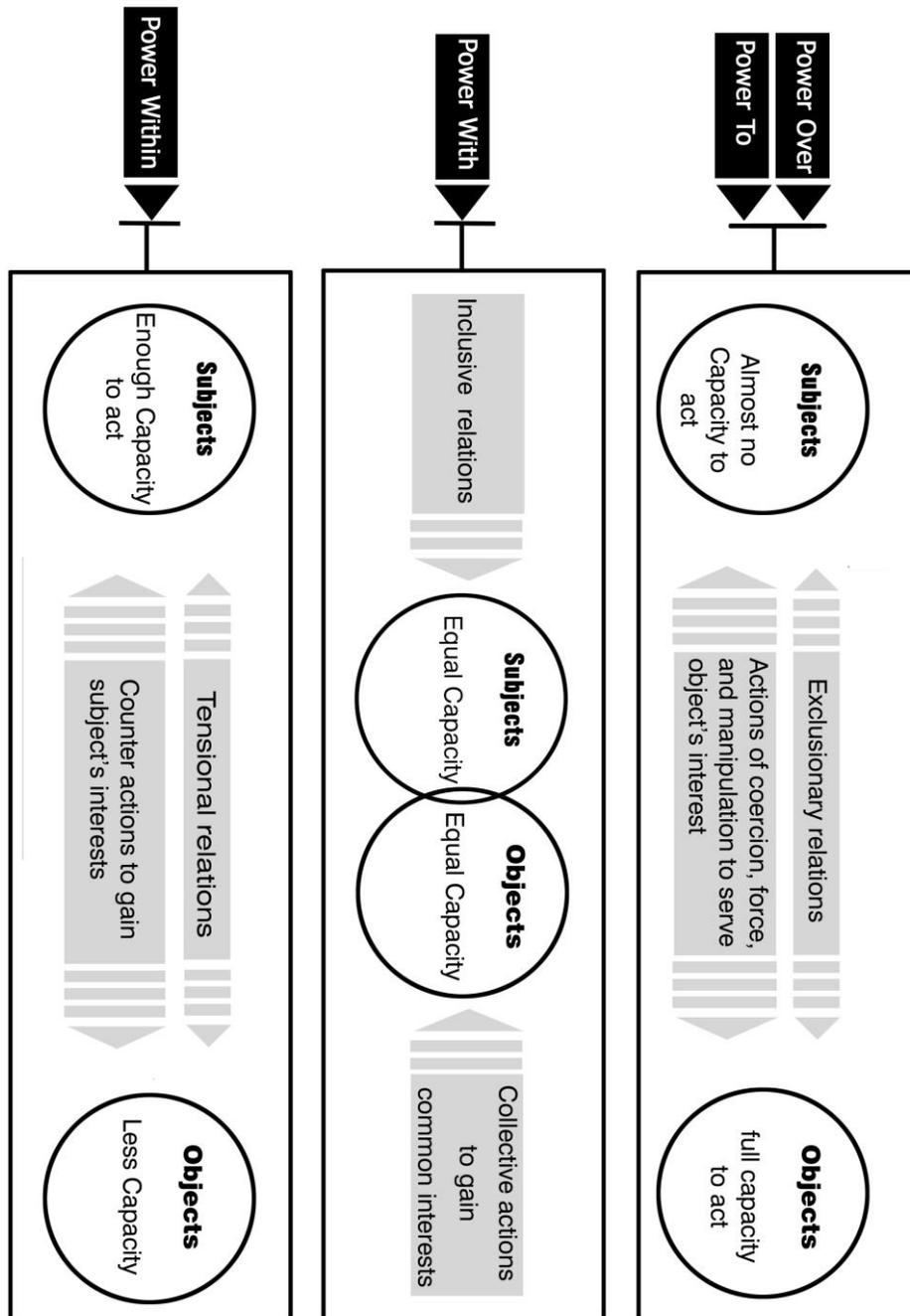


Figure 2-2: Power components and forms. Source: Drawn by the author.

Moreover, Marx identifies two categories of power construction: large-scale structures, which comprise the ruling class and ruling ideas, and small scale structures which are constituted by subject class but ruled by large-scale structures.⁷³ The ruling class refers to a minority who have the capacity to govern masses of populations, a class that is also able to mobilise their political actions to advance private goals. Tension characterises relations between the ruling class and ruled populations, the latter of whom are in a continuous struggle to regain their rights.

In terms of ruling ideas, Marx and his co-author Friedrich Engels write:

*The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas; hence of the relations which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think.*⁷⁴

The writers see that ‘material relations’ are the source of knowledge, which is the ‘ideal expression’ of these relations. In Marxist thought, material relations are an instrument for the ruling class to maintain dominance. The ruling ideas are related to a broader notion called mental production which is outlined below and is further elucidated in the following sections. In regard to the materialistic perspective of production, it is classified into two types: the mental, which is often controlled by thinkers, and the material, which is governed by the ruling class. Material production, which is the main interest of Marx, has four interrelated moments: production, distribution, exchange and consumption.⁷⁵ Henri Lefebvre further developed this concept and linked it to space, which he regards as a social product. He argues that there are three moments of material production: the conceived, the perceived and the lived.⁷⁶

73 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas*, 1845; Douglas J. Goodman and George Ritzer, *Sociological Theory* (JSTOR, 2003), p. 45.

74 Marx and Engels, *Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas*.

75 Karl Marx, *Grundrisse, 1973* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1857), pp.25–41.

76 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991), p. 33.

Lefebvre's discussion of the three moments of production has been expanded in this research and linked with power and architecture. This led to the formation of my conceptual framework, which consists of three moments of production: (a) the mental in which architectural design processes take place; (b) the physical when construction works begin; (c) the social, as the moment of production which starts after completion of building works and when a project is experienced by 'non-elite' people.

Secondly, Marx's thought has been used widely across the globe to understand power relations and production. I found that many of his writings, especially the concept of the ruling class, are appropriate to analyse in the context of force relations which governed the built environment in Iraqi Kurdistan (the site of the empirical study), further, that the context has been shaped by the phenomenon of elitism.

My hypothesis, which was supported by the outcome of a pilot study that was conducted within this research, was that elitism featured within the political system and the power relations which governed the mode of architectural production in Iraqi Kurdistan between 2003 and 2013. I saw that Lefebvre, who theorises how different elite groups manipulate the formation processes of the built environment, was relevant to the environment of Iraqi Kurdistan, especially the city of Slemani where I lived and operated as an academic and professional architect.

The approach that was chosen for this thesis contributed towards achieving two major tasks taken on by this research: (a) understanding the mode of architectural production in Iraqi Kurdistan; and (b) developing an alternative mode of production. This is because once the dynamics of shaping spaces were identified, the possibility of forming alternatives would emerge. For instance, if this research finds that certain populations or forces exert greater power over the built environment than the rest of the populations do, then the focus will turn to those 'weaker' forces (or human agencies) and their potential in influencing the production of architecture and space.

The following sections relate the concept of power and its forms to commonly-used theories of power and production.

2.3.1 Elite theory: ‘Power-over’ and mental and material productions

The term ‘elite’, as the elite scholar Alan Harding defines it, refers to ‘the group(s) of individuals whose decisions play a crucial part in shaping the lives, choices and futures of the mass of people’⁷⁷. In simple terms, elite theory focuses on the power of the group(s) over masses of people. According to Abdul Gaffar Karim, the writer of *The Pesantren-Based Ruling Elite in Sumenep in the post-New Order Indonesia*, the theory ‘sees society as divided into two groups, i.e. the ruling minority (‘elite’) and the majority who are ruled by the minority’⁷⁸. Power here is unevenly distributed between those who rule and those who are ruled, which is due to the concentration of power in the hands of a ruling minority.

2.3.1.1 Who are the ‘elites’? Who controls what?

Identification of ‘elite’ groups is approached differently in classic and modern philosophies. While some theorists believe that ‘elites’ are those who control economic aspects of life, or material production in Marxist terms, others argue that ‘elite’ groups are those who dominate cultural aspects, such as ideologies and discourses. Below, both approaches are discussed. In Marxist literature, the ruling class are those who have the power to mobilise capital and influence economic life. Understanding this argument requires some explanation of the following terms: ‘base-structure’ and ‘super-structure’, ruling ideas, and material and mental production. In brief, the concept of ‘super-structure’ refers to all social relations and forms which exist outside the realms of economic and material production.⁷⁹ These realms are called the ‘base-structure’, and according to Marx and Engels, the base determines all elements of the ‘super-structure’.⁸⁰

77 Alan Harding, *Theories of Urban Politics*, ed. David Judge, Gerry Stoker, and Harold Wolman (SAGE Publications Limited, 1995).

78 Abdul Gaffar Karim, ‘*THE PESANTREN-BASED RULING ELITE IN SUMENEP IN THE POST-NEW ORDER INDONESIA*’, *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 3, no. 1 (2009): p. 99.

79 Rebecca A. Martusewicz and William M. Reynolds, *Inside/Out: Contemporary Critical Perspectives in Education* (Routledge, 2012), p.66.

80 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas*, p.1845.

From this perspective, individuals who control the economy (material production) are able to influence cultural aspects (mental production) such as knowledge and religion.⁸¹ Material production is simply related to economy and capital, whereas mental production is connected to ruling ideas, which refers to dominant discourses in the society and these discourses depend on the nature of governing systems.⁸² For instance, whereas discourses of honour emerge under the reign of aristocracies, arguments of equality appear in societies in which bourgeoisies are the most powerful 'elite'.⁸³ According to Marx and Engels, ruling ideas are produced by 'the thinkers of the (ruling) class'⁸⁴, and these thinkers aim to justify the activities of the class. For the two writers, the ruling class exert power not only on the economy but also onto other types of 'elites', such as scientific or intellectual 'elites'.⁸⁵

On the other hand, for Gaetano Mosca, one of the most influential writers in the field of elite theory, the ruling class are not confined to the economy. Mosca argues that this class are those who possess 'certain material, intellectual or even moral superiority'⁸⁶, and the class usually control resources which help them to maintain power; resources which can be economic, military, religious, or knowledge (material or mental production).⁸⁷ For Mosca, Priests exemplify the 'elites' who control mental production in the sense that they controlled access to scientific knowledge and hampered 'the dissemination of the methods and procedures that make the acquisition of knowledge possible and easy'⁸⁸.

In Mosca's account, there are many types of 'elites'. It is undeniable that the control of material production is essential for the ruling 'elite', but in some cases monopolising mental production can be even more influential. For instance, ruling 'elites' in religious societies exercise power over economic and social realms.

81 Ibid.

82 William H. Shaw, *Marx's Theory of History*, Stanford University Press, 1978, p.33.

83 Marx and Engels, *Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas*.

84 Ibid., p. 10.

85 Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, p.54.

86 Gaetano Mosca, Arthur Livingston, and Hannah D Kahn, *The Ruling class*: (McGraw-Hill book Company, Incorporated, 1939), p.53.

87 Ibid, p.68.

88 Ibid. p. 59.

2.3.1.2 Regime theory: Cooperation of urban ‘elites’ and their control over material and mental productions

Regime analysis studies the cooperation between business and political ‘elites’ and their power over public affairs. This analysis is concerned with the condition of fragmented powers, or when power becomes dispersed between two ‘elite’ groups, and neither of them has enough capacity to act without the support of the other.⁸⁹ In addition, the theory highlights ‘power-to’ relations, specifically the actions of elite’s in gaining a shared purpose.⁹⁰ In the same vein, the regime theorist, Clarence Stone, says that ‘regime’ creators maintain joint actions by bringing together ‘appropriate resources, which are nongovernmental as well as governmental’⁹¹. Stone suggests that these ‘elites’ create a legitimate form of power due to their capacity, which ‘can span a number of administrations’⁹².

For Karen Mossberger and Gerry Stoker, two distinguished regime theorists, power components (objects, subjects, actions, relations) in the case of urban regimes are set as follows: (a) ‘elites’, who form a regime, are governmental and non-governmental leaders, and the latter are often businessmen.⁹³ This is related to the form of ‘power-over’ because the regime members are leaders and they still make top-down decisions. In the meantime, the leaders create the form of ‘power-to’ when they support each other to accomplish their tasks; (b) the actions and agendas of the ‘elites’ majorly serve the interests of the ‘elites’ as opposed to the masses of people; (d) the relations between the ‘elites’ and people who are affected by their decisions are zero-sum, but the relations between the ‘elites’ are almost symmetrical, meaning that their influence or power tends to be equal, and remain stable in the long term.

89 Karen Mossberger, ‘Urban Regime Analysis’, in *Theories of Urban Politics*, ed. by Jonathan S. Davies and David L. Imbroscio (SAGE, 2008), p. 48.

90 Stone, ‘Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach’, p. 8.

91 Ibid, p. 1.

92 Karen Mossberger and Gerry Stoker, ‘The Evolution of Urban Regime Theory the Challenge of Conceptualization’, *Urban Affairs Review* 36, no. 6 (2001): p. 813.

93 Stone, Karen Mossberger and Gerry Stoker, ‘The Evolution of Urban Regime Theory the Challenge of Conceptualization’, *Urban Affairs Review*, 36.6 (2001), 810–35. ‘Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach’.

This is because stability maintains the capacity of producing governing decisions; otherwise the regime fails.⁹⁴ In regard to architectural aspects and urban development, the best examples of regimes would be the cooperation between investors and local politicians to produce urban projects.⁹⁵ These projects, both housing and commercial, are used to serve the interests of the ‘elites’ (businessmen and political leaders).⁹⁶ According to Stone, urban regimes have a number of distinctive features: (a) the main objective of urban ‘elites’ is to increase financial outcomes (material production); (b) the ‘elites’ promote discourses of linking private investment to public sectors (influencing mental production); (c) once the linking is done, the ‘elites’ legitimise their power, meaning that they will be able to control means of production (urban lands). For instance, the ‘elites’ will be able to obtain urban lands, clear them, or produce new urban spaces.⁹⁷ ‘Elite’ and regime theories help to understand the relationship between power and production. The following sections will cement this relationship and link it to architectural knowledge and practice. This will be done through using the argument of ‘the production of space’ which was devised by the late French philosopher Henri Lefebvre.

2.3.2 ‘Elites’ and ‘non-elites’ and production of architectural spaces

This section studies the work of the Marxist philosopher, Henri Lefebvre, titled *The Production of Space*. Its analysis helps to examine the influence of ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ on the creation of architectural spaces. Lefebvre was the first to present the term ‘production of space’ and used the word space in various ways. He associates space with a social product, which is produced by different groups and through moments of production which will be explained in the following sections. Below, two main elements which relate to production and power are elaborated on: productive forces and moments of production.

94 Mossberger and Stoker, ‘The Evolution of Urban Regime Theory the Challenge of Conceptualization’, p. 829.

95 Stone, ‘Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach’.

96 See David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

97 Stone, ‘Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach’, p.18.

2.3.2.1 Productive forces: Human and non-human powers

Productive forces can be generated from material and non-material sources. For Marx and Engels the forces are generated by raw material (nature), human actions and production instruments (the last two are part of labour). For Hegel, production is activated by absolute ideas which creates nature and this produces humans. In this regard, Lefebvre writes:

In Hegelians, production has a cardinal role: first, the (absolute) idea produces the world; next, nature produces the human being; and the human being ... produces at once history, knowledge and self-consciousness ... For Marx and Engels, the concept of production never emerges from the ambiguity ... humans as social beings are said to produce their own life, their own consciousness, their world.⁹⁸

According to this statement, the interpretations of productive forces relate these forces to two sources: absolute ideas (non-material) and humans (material). The first is about faith or belief systems⁹⁹, and the second includes human labour, means of production, everyday-life practices and knowledge.¹⁰⁰ The two major sources of productive forces, material and non-material, are considered in this research and these forces will be linked to the production of architectural spaces in the following sections.

2.3.3 The three moments of production: The conceived (the mental production), the perceived (the physical production) and the lived (the social production)

Similar to what is suggested by Marx (see section 2.3.1), Lefebvre views production as having two types: mental and material. However, he argues that the two types of production are not sharply separated.¹⁰¹

98 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.68.

99 Singer, Hegel, Oxford University Press, 1983, p.80.

100 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.70.

101 Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*, p.44.

For Lefebvre, ‘social space and space itself escape the base-structure-super-structure model’¹⁰², as the author of the book *Understanding Henri Lefebvre* Stuart Elden puts it. Space, in Lefebvre’s understanding, is produced through three moments: the conceived, the perceived, and the lived. The first moment occurs when a space is mentally produced, the second when a space is physically created, and the third is a combination of mental and physical moments. These moments, which are illustrated in Figure 2-3, are elaborated on below.

The conceived moment takes place when a space is produced mentally by using logical or scientific thinking. This action is described by Christian Schmid, as ‘an act of thought that is linked to the production of knowledge’¹⁰³. The aim in this moment is often about arranging a space or setting it in a certain order.¹⁰⁴

In terms of the perceived moment, a space here is produced physically through human senses and actions. In other words, humans interact with the material aspect of a space by using their senses and body, and this means that physical perception and practices occur in this moment.¹⁰⁵ Lefebvre describes this moment as embracing activities of production and reproduction¹⁰⁶, which denotes ‘the material dimension of social activity and interaction’¹⁰⁷, as Schmid states.

The conceived moment takes place when a space is produced mentally by using logical or scientific thinking. This action is described by the Lefebvrian scholar Christian Schmid as ‘an act of thought that is linked to the production of knowledge’¹⁰⁸.

102 Ibid., p.184.

103 Christian Schmid, ‘HENRI LEFEBVRE’S THEORY OF THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic’, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, trans. Bandulasena Goonewardena (Routledge, 2008), p.40.

104 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.33.

105 Schmid, ‘HENRI LEFEBVRE’S THEORY OF THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic’, p.38.

106 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.33.

107 Schmid, ‘HENRI LEFEBVRE’S THEORY OF THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic’.

108 Christian Schmid, Richard Milgrom, and Christian Schmid, ‘Henri Lefebvre’s Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic’, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, trans. by Bandulasena Goonewardena (Routledge, 2008), p. 40.

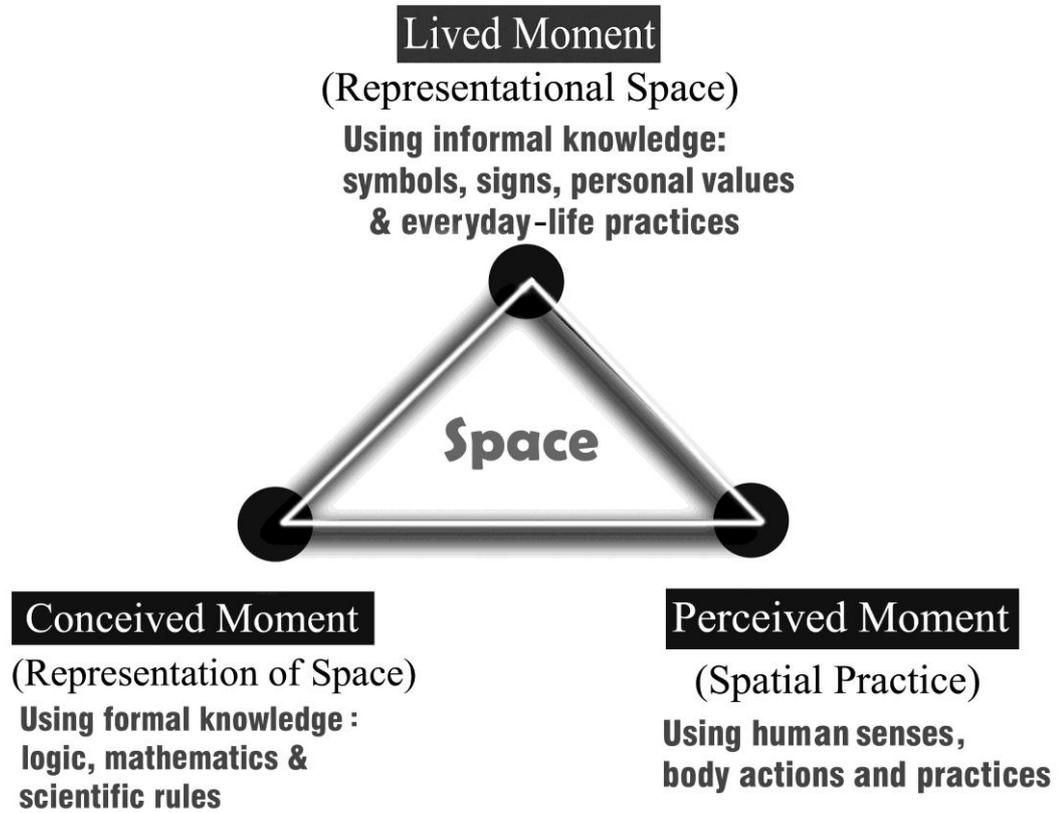


Figure 2-3: An illustration of the spatial triad of Henri Lefebvre. Source: Drawn by the author and based on Lefebvre's spatial triad.

The aim in this moment is often about arranging a space or setting it in a certain order. In terms of the perceived moment, a space here is produced physically through human senses and actions. In other words, humans interact with the material aspect of a space by using their senses and body, and this means that physical perception and practices occur in this moment.¹⁰⁹ Lefebvre describes this moment as embracing activities of production and reproduction, which denotes ‘the material dimension of social activity and interaction’¹¹⁰, as Schmid states. The third moment (the lived) occurs when the users of a space carry out mental and material productions based on their everyday experiences. The nature of a conceived moment here is different from that of the ‘elites’. ‘Non-elites’ use personal experiences, emotions and imaginations for conceiving the space that they live in or use.

The nature of the knowledge that the ‘elite’ has is described by Elden as being ‘less formal or more local forms of knowledge’¹¹¹. Also, the perceived moment is different because perception and practices correspond to the everyday-life knowledge. For instance, the perception of a space, which is seen for the first time, tends to be completely different from the perception of the same space after living in it. Hence, the three moments of production can be associated to three categories of production: mental production (conceived moment), physical production (perceived moment) and social production (lived moment). These three types of production are strongly linked to power relations between ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups. Lefebvre suggests that the ideal process of production takes place when the three moments, or types of production, become interrelated in a coherent sense:

*The lived, conceived and perceived realms should be interconnected, so that the 'subject', the individual member of a social group, may move from one to another without confusion.*¹¹²

109 Schmid, ‘Henri Lefebvre’s Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic’, p.38.

110 Ibid.

111 Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*, p.190.

112 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.40.

This statement refers to ‘power-with’ through the way in which ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups cooperatively produce urban or architectural spaces, thus allowing individuals, from either of the two groups, to ‘move from one to another’ moment without encountering power tensions. This concept can be made clearer when the notions of ‘abstract space’ and ‘absolute space’ are explained in the next sections.

2.3.4 ‘Elite’ groups and mental production: Representation of space and the concept of ‘abstract space’

For Lefebvre, mental production is carried out by a group of people who are ‘scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers’¹¹³. These decision-makers have the power to ‘identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived’¹¹⁴. Within this perspective, Lefebvre calls these noted groups ‘the cultivated elites’, who are in fact intellectual ‘elites’ whose decisions affect ‘non-elite’ people.¹¹⁵ ‘Cultivated elites’ are different from the ruling ‘elite’ who are discussed in section 2.3.1. Whereas the ruling ‘elite’ exercise power over economic and political realms, cultivated ‘elites’ practise power only on the architectural spaces which they produce by using their scientific knowledge.

Moreover, following Marx’s ruling, ‘elites’ can control less powerful ‘elites’, and one such way would be to use the cultivated ‘elites’ as instruments for their interests..¹¹⁶ In this sense, mental production is influenced by different ‘elites’. Lefebvre believes that the conceived moment (of production) tends to be more influential because it shapes the other two moments (the perceived and the lived).¹¹⁷ For instance, decisions to create urban spaces are often in the hands of politicians, urbanists or planners, and these decisions impact constructional processes as well as the social life of the masses (city inhabitants).

113 Ibid., p.38.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., p.416.

116 Marx and Engels, Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas.

117 Lefebvre, The Production of Space, pp.229–40.

In order to gain interest, the political, business and cultivated ‘elites’ impose specific images or representations on a space, and they make efforts to cause these representations to prevail. The urban scholar, Mark Jayne, who is the author of *Cities and Consumption*, writes:

*Representation of space ... This space is made up of signs, codifications and objectified representations, and Lefebvre suggests that it is a space conceived through ideologies, power and knowledge ... power is embedded in this representation of space in order to impose signs, codes and order.*¹¹⁸

The statement above highlights the elements of ideologies, power and knowledge, which are used by ‘elites’ to ‘impose’ themes on spaces. This is what Lefebvre calls ‘the truth of space’¹¹⁹ which is presented by ‘elites’; this representation does not necessarily reflect ‘true space’¹²⁰, which is formed by lived experience or local knowledge.¹²¹ This leads to the concept of ‘abstract space’, which represents two main aspects in Lefebvrian thought. Firstly, it is a mode of production in which power shifts towards ‘elites’ and turns into domination (‘power-over’, see section 2.2.1). Secondly, it is architectural space(s), which are separated from social and historical contexts and are created to serve the interests of ‘elites’.

Eugene J. McCann, writer of *Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the US City*, explains this by saying:

*‘Abstract space’—space represented by ‘elite’ social groups as homogeneous, instrumental, and ahistorical in order to facilitate the exercise of state power and the free flow of capital.*¹²²

118 Mark Jayne, *Cities and Consumption* (Psychology Press, 2006), p.156.

119 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.300.

120 Ibid.

121 Andrzej J. L. Zieleniec, *Space and Social Theory* (SAGE, 2007), p.95.

122 Eugene J. McCann, ‘Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the US City’, *Antipode* 31, no. 2 (1999): p.164.

McCann refers to three traits of urban spaces under this mode of production: 'homogeneous', 'ahistorical' (through the ability to speed up mass production) and 'instrumental' because the objectives of the political and business 'elites' are served¹²³. This leads to the argument that each category of 'elite' produce spaces based on their knowledge and objectives.

The sociologist Harvey Molotch, the author of *The Space of Lefebvre*, demonstrates some ways of producing urban spaces for an 'abstract purpose'¹²⁴ for political or business 'elites'. Molotch gives two examples for the production of 'abstract space': powerful government officials who tend to produce spaces 'to facilitate state power'¹²⁵, and business 'elites' who transform spaces into commodities to increase capital accumulation.

To explain further, political 'elites' shape urban spaces through the way that the spaces serve abstract purposes. Lefebvre says:

*Space has become for the state a political instrument of primary importance. The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places, its strict hierarchy, the homogeneity of the whole, and the segregation of the parts. It is thus an administratively controlled and even a policed space. The hierarchy of spaces corresponds to that of social classes, and if there exist ghettos for all classes, those of the working class are merely more isolated than those of the others.*¹²⁶

The objective of the political 'elites' here is to control urban spaces and thus the representation of space becomes about organising these spaces around hierarchal order. Molotch elaborated on this concept of Lefebvre by discussing how urban spaces can be used as political instruments.

123 This is related to the concept of commodity and its use-value and exchange value.

124 Harvey Molotch, 'The Space of Lefebvre', *Theory and Society* 22, no. 6 (1993): p.889.

125 Ibid.

126 Henri Lefebvre, 'Space: Social Product and Use Value', in *State, Space, World: Selected Essays* (U of Minnesota Press, 2009), p.188.

Molotch states that the ‘Napoleonic version of Paris’¹²⁷ represents the domination of political leaders over processes of space production.

Stuart Elden further elaborates on the urban development of Paris under the administration of Napoleon III. This head of the state commissioned the architect, Georges-Eugene Haussmann (a member of cultivated elite), to produce an alternative representation for the city of Paris, under the theme of renovation, around the mid-1800s. Urban spaces, as Elden explains, were reshaped for three major political purposes: to facilitate ‘movement of troops and artillery’¹²⁸, to replace habitats of the working population with ‘bourgeois ones’¹²⁹, and to accommodate ‘barracks in strategic places to control the working classes’¹³⁰. In this case, the ‘elite’ consisted of a political leader, who controlled the power system, and a city planner, who had the knowledge. They had the power to mobilise people and resources and produce ‘abstract space(s)’.

Similarly, political decision-makers in Iraq, according to the Kurdish researcher Hoshiar Nooraddin, imposed their Arabic national ideology on formation processes of the urban built environment of major Iraqi cities between the 1960s and the 1990s. These decision makers represented the local architecture through the conceptualisation of ‘Arabic heritage architecture’¹³¹. Ultimately, business ‘elites’ shape spaces differently from political ‘elites’. Business decision-makers use spaces as tools for increasing profits in the sense that spaces contribute to facilitating and accelerating production processes, and this increases the accumulation of profits.

Molotch explains this and suggests that the conversion of urban areas into ‘real estate parcels’ is done in order to make urban spaces ‘interchangeable as commodities’. Lefebvre considers ‘abstract space’ as associated with the aspect of exchange-value more than use-value.

127 Harvey Molotch, ‘The Space of Lefebvre’, *Theory and Society* 22, no. 6 (1993): p.889.

128 Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre* (A&C Black, 2004), p.150.

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

131 Hoshiar Nooraddin, ‘Architectural Identity in an Era of Change’, *Developing Country Studies*, 2.10 (2012), 81–96 (p. 87).

These values are two terms used by Marx to describe the value of a commodity. In brief, every commodity has two aspects of value: use value which represents the usefulness of the commodity to its users (qualitative side), and exchange-value which denotes the material side (quantitative side). Further, when the production of urban spaces is guided by business leaders (or market logic) use-value starts to diminish in relation to exchange-value, which is the most rapid moment of production. Simply put, ‘abstract space’ is a tool for increasing financial outcome.

Cultivated ‘elites’ cast their own images on architecture; their representation of space could be mobilised by more powerful ‘elites’ (politicians and businessmen) to gain specific objectives. The influence of these ‘elites’ is repeatedly stressed by Lefebvre, especially regarding the role of prominent architects. The abstractions in the work of Le Corbusier, for instance, served the capitalist mode of production. Lefebvre writes:

Le Corbusier thrust built volumes into abstraction, separating them from the earth by means of piles and pillars, on the pretext that he was exposing them to open air and sunshine. At the same time — literally — volumes are treated as surfaces, as a heap of ‘plans’, without any account being taken of time.¹³²

The theme, which Le Corbusier attached to his designs, is closeness to nature and this theme, Molotch argues, was used ‘as a cover...in the service of capital’.¹³³ Lefebvre presents a different view (perhaps a different reality) about the designs, by arguing that these designs are mere ‘abstract space’, which are rather isolated from natural and historical contexts. In terms of natural contexts, the architect reduced the closeness to nature to ‘surfaces’ and ‘heaps of plans’, which Lefebvre calls the ‘reducers of the reality’. As for the historical context, the spaces of Le Corbusier, particularly his housing projects, were produced ‘without any account being taken of time’. Here Lefebvre is referring to the lifestyle which is ‘imposed’ on the inhabitants. Indigenous lifestyles, which result from everyday life practices, should evolve naturally over time and should not be rapidly changed.

132 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 337.

133 Harvey Molotch, ‘The Space of Lefebvre’, *Theory and Society*, 22.6 (1993), 887–95 (p. 889).

Stuart Elden writes:

For Lefebvre, Le Corbusier gets rid of the city and replaces it by gigantic houses where everything is given over to circulation. In his assessment, Le Corbusier was a good architect but a catastrophic urbanist, who prevented us from thinking about the city as a place where different groups can meet, where they may be in conflict but also form alliances, and where they participate in a collective oeuvre.¹³⁴

The representation of urban spaces imposed by Le Corbusier, was strong enough to prevent ‘non-elite’ groups (inhabitants or users) from participating in design processes or in mental production. Lefebvre argues that the representation of space, which is carried out by ‘cultivated elites’:

Leaves only the narrowest leeway to representational spaces, which are limited to works, images and memories whose content, whether sensory, sensual or sexual is so far displaced that it barely achieves symbolic force.¹³⁵

This statement highlights the space of ‘non-elite’ groups as ‘representational space’ or rather the space of everyday-life knowledge and physical activities. This is explained further in the following section.

2.3.5 ‘Non-elite’ groups and social production: Representational spaces

For Lefebvre, ‘non-elite’ groups consist of inhabitants who live in a (produced) space or who use it. These groups are ‘non-elites’ because they often do not participate in processes of mental and physical production, especially when ‘elites’ dominate these processes.

134 Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*, p. 146.

135 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 50.

As articulated earlier, the lived moment is one of the three moments (conceived, perceived, and lived) and ‘non-elite’ groups produce spaces based on their everyday-life experiences.

In ‘power-over’ relations, specifically those that manifest as an abstract mode of production, the influence of ‘non-elite’ groups on space becomes considerably limited. Lefebvre describes the role of these groups in shaping architectural spaces:

*the producers of space have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the 'users' passively experienced whatever was imposed upon them inasmuch as it was more or less thoroughly inserted into, or justified by, their representational space.*¹³⁶

The statement takes us to the concept of representational spaces. The word ‘producers’ refers to ‘elite’ groups who impose certain themes on the spaces they produce. The power of the ‘elites’ over ‘non-elite’ people results in limiting the actions of the ‘non-elite’ people, and similarly minimises their opportunity to participate in mental and physical production. In this case, the ‘non-elite’ people ‘passively experienced whatever was imposed upon them’. Representational spaces imagine ‘space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of inhabitants and users’, and thus it can be said it is the space of ‘non-elite’ groups. This space tends to be in contrast with the space of ‘elites’ in terms of the nature of mental and physical productions. ‘Elites’ usually use formal knowledge which is based on rules, logics, and laws, whereas ‘non-elites’ use a different approach. Lefebvre adds:

*Representational spaces, on the other hand, need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history — in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people.*¹³⁷

136 Ibid, p.43.

137 Ibid, p.41.

The approach of ‘non-elites’ is ‘redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements’. This suggests that the mental and physical production of these groups is guided by images and symbols which have developed over time and are based on everyday-life experiences and practices. This creates, what the writer of *Space and Social Theory* Andrzej Zieleniec names, ‘local knowledge’.¹³⁸

2.3.6 ‘Elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups and production of ‘absolute space’: The form of ‘power-with’ and the concept of ‘absolute space’

As explained in section 2.2, the form of ‘power-with’ is about sharing power, (productive) actions, and interests between ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups. The ideal mode of production, for Lefebvre, is contingent to these principles (or to ‘power-with’). ‘Elites’ and ‘non-elites’ produce ‘absolute space’ which they ‘do so only in favourable (or ideal) circumstances, when a common language, a consensus and a code can be established’¹³⁹. The word ‘common language’ refers to shared purposes or interests, yet it also denotes a consensus on mental production. This causes physical production to be based on collective actions, which results in a mode of production which represents ‘absolute space’. In other words, ‘absolute space’ emerges when the powers of ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ become almost equal and even powers are related to the form of ‘power-with’.

In this mode of production, spaces of ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ seem to become one space. The academic, Lynn Stewart, who wrote an essay on the ‘production of space, says that ‘this unity of representations of space and spaces of representation is the ideal form of what Lefebvre calls absolute space’¹⁴⁰. The unity between the two spaces means that mental and social production become one space, and this is what Lefebvre refers to when he says ‘absolute space ... at once and indistinguishably mental and social’. In this mode use-value dominates over exchange value.¹⁴¹

138 Andrzej J. L. Zieleniec, *Space and Social Theory* (SAGE, 2007), p. 157.

139 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 40.

140 Lynn Stewart, ‘Bodies, Visions, and Spatial Politics: A Review Essay on Henri Lefebvre’s The Production of Space’, *Environment and Planning D*, 13 (1995), 609–609 (p. 612).

141 Molotch, ‘The Space of Lefebvre’.

Lefebvre says this mode is organic, a word that is borrowed from Marx's literature of production, and Lefebvre writes:

Space so conceived might be called 'organic'. In the immediacy of the links between groups, between members of groups and between society and nature ... Abstraction has very little place in these relationships, which remain on the level of sex, age, blood and, mentally, on that of images without concepts.¹⁴²

In the statement above, a comparison between two modes of production is presented: the ideal (absolute) and the non-ideal (abstract). In the first, the mode of production is organic which means that the relationships between 'elites' and 'non-elite' groups and their natural environment is strong. In the second, the mode contrasts with the previous one because of the form of 'power-over' and thus there is a domination of certain mental themes or 'images' imposed on 'non-elite' populations. In the architectural realm, spaces (projects or buildings) are produced differently under the two modes of production. It can be said in simple terms, that in 'absolute space' architecture becomes organic in the sense that projects and buildings suit the needs of the users. On the contrary, in 'abstract space' architectural spaces serve the needs of the 'elites'. In this regard Molotch argues 'the superiority of absolute space is kind of organic to human need, versus the abstracted hell laid on by planners' schemes'¹⁴³. Lefebvre theorises that architectural spaces in ancient periods, in which societies were governed by common social norms, were produced in an absolute mode of production. He states:

Spaces produced by social norms can be 'absolute space' ... The members of archaic societies obey social norms without knowing it - that is to say, without recognizing those norms as such. Rather, they live them spatially: they are not ignorant of them, they do not misapprehend them, but they experience them immediately.¹⁴⁴

142 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 229.

143 Molotch, 'The Space of Lefebvre', p. 890.

144 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 230.

Here social norms are the forces which have governed modes of production, and they are regarded in the above statement as absolute. The reason for this is that the members, who can be members of ‘elites’ or ‘non-elites’, of historical societies followed common norms and produced architectural spaces based on these norms. In this case, common language, interests and actions can be seen, and there were (apparently) no abstractions within the production processes. Lefebvre refers to these groups, as those who exercise ‘power-over’ and replace common norms by their rules; thus using architectural spaces to further their own gains

2.3.7 The approaches of empowerment and participation: The forms of ‘power-with’ and ‘power-within’ in the context of post-conflict zones

Although some scholars view ‘power-with’ and ‘power-within’ as separate subjects, others suggest that the two forms are interrelated. Often, the two forms of power are associated with the themes of participation, empowerment or challenge.

These themes will be explained in the light of various accounts, including that of Lefebvre, and will then be situated within the environment of post-war societies. This is due to the case studies of this PhD are being located in Slemani, which was impacted by different forms of conflicts, and this will be elucidated in the following chapter. In regard to the post-conflict setting, I will only outline some central theoretical trends which are relevant to space production, without delving into detailed conceptual frameworks conceived by writers that discuss, for example, the reformation of military or other organisations, as those are outside the scope of this PhD. Below, I will begin with the concepts of participation and empowerment, and then link these to the notion of ‘absolute space’ (which is borrowed from Lefebvre) as well as post-conflict literature. Participation and empowerment are interdependent in the sense that empowering should precede participation and without the former the latter would not occur. According to the *Human Development Report* (issued by the United Nation), the action of participation refers to the way in which ‘people have constant access to decision-making and power’, and this access ‘demands increased empowerment’¹⁴⁵.

145 Ibid. p.21

The term empowerment, 'refers to a constant process of enabling individuals and groups to take part in collective action'¹⁴⁶. A variety of research can be highlighted within the literature which considers community empowerment. In general, an expert of community psychology Julian Rappaport, suggests that the concept of empowerment is strongly associated with a 'phenomenon of interest'¹⁴⁷, or common goal, which is shaped by social, political, and cultural contexts. In order to achieve a common interest, Louise Lawson and Ade Kearns developed a model based on three stages: knowledge, choice, and participation.¹⁴⁸ The first stage is about providing information and skills which are related to a common interest, to participants, in order to develop their awareness. The second is about providing 'opportunities for making choices'¹⁴⁹, and this involves presenting alternatives and preferences to participants, who would then be able to make decisions according to the skills and information gained. This leads to the last theme, which is 'instituting actions based on decisions made so that communities achieve their aims'¹⁵⁰, and these actions should be supported by the:

*Right policy framework and resources, supportive organisations and a favourable community context that might include know-how, skills and the right connections and networks.*¹⁵¹

Lawson and Kearns suggest a comprehensive political programme in which collective actions take place and results in achieving common goals. However, sometimes the shared goal poses a threat to the progress of empowerment actions, particularly when it goes against dominant political ideologies or programmes.

146 E. Wenzel, R. Erben, and P. Franzkowiak, 'People Empowerment vs Social Capital: From Health Promotion to Social Marketing', 1999, p.179.

147 Julian Rappaport, 'Terms of Empowerment/Exemplars of Prevention: Toward a Theory for Community Psychology', *American Journal of Community Psychology* 15, no. 2 (1987): pp.121–48.

148 Louise Lawson and Ade Kearns, 'Community Empowerment' in the Context of the Glasgow Housing Stock Transfer', *Urban Studies*, 2010, pp.1462-65

149 Ibid., p.1463.

150 Ibid., p.1464.

151 Ibid.

In this case, community actions might shift outside formal boundaries ‘in more radical ways’ in order to become liberated from political agendas. Situated in Marxist thought, Lefebvre’s approach to empowerment and participation is materialistic because it generally emphasises the role of social actions in order to gain tangible outcomes. In his book *Writings on Cities*, he coins the term ‘The Right to the City’ when discussing class struggles within the city. The following questions are raised: ‘What is important? Who thinks? Who acts? Who still speaks and for whom?’¹⁵² Although Lefebvre does not provide an empirical basis for empowerment and participation, he outlines theoretical principles that help groups, such as researchers, planners, and others, to materialise the practices of involving ‘non-elite’ populations in processes of shaping the built environment. For Lefebvre, the notion of absolute space, which was explained earlier in this chapter, represents the ideal mode of production in which no specific group dominates production processes. Across the literature of empowerment in post-conflict societies, the emphasis has been largely on those people who are politically excluded by certain political and business elites, on the basis of class, gender, race, age, ethnicity, or other factors according to historical, social and economic settings.¹⁵³

In their investigation titled *Cities, Conflicts and State Fragility*, Beall et al. suggest that in many cases foreign decision makers take over political systems which become disrupted due to consequences of conflicts. The authors exemplify that ‘international actors pour into cities where their involvement in decision making is often at the expense of local needs and actors’, and this can be seen with regards to Iraq.¹⁵⁴

152 Henri Lefebvre, Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas, *Writings on Cities* (Blackwell Oxford, 1996), lxiii, p. 149.

153 See Birgitte Refslund Sørensen, *Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources* (Diane Publishing, 1998); Kai Vöckler, ‘Post-Conflict Development and Civic Imagination (Divided Cities)’ (presented at the Archis Interventions in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Foundation Cyprus, Cyprus: Archis SEE Network, 2013), p. 33
<http://www.seenetwork.org/files/2014/03/06/11/Archis%20Interventions_FES_Cyprus_Divided%20Cities_May2013.pdf> [accessed 1 April 2018].<http://www.seenetwork.org/files/2014/03/06/11/Archis%20Interventions_FES_Cyprus_Divided%20Cities_May2013.pdf> [accessed 1 April 2018].

154 Jo Beall, Tom Goodfellow, and Dennis Rodgers, ‘Cities, Conflict and State Fragility’, *Department for International Development-UK*, No.2, 2011, p. 1.

Michele Chwastiak, who studied the political climate of Iraq, concluded that ‘the Bush Administration created a sort of capitalist paradise for US ... corporations working on the reconstruction of Iraq.’¹⁵⁵ She shows that powerful foreign politicians and businessmen created a ‘capitalist paradise’, or a space for the ‘elite’, in which they manipulate the reconstruction processes for their own gain at the price of the majority of Iraqi citizens. Moreover, and in addition to the overseas elites, some local leaders further contributed to the isolation of ‘non-elite’ people from power spheres, a process which became apparent in international policies established for the reconstruction of Iraq, notably the ones produced by *The Madrid Conference on Reconstruction* in 2003 and *The Kuwait International Conference* in 2018.¹⁵⁶ For instance, Andrew Rathmell discusses the politics of rebuilding Iraq after the war of 2003. He states:

*Since the summer of 2004 the coalition has learnt a great deal in Iraq, and has shifted course several times ... The US State Department has gone back to Congress to gain authority to reorient reconstruction ... More attention is being paid to building sustainable Iraqi capacity..*¹⁵⁷

Rathmell stresses that ‘sustainable Iraqi capacity’ is shown through distributing power down to the local level because the strategies of elite international and Iraqi decision makers proved to be ‘inefficient’ and contributed to corruption.

Along the same lines, the policy analyst Derick W. Brinkerhoff emphasises the importance of ‘governance reconstruction’ in Iraq and proposes a model for reforming soft and hard infrastructure. His model is based on developing governing structures, in countries such as Iraq, through the following steps listed below.

155 Michele Chwastiak, ‘Profiting from Destruction: The Iraq Reconstruction, Auditing and the Management of Fraud’, *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 24.1 (2013), 32–43 (p. 41) <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2011.11.009>>.

156 See Michael E. O’Hanlon, ‘Iraq without a Plan’, *Policy Review*, 2004, 33–46; ‘Kuwait to Host Iraq Reconstruction Conference in February - KUNA’, *Reuters*, 9 January 2018 <https://uk.reuters.com/article/> [accessed 17 March 2018].

157 Andrew Rathmell, ‘Planning Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Iraq: What Can We Learn?’, *International Affairs*, 81.5 (2005), 1013–38 (p. 1036).

(A) eliminating traditional policy makers, especially those who were part of a clientelist system as these individuals are highly likely to impede any form of reconstruction progress; (b) linking informal (or non-governmental) organisations to existing conventional formal institutions in order to eliminate ‘inefficiency’ of the main stream establishment; and (c) removing any powerful connection to the central government body within local structures in order to reduce the possibility of conflict. If power continues to be concentrated in the hands of minority or traditional institutions, this creates off corruption, clientelism, or patronage, and all these phenomena will give rise to focusing on narrow interests instead of public ones.¹⁵⁸

One of the lessons that can be learnt from academic works on empowerment and participation in post-conflict areas, is the concept of creating (what I label) a common space, which is somehow similar to the concept of ‘absolute space’, where formal and informal organisations collaboratively operate and collectively produce their built environment.¹⁵⁹

Fabiano Micocci, the author of *Envisioning a Post-Conflict Tripoli*, stresses the theme for inclusive power relations (between decision makers and non-decision makers) and collective actions, or what he calls ‘Inclusive Urban Strategy and Action Plan’¹⁶⁰, whereby architects and local decision makers are invited to ‘rethink their capacity and influence in post-war contexts’¹⁶¹.

158 Ibid, pp: 11-13.

159 See Idrisi Valdete, ‘CiviKos Platform, Kosovo’ (presented at the Archis Interventions in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Foundation Cyprus, Cyprus: Archis SEE Network, 2013), p. 33http://www.seenetwork.org/files/2014/03/06/11/Archis%20Interventions_FES_Cyprus_Divided%20Cities_May2013.pdf [accessed 1 April 2018]; Hussainatu J. Abdullah, Aisha F. Ibrahim, and Jamesina King, ‘Women’s Voices, Work and Bodily Integrity in Pre- Conflict, Conflict and Post- Conflict Reconstruction Processes in Sierra Leone’, *IDS Bulletin*, 41.2 (2010), 37–45; Neil Ferguson, *Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), iv; Patrick Vinck, Phuong Pham, and Tino Kreutzer, ‘Talking Peace: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Security, Dispute Resolution, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Liberia’, *Dispute Resolution, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Liberia*, 2011.

160 Fabiano Micocci, ‘Envisioning a Post-Conflict Tripoli: The Inclusive Urban Strategy and Action Plan for Bab Al-Tabbaneh and Jebel Mohsen’, *Footprint*, 10.2 (2017), 57–78 (p. 58).

161 Ibid.

Micocci adds:

*On the one hand multidisciplinary teams help to explore areas of interdependence across many fields, while the members of traumatised communities can also actively take part in every stage of the regeneration process. Local communities thus emerge as the main beneficiary of any intervention of reconstruction.*¹⁶²

Micocci turns the focus on distributing power to two groups: ‘multidisciplinary teams’ and ‘members of traumatised communities’ suggesting that both groups can operate mutually towards shared interests and produce spaces which benefit ‘local communities’. By bringing about this mode of production, the following advantages would be secured: (a) voices of oppressed or marginalised populations are heard; (b) knowledge of empowerment and cooperation is developed; (c) common values are agreed; and (d) shared interests are protected. I perceive that this notion of common space is linked to my research question which seeks alternatives to the current politics of space production.

2.4 Concluding remarks

Within this chapter, power is seen as having four interconnected elements: capacity, action, relation and the duality of objects and subjects.

All of these elements operate simultaneously in the following sense: (a) objects refer to human or non-human agencies which often have the capacity to make decisions or influence the actions of subjects being those humans who have less power than objects and are always controlled by objects; and (b) relations between the object and the subject depend on the actions and capacities of the both sides. Power is sometimes depicted in the literature as having four forms: power-over, power-to, power-with and power-within, and they are contingent to capacities, actions and relations.

162 Ibid.

For instance, within the first form, ‘power-over’, objects have more capacity for making decisions than subjects who have less, and the actions of objects are featured with control, domination, and discipline. Relations in ‘power-over’ are characterised by rejection and exclusion.

Based on Lefebvre’s thinking, two forms of power, ‘power-over’ and ‘power-with’, can be seen to have a strong relationship with ‘the production of space’. The first form is attached to the phenomenon of elitism, or to ‘elite’ groups who exercise power over masses of ‘non-elite’ people. The second is related to the concept of cooperation between ‘elite’ and ‘non-elites’. Lefebvre’s approach can be also used in terms of the third form, ‘power-within’ which is connected to the notion of challenge in the sense that non-elites refuse to accept the domination of elites. These forms of power impact architecture; when power changes its form, the mode of spatial production is impacted and this results in different types of spaces. This concept seems consistent with the argument of Kurdish scholar, Hoshiar Nooraddin. In his study titled *Architectural Identity in an Era of Change*, he suggests that open and democratic traditions of decision-making allows users (or ‘non-elite’ people) greater influence in processes of architectural development. Further, societies with democratic systems give a range of possibilities to exert influence. In non-democratic societies: ‘the national architectural identity has been produced largely by a small number of decision makers’¹⁶³. Nooraddin sheds light on two different decision-making models (democratic and non-democratic systems) which are associated here with two major forms of power: ‘power-over’ and ‘power-with’. The essence of his argument is that the nature of power relations among social groups has a great impact on architectural production.

The built environment when under the control of ‘a small number of decision makers’ (elite groups) is substantially different from that which is shaped collectively by elites and non-elites. Below, an elaboration of this concept is presented alongside an illustration of a theoretical triad, which has been developed from Lefebvre’s spatial triad.

In the case of ‘power-over’, ‘elites’ take over or dominate mental and material production, which creates what Lefebvre identifies as ‘abstract space’.

163 Ibid., p.82.

In architecture, ‘abstract spaces’ are those projects which are produced by ‘elites’ in isolation from ‘non-elites’ and are designed to serve the needs of certain ‘elites’ (who prioritise exchange-value). In this case, these designs tend to be detached from natural, social and historical contexts (or elements of use-value). Political or business ‘elites’, according to Molotch, shape architecture either ‘to facilitate state power’¹⁶⁴, or to boost financial outcomes (increasing capital accumulation). ‘Cultivated elites’, namely architects, urbanists and planners, tend to reduce reality and represent architecture based on their formal knowledge rather than on everyday-life experience (or local knowledge). Thus, the practices of these groups are often guided by more powerful ‘elites’ (political or business leaders).

‘Elites’ often create a ‘truth’ about the spaces they produce. This ‘truth’ is regarded by Lefebvre as ‘illusory’¹⁶⁵, something which is used to conceal the actual purpose of space. Truth of space is different from a ‘true space’ which is the actual space, one which is lived and encountered by users and inhabitants (‘non-elites’). For instance, urban regimes, which are created by political and business leaders, introduce the architectural projects they create as crucial to public life, but they conceal information about financial and political advantages they gain from the projects.

‘Power-with’ tends to be in contrast to ‘power-over’ due to ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ both participating in mental and physical production. In other words, there is unity present in the three moments of production (the conceived, the perceived and the lived), and this means that spaces of ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups are integrated to the extent that they seem as one space. Lefebvre names this ‘absolute space’. For him, this space represents the ideal mode of production in which no specific group dominates production processes or produces (abstract) spaces for their (narrow) interests. In architecture, projects could be constructed based on a ‘power-with’ relation, or an absolute mode of production. Architectural designs, according to the notion of ‘absolute space’, should engage with natural, historical and social contexts. Everyday-life knowledge and practices, which stem from the three contexts, can be the basis of the designs from which they can gain shared interests.

164 Molotch, ‘The Space of Lefebvre’, p. 889.

165 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 40.

One of the lessons that can be learnt from previous academic works on empowerment and participation in post-conflict areas, is the concept of common space which is very similar to Lefebvre's theory of 'absolute space'. The common space is created by elite and non-elite populations, who collaboratively and collectively operate to produce architecture which serves various economic, social and cultural interests of both populations. Lefebvre's approach can be used in regard to 'power-within' or in other words, the ability for 'non elite' populations to challenge the power of elite groups, resulting in both groups aiming to take control of mental and physical processes. Since relations between these groups are tensional (not constructive), the spaces produced are normally abstract. As such, the spaces will serve narrow interests, in the sense that those non-elite populations, who exert power over production processes, are the only group who will benefit most from the produced spaces. In regard to non-human forces, they are seen here as being embedded in the phenomenon of a common belief or perception. Sometimes, 'elite' and 'non-elite' populations share the same perception, which eventually turns them into subjects and controls their actions and emotions. This non-human actor is an invisible force and it could influence space production due to its power to control human actions and imaginations of space.

In short, processes of formation of architecture depend on power relations between 'elite' and 'non-elite' groups. I have developed a theoretical triad (as illustrated in Figure 2-4), an illustration based on Lefebvre's theory. This triad shows that the production of architecture goes through three moments: the moment of mental production (the conceived), the moment of social production (the lived), and the moment of physical production (the perceived). The assumption here is that the mental production tends to be controlled by different 'elites': political, business, or cultivated. On the other hand, social production is dominated by 'non-elites' who are not only users or inhabitants of the space but also those people who are affected by the space. These people might live near the space and in this case they experience the space without directly using it. The physical production can be controlled either by human forces ('elites' or 'non-elites') or by non-human forces (common beliefs); controlling physical production is highly contingent on the dominant form of power, or the nature of power relations between the two groups. In the same vein, the dominant form of power impacts resultant spaces. While resultant architectural spaces under 'power-over' tend to be abstract, 'power-with' spaces are often absolute (Figure 2-5).

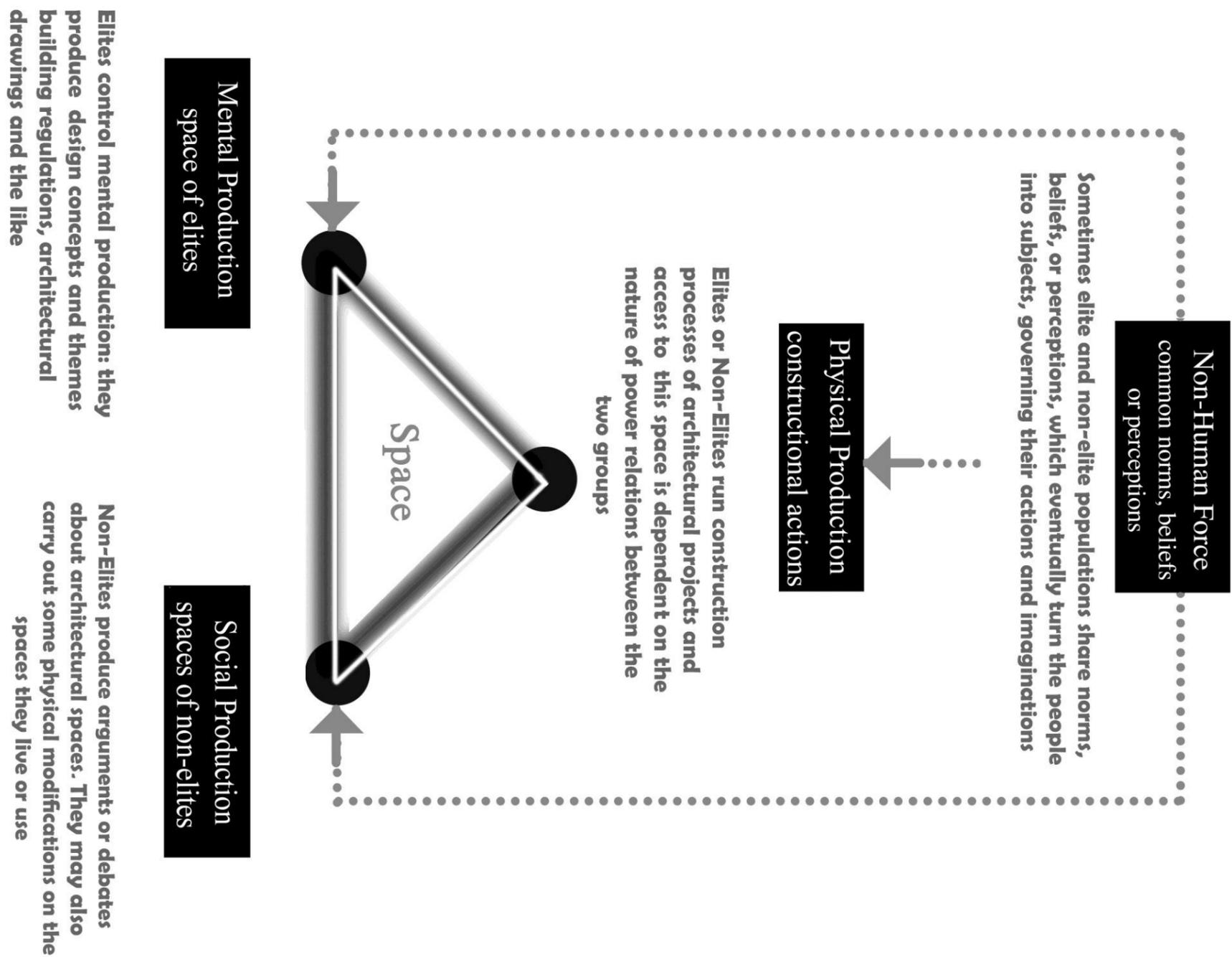


Figure 2-4: Space is surrounded by human and non-human agencies. The three moments of space production can be seen in the figure: the ‘mental’, the ‘social’, and the ‘physical’. The mental production is assumed to be controlled by elite groups (the moment is also known as the space of elites), the social is dominated by ‘non-elite’ people (spaces of ‘non-elites’), and the physical is the space of constructional actions, which are taken by ‘elites’ or ‘non-elites’. This depends on power relations between the two sides: when ‘elites’ dominate the moments of mental and physical production this will lead to the creation of ‘abstract spaces’, and when ‘elites’ cooperate with ‘non-elites’ during all moments of production this will produce ‘absolute space’. Non-human powers are understood here as being common beliefs or social norms which usually impact actions and imaginations of humans (whether elites or non-elites). Source: Drawn by the author, based on the literature review, notably Lefebvre’s spatial triad.

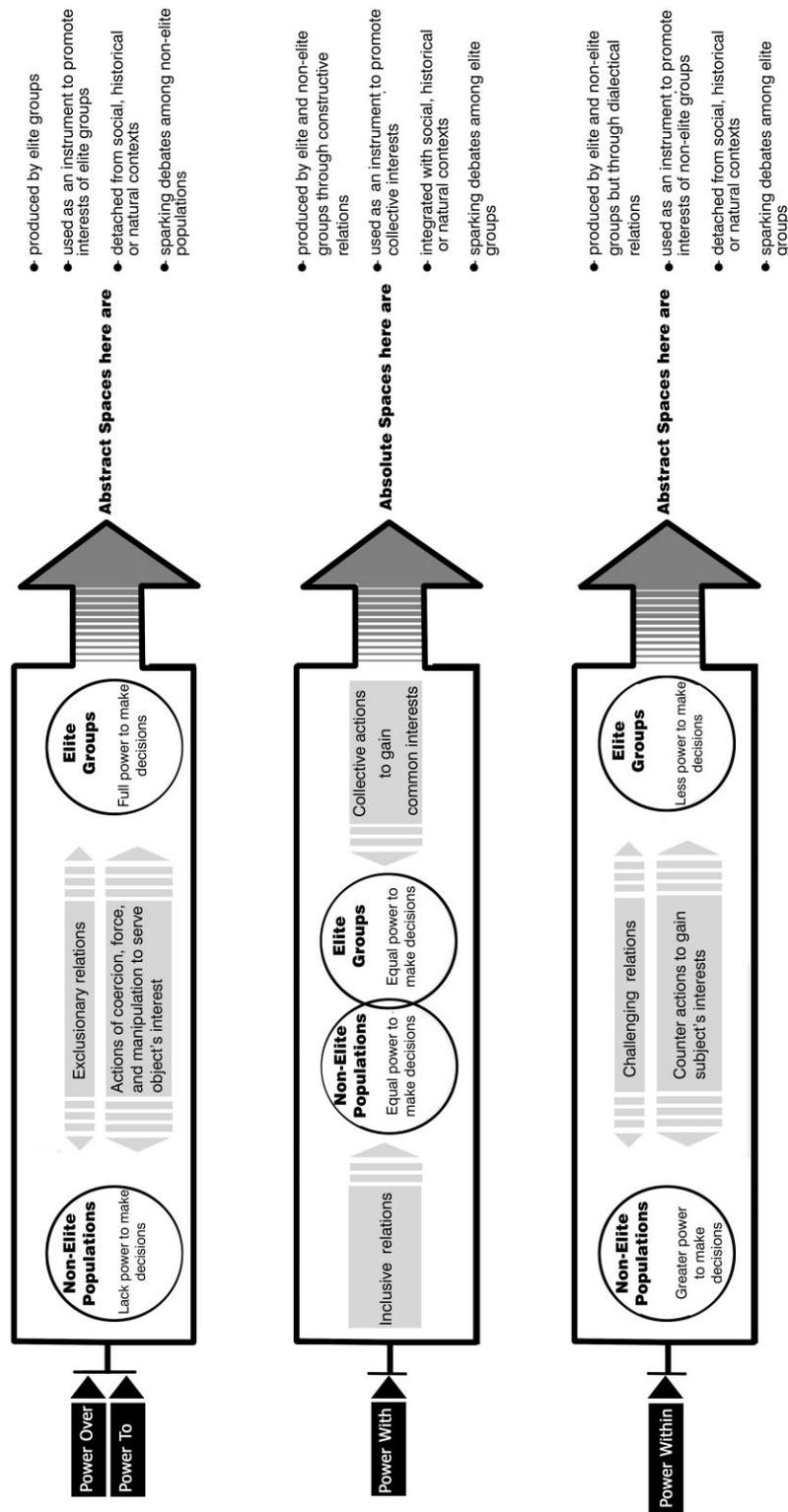


Figure 2-5: The relationship between forms of power and produced spaces. In architecture, projects can be largely constructed around the concept of the absolute mode of production, something which is associated here with the form of ‘power-with’. Architectural designs, according to the notion of ‘absolute space’, should consider natural, historical and social contexts. Everyday-life knowledge and practices, which stem from the three contexts, can be the basis of design and in this case they gain shared interests. Source: Drawn by the author

Chapter 3 : Introduction to the socio-political environment in Iraqi Kurdistan

3.1 Overview

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the power and the characteristics of ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ populations in Iraqi Kurdistan. The term ‘elite’ is used here to refer to a group of people who have the authority to shape architectural spaces examples being: architects, urban planners, politicians or businessmen. In contrast to this group, ‘non-elites’ are groups which have less capacity to access decision-making institutions. In the architectural realm, these groups are those in everyday-life relationships with the spaces produced by ‘elite’ groups. In this sense, ‘non-elite’ people can be the users or inhabitants of the spaces, or those who are affected by the spaces, especially those who live in the neighbouring areas.

The objective of this chapter is to understand power distribution between ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ in the social context of Iraqi Kurdistan. The political leaders who belong to the two ruling parties, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, exert power not only over ‘non-elite’ people but also over other types of ‘elites’. The most vulnerable ‘non-elite’ group appears to be women, who live in a party-controlled and male-dominated society. The chapter begins with a historical background of Kurdish people, and then focuses on Iraqi Kurdistan. This is followed by an explanation of ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ populations. Finally, the chapter ends with concluding remarks about power in Iraqi Kurdistan in the period between 2003 and 2013.

3.2 Who are the Kurds?

The term Kurd is believed to derive from the Latin word ‘Cyrtili’ which first appeared in the second century B.C. It is also thought that this word has a special reference to people who live in mountainous areas.¹⁶⁶

166 David McDowall and Martin Short, *The Kurds* (Minority rights group, 1996), p. 7.

The land of the Kurds, which is estimated to be 230,000 square miles (equal to the UK and Germany combined¹⁶⁷), is called ‘Kurdistan’ and consists of two parts: the first syllable Kurd refers to the inhabitants and the second syllable Stan which stands for the land. Kurds at the present time are the largest group of stateless people in the Middle East¹⁶⁸, and their land is divided into four separated parts within Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria (Figure 3-1).

The exact number of Kurds in the world is officially undeclared, and sometimes it is obscured by the states which house Kurdish minorities for political reasons.¹⁶⁹ According to the British Broadcasting Corporation News, the total Kurdish population in the four countries (Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Turkey) was between 25 and 35 million inhabitants in 2016.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, in the period between 2010 and 2013 various international references estimated the number of Kurds to be double the number announced by the BBC. These sources also declared that 15 - 20 percent of the Iraqi population was Kurdish,¹⁷¹ as well as 10 percent of Syria,¹⁷² 20 percent of Turkey,¹⁷³ and 17 percent of the Iran.¹⁷⁴

3.3 Iraqi Kurdistan: the political background

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- 167 Carole A O’Leary, ‘The Kurds of Iraq: Recent History, Future Prospects’, *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 6.4 (2002), 17–29 (p. 17).
- 168 Charles G MacDonald, ‘The Kurds–Religion and Social Justice of a Stateless Nation’, *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Religion and Social Justice*, 62 (2012), 402.
- 169 Garnik Asatrian, ‘Prolegomena to the Study of the Kurds’, *Iran and the Caucasus*, 13.1 (2009), 1–57.
- 170 ‘Who Are the Kurds?’, *BBC News*, 14 March 2016, section Middle East <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-29702440>> [accessed 2 March 2017].
- 171 Kenneth Katzman, *Kurds in Post-Saddam Iraq* (DIANE Publishing, 2010).
- 172 Jonathan Marcus, ‘Will Syria’s Kurds Benefit from the Crisis?’, *BBC*, 10 August 2012, section Middle East <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-19197169>> [accessed 23 July 2013].
- 173 Guney Yildiz, ‘PKK Deal May Worry Iran and Syria’, *BBC*, 10 May 2013, section Europe <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-22471423>> [accessed 23 July 2013].
- 174 Rudaw, ‘Rohani Comments in Iran Surprise Kurds, Other Minorities’, *Rudaw*, 2013 <<http://rudaw.net/NewsDetails.aspx?PageID=12428>> [accessed 23 July 2013].



Figure 3-1: The Kurds are the largest population in the Middle East without a state. The term Great Kurdistan refers to the land where the Kurds live, and this land is divided into four separated parts within Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria. Source: <http://www.bbc.co>.

Iraqi Kurdistan is a semi-autonomous region of Iraq, meaning that the central government of Iraq has little influence on its politics (Figure 3.2).¹⁷⁵ The term Iraqi Kurdistan officially appeared in 1970 when the prominent Kurdish leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, signed an agreement with the Iraqi government which provided semi-autonomy for Kurds and recognised their political and cultural rights in three Kurdish provinces: Erbil¹⁷⁶, Slemani and Dohuk.¹⁷⁷ However, a few years later the agreement collapsed and this led to several armed confrontations between Iraqi military forces and Kurdish fighters. The conflict continued for many years.¹⁷⁸ In 1991, Kurdish people revolted against the regime of Saddam Hussein and took control of three Kurdish provinces. The ruling parties, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), declared the Regional Government of Kurdistan (KRG).¹⁷⁹

As demonstrated in Figure 3-3, the administrative structure of KRG is formed by three key authorities: the executive, the legislative and the judicial. Since that year, top members of the KDP and the PUK have been controlling most of the government institutions and positions.¹⁸⁰ Today, Iraqi Kurdistan is mainly governed by two ruling parties: the KDP and the PUK. The strongholds of the former party are Erbil and Dohuk, and the PUK is popular in Slemani. The rulers of the two parties held top positions in the Kurdistan region and Iraq: the Head of the KDP, Masood Barzani, was elected as the president of Iraqi Kurdistan. His counterpart Jalal Talabani, the leader of the PUK, became the first Kurdish politician to hold the post of Iraqi President in 2005. This post had previously been reserved for Arab politicians for more than nine decades.

175 See Katzman.

176 This city was identified as the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan in the agreement

177 see Brendan O’Leary, Ian S Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy, *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders: The Politics of Moving Borders* (Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 277.

178 Lokman I Meho, *The Kurds and Kurdistan: A Selective and Annotated Bibliography* (ABC-CLIO, 1997).

179 ‘Timeline: Iraqi Kurds’, *BBC*, 19 April 2011, section Country profiles
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/2893067.stm> [accessed 18 June 2015].

180 See ‘Kurdistan Regional Government’, *Department of Foreign Relations*
<<http://www.dfr.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?p=88&l=12&s=030400&r=403>> [accessed 2 March 2017].

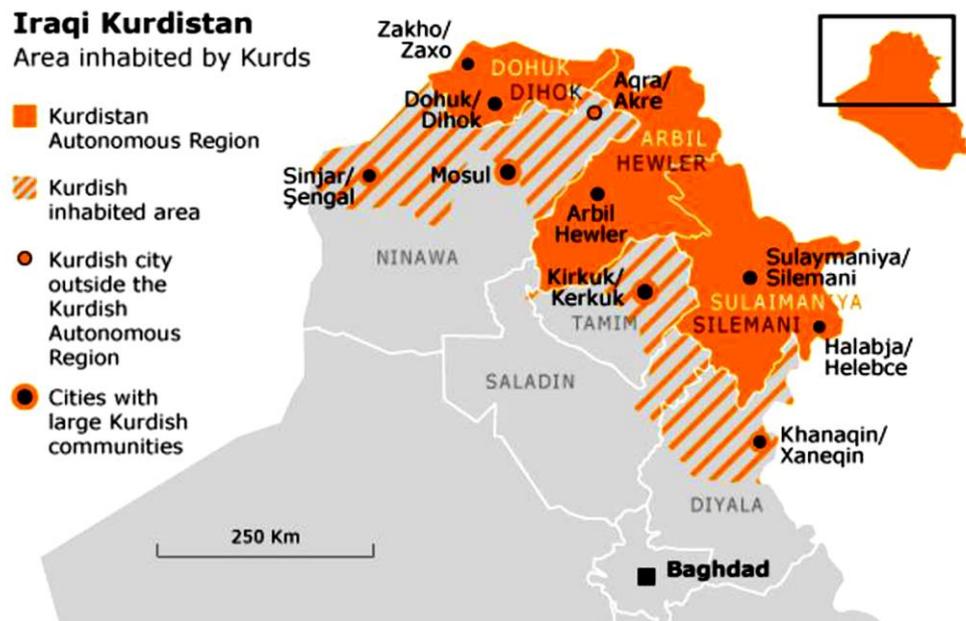


Figure 3-2: The Kurdish borders which were recognised by the Iraqi government from 1991 to 2013. Source: <http://adst.org>.

The Key Authorities In Iraqi Kurdistan

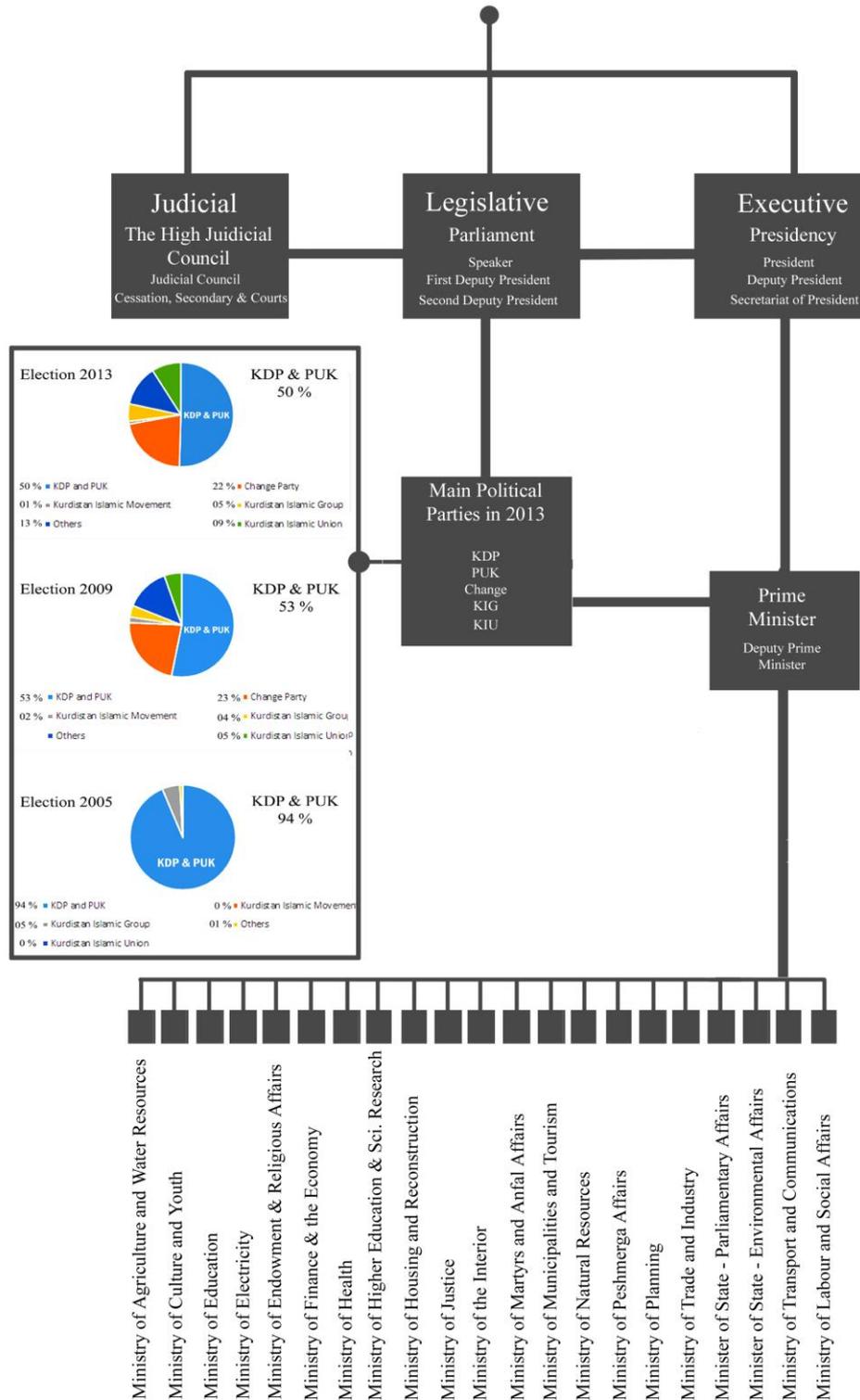


Figure 3-3: The key authorities in Iraqi Kurdistan, and the dominance of the PUK and the KDP over state decision-making. Source: The author, drawn based on information obtained from: <http://cabinet.gov.krd>.

Following the fall of Saddam Hussein's government in 2003, the Kurdish region was, in contrast to the rest of Iraq, uninfluenced by the invasion processes and the Kurdish region remained safe.¹⁸¹ Further, the post-Saddam era saw the following developments: the newly formed constitution in 2004, which granted the Iraqi Kurds official recognition and rights; the removal of most international sanctions; large investments in the oil industry; and openness to the international market. The Kurdish economy saw significant development and the national revenue increased due to advancement in the oil industry and other areas.¹⁸² Salaries of employees working in the public sector multiplied ten folds, for instance, teachers who received nearly one US Dollar per month in Saddam's time, had their stipends increased to 500 dollars in 2004.¹⁸³

The economic development not only attracted significant and unprecedented investment capital¹⁸⁴, but also produced a wealthy class seeking luxury spaces and social status. This class, according to Yaseen Rasheed, the spokesperson of the Kurdistan Investors Union¹⁸⁵, seemed lucrative for investors and they responded to the need of the high-income class by building luxury housing.¹⁸⁶

181 Salam Kuba, 'الاستثمار العقاري والسياسة الإسكانية في العراق' [Real Estate Investment and Housing Policy in Iraq], الحوار المتمدن, 30 November 2008,

<http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=154952>; 'Ministry of Planning, Kurdistan Region', accessed 26 July 2013, <http://www.mop-krq.org/>.

182 These sources are explained in Chapter One and they include revenues generated from tourism industry, tax systems, financial allowances received from the central government and investments in different natural resources.

183 Roula Khalaf, 'Iraq: 10 Years Later', *Financial Times*, 16 March 2013,

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c9b2ce20-8c42-11e2-8fcf-00144feabdc0.html>.

184 Jack Kimball and Shamal Aqrabi, 'Kurdistan Region Attracts 12 Billion Dollars Investment in Three and Half Years,' official, *Kurdistan Regional Government*, (February 17, 2010),

<http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?l=12&s=02010200&r=73&a=33844&s=010000>.

185 This is a non-governmental organisation. Its main purpose is to liaise between the government and investors. See Faryad Mohamad, '[The Government Institution did not Understand the Investment Law] المؤسسات الحكومية لم تفهم قانون الاستثمار', *Kurdistan Investor's Union*, accessed August 2, 2016, http://www.kriu.org/3_to_print.php?id=1818§ion=1.

186 According to the then spokesman of the Investment Union of Kurdistan. See Yaseen Rasheed, *Iraqi Kurdistan's Investment Sector*, 2012

<<http://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2012/7/invest848.htm>> [accessed 2 July 2016].

This was facilitated by an investment law which was passed in 2006 (see Appendix M). The ratio of investment activities doubled in 2005¹⁸⁷ and the National Assembly of Iraqi Kurdistan issued a new investment law in 2006, which dramatically lowered barriers for foreign investors. In the mid-2000s, investors began to heavily pour money into the housing market. Iraqi Kurdistan witnessed unprecedented urban growth and architectural development, and this was accompanied by a political campaign titled *The Other Iraq*, which was supported by international media such as CNN and the BBC. The campaign was created by Kurdish politicians in an attempt to deliver a different political and economic image of the region to the rest of the world, while at the same time promoting business endeavours in the Kurdish region. At the present time, the majority of Kurds are Muslims with an unofficial estimate suggesting that 94% of the population of Iraqi Kurdistan are Muslims.¹⁸⁸

In general, there are three types of Muslim groups: secular, moderate and fundamentalist. There were several power tensions between these groups. For instance, in 2001 and 2003 there were numerous armed conflicts between the PUK party, which is considered secular, and Ansar Al-Islam who are thought of as Islamic fanatics.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, Islamic political movements often oppose laws in the Kurdish parliament if they consider these laws to be against Islamic legislation, an example being the law of banning polygyny, which was passed by the majority vote in 2008.¹⁹⁰ Some moderate Kurds pay little attention to religion and ethnic distinction (particularly with Arabs) when it comes to nationalist affairs.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, the Kurds retain some conventions which are part of their identity and which existed before the advent of Islam such as the celebration of the Kurdish New Year every 21st of March, which is commemorated with by the making of fire.¹⁹²

187 Almas Heshmati and Rhona Davis, 'The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment Flows to the Federal Region of Kurdistan', *Available at SSRN 1136380*, 2008, p. 5.

188 Stephen Mansfield, 'Religious Neutrality In 94% Muslim Iraqi Kurdistan', *Huffington Post*, 2012 <<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-mansfield/>> [accessed 24 July 2013].

189 (see G. R. Stansfield, 2003)

190 Haje Keli, 'Limiting Polygyny in Iraqi Kurdistan: A Study on Different Views of Women Regarding the Amendment of the Personal Status Law', 2011, pp. 60–65.

191 see McDowall and Short, pp. 7–8.

192 see Michael M Gunter, *The Kurdish Question in Perspective*, 197–205 (p. 198).

This convention is opposed by Islamic fundamentalists because they believe that it belongs to unbelievers who worship fire before Islam.¹⁹³

3.3.1 Political ‘elites’

According to prominent politician Mahmood Othman, political life within the Kurdish territories had been monopolised by certain groups from 1991 to 2015:

Politics in Kurdistan is run by powerful parties ... parliament and governmental institutions have limited roles ... every party has its armed forces and its resources ... they are more powerful than the parliament .¹⁹⁴

Throughout the 1990s and the 2000s, the KDP and the PUK controlled the political life of Iraqi Kurdistan, as well as dominating other political factions.¹⁹⁵ The two dominant parties became the legitimate rulers in the Kurdish region in 1992, after they led the military offensive to oust Saddam’s regime from Kurdish territories with the aid of the United States of America, thus forming the first regional government (Figure 3-4).¹⁹⁶

To a large extent, the ruling parties have been dependent on their paramilitary forces, or Peshmerga, to maintain power.¹⁹⁷ For instance, on several occasions they overtly used Peshmerga for political aims; as mentioned earlier, the two parties waged an internal war against each other using their own armed forces in the 1990s. In the same vein, the PUK and the KDP formed their own security services in the 1990s.

193 The religion of most Kurds was Zardasht before the advent of Islam and they worshipped fire

194 ‘Interview with the prominent politician Mahmood Sorani’.

195 See Hasan Baram, *Encyclopedia of Political Parties in Kurdistan and Iraq 1908 - 2005*, First (Slemani, 2012).

196 ‘Remembering the Kurdish Uprising of 1991’, *BBC News*, 7 April 2016, section In Pictures <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/in-pictures-35967389>> [accessed 4 March 2017].

197 In 2009, one of the founders of the PUK, named Nawshirwan Mustafa, called for reforming Peshmerga forces and ceasing the influence of the PUK and the KDP on these forces and on the government institutions.

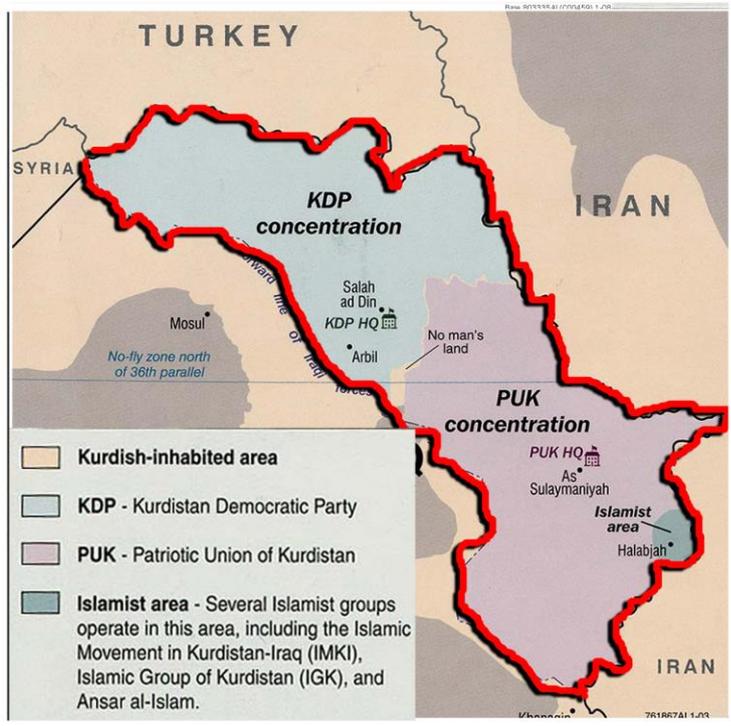


Figure 3-4: The political map of Iraqi Kurdistan in the 1990s and the 2000s. Source: The author, adapted from <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/iraq.html>.

These forces were accused, by the opponents of the two parties and a few international media channels, of silencing opposing voices, especially local journalists who were critiquing powerful members of the parties and publishing information about the involvement of these members in corrupt practices.¹⁹⁸

The political writer, Soner Cagaptay, explains the purpose of the security forces which belong to the two political parties, by saying:

*In each of the KDP and PUK areas, security is under the overarching control of the regional security agency... both the KDP and PUK maintain separate regional security agencies ... the Parastin (KDP) and Zanyari (PUK) organizations—which are kept separate because of the sensitive regime security role they play in each party.*¹⁹⁹

Each party has its own special forces, which are mobilised solely by the command of the party's leaders. These forces were repeatedly accused by the local people and international organisations of assassinating journalists. Like the KDP, the PUK was criticised for establishing nepotism, patronage and controlling economic resources. Qubad Talabani, the son of the PUK leader who held the position of the deputy prime minister of the KRG, justifies nepotism and said 'I do not think we should be inhibited because we are related to a leader, but it is important for there to be an inclusive environment'²⁰⁰.

198 There were a number of international reports regarding abuse practiced against journalists, and the most recent one was in 2010 when a Journalist called Sardasht Osman who was murdered after publishing his article targeting corrupt practices of political figures who are members of the KDP party in the city of Erbil. see Charles Glass, 'Who Killed Kurdish Journalist Sardasht Osman?', *Taki's Magazine*, 2010

<http://takimag.com/article/who_killed_kurdish_journalist_sardasht_osman/print#axzz2ctHVpqrF> [accessed 24 August 2013]; 'Profile: Who Are the Peshmerga?', *BBC News*, 12 August 2014, section Middle East <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-28738975>> [accessed 2 March 2017].

199 Soner Cagaptay, 'The Future of the Iraqi Kurds', *Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, 2008, p. 23.

200 Kate Clark, 'Corruption in Iraqi Kurdistan', *BBC*, 10 January 2008.

Adil Mudrad, one of the founders of the PUK, claims that some of the top members of the PUK and the KDP have been monopolising public resources in order to increase their personal wealth, and strengthen their own companies.²⁰¹ Mudrad states:

Corruption, once it starts, spreads and spreads in whatever environment allows it to most. The leaders of the PUK and KDP have not held their members accountable when it comes to corruption ... Companies have spoken out and said that if they do not pay certain individuals (political figures) their paperwork gets stuck. Personally, I know of a company which was subjected to bribery ... When a company builds a hotel, it has to pay this and that individual ... The ruling parties of the KDP and the PUK represent the political 'elites' who manipulate economic and political affairs'²⁰²

Murad links the domination of the two parties used over 'economic and political affairs' with corruption, and argues that the leaders of the parties used their authorities to gain narrow interests.

3.3.1.1 Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP): Historical review of power

The KDP party²⁰³ was first established in 1945 by Mustafa Barzani, the chief of the Barzani tribe, who was one of the well-known political figures in Great Kurdistan. This reputation was a result of his political activities from the 1940s to the 1970s.²⁰⁴ For instance, he was one of the founders of the first republic of Kurdistan called *Mahabad* established in 1946, and he fought for the rights of Kurdish people.

201 Adil Murad, Corruption in Iraqi Kurdistan started after the collapse of Saddam's regime: PUK founder Adil Murad <<http://www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2012/4/state6050.htm>> [accessed 21 August 2013].

202 Ibid.

203 The title of the party was Kurdish Democratic Party at that time, and it was changed to Kurdistan Democratic Party in 1953.

204 Hasan Baram, *Encyclopedia of Political Parties in Kurdistan and Iraq 1908 - 2005*, 2012.

Barzani was also involved in several negotiations with consecutive Iraqi governments.²⁰⁵ Ultimately, and for the first time, Barzani gained official recognition of Iraqi Kurdistan from the Iraqi government in 1970 which allowed the Kurdish region to have a form of autonomy. After the death of Mustafa Barzani in 1979, his son Masood Barzani became the leader of the party.²⁰⁶ Masood Barzani built a political relationship with a number of states such as Iran, where he lived in the 1980s, and the USA during the second Gulf War in 1991.²⁰⁷ The United States of America has been the major actor on the political stage of Iraqi Kurdistan. During the second Gulf War the coalition forces led by the USA provided no fly zone cover for the territories of both the KDP and PUK, which protected both the Kurds and their political leaders from the regime of Saddam Hussein.²⁰⁸ Moreover, the USA brokered reconciliation between the KDP and the PUK in 1998 with an agreement known as *The Washington Agreement* which resulted in the end of the armed confrontation which existed between them from 1994 to 1998.²⁰⁹

The KDP has been shaped based on a hereditary process, and decision-making is concentrated to a few hands, mostly within the family of the head of the party. The power of this party over the population of the areas it controls, as the Kurdish political figure Kamal Qadir puts it, ‘extends down into the high schools and universities’²¹⁰. Most official positions in their stronghold cities are held by members of the KDP. The political academic Gareth Stansfield, studied the process of decision making within the KDP, showing that despite the democratic aspect of the party’s program it seems that in practice the reality is different.²¹¹

205 Massoud Barzani and Ahmed Ferhadi, *Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Liberation Movement* (Macmillan, 2003).

206 Anonymous, ‘President Masoud Barzani’, KRG official website available at <<http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?l=12&p=232>> [accessed 2 March 2017].

207 Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

208 ‘No-Fly Zones: *The Legal Position*’, *BBC*, 19 February 2001, section Middle East <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1175950.stm> [accessed 24 August 2013].

209 Alan Makovsky, ‘*Kurdish Agreement Signals New U.S. Commitment*’, *The Washington Institute*, 1998 <<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org>> [accessed 3 March 2017].

210 Kamal Said Qadir, ‘*Iraqi Kurdistan’s Downward Spiral*’, *Middle East Quarterly*, 2007.

211 Gareth R. V. Stansfield, *Iraqi Kurdistan: Emergent Democracy*, 2003, pp. 104–11.

Stansfield believes that the ruling Barzani family strongly influences decision-making processes in government institutions, and states ‘once a decision has been arrived at by the leadership, it is implemented without question by the lower echelons of the party’²¹².

In their study *The Kurdish Mirage: A Success Story in Doubt*, Kawa Jabary and Anil Hira concluded that the KDP use the local governments as ‘a vehicle for patronage’²¹³. For instance, Kamal Mirawdeli, who nominated himself for the position of the President of Iraqi Kurdistan (which is occupied by the leader of the KDP) in 2009, wrote an open letter, titled *Barzani and Kurdistan Region*, to the American President Barack Obama after Mirawdeli’s defeat²¹⁴ in the election:

*After 21 years of the party patronage system, there is no rule of law, no regulations, no functioning institutions, no economy, no economic policy and plans, no economic growth and production, no labour market, no financial and banking system, no equal opportunity and justice ... They [the leader of the KDP, his sons and relatives] also monopolise most of the region’s resources, finances, businesses and external and internal commercial interests without any shred of legitimacy and even nominal accountability to anyone. By so doing they have created the most brutal discriminatory and unjust regime which daily victimises people in various forms*²¹⁵

The statement demonstrates the power of the KDP leadership over social and economic contexts. The KDP was the force behind the creation of a political movement named the *Patriotic Union of Kurdistan*, which is explained in the next section.

212 Ibid., p.109.

213 Kawa Jabary and Anil Hira, ‘The Kurdish Mirage: A Success Story in Doubt’, *Middle East Policy*, 20.2 (2013), 99–112, p. 110.

214 Kamal Mirawdeli gained 25.32% of the votes while his rival Masoud Barzani won around 70%

215 Kamal Mirawdeli, ‘Barzani and Kurdistan Region: An Open Letter to President Obama’, *Kurdish Aspect*, 2012 <<http://www.kurdishaspect.com/>> [accessed 20 August 2013].

Following the collapse of the 1970 agreement and the emergence of the Algiers Accord in 1975, which forced Mustafa Barzani to withdraw from political life, two prominent members of the KDP, Jalal Talabani and Ibrahim Ahmed, along with their allies, founded the PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan).²¹⁶ This party has been the second most influential political agent in Iraqi Kurdistan.

3.3.1.2 Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)

As mentioned in the previous section, following the announcement of a ceasefire in 1975 and the death of leader Mustafa Barzani, there was a political vacuum in Iraqi Kurdistan. Two former members of the KDP, Jalal Talbani and Ibrahim Ahmed, along with other individuals²¹⁷ declared the creation of the PUK in June 1975.²¹⁸

In 1992, along with the KDP, the PUK participated in forming the first elected Kurdish government in the history of Kurdistan. Unlike the KDP, which is based on heredity, the PUK was formed from the incorporation of different political movements. Moreover, the leaders who ran the party throughout the 1990s and the 2000s were non-relatives, and most of them were described as educated politicians.²¹⁹ The political environment inside the party allows for debates and criticism.

There were different political tensions between the leaders of the PUK, and this caused Nawshirwan Mustafa (one of the PUK leaders) to split from the PUK in 2006. In 2009, Mustafa established a political movement, entitled *The Change Movement*, in Slemani. This movement quickly attracted public support and gained more than 20% of the seats in the Kurdish Parliament in the election of 2009.²²⁰

216 Anonymous, 'Patriotic Union of Kurdistan - History', PUK (the official website of the party), available at: <<http://www.pukpb.org/en/meju>> [accessed 20 August 2013].

217 They were Nawshirwan Mustafa, Dr. Fouad Masoum, Dr. Kamal Fouad, Adil Murad, Omer Sheik Mus and Abdul-Razaq Faili

218 See Anonymous, 'Patriotic Union of Kurdistan - History', PUK

219 Hasan Baram, *Encyclopedia of Political Parties in Kurdistan and Iraq 1908 - 2005*, 2012.

220 Anonymous, 'Electoral Commission Announces Final Results of Kurdistan Region Elections', KRG (the official website of Kurdistan Regional Government), 2009, available at: <<http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx>> [accessed 2 March 2017].

3.3.1.3 Business ‘elites’

The political and economic changes, which occurred after 2003, contributed significantly to the production of local business ‘elites’. Prior to 2003, the national revenue depended on agriculture, trading and financial allocation from the central government in Baghdad. According to Faysal Ali, the head of the *Kurdish Economic Forum*, the national revenue of Kurdistan was extremely limited before 2003 and was affected by political agendas of the central government of Iraq.²²¹

Faysal said that Saddam’s regime, which started from 1979 and collapsed in 2003, caused damage to the economy of Iraqi Kurdistan when the regime demolished 5000 villages during the 1980s by using military force, a number which made up 92% of all villages in the region. Faysal adds that the international blockade, which was imposed on Iraq in 1990 as a result of the invasion of Kuwait, and the internal armed conflict between the two main Kurdish parties (PUK and KDP) from 1994 to 1998 contributed to further decline in the region’s economic development which remained poor until 2003. Following 2003, the economy of Kurdistan has flourished enormously for the following reasons: (a) the fall of Saddam’s government; (b) the removal of international sanctions on Iraq; (c) the establishment of the new constitution which recognises the share of the Kurdistan region in the Iraqi state’s budget²²²; (d) the adoption of an open door policy for investment and, for the first time, the ruling parties commissioned international oil corporations to work for producing oil from the Kurdistan region.²²³ It is worth clarifying that In 2013, official figures demonstrated that oil constituted 84% of commodity exportation, and GDP is 12 Billion US dollars. Within that housing is marked at 20.6%, agriculture 6.8%, industry 22%, services 1.4%, tourism 19.3%, trade 14.5%.²²⁴ In the late 2000s, the GDP of Iraqi Kurdistan started to increase at a rapid pace.

221 Faysal Ali, ‘The Nature of Economic Diversity in Iraqi Kurdistan’, *PUK Media*, 2013
<http://www.pukmedia.com/AR_Direje.aspx?Jimare=9643> [accessed 28 July 2013].

222 The Iraqi government set 17% of the state budget in 2004, and in 2013 the amount of the Kurdistan budget reached Historical amount 22 Billion US dollars.

223 See BBC, ‘UN Lifts Sanctions against Iraq’, *BBC*, 15 December 2010, section Middle East
<<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12004115>> [accessed 29 July 2013].

224 KRG, ‘Kurdistan’s Economy’, *Kurdistan Board of Investment*, 2013.
<<http://www.kurdistaninvestment.org/economy.html>> [accessed 22 July 2013].

The economic growth rate rose to 12 % in 2012 comparison to 6% in 2009.²²⁵ The ratio of investment activities doubled in 2005, and a year later the National Assembly of Iraqi Kurdistan issued a new investment law, which dramatically lowered barriers for foreign investors.²²⁶ Section 3 of Article 3 reads:

*The foreign investor and capital shall be treated as the national investor and capital. The foreign investor shall have the right to own the entire capital of any project that he establishes in the region under this law.*²²⁷

The law also established what is called *The Investment Board of Kurdistan* which has financial and administrative independence with full authority for facilitating business activities and lifting the burden of bureaucracy. Reports show that investors poured in 14 billion US dollars in total between 2005 and 2011, and the new policy has attracted many foreign companies totalling over 50 in 2013.²²⁸

3.3.1.4 Intellectual ‘elites’

Before 2003 the number of architects and urban planners in Iraqi Kurdistan, especially in Slemani, was relatively small because architecture or urban planning schools were first introduced in Slemani in the mid-2000s. Previously these schools had never existed due to numerous political and social factors. The number of these professionals increased due to a number of other factors. For example, when the war of 2003 started many groups of urban professionals and architects moved to Kurdish cities from other regions of Iraq due to the socio-political issues after the war.

225 Anonymous, ‘Erbil’, *Erbil (Hawler), Capital of Kurdistan*, 2009 <<http://www.erbil-capital.org/wirtschaft/?L=5>> [accessed 28 July 2013].

226 Almas Heshmati and Rhona Davis, ‘The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment Flows to the Federal Region of Kurdistan,’ *Available at SSRN 1136380*, 2008, p.5.

227 See ‘Law No. 4 Of 2006 : *Investment Law in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region*’ in Appendix M.

228 Atkinson, Simon, ‘*Kurdish Oil Exports Stall in Row*’, BBC, 20 March 2013, section Business <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-21793783>> [accessed 28 July 2013].

Some joined academic and governmental institutions in order to have greater access to decision-making institutions.

3.3.2 ‘Non-Elite’ groups: Groups outside power spheres

3.3.2.1 Non-partisan people

People who are not members of political parties, especially the KDP and the PUK, are often excluded from decision-making. One of the founders of the PUK, Nawshirwan Mustafa, stated that non-members of the PUK or KDP are not only excluded from top official posts, but they also cannot ‘even become head teachers’²²⁹. In his study *Iraqi Kurdistan: Contours of a Post-Civil War Society*, Michiel Leezenberg, writes:

*There seems to be a widespread perception that institutionalised clientelism, and having to bribe officials for various kinds of civil services, is, if not the norm for legitimate government, then at least the normal factual state of affairs. People may be dissatisfied with the authorities in power, but they often not only lack the means and the media for voicing their protests; they are also too financially dependent on the parties to engage in any genuine public oppositional activities.*²³⁰

In this context, political ‘elites’ created a form of governance in which ‘non-elite’ populations were not able to challenge the existing political structure, and the emergence of oppositional power tended to be extremely difficult. Clientelism shaped processes of decision-making in government institutions, and the processes became typically top-down.²³¹

229 An interview with Nawshirwan Mustafa <<http://www.kurdishaspect.com/doc061009AZ.html>> [accessed 2 March 2017].

230 Michiel Leezenberg, ‘Iraqi Kurdistan: Contours of a Post-Civil War Society’, *Third World Quarterly*, 26.4/5 (2005), 631–47 (p. 641).

231 Muslih Irwani, *Clientelism and Implementing Social Security Programmes in Post-Conflict Iraqi Kurdistan Region* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

Non-partisan people are usually those middle or low-income earners. As shown in Figure 3-5, government employees fall into category of middle-income.²³² This class includes both genders and features an age bracket of 18-63. The number of these public sector employees are relatively high in Iraqi Kurdistan, as the Deputy Prime Minister Qubad Talabani declared in 2016: the region has ‘a massive public sector ... enormous public sector’²³³.

3.3.2.2 Female population: The status of women in a male-dominated society

In Kurdish society men dominate political and social life. A large volume of published studies describes the physical violence that women face in Kurdish society, violence which has been associated with cultural and religious traditions. During the years 1991 to 2007, numerous physical and non-physical forms of violence were recorded against women in Iraqi Kurdistan, such as honour-based crime (HBC), online harassment, forced marriage, and female genital mutilation.²³⁴

HBC has been defined in numerous ways and according to Robert Kiener, the author of *Honour Killings: Can Murders of Women and Girls Be Stopped?*, the term refers to ‘women or girls [who] have been killed by a male relative for allegedly bringing dishonour upon their family’²³⁵. This category of crime was regarded by the United Nations in 2008 as being a ‘serious concern in Kurdistan’.²³⁶

232 See RTI International, ‘*Kurdistan Region: Economic Development Assessment*’, p.5.

233 Steven Saka, ‘*Qubad Talabani: Iraq Has Failed as a State, Qubad Talabani, HARDtalk* (TV program), BBC World News’, London: BBC, 2016, available at: <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04kmgc3>> [accessed 3 March 2017].

234 Anonymous, ‘*National Strategy to Confront Violence against Women in Kurdistan 2012 -2016*’ Kurdistan Regional Government Supreme Council for Women Affairs, government website, 2012), 2, available at: http://www.ekrg.org/files/pdf/strategy_combat%20violence_against_women_English.pdf.

235 Robert Kiener, ‘*Honour Killings: Can Murders of Women and Girls Be Stopped?*,’ *Global Researcher*, April 19, 2011, p.183.

236 Shwan Muhammad, ‘*Surge in Violence against Women in Iraqi Kurdistan*,’ News Channel, www.france24.com, (May 24, 2008), <http://www.france24.com/en/20080524-surge-violence-against-women-iraqi-kurdistan?q=node/1924390//2>.

Group	Income (in USD)	Status
Upper income	Over \$6000	Heads of business
Better off	Over \$2000	Senior executives
Middle-income	Under \$2000	Government staff Middle level staff
Low-income	Under \$600	Small traders Workers Laborers
Very low-income	Under \$400	Widows Pensioners Unemployed

Figure 3-5: The average earnings of the middle income group or public sector employees between 2003 and 2013. Source: Faraj 2014, p.36.

In 2011, UNICEF announced that 6% of all families were polygynous.²³⁷ A survey conducted by the Ministry of Health of Iraq and the World Health Organization (WHO) between 2006 and 2007 shows that:

*61.6 percent of women ... had experienced controlling behaviour by their husbands, 17.6 percent had suffered from emotional violence and 10.9 percent have experienced some form of physical violence*²³⁸.

A study conducted by a German-based organisation (WADI), which campaigns for women's rights in Iraqi Kurdistan, revealed in 2010 that 72.7 percent of more than 1400 females surveyed across the region had experienced genital mutilation, and in some rural areas the rate was one hundred percent.²³⁹

3.3.3 The city of Slemani: The context of urban planning and architecture

Slemani is one of the major cities of the Kurdistan region of Iraq and is located in the northeast of the country, administratively subsumed within the governorate of Slemani (Figure 3-6). To this date, the official name of the city is written differently in online or physical documents because it is somewhat politically disputed. The name is pronounced Slemani, or سلیمانی in Kurdish font, by the regional authorities of Kurdistan and Sulaymaniyah, or السليمانية in Arabic font, by the central Iraqi government. While some Arab writers allege that the name is non-Kurdish, some Kurdish references claim that this name was created by the Kurdish prince Ibrahim Baban²⁴⁰ who founded the city in 1784 A.D, and named it after his father Sleman Baban.

237 Abd-Alhameed Zybari, 'UNICEF Announced Results of Some Surveys in Iraq', *Iraqhurr*, 2012 <<http://www.sotaliraq.com/iraq-news>. > [accessed 27 July 2013].

238 Rozhgar A Saleem and others, 'Female Genital Mutilation in Iraqi Kurdistan: Description and Associated Factors', *Women & Health*, 2013.

239 Talha Burki, 'Reports Focus on Female Genital Mutilation in Iraqi Kurdistan', *The Lancet*, 375.9717 (2010), 794.

240 The Baban dynasty ruled areas in Iran and Iraq (esp. Kurdish areas) in the 17th and 18th century.

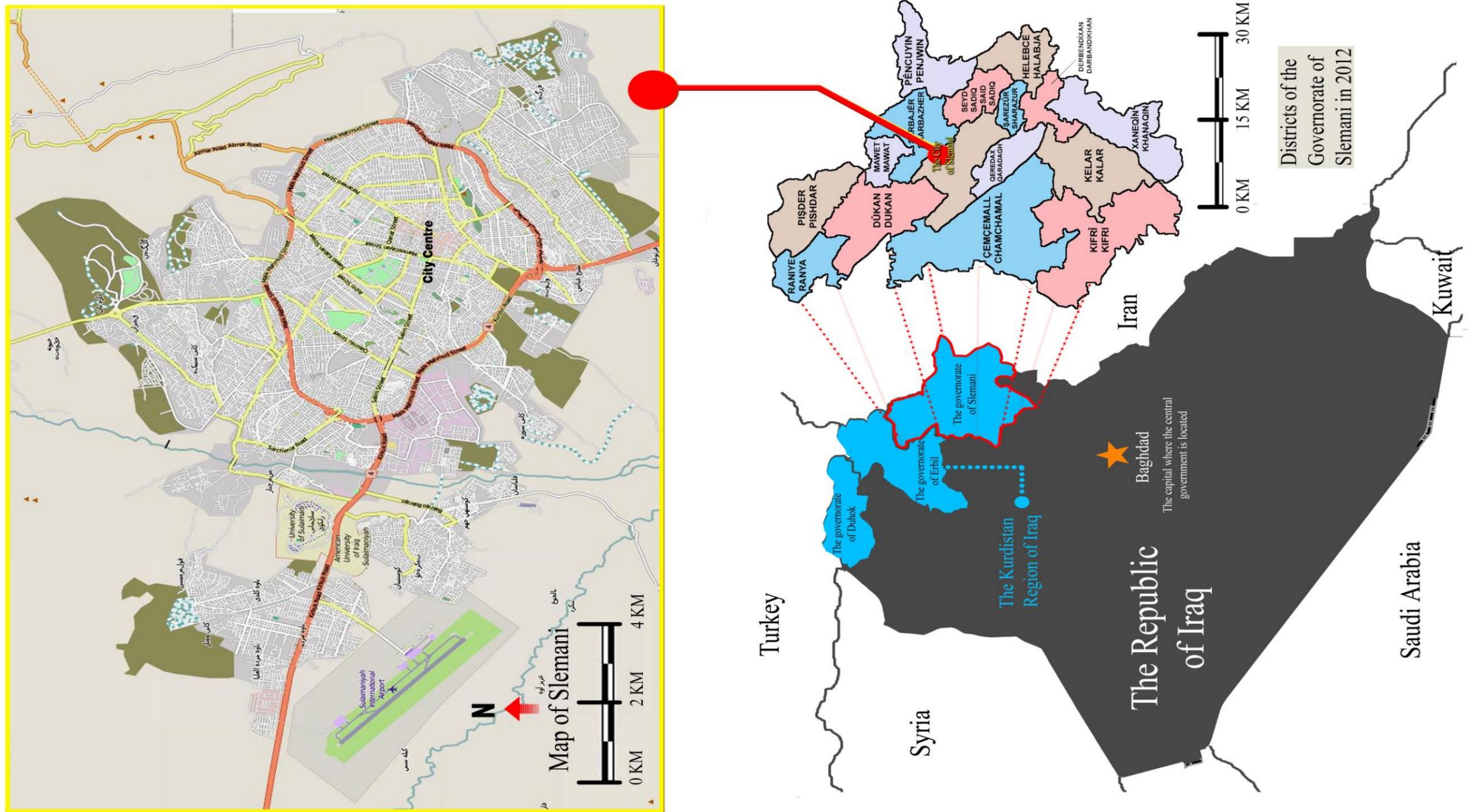


Figure 3-6: Slemani is one of the major cities of the Kurdistan region of Iraq and is located in the northeast of the country. It is administratively subsumed within the governorate of Slemani. Source: The author, adapted from www.arcgis.com, and Slemani Municipality.

In 2003 the inhabitants of Slemani totalled around 490,000 which then increased to 585,855 in 2010 due to economic and political developments.²⁴¹ For instance, thousands fled troubled Iraqi areas, which witnessed various forms of religious and sectarian conflicts, and moved to Slemani and other places within the Kurdistan region.²⁴² Within a period of four years after the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, the number of displaced Arab families who entered the city (not the whole governorate) of Slemani and rented houses hit 30,000 - about 4% of the total population.²⁴³ The ratio of male and female populations remained almost equal, 50.53 % male and 49.47 % female in 2010, over that period.²⁴⁴ Nearly 96 % of the city's population are Kurdish citizens and permanent residents and the vast majority of the inhabitants are Sunni-Muslims (Figure 3-7).²⁴⁵

The urban structure of Slemani changed considerably after 2003 due the political and economic shift. The size of the city almost doubled in a relatively short period. Historically, the boundary of Slemani has expanded gradually over two hundred years. As shown in Figure 3-8, the urban growth remained contained within a radius of 2 kilometres in the first century of the existence of Slemani, and in the next century the built-up areas increased to almost a 4 kilometres radius. However, the growth pace considerably accelerated in a period of only one decade, between 2003 and 2013, and the boundary of the city became nearly twice as large as it was in 2003 (Figure 3-9). The following sections will present information on the urban, architectural and political aspects of the city.

241 Anonymous, Kurdistan Regional Statistics Office, *Public Projections of Iraqi Kurdistan*, Iraqi Kurdistan, Erbil: The Ministry of Planning of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), August 2014, p. 26, 45 <http://krso.net/files/articles/200415050341.pdf> [accessed 22 March 2017]

242 See Tom Watson, 'Those Families in Iraq Fleeing in Terror from Isis Killers – They Are Our Problem | Tom Watson', *The Guardian*, 12 August 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/aug/12/>.

243 Salam Kuba, 'الاستثمار العقاري والسياسة الإسكانية في العراق' [*Real Estate Investment and Housing Policy in Iraq*], *الحوار المتمدن*, 30 November 2008, <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=154952>; 'Ministry of Planning, Kurdistan Region', accessed 26 July 2013, <http://www.mop-krg.org/>.

244 Anonymous, *Public Projections of Iraqi Kurdistan*, Kurdistan Regional Statistics Office, 2014.

245 Ibid.

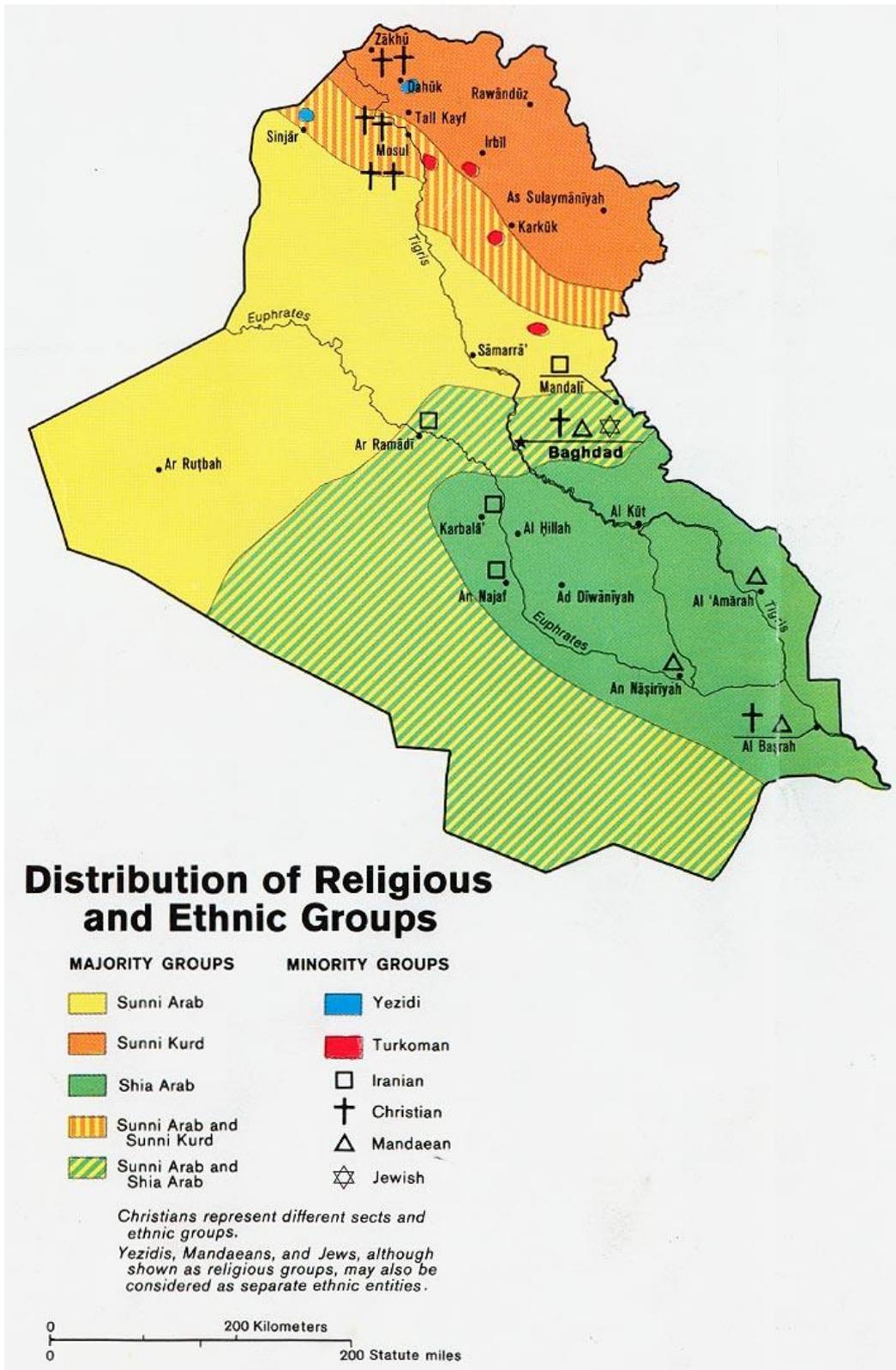


Figure 3-7: Nearly 96 % of the city population are Kurdish citizens and permanent residents, and the vast majority of the inhabitants are Sunni-Muslims. Source: The university of Texas at Austin, <https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/iraq.html>.

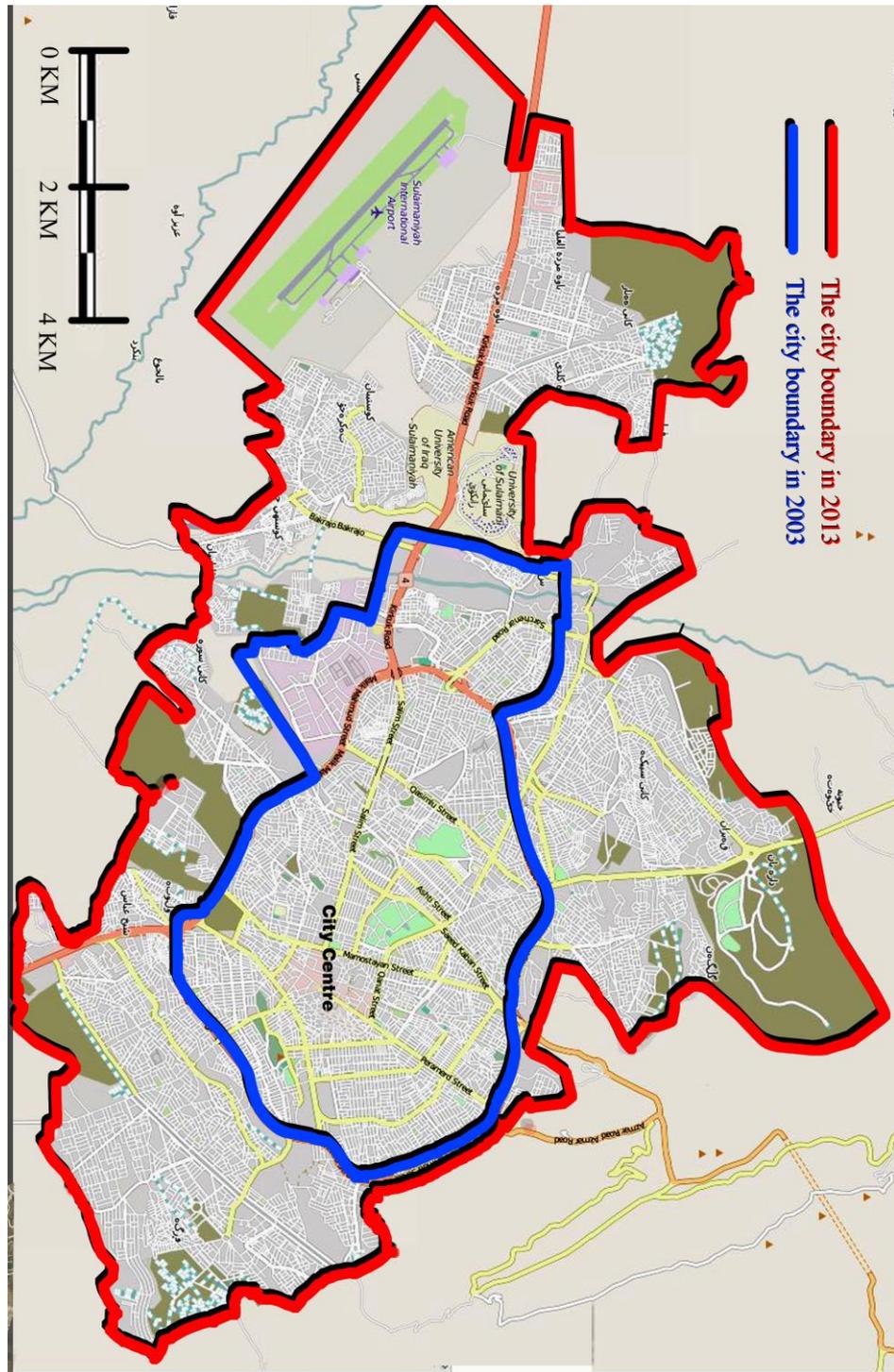


Figure 3-9: The growth pace accelerated considerably in the period of only one decade, between 2003 and 2013, and the boundary of the city became nearly twice as large as it was in 2003. Source: The author, adapted from www.arcgis.com, and Slemani Municipality.

3.3.3.1 Administration structure

As demonstrated in Figure 3-10, the political system in the Kurdistan region of Iraq is presidential. The Kurdish territories are constituted by three governorates which are, to a certain extent²⁴⁶, administratively decentralised and divided into smaller units: districts and sub-districts and each one has its own administration council.²⁴⁷

The city of Slemani is the capital of the District of Slemani, locally called *Qazay Slêmani* قهزای سلیمانی, and the city houses the Slemani Governorate Headquarters (SGH) where urban officials operate; this including the provincial governor who holds the highest executive powers on the governorate level, and the members of the provincial council which is a regulatory authority. The SGH includes many sectors and one of them is the Engineering Department which supervises architectural projects which are properties of the public sector.²⁴⁸

Slemani, as other Kurdish cities in different governorates, has its own directorates which are under the authority of the provincial governor. One of the directories is Slemani Municipality which, according to the Iraqi-law No.165 of 1964 on municipal management (see Appendix L), is governed by a council which is elected by the local inhabitants. The members of the municipal council are responsible for preparing a masterplan for the urban areas under its governance.²⁴⁹ As dictated in the law, the masterplan can be drafted by foreign or local urban experts if they receive an invitation from the council, which supervises the planning procedures in liaison with other government organisations, such as the Ministry of Municipalities and Tourism. In addition to other duties, the municipal officials monitor and control all processes in relation to the built environment, in the sense that municipals are authorised to issue construction permissions, supervise building works, check the compliance of architectural and civil drawings with building regulations, and the like.

246 The power of local decision makers, such as provincial governors and general directors, is less than that of higher ranking officials.

247 Farah Shakir, *The Iraqi Federation: Origin, Operation and Significance* (Taylor & Francis, 2017), pp. 131–33.

248 'Fact Sheet'.

249 See James M. Carter, *Hard Lessons: The Iraq Reconstruction Experience* (Wiley Online Library, 2012).

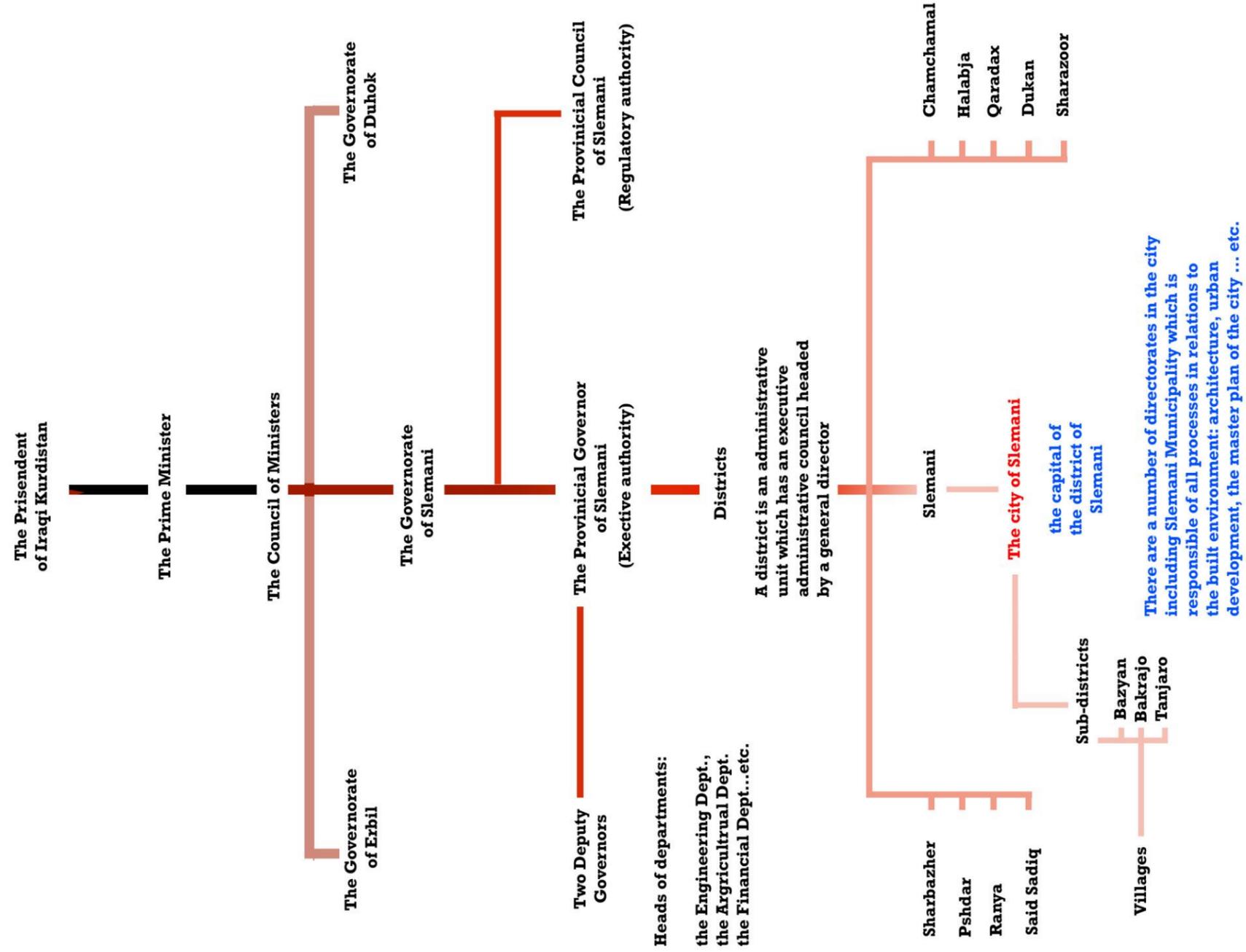


Figure 3-10: The administration structure of the Kurdish territories in 2013. The Kurdish region is constituted by three governorates which are administratively decentralised and divided into smaller units: districts and sub-districts and each one has its own administration council. Slemani is the capital of the district of Slemani which is one of the 10 districts of the governorate of Slemani. Source: The author, drawn based on information obtained from the website of the Kurdistan government: <http://cabinet.gov.krd>.

3.3.3.2 The master plan of Slemani and urban regulations

The contemporary planning system and building regulations in Slemani and Iraqi Kurdistan has its historical roots, which trace back to the mid-1950s. The overall scheme²⁵⁰ was originally created by Europeans and was marginally altered by Iraqi planners in the following decades.

In 1950, the then Iraqi Prime Minister, Nuri Al-Saed, founded an institution called the Development Board (DB) which undertook processes of ‘modernising’ major cities of the country according to ‘western standards’.²⁵¹ The DB commissioned the Greek architect and urban planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis to design what was then named the National Housing of Iraq Program as well as to develop urban routes and infrastructures in some cities within the country. Doxiadis Associates (DA) conceived a number of master plans for major Iraqi cities, which were characterised by the gridiron layout.²⁵² The schemes of DA were further developed in 1965 and 1966 by other European professionals, who were assigned by a new political regime which toppled the previous one by a military coup.²⁵³ The new Iraqi decision makers commissioned Polish planners, who operated within a technical agency named Polservice, to advance the policies of Doxiadis and produce further detailed building regulations.²⁵⁴ Up to this date, these construction standards are being used in Kurdistan, and also in Iraq, with minor modifications (Figure 3-11).

250 Obtaining some information about the recent masterplan of the city was difficult due to the delicacy of the data. The masterplan was hindered by some political factors and this was nearly impossible to find in a written document. Therefore, I relied on spoken material in a face-to-face interview and a TV program

251 Leteris Theodosis, ‘‘Containing’ Baghdad: Constantinos Doxiadis’ Program for a Developing Nation’, 2008.

252 Panayiota Pyla, ‘Back to the Future: Doxiadis’s Plans for Baghdad’, *Journal of Planning History*, 7.1 (2008), 3–19.

253 Muhammad Hussein Awni, ‘Urban Case Studies, Baghdad, Iraq: Low Income Dwelling Surveys and a Site and Services Proposal.’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1979).

254 See Patsy Healey and Robert Upton, *Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices* (Routledge, 2010).

In 1958, the first masterplan for Slemani was conceived by DA (Figure 3-12), and later in the 1980s it was developed by Iraqi planners in accordance with DA and Polservice standards.²⁵⁵ Participant 34, one of senior consultants at Slemani Municipality who was interviewed in 2014, clarified that the urban designs conceived for the city and other urban areas by consecutive Iraqi governments were ‘derived from the work of western planners’²⁵⁶. The consultant denoted that the work was done the European urban professionals. When the political system in Iraqi Kurdistan transformed in mid-1991, the local authorities in Slemani perpetuated the inherited planning standards, and in the following decade constructions spread over urban lands in an uncontrollable way. The policy makers were not able to neither regulate the urban sprawl nor design a new masterplan for the city, due to a period of social and economic unrest which followed dramatic events: the Second Gulf War and the Kurdish revolt in 1991, as well as the internal armed conflict in the mid-1990s. Consequently, built-up areas shifted to the urban lands which had been specified as agricultural (Figure 3-13) in the original masterplan.²⁵⁷ This is explained below.

In the post-2003 era, the city officials signed an agreement with German corporation IGCO, to design a new masterplan considering the issue of the unplanned sprawl or the ‘haphazard building frenzy’²⁵⁸ as described by the Kurdish journalist Lawen A. Sagerma. Nevertheless, the process of designing the urban plan encountered obstacles that arose from conflicts of interests among top ‘powerful figures’, according to the then head of the Slemani Provincial Council, Participant 23— referring to members of the political elite.²⁵⁹

255 Mohammed Amin and Hanaw Mohammed Taqi, ‘Conservation Planning, Urban Change and Social Life in Sulaimaniyah, Kurdistan-Iraq’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2017).

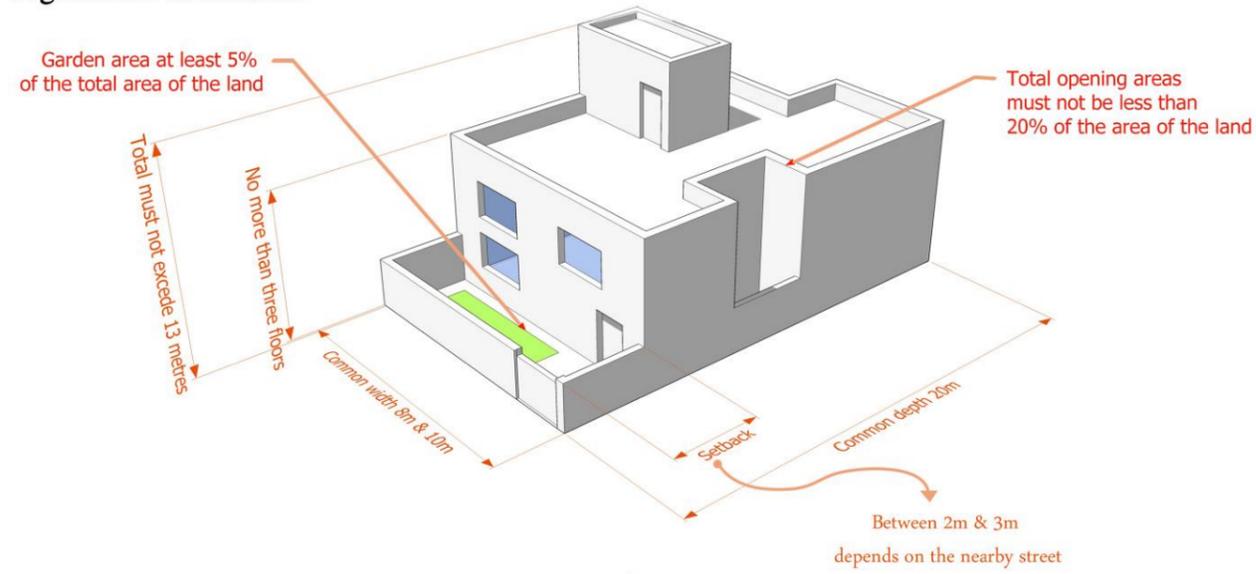
256 Participant 34, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 8 June 2014..

257 Ibid.

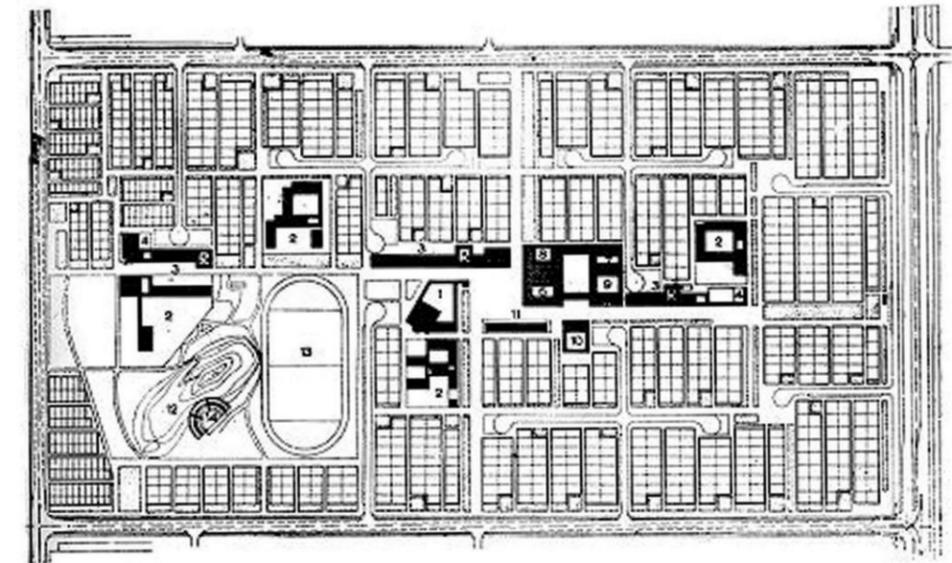
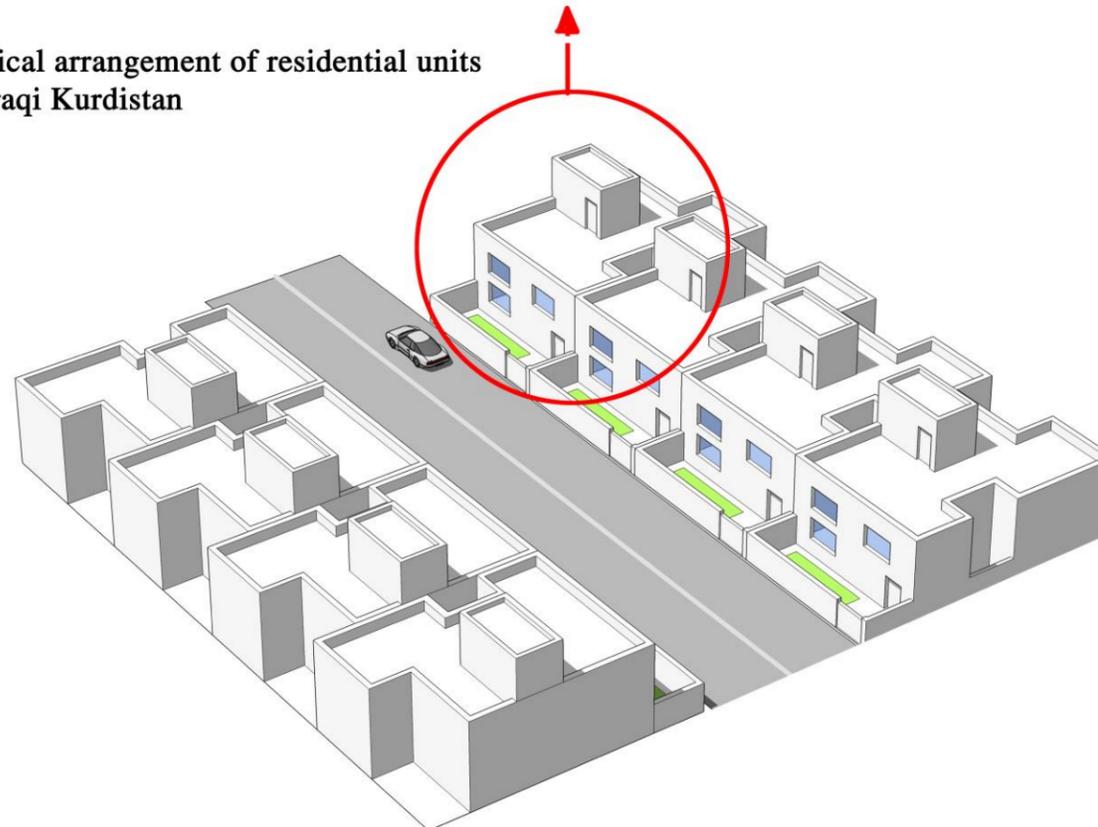
258 Lawen A. Sagerma, ‘The Master Plans for Slemani and Erbil Are Finally Complete, Putting an End to the Haphazard Building Frenzy.’, *Soma: An Iraqi-Kurdish Digest*, 2008, p. 14 <ibrarian.net/navon/paper/Price__1_Issue_no_49_Dec_5___18__2008.pdf> [accessed 6 May 2018].

259 Participant 23, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 22 July 2014..

Visualisation of some of the building regulations in Slemani



Typical arrangement of residential units in Iraqi Kurdistan



- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Mosque | 5 Coffee Houses | 9 Public Health Centre | 13 Sports Ground |
| 2 School | 6 Administration | 10 Police Station | 14 Open Air Theatre |
| 3 Market | 7 Red Crescent | 11 Shops | |
| 4 Public Baths | 8 Cultural Centre | 12 Public Park | |

▲ One of Doxiadis's plans

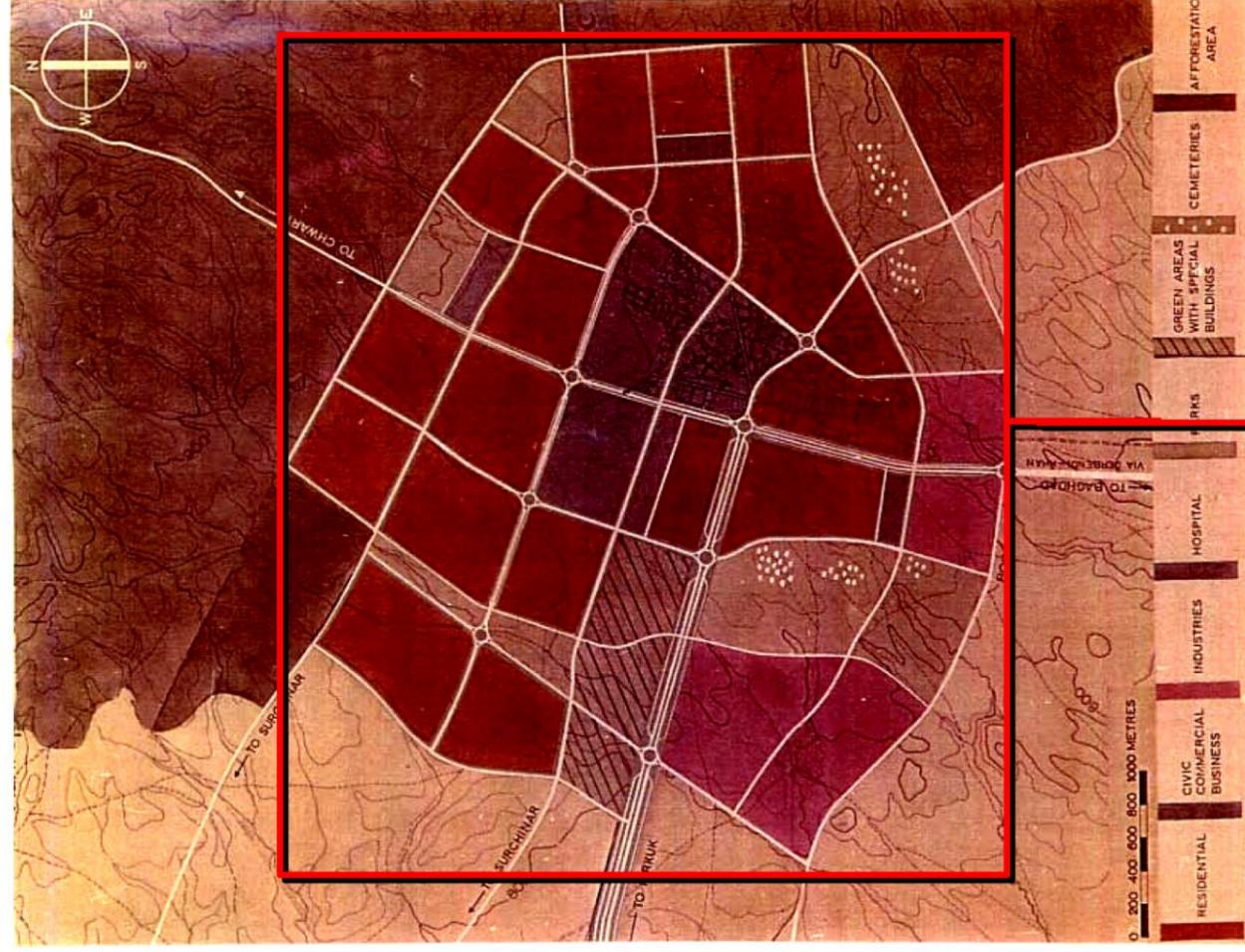


▲ The implementation of Polservice designs in Baghdad in the 1960s

Figure 3-11: A sample of construction standards which was originally cast by European planners and are imposed by Slemani Municipality. Up to this date, these building regulations are being used in Kurdistan, and also in Iraq, with minor modifications. Source: The author, drawn based on data gained from Slemani Municipality and Pyla, 2008, p.11.

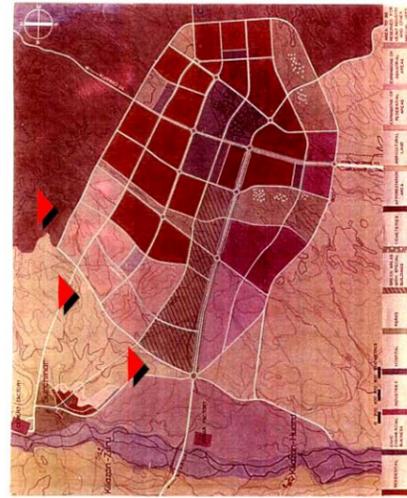
THE PROPOSED MASTER PLAN OF SULAIMANIYA

The Proposed Master Plan of Slemani in 1958



Doxiadis planned the surrounding region on the west and north west of the city in same year

THE PROPOSED MASTER PLAN OF SULAIMANIYA AND THE SURROUNDING REGION POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER EXPANSIONS



DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTING ENGINEERS



Master Plan of Slemani in 2009

Figure 3-12: The image shows two masterplans of Slemani one was created in 2009, and the other in 1958 when planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis was commissioned by the then Iraqi officials to conceive an urban design for the city. Source: The author, adapted from Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives and Slemani Municipality.

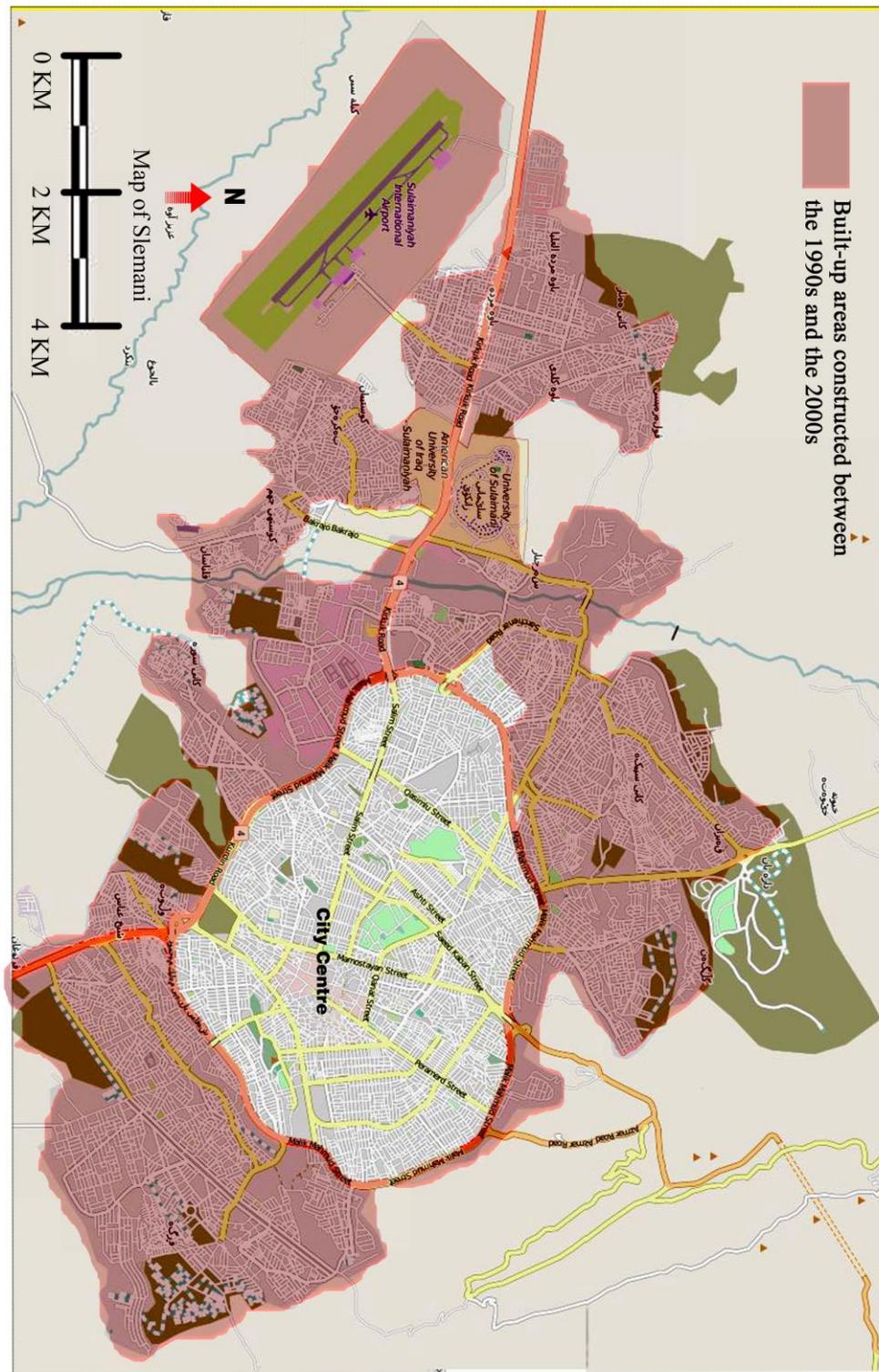


Figure 3-13: Most built-up areas, which were constructed between the 1990s and the 2000s, spread over agricultural lands. Source: The author, adapted from www.arcgis.com, and Slemani Municipality.

In the same vein, during a TV conversation regarding the urban architecture of Slemani one local academic and architecture critic, Bayar Omer, stated:

Unfortunately if there is no political support for the execution of the masterplan and it [the masterplan] turns to be mere ink on a paper ... top political officials violated the masterplan for example they if they desire to acquire an urban land and the land is categorised as Green Area in the masterplan they change the category to Residential Area in order to use the land for their housing projects ... some political figures within Yekêti [the PUK party] allowed people to build houses without construction permissions just to gain their votes ... so again there is no political support backing the masterplan.

The host: do architectural processes take place randomly? ... you spoke about the masterplan, is situation on the micro scale [architectural level] as catastrophic as the urban scale?

It is like that and even worse ...

The host: who is responsible?

The municipality [SM] I do not refer to the officials within the municipality instead I mean the political figures [implying top political elites] which manipulate the municipality²⁶⁰

Omer outlined some reasons behind the issues that hindered processes of creating the masterplan. The critic emphasised the absence of ‘political support’ which meaning that there was no consensus among the local elites to materialise the IGCO design.

260 گرفته‌مکانی نهمشه‌دانانی ناوهدانی له باشووری کوردستان، [Issues of Development Planning in Southern Kurdistan]?, *Rudaw* (Slemani: rudaw.net, 2016)

<http://rudaw.net/sorani/onair/tv/episodes/episode/lagal_ranj_01092016> [accessed 8 September 2016].

The design seemed to have gone too far and conflicted with the interests of the elites. Omer also referred to the lack of desire of some elites for serving the wider community. For instance, some PUK officials, who held top municipal posts, granted lands to certain populations. This allowed them, for political reasons, to construct private houses without legal permissions. This in turn, caused further issues for the German firm and prolonged the design of the masterplan. In a newspaper interview about the processes of creating the masterplan, the general manager of IGCO, Bayad Abdullah, elucidated that the technical teams struggled to collect data about the urban spaces which were constructed without the permission or even the knowledge of the local authorities, especially the Slemani Municipality.²⁶¹ As a result, the company staff repeated their design and produced multiple versions of it over a five-year period—from 2006 to 2011 (Figure 3-14).

3.4 Concluding remarks

In general, power in Kurdistan is concentrated in the hands of top political ‘elites’, who belong to the KDP and the PUK parties. These ‘elites’ controlled most aspects of economic and social life.

Based on official data, they were able to dominate elections, which took place in the 1990s and the 2000s, and thus they easily formed government cabinets. Political leaders showed, allegedly, strong interventions in business contexts and they were repeatedly accused of manipulating local markets. This domination left a narrow space for non-elites, especially non-members of both parties, to take part in decision-making processes. The most powerless ‘non-elite’ groups seem to be women, and this is because they live in a party-controlled and male-dominated society.

In the context of Slemani, it seems that the authority of the PUK had been institutionalised between 1991 and 2013. Most of the top government positions in the city were held by members of the party; they managed to shape some social and economic aspects according to the interests of the party, and most probably, to advance personal benefits.

²⁶¹ Sagrma, p. 14.

The power of PUK elites affected the built environment on macro and micro levels. It further appears that the processes of creating a masterplan for the city in the mid-2000s were delayed due to the absence of a unanimous agreement among some powerful elites, in regard to producing benefits for the wider community.

Chapter 4 : Methodology

4.1 Overview

The design of this research is structured based on two levels, a theoretical and an empirical. The first adopts a conceptual framework, which was derived from the literature chapter, and it guides the second part (the empirical) which follows a case-study approach.

The methodology is directed towards answering the overarching question: **what were the powers behind spatial production in Slemani between 2003 and 2013?** The question sets the stage for two groups of sub-questions, which narrow down the focus of the investigation to theoretical principles of power and production and the socio-political context of Slemani. The first group of sub-questions, below, is related to the theoretical level:

- a. What is the concept of power?
- b. What is the relationship between power and space?
- c. How does this relationship influence processes of space production?
- d. How do different power structures produce divergent spaces?

The second group of sub-questions are related to the empirical part:

- a. What were the reasons or motivations behind the rapid architectural development between 2003 and 2013?
- b. Who exerted power over architecture and urban spaces in the city?
- c. Which mechanisms shaped the built environment?
- d. What invisible or non-human forces were involved in processes of space production?
- e. What are the possibilities for shaping an alternative (s) for the politics of space production?

The first group of sub-questions are addressed in the literature chapter which includes some accounts of power and architecture.

The concept of power was investigated and interpreted as consisting of four interconnected elements: capacity, actions, relations and the duality of object and subject. Subsequently, a conceptual framework was developed in the literature chapter which represents three moments of architectural production: the mental, the social, and the physical. The mental production is assumed to be controlled by 'elite' groups (the moment is also known the space of 'elites'), the social is dominated by 'non-elite' people (spaces of 'non-elites'), and the physical is the space of constructional actions, which are taken by 'elites' or 'non-elites' and this depends on their capacities to carry out such actions. When a mode of production is governed by the form of 'power-over' (domination of 'elites') the resultant space becomes abstract, and when the mode is governed by the form of 'power-with' (cooperation between 'elites' and 'non-elites') the space turns into absolute. In simple terms, 'abstract spaces' are conceived and controlled by only 'elite' people, who use spaces as instruments to promote narrow interests. In contrast, 'absolute spaces' are collectively constructed by 'elite' and 'non-elite' populations and these spaces benefit both groups in (almost) equal ways.

In regard to the second group of the sub-questions, they are related to both the empirical study and the socio-geographical context, where the built environment was formed in light of certain forms of power and modes of spacial production. The methodology was influenced by the notion of 'relative ontology' and the epistemological perspective borrows elements from two prominent qualitative paradigms: the interpretive and the critical. Both paradigms see reality as a social construction and since the nature of the research questions are both explanatory and exploratory, participants' realities are accepted and sometimes interrogated. In other words, when it comes to identifying specific groups who overtly exerted power on architecture, the reality of a participant will be considered. However, realities will be questioned if participants regard the power of these groups to be taken for granted.

The approach of case study was chosen and each case study was determined on the basis of two key criteria: (a) the anticipated power of the decision makers, who produced the case; and (b) the architectural economic and social features of the case.

Three categories of architectural spaces have been considered as case studies in the empirical work: investment-driven projects, government-sponsored constructions and privately-sponsored houses.

There are four case studies in total: two urban projects with different functions sponsored by business ‘elites’, two buildings built by the local government, and a project looking at small-scale houses constructed by middle income or ‘non-elite’ people. Each space is seen as a product of the interaction between the ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups. This means that each product should show some sort of power relations between the two classes, and how the relations allow or prevent one of them from involving in space production. Although case study investigation has its limitations²⁶², some measures can be taken to address these issues, and thus this research adopts a triad of inquiry elements developed by the author of *Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis*, Michael Patton.²⁶³

In terms of methods, ‘mapping architecture’ and questionnaires have been used separately to collect data. Both were then analysed through the lens of a thematic approach. In order to extract the major themes from the collected data, the conceptual framework and the techniques of story configuration, as well as visual and descriptive analysis will be employed. The research design has been developed based on a pilot study conducted in Erbil, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan. A study which affected the decision of choosing the sites of the cases. Prior to the study, the initial sites included two major Kurdish cities - Erbil and Slemani, but this was reduced to just Slemani as a result of the pilot study.

This chapter is structured as follows: The first part outlines the ontological and epistemological perspective, the second details the design of the research and the final part describes the case studies.

4.2 Ontological and epistemological positions

The theories elaborated on in the previous chapter have influenced the ontological and epistemological perspectives of this PhD. All of the methodological frameworks, which were designed by researchers who use these theories, stem from ‘relative ontology’.

262 Hodkinson and Hodkinson, *The Strengths and Limitations of Case Study Research*, 2001.

263 Michael Q. Patton, *Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis*. 1999.

In other words, researchers who use Elite Theory or Regime Analysis depend on participants' experiences to identify those 'elites' who have the capacity to exert power over masses of people, or those who run different types of urban regimes. Various methods were presented by theorists in relation to how to identify decision makers. One of the most prominent writers in the field of power, the theorist Robert Dahl, proposes an abstract model for this purpose. The model focuses on human experience and comprises of two key features of the 'elite': (a) they are usually a well-defined or well-known group; and (b) they make influential political decisions which affects large groups of people; the preferences of the 'elites' regularly prevail.²⁶⁴ These features are determined based on the accounts of 'non-elite' people, who can identify (according to their everyday life experiences) which group make influential decisions. Although the model only helps to identify visible elites, it is frequently used and could be regarded as a basic step in identifying the ruling elite.

Four prominent empirical approaches are discussed extensively in the literature of Elite theory: reputational, interactional, decisional, and positional. All of these approaches depend on human experience. For instance in Floyd Hunter's book of *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers* the author uses the reputational method, which is based on interviewing groups of people who identify 'elites' based on their reputation.²⁶⁵ Similarly, the interactional approach depends on people's experiences in characterising power structures in a particular time and social context.²⁶⁶ 'Relative ontology' also seems consistent with Lefebvre's understanding of space as a social product, and many Lefebvrian researchers choose to follow this philosophy.²⁶⁷

In the empirical part of this PhD, spoken and written accounts have significantly contributed towards investigating processes of space production.

264 Robert A. Dahl, 'A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model.', *American Political Science Review*, 52.02 (1958), 463–69;

265 Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers* (University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 1953).

266 Hoffmann-Lange, Ursula. "Methodological Developments in Elite Research" In *Paper for presentation at the 20 IPSA World Congress*. 2006.

267 See *Urban Revolution Now* ed. by Christian Schmid et. al. (Routledge, 2016).

Accordingly, this research follows two lines of inquiry, interpretive and critical paradigms, and I will begin by explaining both paradigms and then their relevance to this PhD.

4.2.1 Interpretive and critical paradigms

In a broad sense, the ‘interpretive paradigm’ regards reality as a social construction.²⁶⁸

In his book *Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research*, James Scotland explains that reality is constructed ‘through the interaction between language and aspects of an independent world’²⁶⁹, and he further suggests that truth (in this paradigm) is shaped by the interaction between ‘consciousness and the world’²⁷⁰. This is why he regards truth as a creation of social and material elements²⁷¹. Interpretive epistemology, Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton explain, helps to uncover social phenomena,²⁷² and this is done, as argued by Jannie Stewart, by exploring meanings that humans attach to their actions, practices, and ‘nonhuman elements’²⁷³.

Accordingly, researchers study a phenomenon ‘in its natural context from participants’ perspectives’²⁷⁴. These perspectives, as Scotland notes, are ‘culturally derived and historically situated’²⁷⁵. Hence, knowledge is ‘a product of a particular time and place’²⁷⁶.

268 Earl R. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research* (Wadsworth Co., CA, 1998), page cxii.

269 James Scotland, ‘Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research’, *English Language Teaching*, 5.9 (2012), 9 (p. 11).

270 Scotland, p. 11.

271 Jonathan Grix, *The Foundations of Research* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

272 Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton, ‘The Deficits of Discourse in IPE: Turning Base Metal into Gold?’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 52.1 (2008), 103–28.

273 Jannie Swart, ‘Christian Leadership as Communion Imagination in the Public Networking of Organizational Companionship’, *Journal of Religious Leadership*, 7.2 (2008), 87–115 (p. 97).

274 Judy L. Wynekoop and Nancy L. Russo, ‘Studying System Development Methodologies: An Examination of Research Methods’, *Information Systems Journal*, 7.1 (1997), 47–65 (p. 51).

275 Scotland, *Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research*, 2012, p. 12.

276 Donna M. Mertens and Pauline E. Ginsberg, *The Handbook of Social Research Ethics* (SAGE, 2009), p. 73.

However, this paradigm has been subject to many criticisms because individuals' experiences can be partial, or biased.²⁷⁷ This argument leads to another paradigm, the critical approach, which seems to overcome this issue. This is due to the fact that the approach considers reality itself as shaped by numerous political, social and historical values.²⁷⁸ Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln describe epistemology in the critical realm as being 'transactional and subjectivist'²⁷⁹. This means that the inquiry is influenced by both researchers and researched objects and there is no value-free knowledge. Likewise, Louise Cohen views that knowledge as always subject to power relations between powerful actors in the studied context. She states: 'what counts as worthwhile knowledge is determined by the social and positional power of the advocates of that knowledge'²⁸⁰. The methodological framework of this approach interrogates each participant's account of a phenomenon. This interrogation is based on the investigator's pre-conception, in order to expose power relations, and its methods are usually open-ended interviews and questionnaires.

4.2.2 Using the two paradigms in the context of this research

This PhD borrows elements from the above two paradigms. I will begin by demonstrating the ontological perspective of this research and clarifying the connections with the paradigms. The ontological position here has been influenced by Michel Foucault's theory of power which links power to its surrounding limitations. He states:

*It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate, and which constitute their own organization.*²⁸¹

277 Kathryn Carter, *Interpretive Approaches to Interpersonal Communication: The Aftermath of Counterinsurgency in Guatemala* (SUNY Press, 1994).

278 Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research', *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2.163–194 (1994), 105 (p. 110).

279 Guba and Lincoln, p. 110.

280 Louis Cohen et. al., *Research Methods in Education*, 6th edn (Routledge, 2007), p. 27.

281 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (Allen Lane, 1979), p. 92.

The word 'sphere' in Foucault's statement, indicates the social context in which various forces function and consequently form 'their own organization'. The question of who exercises power and through which strategy and network are important for Foucault.²⁸²

Therefore, social context is a crucial element in terms of understanding power and further, constructing knowledge in the field of power should be based on human experience. This stand seems relevant to my research question, which aims to uncover the forces which produced architectural spaces, because these forces are contingent to their surrounding context.²⁸³ They should be understood through the opinions of the city's inhabitants. In this respect, the 'interpretive paradigm' is a relevant approach and it helps to answer the research question by identifying the forces which produced architectural spaces in the city of Slemani. Nevertheless, as addressed earlier, the above paradigm has its limitations and cannot be used to provide an answer for the question which explores forms of power relations which are taken for granted, which are sometimes invisible. In this case, the most appropriate approach is the critical paradigm, which often questions dominant forms of power relations.²⁸⁴

In addition, Teun Van Dijk argues that the critical approach helps to uncover those groups which have greater access to 'forms or contexts of discourse and communication'²⁸⁵, which are harnessed as instruments for maintaining power. Since the interest of this investigation is to gain insight into the power mechanisms which produce architectural space, aiming to look beyond visible power structures, the critical approach should achieve this aim. For Jürgen Habermas, a leading critical philosopher, knowledge serves different interests and one of them is the interest of emancipation.²⁸⁶

282 Michele Barrett, *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault* (Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 136.

283 See Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends*, vol. 55 (MIT press, 2009).

284 Michael Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research* : (London: SAGE, 1998), pp. 112–57.

285 Teun A. Van Dijk, 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Discourse & Society*, 4.2 (1993), 249–83 (p. 254).

286 Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (London: Cambridge Cambridgeshire Polity, 1972).

This refers to the empowerment of those who fall under dominant power systems. When it comes to analysing discourses behind architectural spaces, critical investigations should be carried out. This is because these discourses serve to maintain a certain power structure. Van Dijk highlights the influence of powerful elites on discourses in a society, and how the elite can control two major aspects: actions and cognition.²⁸⁷

In the first aspect, the elite exercises power over the freedom of non-elite groups and limits their access to discourse by determining who is allowed to speak, read, hear or write. Dijk links this access to discourse and power:

*the more discourse genres, contexts, participants, audience, scope and text characteristics they (may) actively control or influence, the more powerful social groups, institutions or 'elites' are*²⁸⁸

Taking the above statement into account, 'non-elite' groups are often excluded from dominant discourses. In regard to cognition, the 'elite' influence ideologies, norms, and values, and as a result produce dominant discourses. For instance, knowledge is one prominent aspect that can be employed in this respect because the 'control of knowledge crucially shapes our interpretation of the world as well as our discourse and other actions'²⁸⁹. The stance of this PhD has been affected by the above critical understanding of discourses, and thus the methods have been impacted by two dimensions: pragmatic and ideological. Firstly, the focus will be on discourses of 'elite' and 'non-elite' groups, especially on the one which overrides the other. Therefore, the selection of the participants, and the nature of the gathered data will correspond to the pragmatic dimension. Secondly, the perception of any architectural space could be influenced by numerous factors such as social, cultural and economic forces. Given that assumption, the ideological method pays close attention to the ideologies which appear to be taken for granted or are dominant, and thus the methods in this research are designed to question any perception influenced by those ideologies.

287 Van Dijk, 1993, pp. 249–55.

288 Ibid, p. 256.

289 Ibid, p. 258.

In this regard, Michael Crotty wrote about the nature of the relationship between critical researchers and participants:

*In the type of inquiry spawned by the critical spirit, researchers find themselves interrogating commonly held values and assumptions, challenging conventional social structures.*²⁹⁰

Having that ‘critical spirit’ helps to understand not only the ideological grounds of debates, but the dominant power relations. This is because these relations could emerge from the language of participants. This seems consistent with the stance of James Scotland who states that ‘participants and researchers are both subjects in the dialectical task of unveiling reality, critically analysing it, and recreating that knowledge’²⁹¹.

4.3 Research design

The previous section highlighted the connections between the literature and the ontological and epistemological perspectives, which were in turn linked with two prominent lines of inquiry. This section looks at the design of this PhD, which is based on two levels: the theoretical and the empirical.

The first, which was derived from the literature chapter, is important in the context of this research because it depends on a theoretical framework. John Creswell says that ‘qualitative researchers increasingly use a theoretical lens or perspective to guide their study’²⁹². Accordingly, the first level developed a conceptual framework, which guides the process of identifying the forces that operated and produced spaces in Slemani (See Figure 2-4). The second level, the empirical, adopts a case study methodology in order to deliver detailed answers for the research questions.

290 Crotty, 1998, p. 157.

291 Scotland, 2012 p. 14.

292 John W. Creswell, ‘RESEARCH DESIGN’, 2003, p. 131.

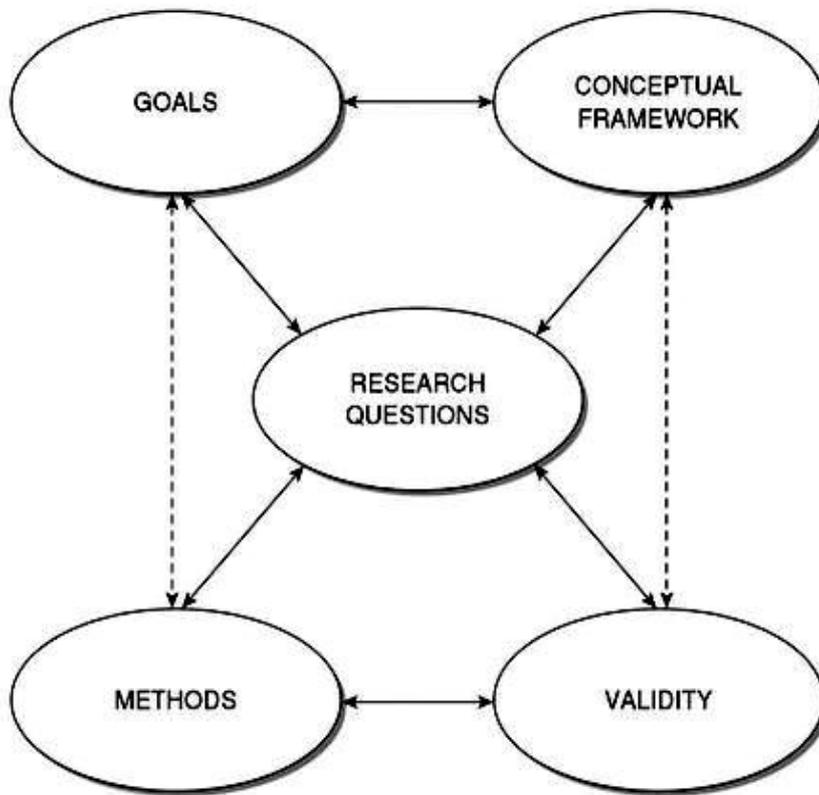


Figure 4-1: The interactive model which was created by Joseph Maxwell. Source: Maxwell, 2012, p.5

Nevertheless, the research questions were not set in stone and they were subject to changes. This means that the process of designing this research was not linear because all parts of this research were revisited in order to generate appropriate answers for those questions. In this respect, Joseph Maxwell created a model of research design, shown in Figure 4-1, in which four components of the research are surrounding the central component, the research questions. Maxwell explains this model:

*In contrast to some other views of research design, the research questions are not the starting point or controlling piece of the design, to which all other components must conform. Instead, they are at the centre of the design; they are the heart, or hub, of the model, the component that connects most directly to all of the other components.*²⁹³

He implies that even research questions can change but not as much as other components. They affect each other, but only in the sense that the questions have greater influence on the other. In terms of this PhD, the conceptual framework was developed after conducting a pilot study in the city of Erbil (see section 4.4). This affected the other components (the research questions, methods, objectives and research credibility). Before launching the process of collecting data for the main study, all the components had been settled and the design of the methodology has been finalised. According to Stephen Croucher and Daniel Cronn-Mills, researchers who follow the interpretive approach focus on ‘the social construction of meaning’ and they study that meaning through analysing individuals’ perceptions of the world.²⁹⁴ The approach adopts different strategies and one of them is the case study investigation. Angèle Cavaye argues that this strategy is likely to be employed by researchers having ‘an interpretive stance’²⁹⁵.

293 Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design*: (SAGE, 2012), p. 5.

294 Stephen M. Croucher and Daniel Cronn-Mills, *Understanding Communication Research Methods: A Theoretical and Practical Approach* (Routledge, 2014), p. 51.

295 Angèle LM Cavaye, ‘Case Study Research: A Multi-faceted Research Approach for IS’, *Information Systems Journal*, 6.3 (1996), 227–42 (p. 227).

Conducting case studies requires engagement of researchers with the world of participants through ‘visiting this context and gathering information personally’²⁹⁶. In the same vein, John Creswell says the case-study approach can be used in a variety of ways, writing that:

*Case studies in which the researcher explores in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bounded by time and activity.*²⁹⁷

Creswell’s statement refers to the role of the case-study strategy in explaining processes, and this strategy is ‘bounded by time and activity’. This makes sense when it comes to processes of architectural production, which contains a number of chronological stages and each one involves a number of human actors. The accounts of the actors form a crucial part of understanding the creation of a case.

Numerous studies discussing the limitations of the case-study approach were published, and they raised four key concerns: Ethics, objectivity, validity, and generalisation. In terms of the ethical issue, Robert Stake writes:

*With much qualitative work, case study research shares an intense interest in personal views and circumstances. Those whose lives and expressions are portrayed risk exposure and embarrassment: loss of standing, employment, self-esteem.*²⁹⁸

Engaging with private lives is an inevitable action in the majority of qualitative case-study methodologies, and this forms a challenge for this research due to the nature of its line of inquiry, which looks into urban political structure. This PhD appreciates the delicacy of some cases because they involved powerful urban ‘elites’, which included political individuals, in the city of Slemani.

296 Creswell, 2003. p. 9.

297 Creswell, 2003, p. 20.

298 Robert Stake, ‘Case Studies’, in *Handbook of Qualitative Research.*, ed. by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Sage Publications, Inc, 1994), p. 244.

It was anticipated that the discussion of the cases could raise heated controversy or provoke public anger. These reasons prevented potential participants from taking part in this study because they believed that their involvement was a threat to their positions, jobs, political or social reputation. Therefore, ethical guidance, as given by the School of Architecture in Sheffield University, was followed and confidentiality and anonymity have been ensured (whenever required). The second and the third concerns, objectivity and validity, have often been studied together and attached to issues of research credibility. Phil and Heather Hodgkinson state that investigators depend on their personal decisions in the selection of cases, data, and sources and this poses threat to research objectivity. Validity is also seen as relying on human experience.²⁹⁹ There have been numerous accounts on the issue of the credibility of qualitative data collection.³⁰⁰ Some of them focus on the methods used in fieldwork, or researchers and their approaches, or epistemological validity. Michael Patton, one of the recognised writers in the field of research credibility, suggests a triad of interconnected ‘inquiry elements’³⁰¹ that helps to examine the trustworthiness of qualitative analysis: the researcher, the driving paradigm, and the methods³⁰². The first element considers the investigator who should report:

*Any personal and professional information that may have affected data collection, analysis, and interpretation either negatively or positively in the minds of users of the findings.*³⁰³

299 Andreas M. Riege, ‘Validity and Reliability Tests in Case Study Research: A Literature Review with ‘hands-On’ Applications for Each Research Phase,’ *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* 6, no. 2 (2003): p.75–86.

300 Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. (SAGE Publications, inc, 1990); Michael Quinn Patton, *Utilization-Focused Evaluation* (Sage publications, 2008); Ernest R. House, *The Logic of Evaluative Argument* (Centre for the Study of Evaluation, UCLA Graduate School of Education, University of California, 1977); Jeffrey Katzer, Kenneth H. Cook, and Wayne W. Crouch, *Evaluating Information: A Guide for Users of Social Science Research* (Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1982).

301 Michael Q. Patton, p.1190.

302 Ibid.

303 Ibid. p.1198.

Patton, in the above statement, refers to the researcher's prior knowledge which can influence the process of data collection. In this context, he believes that a trained and experienced data collector can deliver accurate observation of a social phenomenon. Patton also raises some questions about the relationship between the investigator and other research agents including, participants, the study topic, the institutions or individuals who fund the study, and the fieldwork. These relations could introduce bias to an investigator, thus making their work less valid. Patton's second element, the paradigm, is one of the decisive factors in producing trusted data.³⁰⁴ Deciding on the type of paradigm is on some occasions quite complex, and can reduce an investigator's work to an epistemological debate between positivism and interpretivism. This debate is linked to the third element, the methods, because Patton argues that using quantitative and qualitative techniques can 'provide more grist for the research mill'³⁰⁵. Thus, he recommends the approach of 'triangulation' in order to increase the validity of any analysis.

In regard to my work, I have benefited from Patton's triad, which significantly influenced my approach to enhancing the credibility of my work. In the section on Research Credibility (4.3.3), I will elaborate how I attempted to maintain validity in light of Patton's triad. I will begin with myself as a researcher and then discuss my choice of paradigm and methods.

The final concern is generalisation, and according to Rolf Johansson it is 'the issue over which case study methodology has been most questioned'³⁰⁶, furthering asking 'how are generalisations made from a single case'³⁰⁷. Focusing on a case, or cases, could give the research the impression of singularity and the outcome of a study might not be transferable to other cases. Nonetheless, John Creswell considers the issue of generalisation as beyond the case itself, and is rather embedded in the theoretical guide the researcher follows.

304 See Nahid Golafshani, 'Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research', *The Qualitative Report* 8, no. 4 (2003): pp.597–606.

305 Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, p.1192.

306 Rolf Johansson, *On Case Study Methodology*. Open house international 32, no. 3, 2007, p. 8.

307 Ibid, p. 8.

Creswell does not think that choosing a typical case helps to achieve generalisation, rather he highlights the importance that is embedded in having a theoretical guide:

*If a general theoretical principle can be shown to hold in these types of cases, the degree of corroboration is stronger than in cases that might be regarded as typical*³⁰⁸

This is similar to the position of Johansson, who suggests that the findings of a study could strengthen the credibility of a theory. After the cases studies have been investigated in the next chapter, followed by an extensive discussion, this PhD will refer again to the issue of generalisation in the conclusion chapter.

4.3.1 Data collection

Creswell argues that a case study can be conducted through ‘a variety of data collection procedures’³⁰⁹, and due to this I have chosen the techniques of ‘mapping controversies’, and questionnaires. I will start by explaining ‘mapping controversies’ and will then discuss the second method.

4.3.1.1 The method of mapping controversies

The technique of ‘mapping controversies’ stems from Actor Network Theory. Yaneva Albena says that ‘mapping controversies’ is concerned with ‘the successive stages of the production of architectural artefacts’³¹⁰ through analysing accounts of human actors along with relevant documents. Since the case study approach provides close-up experience of a process or a phenomenon it helps to understand the production of architectural constructions.³¹¹

308 Creswell, 2003, p. 2222.

309 Creswell, 2003, p. 20.

310 Yaneva, *Mapping Controversies in Architecture*, p.72.

311 Adelman et. al., ‘*Re-thinking Case Study*’, p.144.

Hence, the attempt to investigate the architectural narrative of a project cannot be done without the accounts of those who took part in production processes, or those who closely observed production phases because they are aware of numerous details which are difficult to obtain from other sources of data. In this respect, it is worth clarifying why ‘mapping controversies’ was chosen despite the conflict with Latour’s ‘pragmatic realism’³¹² (which tends to override social contexts) as well as the interpretive position of this PhD.

Latour’s epistemology, which limits the power of the researcher in constructing reality,³¹³ helps to gather data on the process of architectural production. Further, it agrees with the approach of the ‘interpretive paradigm’ when attempting to understand reality from the perception of participants. I will discuss Latour’s principles of following actors and attempt to combine that with Yaneva’s work.

Latour defines an actor as being ‘anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference’³¹⁴, and he discusses five categories of actors: clear, distant, invisible, archival, and fictional. I will explain only four categories because of their relevance to this PhD, those are: (a) obvious actors: actors that are visible because they overtly manipulate production processes. For instance, investors who orchestrate architectural production; (b) distant actors: actors who are less visible because they existed in the past or they are difficult to be seen because of cultural differences. To explain this more clearly, sometimes it is difficult for researchers to identify the influential actors at a production moment, but the influential role of the actor/s becomes clearer over time when more documents are disclosed. In terms of cultural differences, researchers’ backgrounds are sometimes different from that of participants and this could be a barrier to the discovery of real actors.

312 Francisco J. Salinas, ‘Bruno Latour’s Pragmatic Realism: An Ontological Inquiry’, *Global Discourse*, no. ahead-of-print (2014): pp.1–14.

313 Bruno Latour, ‘Reassembling the Social-an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory’, *Reassembling the Social-An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford University Press, ed.1 (2005): p. 41; Antonio Cordella and Maha Shaikh, *From Epistemology to Ontology: Challenging the Constructed ‘truth’ of ANT* (Department of Information Systems, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2006).

314 Latour, ‘Reassembling the Social-an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory’, p.71.

(c) Invisible actors: it is more challenging to discover invisible actors because they are woven into a complex network to the extent that they become unrecognisable, however they emerge in specific incidents such as controversies.

Yaneva presents an example of the controversies sparked over the design proposal by the French architect David Serero, to restructure the open spaces around the Eiffel Tower in Paris. This incident led to the exposure of the influential actors who produced the tower and the network which linked them.³¹⁵ Yaneva says that such accidents open ‘black boxes’, a Latourian metaphor, which simply refers to a taken for granted structure of relationship which contains invisible actors and they only become visible when an accident happens³¹⁶; (d) archival actors: actors who exist in documents, historical evidences, and archives. For instance, the actual producers of an architectural design can be revealed by revisiting architectural archives, a written history of the design, or relevant articles and documents.³¹⁷ The methodology that Yaneva proposes in her book *Mapping Controversies in Architecture* is derived from, what the author calls, ‘modern epistemology’. Yaneva defines this term, stating that it:

Views architecture as an engineering technology and an objective frame on one side yet, on the other, comprehends it through many subjective perceptions, experiences and symbolic interpretations. How can we circumvent the boundaries between the abstraction called ‘technology’ and the abstraction called ‘symbolism’, between ‘subject’ and ‘object’, between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’? How can we stop drawing boundaries between architectural technologies and architectural humanities, between materiality and meaning?’³¹⁸

315 Alben Yaneva, *Mapping Controversies in Architecture* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013), p.64.

316 Richard Toon, ‘Black Box Science in Black Box Science Centres’, *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, 2005, p.26.

317 Bruno Latour, ‘Reassembling the Social-an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory’, *Reassembling the Social-An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, by Bruno Latour, Pp. 316. Foreword by Bruno Latour. Oxford University Press, v.1 (2005), pp. 80–82; Alben Yaneva, *The Making of a Building: A Pragmatist Approach to Architecture*, p. 64.

318 Yaneva, *Mapping Controversies in Architecture*, 2012.

In the statement above, a modern epistemology ‘circumvents’ the division between what is subjective and objective. Thus, it significantly relies on spoken and written materials, which can be investigated through various methods such as interviews and archival research.³¹⁹ In concrete terms, the author suggests three empirical guidelines to map a controversy—‘to follow, document and map’³²⁰. These guidelines have been slightly adapted here, in order to be used to map processes of space production in the following way:

- To follow: to investigate all information about those people who were involved in the production of the case study: their position of power, actions, relations with non-elites, roles, arguments, attitudes, perceptions, and the like. In addition, all relevant procedures, rules and institutions will be uncovered.
- To document: seeking and gathering all documents related to production processes. These documents are (but not necessarily limited to) architectural archives, published studies, newspapers, online articles, governmental papers, broadcast or televised interviews with the decision makers and so on.
- To map: visualising all relevant phases and forces of the production. I perceive mapping as a supporting instrument that helps to analyse data through visualising. This will be further discussed in section 4.3.2.2.

These three methodological procedures help to answer the overarching research questions and the second group of sub-questions. The first two guidelines assist to identify the human actors or agencies. The final one is an analytical technique and it facilitates the extraction of relevant themes from the collected data; this will be detailed in section 4.3.2 and 4.3.2.2.

4.3.1.2 Cross-sectional Questionnaires as method

Questionnaires formed part of my methodology for a number of reasons, despite experiencing significant criticism.³²¹

319 Ibid, pp. 70–72.

320 Ibid, pp. 72–73.

321 See Linda Del Greco, Wikke Walop, and Richard H. McCarthy, ‘Questionnaire Development: 2. Validity and Reliability.’, *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 136.7 (1987), p.699.

The use of questionnaire has been sometimes criticised for many reasons. Gery Ryan and Bernard Russell list a number of disadvantages associated with this technique; the most prominent one is the difficulty of drawing conclusions from data received from a small population and further, the difficulty of generalising the findings.³²² Another major issue is the power that the researcher exerts over collected data in the sense that respondents are forced to answer questions in certain ways. In terms of reducing the first disadvantage, A. N. Oppenheim suggests that researchers can generalise their findings if their investigations are guided by a clear strategy and the targeted population are well defined defined, in order to reduce the construction of misleading information. Oppenheim says that ‘the design of the research will determine whom we should question and what questions we should ask’³²³. In order to mitigate the second disadvantage, this PhD has used a semi-structured questionnaire which catered for more space for free expressions when the respondents delivered valuable data. According to Herbert F. Weisberg et al., the authors of *An introduction to survey research and data analysis*, there are fundamental questions that researchers should ask themselves before designing a questionnaire³²⁴:

- a. What were the reasons for conducting a questionnaire?
- b. Who is the targeted population?
- c. How are the questions phrased, and in what manner?
- d. How are the answers interpreted and analysed?

The above questions were considered before undertaking the method of designing cross-sectional questionnaires, which adopted the ‘drop and collect’³²⁵ technique. Below, I will explain how I addressed the above questions.

322 Gery W. Ryan and H. Russell Bernard, ‘Data Management and Analysis Methods’, in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. 2000.

323 A. N. Oppenheim, *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000), p. 7.

324 Herbert F. Weisberg and Bruce D. Bowen, *An Introduction to Survey Research and Data Analysis* (Scott, Foresman & Co, 1989), pp. 5–95.

325 Researchers here leave questionnaire forms with respondents, and they come to pick the forms later. Bernard H. Russell, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Sage Publications, 2000), p. 231.

The survey paid attention only to urban spaces due to their scales and the anticipated power of the group who created these spaces. As a native of the region, as well as an academic and architect who operated within it for many years, I was aware that certain urban spaces would not have been built without the support of dominant urban elites, who controlled urban areas and resources. My concern—based on the conceptual framework— was about collecting the views of non-elite populations, who represent the targeted population. As will be explained further below, their number was expected to be high therefore, as many participants as possible needed to be contracted in a feasible and timely manner. For this purpose and aim, the questionnaire method was considered the best solution. In addition, some of the urban development projects were well-known to Slemani’s inhabitants, and therefore they responded actively to the questions asked and this facilitated the questionnaire process.

The identification of ‘non-elites’ was depended on the literature and the socio-economic context of Iraqi Kurdistan and the city of Slemani. A number of factors were significant: (a) theoretical principles: ‘non-elites’ are the groups who have less capacity to access decision-making institutions and are in everyday-life relationships with the spaces which are produced by ‘elite’ groups. In this sense, ‘non-elite’ people can be the users or inhabitants of the spaces, or those who are affected by the spaces, particularly those who live in the neighbouring areas; (b) in the context of Slemani, the ‘non-elite’ class was regarded here as representing the following social categories: non-partisans of the PUK, especially women, and middle-income and low-income class. These categories are explained in detail in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2.

There were two correlated factors that were considered in phrasing the questions: reliability and validity. The first refers to the capacity of a question to generate homogenous answers, or in other words, the way in which respondents tended to give similar answers to the same questions.³²⁶ The second is the question of quality which assists to measure a desired concept.³²⁷

326 Linda Del Greco, Wikke Walop, and Richard H. McCarthy, ‘Questionnaire Development: 2. Validity and Reliability.’, *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 136.7 (1987), 699 (p. 700).

327 Melike S.et.al, ‘Assessing the Validity and Reliability of a Questionnaire’, *Journal of Health, Population, and Nutrition*, 31.4 (2013), 497 (p. 499).

Although reliability and validity are hard to achieve³²⁸, there are general guidelines for ensuring these two factors. In the book *An Introduction to Survey Research and Data Analysis*, Weisberg et al. propose that questions could be phrased according to three principles. Firstly, questionnaires should avoid ambiguity in order to minimise the risk that participants might find questions confusing or difficult to answer. Not doing so generates the opinion that the answers will not be ‘reliable’.³²⁹ Del Greco et al. explain, in their study, *Questionnaire Development: Validity and Reliability*, that ‘the more reliable the questionnaire the higher the correlation between the results’³³⁰. Secondly, the authors suggest, it is important to minimise bias by attempting to preserve neutrality through phrasing questions beyond their personal opinions. Thirdly, it is crucial to contemplate the potential way that researcher exert power over the results, due to the manner in which the questions are organised—this can significantly impact answers. To address the danger of this, questionnaires should ensure that questions are varied and that they reflect the social environment within which the study is conducted.

Based on the explanation above, the design of the questionnaire for this PhD comprised of three parts and was formulated to achieve the following points: filtering out the target population (or the non-elites), collecting the views of ‘non-elites’ through asking structured questions, and allowing participants to express their own arguments. The three parts are further elaborated on below:

- a. Part I: included questions on social and economic aspects, such as questions about age, gender, income, occupation, employment, current financial situation, political orientation (or membership), and whether participants are permanent inhabitants or citizens. The last question aimed to reveal whether respondents had certain political rights (for example the right to vote)
- b. Part II: consisted of two short (structured) questions, each one having fixed answers. The questions were aimed at exploring how the participant viewed or judged the perspective of the elites.

328 See Seymour Sudman and Norman M. Bradburn, ‘Asking Questions: A Practical Guide to Questionnaire Design.’, 1983, p. 26.

329 Weisberg and Bowen, 1989, p. 78.

330 Del Greco, Walop, and McCarthy, 1987.

- c. The fixed or multiple choice answers were generated based on the widely-cited *Likert Scale*, which is attributed to the psychologist Rensis Likert. The scale usually measures the respondent's view on a five-point scale: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree.³³¹ Further, in order to give a relatively honest rendition for the results, I added two categories of choices: depends and no opinion. Based on Weisberg et al., these categories impact the interpretation of the results. For instance, those who have not made up their minds, or those who ticked the no opinion box, might be attracted by the majority who ticked agreed or disagreed, which will affect the overall result.³³²
- d. Part III asked three questions: (a) in your opinion, what are the positive aspects of the project? (b) In your opinion, what are the negative aspects of the project? And (c) would you like to add a comment? The objective behind this part was to allow greater freedom of expression or imagination to respondents, who were expected to produce arguments, symbols, or metaphors about the spaces they experienced in their everyday-life. Similar to Part II, this part aimed to extract codes related to power forms and elements, and this is related to the approach of this PhD in analysing data. Descriptive statistics was one of the techniques used in data analysis.

4.3.1.3 Sources of data

The research depended on three major sources of data: archival records, questionnaires, and spoken and written accounts.

The focus here is on the information that demonstrates the power of 'elite' groups, their relations to 'non-elites', dominant discourses, and productive actions. The use of these sources is further explained below.

To begin with the archival record, documents were collected from three sources: official and non-official institutions, online documents, and newspapers.

331 See Joseph A. Gliem and Rosemary R. Gliem, 'Calculating, Interpreting, and Reporting Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient for Likert-Type Scales' (Midwest Research-to-Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing, and Community Education, 2003).

332 Weisberg, Krosnick, and Bowen, 1989, p. 141.

Secondly, the questionnaires targeted public spaces in which ‘non-elite’ groups usually assemble. These spaces include public universities, which are often attended by students of middle-income families³³³, public parks, cafes, and entertainment centres. Finally, the spoken and written accounts, which were gathered from semi-structured interviews, published studies, articles, and official documents³³⁴, provided information related to the cases in terms of production processes, discourses and controversies. In addition, this research used a snowballing technique in order to generate further potential participants and documents. This technique, which ‘refers to a strategy whereby the interviewees are asked to refer to persons and organisations that are considered relevant’³³⁵, was essential in the context of this PhD. This is because some data regarding the historical background, as well as detailed information of an architectural project, are extremely hard to gather from conventional public sources, due to political and technical reasons. Based on my previous experience as an architect and educator in Iraqi Kurdistan, I knew that information about urban projects is guarded due to its sensitivity. Disclosing this information, may provoke a public outcry, and thus urban ‘elites’ have been functioning as gatekeepers. With regard to technical reasoning, much of the online data has been descriptive, unverified, or lacking in detail concerning powerful actors, project timelines and construction phases. Therefore, interviewees gave access to valuable materials, which remain unpublished.

4.3.2 Data analysis

Thematic analysis is the main approach for analysing data in this PhD. In order to extract relevant themes from the data gathered, the conceptual framework and the three supporting techniques of story configuration, mapping and descriptive statistics, were harnessed and they are explained below.

333 In Iraqi Kurdistan, there are two types of universities: the ones which are run by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, those are run by private sectors. Often private universities are attended by students of high-income and top official families

334 Official Internet sites, which either belong to government institutions, or are official websites of companies and newspapers.

335 Ken Levicki, ‘A Catchment to Consumer Approach to Rural Water Resource Assessment’, *Baseline Study and Safe Drinking Water Supply Strategy for Orongo Village, LakeVictoria Basin, Kenya*, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, Sweden, 2005, p.2.

To begin with, the conceptual framework has structured the material which was gathered from the fieldwork. The data was collected from: (a) ‘elites’ or those who initiated the case or who exercised power on the architectural aspect of the case. The group provided information about the formation of design concept (the mental production); (b) ‘non-elites’: the users of the case studies or those who are affected by the cases, such as people who lived in the nearby areas. ‘Non-elite’ people supplied data about the situations of the case studies in everyday-life (the social production). This means that investigating the concrete reality, which includes information on interactions with space through human senses, construction works, and everyday life experiences of spaces. Moreover, data about the construction works (the physical production) of the case studies were gathered from those who experienced these works, and from archival records. Pat Bazeley demonstrates several techniques in her book *Qualitative Data Analysis* that could assist researchers in shedding light onto related codes and themes in their analysis.³³⁶ Two of the techniques in the book are relevant to this investigation, and they will be applied to the case studies in the next chapters. The techniques are the creation of a narrative, and the exploration of a context. The first is about creating a narrative for the studied case, something which should be done through arranging raw material into a story form. In this regard, Bazeley states:

*Analysis is as much about identifying the larger significance and meaning of objects and events for a participant, about finding the connections – the interdependencies – within and across data, as it is about segmenting and coding data.*³³⁷

She adds that events or objects are sometimes expressed either differently or through metaphors, or ‘indigenous terms’³³⁸. Those expressions help to explore cultural and social contexts, or conflicts and disagreements. The second technique, the exploration of a context, includes visual representation which refers to diagrams, maps, graphs and the like.

336 Patricia Bazeley, *Qualitative Data Analysis: Practical Strategies* (SAGE Publications, 2013), pp. 101–24.

337 Bazeley, 2013, p. 113.

338 Ibid., p.118.

These materials not only help to represent experiences, phenomena, processes, or events visually, but also assist the investigator in connecting relevant concepts and categories, which likely lead to the emergence of new themes or the association of pre-identified themes with the studied context. The third technique of descriptive statistics, helps to summarise and visualise the numerical data gathered from the questionnaires.

In respect to this investigation, the techniques outlined above are employed to analyse processes of producing architectural spaces, as well as to identify human and non-human actors, and to concentrate on statements and views of both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups. This will be elaborated on in the next section.

The aim here is to highlight the themes which are related to the following: Forms of power relations between ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’, productive actions, and conflicting or harmonious views. These themes will be demonstrated in section 4.3.2.4.

4.3.2.1 Configuration of the story of the cases

As this PhD deals with cases which have large amounts of data, the technique of story configuration makes connections between events present within the raw data, which stems from multiple sources.³³⁹ All acquired data about the genesis of the architectural spaces or the cases will be presented as narratives. Events and actions in a case should be organised around what Donald Polkinghorne calls a ‘plot’³⁴⁰, which he defines as ‘a type of conceptual scheme by which a contextual meaning of individual events can be displayed’³⁴¹, and this scheme operates as the structure for the narrative.

He lists four advantages of a ‘plot’: delimiting a beginning and an end of the story, reducing unnecessary details so the focus is only on relevant events, directing events towards a specific outcome, and integrating and unifying different events under an overarching scheme. Polkinghorne developed guidelines, based on the work of John Dollard, for configuring stories and the guidelines can be summarised as follows:

339 Ibid., p.115.

340 Donald E. Polkinghorne, ‘Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis’, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 8.1 (1995), 5–23 (p. 7).

341 Donald E. Polkinghorne, 1995.

- Context: providing a description about the historical and cultural context surrounding the actors in the narrative;
- Central Actor: focusing on leading actors, their views, actions, aims, and relationship with other actors and with overarching cultural and historical values;
- Timeline or ‘bounded temporal period’: aiming to put events into a sequence so that the story has a beginning, a middle and an end;
- Logic: organising a chain of occurrences in a logical way, meaning there is a focus on causal relationships in order to reach a plausible outcome

The technique of narrative, which will be used in the case studies, will follow the concept of Polkinghorne. The plot here will focus on the chain of events which led to the formation of an architectural space. The narrative will be preceded by an introduction of the context in which the case was formed. The context includes information on the catalytic environment, which comprises socio-political and historical values, for the development of the case. The central actor in each case will be the architectural project itself because it is a space that was formed by social groups and non-human powers. The timeline will be attached to key productive actions to make sense of the processes of production. Examples being, the initiation of a project, the formation of a design concept, the activation of a constructional process, and the like. Finally, the summary of the case will remind the reader of the major actors and events in the story of the case. In the meantime, visual materials, which are collected from the fieldwork and from various sources, are included to support spoken and written accounts and to aid the understanding of some details which are difficult to describe through text.

4.3.2.2 The technique of mapping

As explained earlier in section 4.3.1.1, the method of ‘mapping controversies’ contains three techniques: following, documenting, and mapping, all of which are understood not so much in a literal sense, but as analytical instruments.

The third technique, mapping, is used here in a slightly different way (from that of Yaneva's approach). Instead of focusing on explicit controversies in architecture, this PhD employs the method in the context of architectural production more generally, which means visualising all relevant forces and phases of production. This is shown in Figure 4-2.

According to the conceptual framework, the dynamic of production is understood to be correlated to a couple of elements: (a) heterogeneous forces: the power of human forces ('elite' and 'non-elite' people), and non-human agencies (social norms or common beliefs); and (b) constructional actions, which refers to the material or physical production. When it comes to visualisation, it is the material and the physical that are illustrated and it included spaces of 'elites', 'non-elites', and constructional actions, as well as the timeline of production phases. In each phase of production, the forces which influenced the design or prompted a physical or constructional change are identified. This feeds into the main thematic analysis which used the matrix of power components and forms (see section 4.3.2.4).

Since visualisation can be designed in different ways,³⁴² I chose to rely on the technique of static, often diagrammatic, illustrations which were facilitated by the use of the graphic editing software Photoshop. The visualisation in the form of diagrams helped, or in other words, as expressed by Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis, they help to 'make complex processes or relationships more accessible to the reader'³⁴³. The writers list a number of other advantages of this technique, which can be used as an effective tool for summarising data. Prominent elements or actors in an event are highlighted, which allows the data to be presented in a more engaged and lively way than a text-based format would allow. The choice of this format was further informed by the desire to explain complex processes to the reader. This 'author-driven' method of representation, which is primarily characterised by strongly ordered shapes, images and texts, guides readers through different stages of the story (without causing confusion).³⁴⁴

342 Yaneva, *The Making of a Building: A Pragmatist Approach to Architecture*, pp. 74–80.

343 Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis, *Qualitative Research Practice*, ed. by (Sage, 2013), p. 315.

344 While 'author-driven' attempts to bring explanation for the reader, 'reader driven' encourages the reader to explore data, see Segel and Heer, pp. 1146–48.

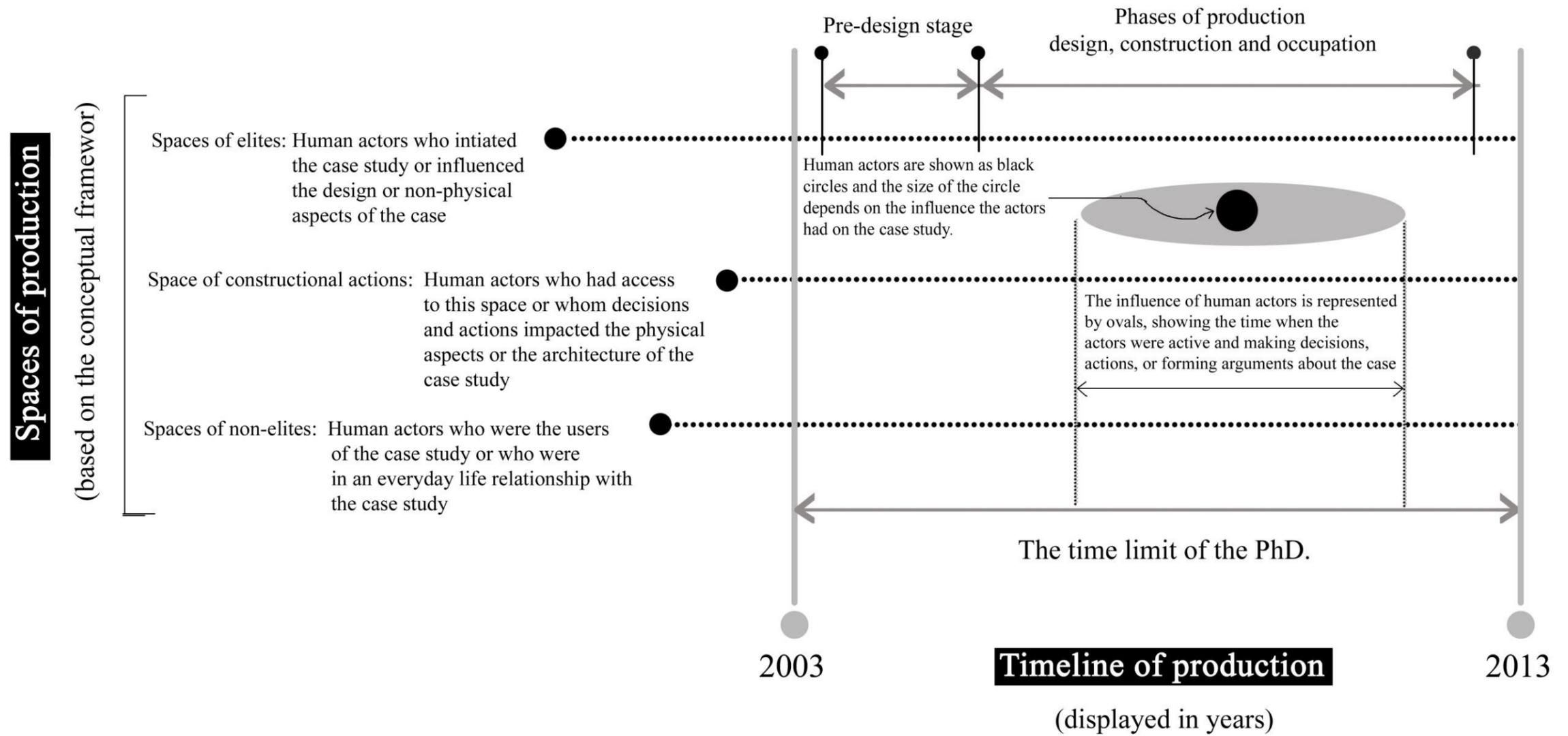


Figure 4-2: The technique of mapping is used here as a supporting analytical method. It helps to highlight the key human-forces which had greater influence on the case study, through visualisation. The design of this visualisation features two main elements: the timeline of the production of the case and the spaces of production which includes spaces of ‘elites’, ‘non-elites’, and constructional actions. Moreover, the design was created based on the theoretical part of the thesis, especially the conceptual framework and Albena Yaneva’s thesis of mapping controversies. Source: The author.

4.3.2.3 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics is defined, according to Luis A. Tattao the writer of *Basic Concepts in Statistics*, as ‘those methods involving the collection, presentation, analysis, interpretation and characterisation of a set of data’³⁴⁵. Since descriptive statistics is used as a supporting analytical instrument in this PhD, its purpose is limited to summarising numerical data which was gathered from the questionnaires. Hence, the analysis relies predominantly on a set of tables and graphs. The objective for this was to understand the responses of ‘non-elite’ populations and their reactions towards the architectural space in question. The examination of responses helped to extract codes and themes related to power forms and elements, which is further elaborated on in the next section. As mentioned in section 4.3.1.2, the close-ended questions provided multiple choice answers, which are presented here as percentages—with high percentage answers being connected to one of the pre-identified themes. Due to this method’s well-documented effectiveness in expressing the statistical data, it was also used in the context of this thesis to explicate the data generated from the questionnaires.³⁴⁶

4.3.2.4 Thematic analysis

The process of thematic analysis was used to examine themes that are linked to three power forms that had been identified in the literature as crucial for the context of this PhD: ‘power-over’, ‘power-with’ and ‘power-within’. Classic content analysis³⁴⁷ is the basis of the thematic analysis in this section.

345 Luis A. Tattao, *Basic Concepts in Statistics* (Rex Bookstore, Inc., 2007), p. 23.

346 See Weisberg and Bowen, 1989, pp. 173–76.

347 Some writers distinguish between classical content, which depends on predetermined themes, and other types of analysis, which stem from grounded theory. Gery Ryan and H. Bernard conducted many studies in this regard. See Gery W. Ryan and H. Russell Bernard, ‘Data Management and Analysis Methods’, in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, second (Sage, 2000); Gery W. Ryan and H. Russell Bernard, ‘Techniques to Identify Themes’, *Field Methods* 15, no. 1 (2003): pp.85–109.

Power Forms / Power Components	‘Power-over’ (Domination)	‘Power-with’ (Cooperation)	‘Power Within’ (Challenge)
	Capacity of Elites (Objects)	Possess full capacity to make decisions	Shared capacity to make decisions
Relations	Exclusionary	Inclusionary and Constructive	Tensional
Actions	Coercive or Controlling	Collective	Opposing or Challenging
Capacity of Non-Elites (Subjects)	Possess almost no capacity to make decisions	Possess almost equal capacity to make decisions	Possess greater capacity to make influential decisions

Table 4-1: Codes relevant to power forms and components. Source: Drawn by the author based on the literature chapter.

The themes, which will be presented in the next section, were identified based on the literature chapter³⁴⁸. A post-modern perspective, which questions the sharp division between inductive and deductive analysis³⁴⁹, has further influenced the analytical perspective of this research has also allowed for new themes to emerge during the writing up process; they will be considered in the final conclusion. Below, the themes are explained.

In the literature chapter, power components and forms were introduced, and Table 4-1 shows the codes and themes which have derived from the literature chapter. The themes vary according to the form of power which governed the formation of architecture, or mode of production³⁵⁰: (a) in the case of ‘power-over’: the major theme is domination in the sense that ‘elites’ dominate mental and physical productions. In other words, ‘elites’ make prevailing decisions about architectural design and construction processes. Relations between ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ is coloured with rejection and exclusion. The codes here are: full power or capacity to make decisive decisions, monopolisation, privatisation, narrow interests, powerless populations, and the like; (b) the key theme in ‘power-with’ is cooperation (between ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’). Decisions over architectural design and construction are collectively made. In this respect, the codes are about participation in the design process, achieving common or public interests of power, inclusionary and constructive relations, and actions which are set in concert. Social groups have almost the same power in regard to shaping architecture and therefore relations between social groups tend to be symmetrical. Finally, (c) the main theme in ‘power-within’ is challenge. This is demonstrated when the power of ‘elite’ groups are confronted by ‘non-elite’ populations, who have greater influence on architecture and usually make decisions on architecture.

348 The typical process of analysis, as Gery Ryan and H. Bernard summarise it, comprises four basic elements: finding themes, screening them, structuring the themes in a hierarchical way, and relating the themes to the theoretical framework. In addition, the writers, elsewhere, categorise the codes, which lead to major themes, in qualitative analysis as indicating facts and values. See Gery W. Ryan and H. Russell Bernard, ‘Techniques to Identify Themes’, *Field Methods*, 15.1 (2003), 85–109.

349 See Kaysi Eastlick Kushner and Raymond Morrow, ‘Grounded Theory, Feminist Theory, Critical Theory: Toward Theoretical Triangulation’, *Advances in Nursing Science* 26, no. 1 (2003): pp.30–43.

350 See section 2.2 Chapter Two.

In this respect, the codes are about challenging rules and norms which are set up by elite groups, as well as documenting personal interests of ‘non-elites’ and tensional relations. Once major themes have been identified, the form of power becomes clear, which in turn, paves the way for understanding who exercises power on architectural production, or who control mental and physical productions.

4.3.3 Research credibility

Following the triad presented by Michael Patton, there are three elements of inquiry: the researcher, the paradigm and the methods. Below, I will begin with myself as the researcher and explain two aspects: my experience and my relationships with potential interviewees, respondents, the sponsor, and the topic.

As a native of the region who operated as an architect, educator and a researcher for several years, I have a deep understanding of the cultural context and the ways of conducting an academic investigation within it. My academic knowledge was enhanced through courses and training programmes about empirical research which I undertook during my PhD study in the University of Sheffield and before, during my time as an assistant lecturer. Thus, I am trained to perform observations during fieldwork, knowledge which was enhanced during the process of applying for Ethical Approval and complying with ethical procedures. In terms of my connection to potential interviewees and respondents, I have no personal relationships with them. In the one case in which I did, I attempted to distance myself and narrate the creation of the case with the support of other accounts.

My sponsor is the government of Iraqi Kurdistan, which funded my PhD but did not intervene in my research nor in the selection of the case studies. Finally, I chose the topic for my own reasons and not to serve other people’s interests, and I do not personally know the majority of the mentioned people in this research.

The driving paradigm, the second inquiry element here is the ‘interpretive paradigm’. However, according to Norman Denzin, the ‘interpretive paradigm’ may provide a biased truth about social realities:

*All scholars are caught in the circle of interpretation. They can never be free of the hermeneutical situation. This means that researchers must state beforehand their prior interpretations of the phenomena they intend to investigate. Unless they clarify these meanings and values, the effects of the research on subsequent interpretations will remain clouded and may often be misunderstood.*³⁵¹

Although neutrality tends to be impossible in the ‘constructivist paradigm’, Denzin proposes measures to reduce issues of bias. He suggests that scholars should separate and clarify their interpretations beforehand and not mix them with views of the researched people. The conceptual framework and the themes, which stemmed from the previous chapter, clarify the position and values of this PhD, and these elements are discussed within the ontological and epistemological perspective in this chapter. This clarification helps to distinguish the stance of this PhD from the participants’ perspectives, which are presented in the next chapters. The final element is the methods I used in the data collection, which are assembled under the umbrella of ‘triangulation’. In the qualitative arena, Stake says, ‘triangulation’ refers to the multiple ‘procedures’, which aim to gather large amount of data with many ‘procedural challenges to explanations’. Triangulation is conducted by researchers to diminish the possibility of misinterpretation and the weakness through a single method.³⁵²

According to Patton, factors, such as the source of the data and the methods used to collect it, which are correlated with triangulation and credibility need to be emphasised. The first factor is sometimes dubbed ‘methodological triangulation’ and refers to using different methods. The second is generally called ‘data triangulation’ and indicates multiple sources of data. Both triangulations, according to John W. Creswell and Dana L. Miller, lead to a ‘validity procedure where researchers search for convergence ... to form themes or categories in a study’³⁵³.

351 Norman K. Denzin, ‘Interpretive Interactionism’, 1989, p.23.

352 Michael Quinn Patton, *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation* (Sage, 1987), p. 61.

353 John W. Creswell and Dana L. Miller, ‘Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry’, *Theory into Practice*, 39.3 (2000), 124–30 (p. 126).

In the context of this PhD, the major focus was on the forces that produced the case studies and those mechanisms of production which were contained within them. All these aspects have been examined through themes. As elucidated in the Section 4.3.1.4, three major themes (domination, cooperation and challenge) were pre-identified in the literature chapter. Those themes led to the unravelling of key forces and power mechanisms that shaped spaces in Slemani. I relied on data and methodological triangulations in the empirical study. Abundant data was gathered from different sources and was collected using different procedures, such as interviews, archive research and questionnaires. Subsequently, three supporting methods were used to analyse data. In terms of the sources of data, as explained earlier, the techniques of interviews and questionnaires targeted individuals of different social status and positions of power, and the archival record included architectural documents, published studies, newspapers, online articles, governmental papers, broadcast or televised interviews. In numerous occasions, the power of elites, who were behind shaping the space in question, was confirmed by both written and spoken accounts, and this validated the results that have been presented in this PhD.

4.4 Pilot study in the city of Erbil

As Edwin R. Van Teijlingen and Vanora Hundley explain, a pilot investigation can 'be the pre-testing or 'trying out' of a particular research instrument'³⁵⁴.

In order to test some concepts developed in the literature review, I conducted an experimental study on an urban-scale scheme called the Buffer Zone of Erbil Citadel (BZEC), which was part of a wider project known as Erbil Citadel Revitalization (ECR) in the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan, Erbil.

I chose this case because there were various local and global forces involved in the creation of this project, and there were many consequences for the city inhabitants or non-elites. For instance, ECR did not only lead to the displacement of numerous families, but also sparked a heated controversy between the local people and decision makers.

354 Edwin R et. al, 'The Importance of Pilot Studies', *Social Research Update*, 2010, 49–59, p. 49.

Further, the project's scale, cost, location and other physical features were additional reasons behind the selection of the pilot, whose historical and architectural background is briefly explained below. The Erbil citadel was a fortified settlement during the Assyrian period (from 1365 to 612 BC), and has been visually dominating the urban landscape of the city. As illustrated in Figure 4-3, the citadel has a circular mass which is 32 meters above ground level and encompasses an area of 10 hectares, and it is now located in the centre of the city.³⁵⁵ After 2003, top government decision makers, including the provincial governor of Erbil and some municipal officials, enacted measures to strengthen what they perceived as 'Kurdish identity' of the citadel, which, as the Guardian journalist Alexander Dziadosz reported, 'was badly neglected under Saddam'.³⁵⁶ The decision makers aimed to add the historical landmark to the List of World Heritage Sites (LWHS) of UNESCO. In 2007, they founded an institution, named the High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization (HCECR), in order to establish a formal connection with UNESCO and to design a strategy, clarified in the next section, for meeting the LWHS requirements in relation to preserving the structure of the citadel and emphasising its urban and architectural dominance.³⁵⁷ The local officials, who signed an agreement with the Italian consulting firm ARS Progetti, along with UNESCO professionals, developed the so-called 'Urban Design Guidelines of the Buffer Zone of the Erbil Citadel', which aimed to maintain the citadel 'as a backdrop'.³⁵⁸ As a result, HCECR cancelled a proposal for developing the areas around the citadel submitted by the Jordanian planning firm Dar-Alhandasah, who had worked on plans to erect high-rise buildings adjacent to the citadel. This conception would have significantly changed the urban image of Erbil's city centre if it had been implemented.

355 Karel Pavelka, Jiřina Svatuřková, and Veronika Králová, 'Photogrammetric Documentation and Visualization of Choli Minaret and Great Citadel in Erbil/Iraq', in *CIPA Symposium, Athens*, 2007, pp. 245–58.

356 Alexander Dziadosz, 'Every Nation Needs a Capital: How Erbil Turned Itself Kurdish', *The Guardian*, 11 October 2017, section Cities <<http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/oct/11>> [accessed 22 November 2017].

357 Anonymous, 'UNESCO and the Kurdistan Regional Government Partner to Restore One of the Oldest Continually-Inhabited Sites of the World', UNESCO OFFICE FOR IRAQ (webpage).

358 Anonymous, 'Revitalization of the Erbil Citadel in Iraq | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization', UNESCO OFFICE FOR IRAQ (webpage), 2007 <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/iraq-office/culture/erbil-citadel/>> [accessed 5 April 2018].

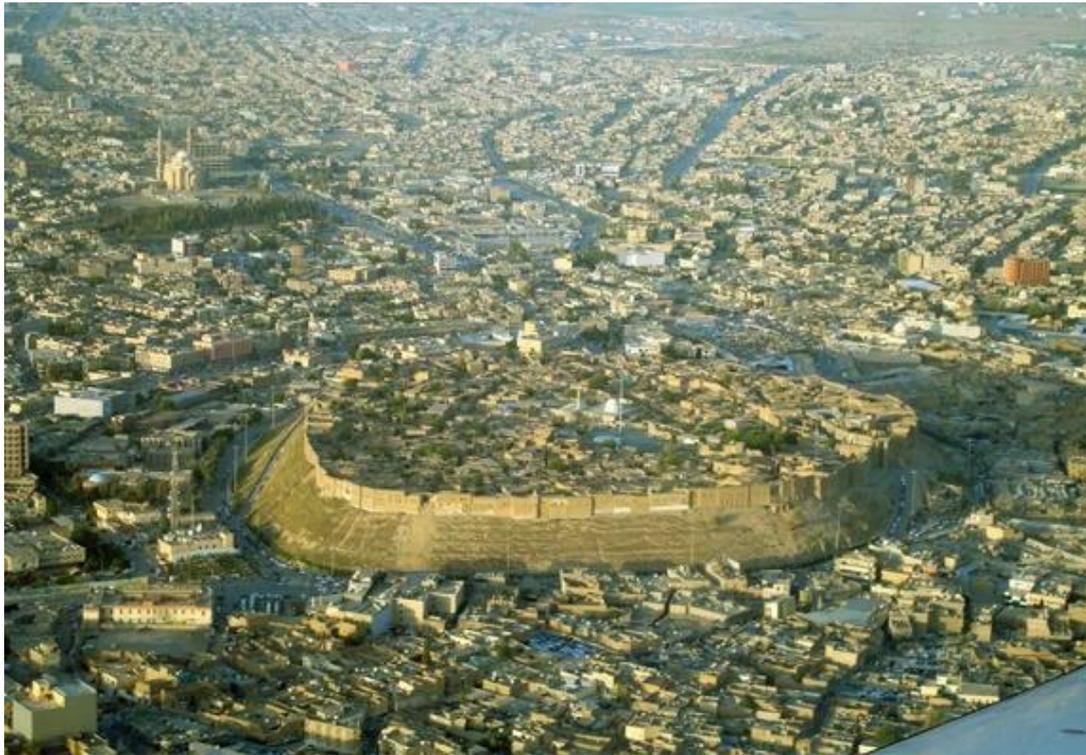


Figure 4-3: The citadel was a fortified settlement during the Assyrian period (from 1365 to 612 BC), and it has since been visually dominating the urban landscape of the city . The areas around the landmark shown in the picture have been considered within the scheme of BZEC, which imposes strict building regulations to prevent architectural developments that could impact the theme of ‘citadel as a backdrop’. This representation of space, which was cast by the ‘elites’, meant that the physical dominance of the citadel could not be compromised by the structures within the buffer zone. Source: www.architectsjournal.co.uk

According to Participant 1-P, the then director of the HCECR, the new scheme of BZEC strictly limited changes to the architectural aspects of constructions such as facades' colours and materials, floor area ratio and buildings' heights.³⁵⁹ Participant 1-P argued that 'the regulations are meant to emphasise the domination of the citadel over the urban landscape'. Participant 2-P, one of the architects working at the HCECR, clarified that the zone was divided into six major areas which covered conservation, transition, remodelling, consolidation, urban corridor and regeneration.³⁶⁰ In short, this classification meant that some buildings would be retained or demolished in order to be replaced by open spaces or constructions, and the rest would be clad with yellow brick in order to be harmonious with the fence of the citadel (Figure 4-4 and 4-5).

4.4.1 Methodological approach and the results of the study

In order to understand the spatial formation of the buffer zone, I approached the project from a qualitative lens, which is in line with the overall ontological perspective of power and space that had been acquired from the literature review. I therefore began studying the case of the buffer zone by asking the following question: what were the forces behind the creation of BZEC? Three methodological instruments, explained below, were tested in the pilot study. Firstly, the conceptual framework of the moments of production, which I created based on Lefebvre's spatial triad, secondly, the method of 'mapping controversies', and finally, the matrix of power forms and components. The matrix contained capacities, actions, relations and the duality of objects subjects, as power was seen as possessing these elements.

Using the three instruments, I studied the production of the buffer zone and this resulted in the following findings: (a) the conceived moment (the representation of space): in this phase a group of political and intellectual 'elites' were the prime decision makers. They conceived a theme for the city where the citadel was maintained as a 'backdrop'.

359 Participant 1-P, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 15 July 2012.

360 Participant 2-P, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 10 July 2012.

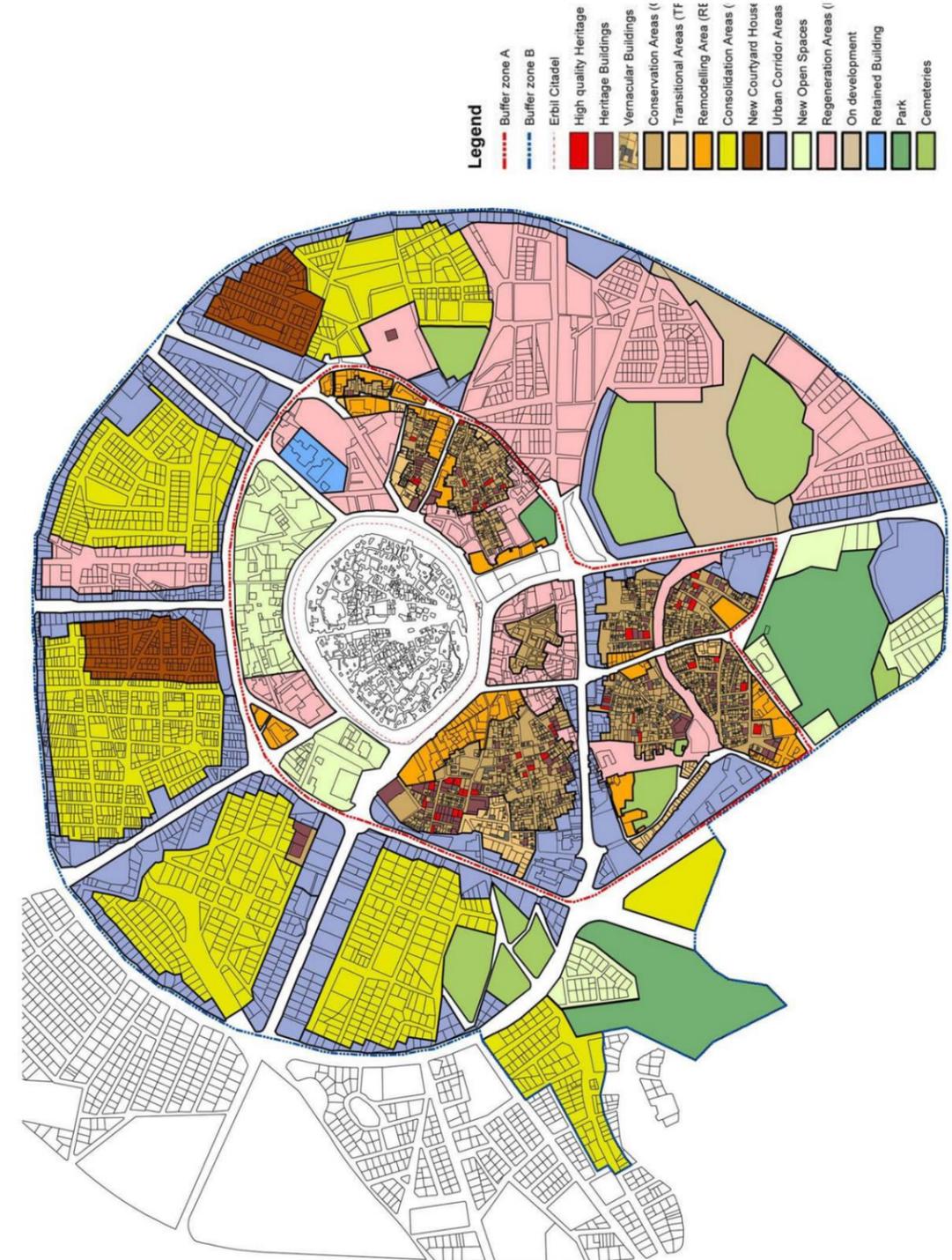


Figure 4-4: As shown in the image, the buffer zone was classified into two rings according to distance from the citadel, as well as architectural and historical factors. The first is labelled Buffer Zone A and it is adjacent to the landmark, while also being the oldest part in the city. The other is named Buffer Zone B and it is farther from the castle and newer than the first ring. The zone was classified into six major areas which are conservation, transition, remodelling, consolidation, urban corridor and regeneration. In general, this classification meant that some buildings would be retained or demolished in order to be replaced by open spaces or constructions, and the rest would be clad with yellow brick in order to be harmonious with the fence of the citadel. Source: The author, adapted from data which was gained from Erbil Municipality and Google Earth.



Figure 4-5: the facade of one of the buildings. In the bottom image, the building is being clad with yellow bricks in order to be harmonious with the elevation of the fence of the citadel, as seen in the top image. Source: The author.

This representation of space led to cancelling the proposal of Dar-Alhandasa and controlling all existing structures within the areas around the ancient castle; (b) the perceived moment (spatial practice): after conceiving the design of ECR a budget of nearly 13 million US dollars was allocated for materialising the scheme. The municipal officials used their authority to issue new building regulations for constructions within the zone; (c) the lived moment (the representational space): I focused here on how the BZEC inhabitants ('non-elite' people) reacted to the scheme through their actions and imaginations. For this purpose I surveyed broadcast, social and printed media, and conducted 25 face-to-face interviews inhabitants. I learned that after the regulations came into effect many of the inhabitants, who found themselves restricted from carrying out modifications to their spaces, began to complain about the constraints of the regulations. In general, the participants disliked the scheme, and consequently some families had actually moved outside the buffer zone while others expressed their wishes to settle elsewhere. The theme of oppression prevailed within the accounts of the interviewees.

The following statements are indicative of such sentiments and they highlight the dominance of the decision makers who controlled the entire project.

- *The government [synonym used for Erbil Municipality] has handcuffed us [suppressed their freedom to develop their house] ... therefore we have decided to sell our house and move outside this area [the buffer zone].³⁶¹*
- *I do not understand why they [the municipal officials] prevent me from decorating my house according to my taste ... It is my right to repair or develop my house.³⁶²*
- *I told them that I needed to add another floor to my house because my son will get married next month but nobody*

361 Participant 3-P, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 23 June 2012.

362 Participant 4-P, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 19 June 2012.

*cares. This is unfair, isn't it?*³⁶³

- *They ruined our lives. I had to put my house up for sale because of the regulations ... They have caused financial losses to us; the prices of many houses have gone down since they created the new regulations.*³⁶⁴

Despite such vehement opposition, members of the committee continued to justify the creation of the BZEC. Participant 1-P, for example, argued that the scheme would not only 'benefit the city's architectural image' but also 'its global reputation'³⁶⁵ and similarly, Participant 2-P stated:

2-P: We are working for the benefit of the entire population of the city [Erbil] but unfortunately some of them do not appreciate that
Interviewer: but the inhabitants of the buffer zone complained about the regulations?

2-P: they focus on their own interests and do not think strategically about the long-term benefits which await the city ... we were working for a bright future for the city and have decided to make the citadel a dominant feature of the city and thus it is a reasonable decision to control all buildings within the zone.

The statement demonstrates how the decision makers, who created the BZEC, believed that their conception of space was logical and more reasonable than that of the inhabitants who lacked, in the participant's voice, 'strategic thinking'.

To sum up, it appeared that the form of power, which governed the production of BZEC, could be clearly categorised as 'power-over'. The spatial triad, which was created based on Henri Lefebvre's work (see Figure 2-3 in Chapter 2), was used to further understand the forces involved in the scheme (Figure 4-6).

363 Participant 5-P, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 24 July 2012.

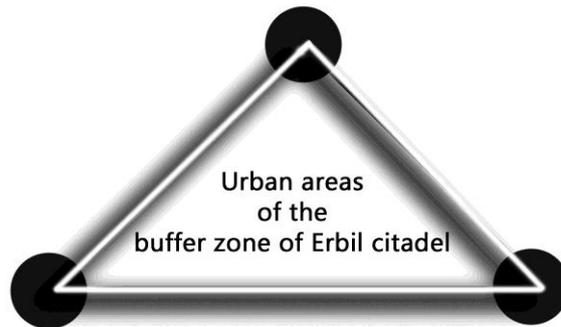
364 Participant 6-P, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 23 July 2012.

365 Participant 1-P.

Lived Moment

(Representational Space)

People started to debate the building regulations imposed by the officials of UNESCO and the local government. The regulations were deemed a 'constraint', 'over controlling', 'surpressing' and the like. Actions were also noticed when some residents of the buffer zone moved to outside the area when they found their capacities inadequate to challenge the regulations



Conceived Moment

(Representation of Space)

The key human actors involved were:

Consultants at UNESCO
Governor of Erbil
Head of the HCECR
Architects at the HCECR

Perceived Moment

(Spatial Practice)

Practical actions carried out by the decision makers to control the architecture of the surrounding areas were embedded in imposing regulations over all construction within the buffer zone

Figure 4-6: The spatial triad was created based on Henri Lefebvre's work to analyse the case of the BZEC. Source: The author.

Subsequent analysis pointed to three moments of production: (a) in the conceived moment: the creation of the building regulations were devised by groups of local and international professionals (elites) with different backgrounds, and this stage occurred in the absence of participation from the local residents, who were subordinated by the ‘elites’; (b) during the perceived moment: the elites materialised their conception of space and subsequently constrained the local residents from modifying their houses or properties, which meant that productive actions of the residents were highly controlled by the capacity of decision makers; and finally (c) in the lived moment: many of the ‘non-elite’ people complained about the scheme and linked it with oppression, but did not challenge the decisions made through protest or lobbying against the implementation of urban guidelines. Instead, some stayed put and accepted the development, and others moved outside the buffer zone. Since the form of power-over governed the production of BZEC, the resultant space—in Lefebvrian understanding—was abstract, meaning a project which is produced by a group of decision makers and in isolation from the users of the space and the social context.

4.4.2 Theoretical and methodological lessons learnt from the pilot study

By undertaking the pilot study of the BZEC, theoretical and methodological lessons emerged which are explained below. Firstly, on the theoretical level, the elites appeared to dominate the power relations between social groups, and this led to the inclusion of the Elite Theory into the literature review. This is further informed an elite-based reconfiguration of Lefebvre’s spatial triad, which was then adopted for the final case studies.

One of the most interesting findings of the pilot study, embedded in the prevailing western culture, had significantly contributed to the creation of the BZEC. In other words, European professionals along with UNESCO consultants produced the conception of space which led to these urban guidelines. Urban leaders did not question that representation of space rather they believed that it was valid and reasonable. This finding helped to develop my understanding of elements of power, especially the duality of object and subject. Objects, I found, can not only be seen to be representing humans, but can also exist as non-human actors.

Secondly, on the methodological level, the pilot study was instrumental in: (a) helping to fine-tune the ontological and epistemological position which was slightly revised. Prior to undertaking this study, I had chosen to depend on the interpretive paradigm. However, after noticing that some participants took the power of architects and urban professionals for granted, I decided to also take into account the critical paradigm and to combine it with the interpretive approach. This impacted the nature of the questions directed at participants in each case study of this PhD; (b) the decision to add questionnaires as method. This decision was taken after having faced a number of practical difficulties in collecting public accounts for this pilot investigation. Whilst being aware of the critiques around the use of questionnaires, the method was deemed appropriate to study the accounts of a large number of participants (over 100) while also saving time and effort; and (c) in developing my approach to data collection. I found that some important data could only be gathered through personal connections. This is due to the phenomenon of gatekeeping which I noticed during the pilot research. Further, the method of archival survey tended to be ineffective because of the paucity of online documents. This had been a common issue in Iraqi Kurdistan throughout the 2000s, as online archives were relatively new in a region which is currently taking its first steps towards online documentation.

Therefore, I considered the technique of snowballing in the main investigation in order to help obtain data that is unavailable on relevant webpages. In addition, these lessons learnt from the pilot study led to revisions in the theoretical and methodological parts, and also helped to focus the overall research approach to suit the social context of Iraqi Kurdistan.

4.5 Case studies

After learning lessons from the pilot study and reviewing the methodology, the focus turned towards those architectural projects which would become the cases of this PhD. The second group of sub-questions were planned to be addressed by the empirical part. The theoretical framework that had been developed through the literature review and the pilot study, subsequently set the stage for investigating the spatial context of Slemani. As outlined in Section 4.3, the chosen methodology relied on a case study approach.

Three categories of spaces have been explored: investment-driven projects, government-sponsored constructions and privately-sponsored houses. The categories were determined by the physical features of the case studies and the power of the group who shaped them. The aim behind splitting the cases into three categories—ranging from macro to micro scales—was to reveal how social forces interact on different levels. Before explaining the cases in the next four chapters, the thesis briefly turns to a discussion about the criteria that were considered in choosing the cases. I will also give some details on the case studies and show the way in which they were analysed prior to focusing on the role of the cases in the empirical study.

4.5.1 Decisions on the site of the case studies and research feasibility

Initially, the case studies were to be within the two main Kurdish cities: Erbil and Slemani. However, due to the similarity of the socio-political environment of the two cities, which witnessed analogous mode of space production, and various methodological factors, the location of the cases was reduced to Slemani only, a city viewed as a typical case in Iraqi Kurdistan in regard to urban transformation after 2003.

Moreover, there were two main methodological limits which influenced the selection of the city of Slemani: firstly, the methods used in this research which resulted in gathering data from multiple sources, and secondly, the nature and characteristics of the case studies which are different to the groups which created the cases, the scales, the locations, and costs. These two reasons made the empirical work more difficult and thus the geographic proximity between cases contributed to shortening the time needed to collect data.

4.5.2 Criteria of choosing case studies

With Slemani as a focal point for this research, two interrelated criteria influenced the final selection of case studies: (a) the (anticipated) level of power of decision makers who had the capacity to shape architectural and urban spaces; and (b) the physical properties of the spaces such as scale and location. These criteria derived from the theoretical chapter, particularly the theory of regime (see section 2.3.1.2).

This correlates the power of urban leaders with the physical properties of urban spaces, in the sense that ‘elites’ are likely to possess the capacity to gain urban areas of value and shape large-scale and high-cost projects.³⁶⁶

Since the selection of cases is one of the most important aspects of when designing a research study³⁶⁷, significant time was spent reviewing possible examples. In the case of this thesis, a total of 48 projects were initially nominated as potential case studies. The projects were examined using a two-dimensional graph (Figure 4-7), with two axes: the vertical axis shows the anticipated extent of the power the ‘elites’ had, and the horizontal axis lists scale, cost and location of each space. After the examination of the projects was completed, four spaces stood out as the most appropriate case studies for this PhD, and in the next section they will be described briefly in conjunction with the criteria.

4.5.3 The four case studies

Four case studies, introduced below, will be detailed help of the account of 52 participants and other sources.

The ‘Grand Millennium Sulaimani Hotel’ (GMSH), locally known as Shary Jwan (The Beautiful City), an investment project constructed in the core of Slemani, was chosen as one of the case studies as it was the largest project conceived, developed and constructed during the study period. The project dominates the architectural landscape of the city and was created by the most powerful urban ‘elites’. It also occupies one of the most prominent sites in the city and at immense cost. The production of similar spaces has been a common phenomenon in the city over the last decade, which has sparked various debates on the power of business and political leaders and the ways they deal with urban spaces. For instance, one of the issues that resulted from the construction of such spaces was the phenomenon of urban land commodification whereby privatisation of land areas increased significantly.

366 Clarence N Stone, ‘Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach’, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 15.1 (1993), 1–28.

367 Christine Bellamy, *Principles of Methodology: Research Design in Social Science* (Sage, 2011).

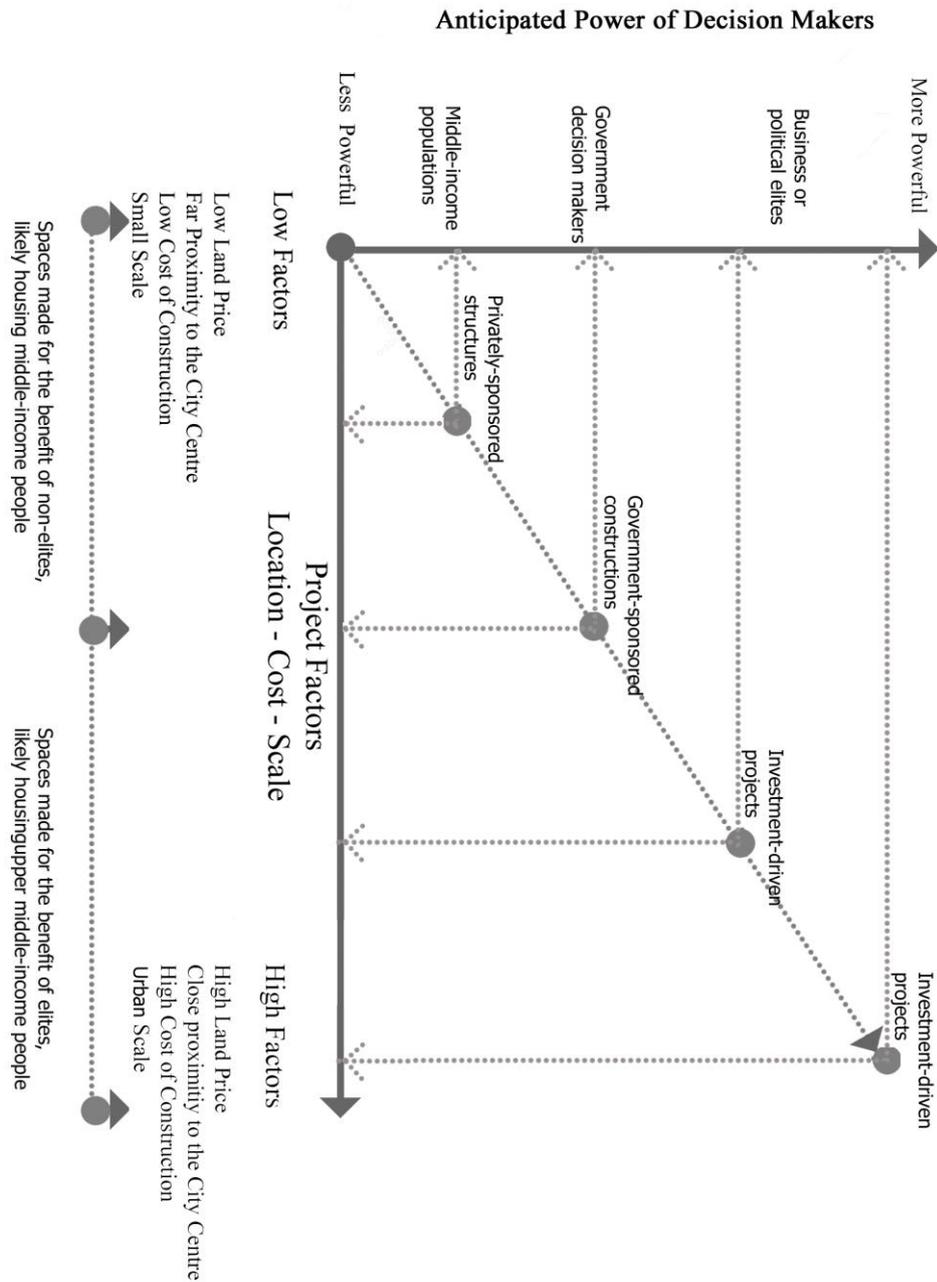


Figure 4-7: Two interrelated criteria influenced the examination of many spaces which were expected to be the case studies in this PhD. The criteria were: (a) the (anticipated) power of decision makers who had the capacity to shape architectural and urban spaces; and (b) the physical properties of the spaces such as scale and location. These criteria derived from the theoretical chapter. Source: The author.

This issue was often related, by antagonists, to the growth of economic, social, architectural and ecological problems in Slemani. The second project chosen, is a housing project bearing the English name of ‘Garden City’ (GC). This case is smaller than GMSH, while the case is smaller than GMSH, it still shares similar aspects; for example GC is a high-cost investment project which occupies one of the most high valued locations in the city and was largely created by prominent business ‘elites’. However, my discussion of the case focuses on the phenomena of a ‘gated community’ and the subsequent social segregation of the high-income dwellers who occupy this urban space has been dedicated for high-income dwellers.

The third case is a project called Women’s Shelter and Development Centre (WSDC), which fulfils two functions and is also spatially divided into two parts. Firstly, it is a shelter for runaway women who escaped domestic violence or had experienced extreme social oppression. Its second function is to operate as a development centre, which is dedicated to advancing skills of female public-sector employees and women who reside in the shelter. This case has been chosen as it was conceived and controlled by a different type of decision makers—the ‘intellectual elites’— who are represented here through the architect and local officials. As the architect who designed the project, I was one of the ‘elites’ who strongly influenced the architectural form of WSDC. The relationship between this urban space and neighbouring areas, especially the tensions between the residents of the shelter and the surrounding inhabitants, sparked numerous debates.

The final case features small-scale houses that were constructed by the city’s inhabitants. I name these constructions Self-Supervised Houses (SSHs).

The title of this case relates to power relations, in the sense that those individuals who built their houses, were in a position whereby they were able to make influential decisions to shape their private spaces. The majority of SSH were produced by people with limited incomes and whom this PhD considers ‘non-elite’ people. SSH are small-scale constructions and are usually located within relatively cheap areas. There were conflicting views on the building regulations which limited many aspects of the houses. Following the ethics guidelines produced by The University of Sheffield, I have anonymised all who participated in the interviews, and asked those who took part in the questionnaire to not write their names or signatures on the sheets.

The names of the interviewees were coded as Participant 1, Participant 2 ... etc., and in the next page, the codes and the roles of the interviewees are listed in Table 4-2, 4-3, 4-4 and 4-5.

4.5.4 How were the case studies analysed?

A thematic approach for analysing the data has been adopted and was further supported by three analytical techniques: story configuration, mapping and descriptive statistics. In each of the following chapters, data about the case studies will be presented and structured according to the analytical technique of story configuration (see section 4.3.2.1). Each case study is placed at the centre of the creation story, which contains three consecutive architectural stages: design, construction and occupation. During these stages, all human actors and events are revealed.

As a result, the chapter will be structured in the following way: (a) an introduction to the context: explaining how social, political or economic factors created the demand for producing the case study; (b) the mental production of the space: explaining design scenarios that are set for the space. This phase only shows mental actions; (c) the physical production of the space: this involves about shedding light on physical actions as building works began, and whether any significant change occurred to the space during the materialisation of the design (above); (d) the social production of the space: describing what happened after the beginning of the occupation stage.

The section highlights the arguments which arose from analysing the case study through subjecting the data above to the matrix of power elements and forms (see section 2.2.1), and using the supporting analytical visual-method of 'mapping'. The illustrations feature spaces of 'elites', 'non-elites', constructional actions, and the timeline of production phases. In each phase of production, the forces which influences the design or those which prompt a physical or constructional change are being demonstrated, and this assists the main thematic analysis which is elucidated below.

Participant's Number	Participant's Relationship to the Case of GMSH
1	Project manager
2	A journalist working for a left-wing newspaper Hawlati, in Slemani. They are also within Group A which included residents living around the project.
3	The then deputy manager of the Slemani Investment Board (SIB) in 2004
4	Architect who ran an architectural office, called Arkonsult in the United Arab of Emirates, who was commissioned by the investor to design GMSH
5	Deputy director of the Slemani Investment Directorate (SID)
6	Consultant engineer who supervised the construction of GMSH
7 - 9	People from Group A
10 - 14	People from Group B which includes inhabitants of Slemani living away from the project

Table 4-2: Participants' codes and relationships to GMSH.

Participant's Number	Participant's Relationship to the Case of GC
15	Senior engineer who worked at the company (HGH) which built GC
16	Turkish architect who ran an architectural firm, called Yapimar in Turkey, was commissioned by the investors of GC to design the project
17	Architect and the chief of the Engineering Department at HGH
18	Member of the consulting staff at Slemani Municipality who checked the first design proposal of GC
19	Senior engineer at Slemani Municipality involved in creating the master plan of the city, and had information about the site of GC
20	Senior engineer who worked at DIBS and checked the compliance of the construction to the approved architectural and civil drawings
21	Marketing manager of GC who headed the committee which collected and analysed feedback from GC's dwellers
22	Senior architect at the architectural bureau of EAS which took over design processes after the original designer (P16) left the project
23	The then head of the provincial council of Slemani Governorate who delivered information on GC
24	Senior civil engineer who worked at The Ministry of Housing and Construction who checked the drawings of GC
25 - 27	Residents of GC, Group A
28 & 29	Inhabitants of Slemani living around GC, Group B

Table 4-3: Participants' codes and relationships to GC.

Participant's Number	Participant's Relationship to the Case of WSDC
30	General manager of the project and all women's shelters in Slemani province
31	Then then chief of the Women's Committee, at the PCS, which initiated the project
32	Manager of the Directory of Combating Violence against Women in Slemani. This directory replaced the Development Centre which was designed to be part of the project
33	Member of the Women's Committee
34	Senior consultant at Slemani Municipality who participated in locating the site of the project
35 & 36	Senior members of the Engineering Department, at SGH, which took over construction processes of WSDC
37 & 38	Former residents of the women's shelter
39	One of the administrators of all women's shelters in Slemani
40 - 44	Inhabitants living around WSDC

Table 4-4: Participants' codes and relationships to WSDC.

Participant's Number	Participant's Relationship to the Case of SSHs
45	Official at the Directorate of Rapareen Municipality which is in charge of land-uses and the built environment in neighbourhood of Rapareen, which is the site of four SSHs (chosen as case studies)
46 - 49	Owners of the four SSHs
50 - 52	Architects who ran their private offices and designed the SSHs

Table 4-5: Participants' codes and relationships to SSHs.

The data concerning the phases of production has been examined in light of three themes of power: domination, cooperation and challenge. The examination process is facilitated by the matrix of power elements and forms (see Table 4-1 in Section 4.3.2.4). The analysis section includes three sub-sections which are as follows:

Firstly, it identifies the human forces in each case. Those are classified as being either 'elite' or 'non-elite' people. This sub-section will only focus on the people who shaped the case study, and they will be examined through three factors: time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental or physical), and relations (between the decision makers). For instance, the analysis highlights the person or group who frequently made decisions during the phases of production. Once the human forces have been identified, I will look at the most dominant individual among them using the third factor: relations; that is relations between the decision makers and the space. The second sub-section will concern itself with relations and actions: these two factors are related to the two groups: elites and non-elites. Using the pre-identified codes of power (see section 4.3.2.4 section), I will focus on their actions and relations. Finally, non-human forces including shared norms, perceptions or beliefs will be identified to shed light on whether the space was impacted by those invisible powers.

Sometimes both 'elite' and 'non-elite' populations share a form of perception, especially in relation to architecture and urban spaces, and they interact with the built environment according to that perception. Accounts of the participants will reveal whether non-human forces exist or not, and how these forces govern processes and phases of space production. Once heterogeneous forces and forms of power have been identified in each case, the main outcomes and findings will be discussed in the final chapter, *Conclusion and Discussion*.

4.5.5 How the case studies contribute to answering the research questions.

Before moving onto the case studies chapters this section will briefly explain the role of the case studies in answering the research questions. This includes the central question: what were the powers behind spatial production in Slemani between 2003 and 2013?

As explained earlier, this main question leads two groups of sub-questions, which narrow down the focus to its theoretical and empirical elements. The four sub-questions that are investigated concern: (a) the reasons or motivations behind the rapid architectural development between 2003 and 2013; (b) the people who exerted power over architecture and urban spaces in the city; (c) the mechanisms which shaped the built environment; and (d) the existence of invisible or non-human forces which were involved in processes of the production.

In terms of (a), the first question, each case study is preceded by an explanation of the environmental catalyst which provided the platform for those who shaped the case. This explanation will be composed out of a survey featuring all relevant spoken and written sources. This will be followed by a section which addresses the second set of sub-questions. In order to answer (b), the data about the production of the case study will be structured according to conventional phases of architecture: the preparation of the site, the design stage, the construction phase, and the occupation phase. This arrangement of data will help to focus on those who influenced the case, either by making decisions or taking actions, in each phase of production.

The data analysis, which is dependent on a thematic approach supported by the matrix of power forms and components, will concentrate on three interrelated elements: time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in the case and between them and non-decision makers). Those elements are indications of the power of 'elites'; for instance, those people who persistently make decisions about the design and throughout the production phases (which provides less opportunity for others to do so), will be the driving force behind each case study.

Some architectural elements (walls, fences, windows, doors and the like) could be also indicators of the influence of 'elites'. For example, constructing a high fence within a building might denote that the architect desires to isolate its occupiers from the people living in the surrounding areas. In this sense, architecture and its elements are used as a vehicle to control the actions of the users of the building and limit their relationship with the surroundings.

From the Foucauldian perspective³⁶⁸, contemporary architecture has become part of the discourse of power, and designers can exert significant influence on the users of the space through employing physical elements of space.

The third sub-question will highlight the formal and informal channels, as well as the organisations or authorities, which enabled human actors to embark on processes of space production. In regard to invisible forces, or the fourth sub-question, their influence will be explored through the same three elements which are used to discover human agency: time, relations and actions. If there is a common belief or ideology that continuously impacted the actions and relations of the group who created the case study, then it will be considered as a non-human force. After the four cases studies, range in scale from small houses to large urban projects, have been presented and analysed, the overarching question will be addressed alongside the last question (of the second group of sub-questions). These questions are interested in exploring possibilities for shaping an alternative (s) politics for space production.

368 Foucault views the case of the panoptical prison structure as an example of how the concept of power has shifted from its traditional-visible form to invisibility in the sense that power has been exerted through institutions or architecture. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, the United States of America, New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012.

Rasool has been widely regarded by Kurdish people as one of the top (and unreachable) businessmen.³⁷² After the political and economic developments occurred in 2003, the demand for luxury hotels increased, largely due to a political campaign to change the architectural image of Kurdish urban areas. This was supported by two other factors: growth in tourist numbers and the way the way in which local decision-makers perceived and classified existing hotels in Slemani. These factors motivated the investor Faruq Mustafa Rasool, one of the top business ‘elites’ who runs large businesses in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, to create a design scenario for this project. By 2005, Rasool had conceived the architectural theme of GMSH, and he later commissioned an architect who managed an architectural office in The United Arab Emirates, to develop the theme and produce technical drawings.

During the design process a number of changes occurred to the form of the project, and changes were chiefly orchestrated by Rasool. After construction had commenced, the decision makers at the construction site (the investor, the architect and the consulting engineers) realised that they needed to modify some aspects of the project. One of the modifications involved an external agent who was contributing to the process of creating GMSH. This actor was an international hospitality company called Millennium and Copthorne Hotels (MCH), which imposed its own policy and controlled the architectural processes. This company amended the design of most of the internal spaces in order to adjust GMSH to MCH’s standards. GMSH provoked various debates among ‘non-elite’ people. Views about GMSH were collected from two groups of the city inhabitants: the first were living around the project, and the second relatively far away from it. Debates were generated over three issues: the architectural manifestation, the spatial structure, and the economic outcome. The first issue tended to be unanimous in the sense that the two groups were almost in agreement. However, with regard to the other two issues, each group focused on one issue in particular, resulting in it becoming clear that the root of the arguments stemmed from the phenomenon of prioritising private interests over collective ones.

This chapter is structured as follows.

372 See Anonymous, ‘Faruk Mustafa Rasool’, online article, The American University of Iraq Sulaimani (webpage), 7 July 2015, <http://auis.edu.krd/faruk-mustafa-rasool>, [accessed 23 August 2015]

It begins with an explanation of how the demand for luxury hotels in Slemani increased, which is followed by a detailed discussion on how the design scenario was developed for GMSH. Following this, Section 5.2 narrates the commencement of the construction works. This is followed by an insight into the arguments produced by the local ‘elite’ people, and the arguments of the ‘non-elite’ people about the project. Finally, the chapter ends with concluding remarks about the major forces which created this project.

5.2 The demand for luxury and spectacular hotels

There were many influential factors which contributed to the increasing the demand for luxury and prestigious hotels. The major influences can be identified as follows: (a) the political campaign of *The Other Iraq*; (b) the development of the tourism industry; and (a) the way local decision-makers perceived and classified existing recreational spaces in Slemani. Each of these influences are elaborated on in the following section.

5.2.1 The Other Iraq Campaign

After the war of 2003 ended and Iraqi Kurdistan began to witness socio-economic development³⁷³, discourses on nation building were championed by Kurdish elite politicians and advocated for by many people of the Kurdistan region.³⁷⁴ In that period, *The Other Iraq* campaign was created by elite Kurdish politicians to deliver a different political and economic image about the region to the rest of the world, while also promoting businesses in Iraqi Kurdistan.³⁷⁵ During the campaign, the narrative of architectural development in the United Arab Emirates, especially Dubai, had been strongly present in the arguments of top politicians.

373 These developments are explained in Chapter One

374 See Kevin Connolly, ‘Iraqi Kurdistan: State-in-the-Making?’, *BBC News*, 28 October 2013, sec. Middle East, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-24708736>.

375 Anonymous, ‘Kurdistan: The Other Iraq’, Video Recording, *60 Minutes*, 16 February 2007, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/kurdistan-the-other-iraq/>.

The prominent political figure Mahmood Othman, who described the capital of Kurdistan, Erbil, as ‘a run-down and shabby place’³⁷⁶, said that the objective of the local power was to turn the city into ‘a little Dubai’³⁷⁷. Likewise, the Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), Nechirvan Barzani (2006 to 2009, 2014 to today), took that objective further and stated that all cities of Kurdistan ‘will be better than Dubai’³⁷⁸.

The Other Iraq campaign was backed by the USA media, which depicted the Kurdish region as a safe, architecturally developed, welcoming environment and different from other regions of Iraq.³⁷⁹ The architectural image was always stressed within the depiction. The CBS News correspondent, Daniel Schorn, described Erbil and reported that:

*A new mall with 8,000 shops and stalls is going up. So is an apartment complex known as ‘Dream City,’ ... A giant bowling alley is almost finished, and an opera house is not far behind.*³⁸⁰

The constructions mentioned in the report were presented as signs of urban development and the journalist focused on two elements: (a) the architectural style of the constructions, which were ‘new’, with the word new often referring to westernised styles, especially when the statement shed light on the English name of the housing complex of ‘Dream City’ in Erbil; (b) the scale of the construction, which was ‘giant’, which can be linked to booming financial and economic environments.

376 Ahmed Maher, ‘Ten Good Years for Irbil’, online article, *BBC*, 23 March 2013, sec. Middle East, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-21900576>.

377 Ibid.

378 Anonymous, ‘کردستان العراق خطوات مرسومة بدقة نحو المستقبل’ [Iraqi Kurdistan Well Designed Steps for the Future], governmental website, Iraq, Kurdistan Regional Government, October 2006: <http://www.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?a=11604&l=14&r=84&s=010000>.

379 Bernd Debusmann and Special Correspondent, ‘Tourists and Investors to Iraq? Why Not, Say Kurds’, *Reuters*, 8 August 2007, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/08/08/us-iraq-kurdistan-idUSN0239955720070808>.

380 Anonymous, ‘Kurdistan: The Other Iraq’, *60 Minutes*, 2007
<<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/kurdistan-the-other-iraq/>> [accessed 8 February 2015].

These two elements (style and scale) were repeatedly highlighted in the media. Thomas L. Friedman wrote in *The New York Times* about Erbil and Slemani, the two major cities in the Kurdish region:

*new hotels, a big new convention centre, office buildings, Internet cafes, two new international airports and Iraqi malls ... It's all happening in Kurdistan, the northern Iraqi region ... I saw all of the above in Kurdistan's two biggest towns, Erbil and Slemani*³⁸¹

As will be explained in the following sections, *The Other Iraq* campaign influenced the perception of both local inhabitants and decision makers.

5.2.2 The Development of the Tourism Industry

Compared to other regions in Iraq, Kurdistan is known for its dependence on tourism for part of its revenue. However, it is commonly agreed that consecutive Iraqi regimes and other historical difficulties³⁸² impeded the progress of the hospitality and tourism industry.³⁸³ After the socio-political changes in 2003, the two industries witnessed an unprecedented development, and an upsurge of tourist numbers visiting the three major cities of Iraqi Kurdistan (Erbil, Slemani and Dohuk) per year.³⁸⁴ The number was slightly above 100,000 per year in 2005 and this number tripled in 24 months and continued to multiply in the following years (it reached three million in 2013).³⁸⁵

381 Thomas L. Friedman, 'The Kurdish Secret', *The New York Times*, 2 September 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/02/opinion/02friedmancolumn.html>.

382 See Chapter 3..

383 Ahmed Maher, 'Ten Good Years for Irbil', *BBC*, 23 March 2013, section Middle East <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-21900576>> [accessed 6 February 2015].

384 Anonymous, 'هوتيل و شويته كمشتياريه كان لة ههريمي كوردستان' [Hotels and Tourist Sites in the Kurdistan Region 2010]', official report by Kurdistan Regional Statistics Office (KRSO), Iraqi Kurdistan, Erbil, 2012.

385 Anonymous, 'كساد السياحة في كردستان العراق وسط استمرار الحرب ضد «داعش» [Recession in the Tourism Sector in Iraqi Kurdistan in the Light of the Continuation of the War against ISIS]', online newspaper, *Asharq Al Awsat*, February 1, 2015, <http://aawsat.com/home/article/279611/>.

In 2007, this growth encouraged the minister of tourism, Nimrud Youkhana, to invite foreign investors to construct hotels; the minister preceding to announce that ‘We need three or four times as many hotels as we have now’.³⁸⁶ Accordingly, Iraqi and international businessmen poured millions of USDs into the hospitality industry.³⁸⁷ For instance, the number of four-star rating hotels in Slemani rose from zero in 2004³⁸⁸ to six in 2009.³⁸⁹

5.2.3 The Perception of Hospitality Spaces in Slemani

When the economy of Kurdistan began to thrive in 2003, the existing hospitality spaces were perceived by local decision-makers as being inappropriate places for hosting foreign VIP visitors such as diplomatic delegations or top businessmen. The then deputy manager of the Slemani Investment Board (SIB), Participant 3, described how he and other SIB officials viewed these spaces in 2014. He said:

I invited a Korean delegate to one of the restaurants in the bazar³⁹⁰ ... it was a really shameful and inappropriate place for them ... the city was supposed to welcome diplomatic, business, and cultural delegates and we felt they needed a proper place. The city needed more developed hotels and the existing hotels were below 3 star-rating Therefore, we encouraged businessmen to build prestigious and high-class hotels, and take advantage of the new investment law.³⁹¹

386 Debusmann and Correspondent, *Tourists and Investors to Iraq? Why Not, Say Kurds*, 2007

387 See Kirk Semple, ‘Pointing to Stability, Kurds in Iraq Lure Investors’, *The New York Times*, 27 June 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/27/world/middleeast/27kurds.html>.

388 Participant 3, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 24 August 2014.

389 Anonymous, ‘هوتيل و شونيه گهشتياريهكان له ههريمي كوردستان’ [Hotels and Tourist Sites in the Kurdistan Region 2010], official report by the Kurdistan Regional Statistics Office (KRSO), Erbil, 2010, p.10.

390 Bazar is a term which refers to shopping streets in the centre of Slemani

391 Participant 3.

Participant 3 perceived the local restaurant as ‘shameful’ and the hotels as improper. SIB executives shared the same impression about the restaurants and hotels, and they desired alternative ‘proper’ spaces for foreign delegates. This impression encouraged the officials to call on businessmen to produce ‘prestigious’ architecture. In the same year, SIB issued a law of investment and gave a significant discount on land prices to support those who wanted to construct high-rating hotels.³⁹² Participant 3 gave an example of the discount by saying that if an area in the city was priced at one million USD, SIB would grant the same land to investors for 100,000 USD.

The above three factors not only increased the demand for building alternative hotels, but also contributed to form a basic architectural theme of the future recreation spaces in Slemani. The theme was strongly emphasised and developed by the investor of GMSH, and this is detailed in the next section.

5.3 The mental production of GMSH: Conceiving the design scenario of GMSH

This section narrates how the design scenario of GMSH was formed. The chief individual who decided to design and build the project was the businessman, Faruq Mustafa Rasool, locally known as Faruq Mala Mustafa. Rasool, who is the investor and the owner of GMSH, was not only one of the top business leaders, but also an unreachable person. I could not interview this businessman despite enormous efforts made and time spent in trying to arrange a face-to-face interview. The data presented here were collected from alternative sources, such as published or aired interviews with Rasool, or the accounts of the people who were directly in touch with the investor during the formation of the project.

In early 2004, Rasool had the desire to be the first businessman to construct a five-star hotel in the city of Slemani. In one of the Kurdish TV channels, Rasool was asked who built this project and why, to which he replied:

392 Participant 3.

*I made the decision to build this hotel. Because Slemani had not had a large hotel of good quality for delegates visiting the city and a place for holding conferences on culture, business and politics. For these reasons I found that there was a demand for this project.*³⁹³

Rasool assertively clarified his role in the formation of the project and referred to the issue, which was explained in the previous chapter, of the absence of alternative hotels, and the desire of building ‘good quality’ accommodation for hosting foreign delegates. In that period, the businessman was impressed with the architectural development which had been taking place in the city of Dubai.³⁹⁴

Rasool had a group of engineering consultants at his company, named Faruq Group Holdings (FGH), and he directed the group to visit the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The aim of the visit was to search for an architectural bureau to design his future project. In 2005, a Kurdish architect running an architectural office named Arkonsult, in Abu Dhabi, was nominated by the group to do the design. This architect, Participant 4, was approved by Rasool, who later visited Arkonsult to talk over the design. The client appeared to have had a preconceived theme for the hotel before the beginning of the discussion with the architect. Participant 4 recollected that discussion:

*He wanted something modern ... he wanted it to be a tower building so it would be a physical landmark that is seen from everywhere ... he visited many advanced cities around the world and he was impressed with contemporary architecture there ... Dubai was one of these cities ... he wanted something similar to the towers in other cities ... for example: he asked to place a revolving restaurant at the top of the building similar to the CN Tower in Canada.*³⁹⁵

393 Mohammed Fatih, Interview with Faruk Mala Mustafa [نیدار لهگه‌ئێڵ فاروقی مه‌لا مسته‌فا], Interview of the Day (TV program), KNN TV, Iraqi Kurdistan, Slemani: Faruk Medical City, 25 July 2014, <<http://knnc.net/Programme-Detail.aspx?TypeID=64&bernameID=2448#.U7DvtfmSyIu>> [accessed 14 February 2015].

394 Ibid.

395 Participant 4, interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 8 July 2014.

Rasool had predetermined the major features of the hotel, and wanted it to be a ‘modern’ ‘tower building’, a ‘physical landmark’ that would include ‘a revolving tower at the top’. The word modern indicates a resemblance to architecture of the ‘advanced cities’. The features of the project which were described by Rasool, influenced the architect’s mind prior to the emergence of the preliminary sketches. In terms of the functions inside GMSH, Participant 1, the project manager and nephew of Rasool, mentioned that the key functions and facilities, such as meeting rooms, a spa and multi-purpose halls, were required by Rasool himself.³⁹⁶ The businessman assigned his friend, Majid Allawi, a consultant and contractor, to liaise with Arkonsult (Participant 4’s office) and to prepare a design brief with the aid of a team of professionals at that office. Once the architect had received the brief, the design process began.

In mid-2005, the first proposal emerged and it included three key elements: a tower, a combined building of a conference hall and a ballroom. As illustrated in Figure 5-1, the tower was shaped according to Rasool’s desired theme, and the adjoining building covered with a glass dome was the concept of the architect. The architect sent the proposal to Allawi (the coordinator) who in turn discussed it with Rasool, who approved the tower but ordered the designer to expand the areas dedicated for the conference hall and the ballroom in order to increase the audience number. The designer believed that the adjoining building was suitable given the increased number of the audience.

Accordingly, the architect decided to split the two functions and place each one in a separate structure. In the meantime, the architect aimed to maintain the form of the dome.³⁹⁷ This led to the following changes (Figure 5-2):

- a) The dome was removed and replaced with a roundabout;
- b) The conference hall and the ballroom were placed on both sides of the roundabout; and
- c) the shape of the masses on the two buildings remained circular and were covered by glass domes.

396 Participant 1, interviewed by Yahia Ali, email communication, 14 July 2014.

397 Ibid.

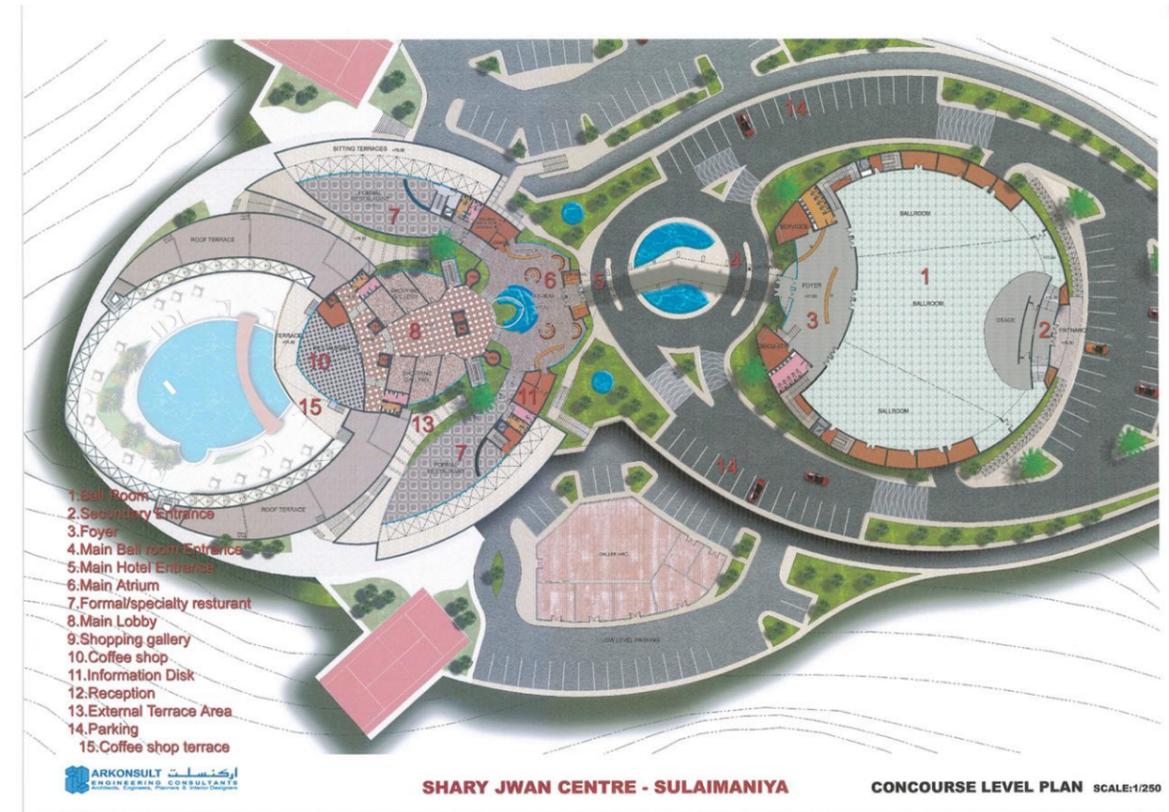


Figure 5-1: The first proposal of GMHS. There were three main elements: (a) the hotel tower; (b) the dome which included the conference hall and the ballroom; (c) recreation spaces, which contained an outdoor swimming pool, a spa, a gym and restaurants. Source: Arkonsult.

This second proposal was sent again to the client. At that stage, Allawi interfered and according to the architect, Allawi convinced Rasool to:

Simplify the design of the conference hall and the ballroom because he thought that it would be expensive ... for example, he told Kak³⁹⁸ Faruq (Rasool) that the form of the ceiling of the two masses should be executed by professional foreign companies and this would add huge cost ... Allawi was wrong. I explained to Kak Faruq that Allawi's claims were incorrect but Kak Faruq did not listen to me.³⁹⁹

Allawi influenced the design through convincing the key decision-maker, Rasool. Although the architect aimed to keep the form of the domes, they were removed by Rasool when he became convinced by the reasons that Allawi gave. Thus, staff at Arkonsult remodelled and simplified the design of the buildings, and after discussions with Allawi and professional engineers at FGH, a third proposal emerged (Fig 5-3). In late 2005, the design was agreed upon and it was approved by the investor, who later worked with Allawi to set up a time schedule for the construction phase. The next section will highlight two aspects: the actions taken by Rasool to acquire the land for the project, and the chain of events which occurred during the construction works.

5.4 The physical production of GMSH: Materialising the design of GMSH

This section will explain two complementary elements of the story of GMSH: one of them occurred before the design process, and the other after the process. The first element documents how the investor came to own the site of GMSH in 2004. The second part took place after the team at Arkonsult handed over the final drawings of the project in mid-2005.

398 In Kurdish language, the first name of a male adult person is often preceded by the word Kak which is a respectful term and can be synonymised with Mister or Sir.

399 Participant 4.



◀ Proposal 1



◀ The architect (Pasha) divided the dome into two structures

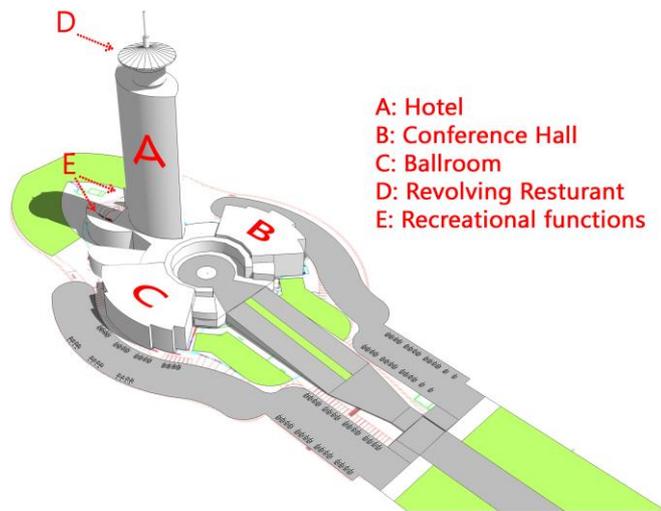


◀ Proposal 2

Figure 5-2: The second proposal shows that the architect increased the areas of the conference hall and the ballroom based on the investor's requirement. The designer split the dome mass into two structures, and as he wanted to maintain that shape, he covered each structure with a dome. Source: The author, adapted from Arkonsult.



Final Proposal



Main Functions of GMHS

Figure 5-3: In the third proposal, the architect could not keep the domes that he desired to include in the design, and he was forced to remove them. The changes occurred mainly to the structures on the ground level. Source: The author, adapted from Arkonsult.

The second part documents the chronological development of the construction phase of GMSH which took place between 2006 and 2013. In this stage, a number of changes occurred to the architecture of GMSH because both the architect and the investor felt that they needed to develop the design. The two individuals made decisions when they saw that the physical edges of the project had emerged. Below, the two elements of the GMSH story are explained.

5.4.1 The acquisition of the land

The site of the project, which is shown in Figure 5-4, was a forest and was chosen by the investor due to geographical, personal and political factors: (a) the location is near the city core and the main streets; (b) the site used to house the office of the Communist Party, of which Rasool was a member, and had strong memories of attachment; (c) the area was prepared to be a palace for the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, in the late 1980s.⁴⁰⁰ When Saddam Hussein was removed from power in the Kurdistan region in the uprising of 1991, the concept of the palace was cancelled and the land remained a forested area. Further, Rasool emphasised the importance of the third factor by saying that it is ‘in this location where Grand Millennium stands, the toppled regime [Hussein’s government] wanted to build a palace, but fate changed that to a hotel’⁴⁰¹.

Given the motivations listed above, Rasool insisted on obtaining the area and initiated the process of acquiring the land.

400 Participant 1.

401 BS, RA, and RS, ‘*The Opening of Grand Millennium in the Middle of Sulaymaniyah with 39 Floors and Managing Staff Confirms Saddam’s Intention to Construct a Palace for Himself on the Site of the Project*’, *Al-Mada Press*, 2, available at: March 2014: <http://www.almadapress.com/ar/news/> [accessed 10 July 2015], also see Khalid Al-Najar, ‘The inauguration of the Project of the Grand Millennium Hotel in Sulaimaniyah “ Shary Jwan” [“افتتاح مشروع كراند ميلنيوم السليمانية” شاري جوان]’, *PUK Media*, 2014 <http://pukmedia.com/AR_Direje.aspx?Jimare=29724> [accessed 17 June 2014]; *Interview with Faruq Mala Mustafa on Shary Jwan Hotel [Chaw pe kawtn lagel Faruq la sar Shary Jwan]*, 2013, Rudaw <<http://www.youtube.com/watch>> [accessed 30 November 2014].

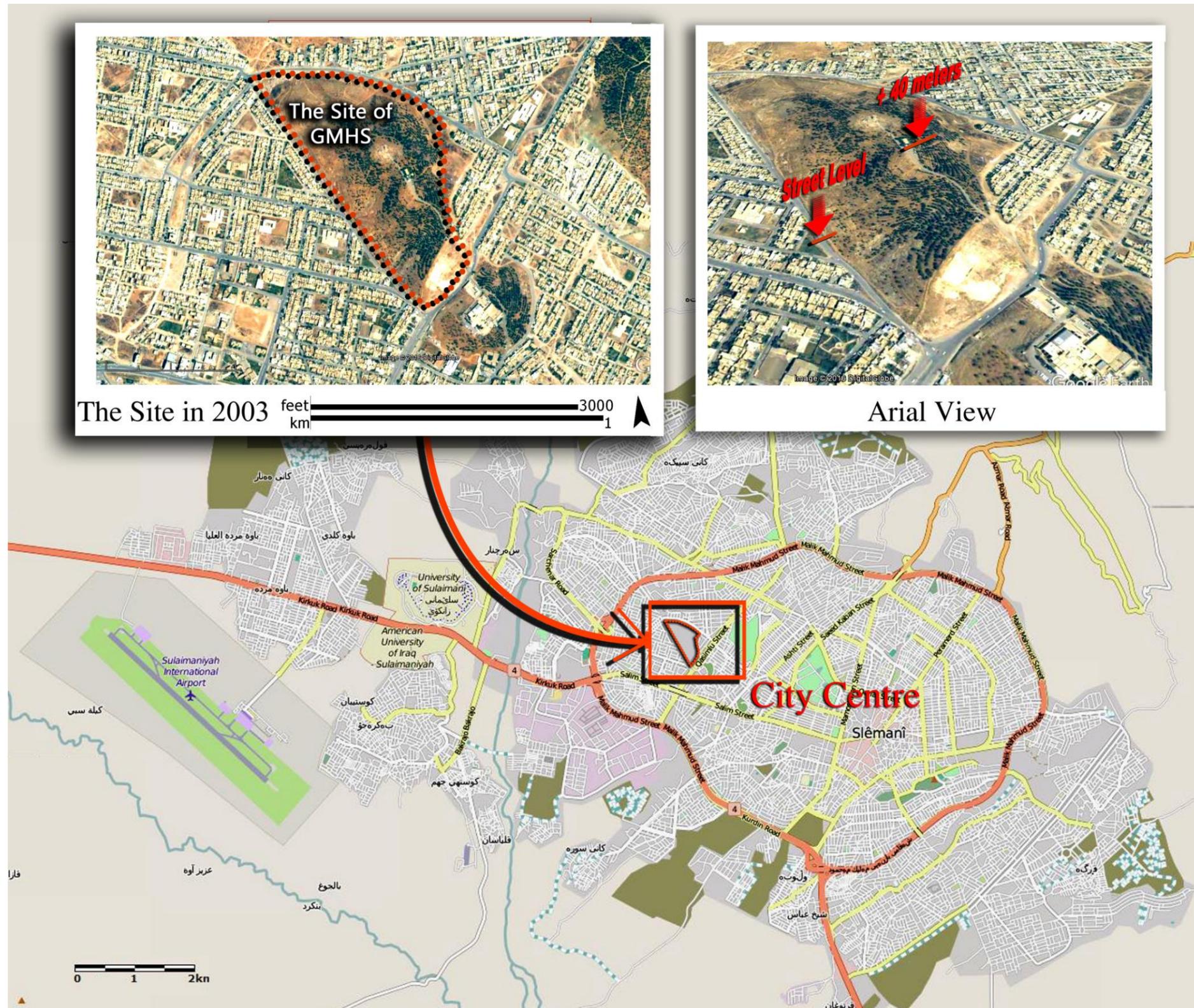


Figure 5-4: The location of the site of GMHS in Slemani. The site was a forest and it overlooks the surrounding streets by 40 metres. Source: The author, adapted from www.arcgis.com, and Google Earth.

However, this process may have seemed unclear to many local people due to the conflicting information that was given by media channels conveyed by local officials. According to Participant 5, the deputy director of the Slemani Investment Directorate (SID), the leader of the ruling party the PUK, Jalal Talabani, ordered the then head of Slemani Municipality to grant the land for free to Rasool in 2004. On the other hand, the head of SID, Farman Ghareeb, informed local media that there is no official explanation of how Rasool obtained that land, and ‘from whom he purchased it’⁴⁰². After months of investigation, I obtained an unpublished-official report which was produced by the *Directory of Audit of Slemani Province (DASP)*, a governmental organisation affiliated with the *Board of Financial Supervision of Iraqi Kurdistan*. The document details the history of land ownership which went through three stages: First off, before 2003, the categorised by the Slemani Municipality (SM) as a forested area, meaning that the land was owned by the public sector, and the usufructuary rights to the land was given (by the local authorities) to residents who were living in the nearby neighbourhood of Ablakh. Secondly in 2003, the PUK officials used their power to transfer the ownership of the land from the public sector to the party.⁴⁰³ Once the PUK took possession of the land, which has an area of nearly 76 acres, the party split the land into two parts: most of the land, around 72 acres, was handed over to Rasool, and the remaining 4 acres was retained by the party. Finally, in the same year SM (which was fully administrated by PUK members throughout the 1990s and 2000s) changed the use of the land, which was labelled as green area in the then masterplan, to private property.⁴⁰⁴

Rasool himself confirmed his relationship with local power structures, and in a televised interview he admitted that businessmen should be supported in the continuation of their business activities by political structures, as otherwise they would not survive. In addition, Rasool stated:

402 Ara Ibraheem, ‘Shari Jwan opens costing 260 Million US dollar and 1100 people worked on it [شارى جوان دهمكرىتهوه 260 مليون دولارى تىچوهو رۆژانه همزارو 100 كهمس كارى تىداكردوه]’, online newspaper, Hawlati Newspaper, 2 March 2014, <http://hawlati.co/نهمرشيفهكان/33447>, [accessed 10 July 2015] .

403 Anonymous, ‘Conduct of an Investigation [نهمجامدانى لىكۆلىنهموه]’, official report, 2010, pp.25-28.

404 As explained in Chapter 3, the PUK members managed to control urban areas and were allegedly commodifying some lands for the party’s benefit.

*A businessman without political connections is weak ... both politicians and businessmen are an influential part of society ... business and politics are usually mixed and cannot be separable.*⁴⁰⁵

This robust connection with political power enabled the businessman to guarantee the ownership of the site of GMSH. Furthermore, Rasool pointed out that the PUK leader had been given ‘the credit for constructing’⁴⁰⁶ the project. These indications correspond to the account of the deputy director of SID, Participant 5, who said that the PUK leader ordered the local authorities to hand over the land to Rasool. After Rasool’s engineering staff had received the final drawings from the Arkonsult professionals who completed them by late autumn 2005, they initiated construction processes in the following year. This process is introduced in the next section.

5.4.2 The construction phase

The construction phase started in early 2006. Between 2006 and 2009 there were a number of modifications to the site plan and the project. These modifications were mainly performed by the engineering staff, the investor, and the architect.

5.4.3 Modifications made by the consulting staff

The consulting staff cleared up 83% of the forest in order to provide a level area for the project. Thousands of trees and plants were felled over three years. According to an investigation report issued by The Directory of Audit of Slemani Province (DASP), The General Directorate of Agriculture (GDA) in the city raised the issue of removing the forest, regarding it as a harm to public property. As a consequence they asked Rasool to compensate for the damage.⁴⁰⁷

405 *Interview with Faruk Mala Mustafa* [ديدار لهگهڵ فاروقی مهلا مستهفا]. 2013, Rudaw <<http://www.youtube.com/watch> > [accessed 30 November 2014].

406 Selvan Saido, ‘افتتاح فندق غراند ميلينيوم في السليمانية باحتفال مبهّر’, *Al Itihad Newspaper*, no. 3480 (4 March 2014): 16.

407 Anonymous, *Conduct of an Investigation* [نهنجامدانی لیکۆلینهوه], official report, 2010, pp.26-30.

However, the then governor of Slemani, Bahroz Salih (a PUK member), intervened and ordered the GDA to find an alternative way to resolve this issue without forcing Rasool to pay the compensation, which was estimated to be over one million US dollars. After negotiations with Rasool's legal representatives, the GDA suggested that the investor should construct a forest in a specified place in the city, but this suggestion was 'rejected by the investor'⁴⁰⁸. The latter informed the GDA that the cost of compensating for the forest would be too high. Rasool offered to increase green areas around the hotel when the construction was over. However, this promise appeared to be 'false'⁴⁰⁹, as Participant 6, one of the consultant engineers who supervised the construction works of GMSH, confirmed that Rasool did not fulfil the promise until the inauguration of the project.⁴¹⁰ Further, instead of landscaping the surrounding spaces of the project, as promised by GMHS' owner, the spaces were commodified and converted to built-up areas. This will be elaborated on in the next section.

5.4.4 Modification made by the investor

Rasool made three influential Modifications. Firstly, he changed the main road leading to GMSH, secondly, he parcelled out the land, and finally he added a complementary part to the project which involved hiring an international hospitality company to supervise the hotel. These three modifications are detailed below.

Firstly, after repeated visits to the site, the businessman disliked the way the road leading to the hotel was designed. Participant 6 elaborated on this and said Rasool informed the engineering staff that it needed to be changed:

Kak Farouk saw that the approach was unsuitable for such a luxurious place. He wanted something compatible with the luxuriousness of the project you know there are many VIP people were expected to visit the ballroom or the hotel so he wanted a sizable and grand new path to represent the magnitude of these

408 Ibid, p. 30.

409 Participant 6, interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 09 September 2014.

410 Ibid.

places ... I learned that the municipality helped him and provided the project with a bridge and a new road to the hotel.⁴¹¹

Rasool perceived the proposed road to GMSH as ‘unsuitable’ and it seems that he had imagined the appearance of an alternative path, which he expressed as ‘sizable’ and ‘grand’. According to Participant 6, the investor used his power over SM to fulfil his desire of changing the access to the project, and this information was incorporated within the DASP report. The document not only referred to the assistance of SM, but also revealed that the cost of the bridge, which was estimated to hit 2.5 million USD, was actually drawn from a public fund.⁴¹² Figure 5-5 illustrates both the proposed and the changed roads.

Secondly, instead of fulfilling the pledge made to the local authority of landscaping the boundary of GMHM, Rasool parcelled out⁴¹³ the land into three portions. As shown in Figure 5-6, the three portions were arranged as follows: (a) the first went to his project; (b) the second was dedicated to construct a palace for the PUK leader, and this was a gift allegedly for personal reasons; (c) the third portion became apartments for selling. After the completion of the construction of the first 10 floors of the tower, Rasool perceived that there was a need to add seating areas around the outdoor swimming pool.⁴¹⁴

Thus, the investor directed Arkonsult to produce a design for that area because, as Participant 4 narrated, Rasool:

thought that we had ignored the area around the swimming pool. He stood up next to the pool and told his engineering staff that the area around the pool overlooks the city and can give a beautiful view.⁴¹⁵

411 Ibid.

412 Anonymous, ‘Conduct of an Investigation [نئىجامدانى لىكۆلۈنمە]’, official report, p.29 & 38.

413 I struggled to obtain information on why the parcelling had happened. The information was highly confidential, neither the architect nor the engineering staff knew about this.

414 Participant 1.

415 Participant 4.

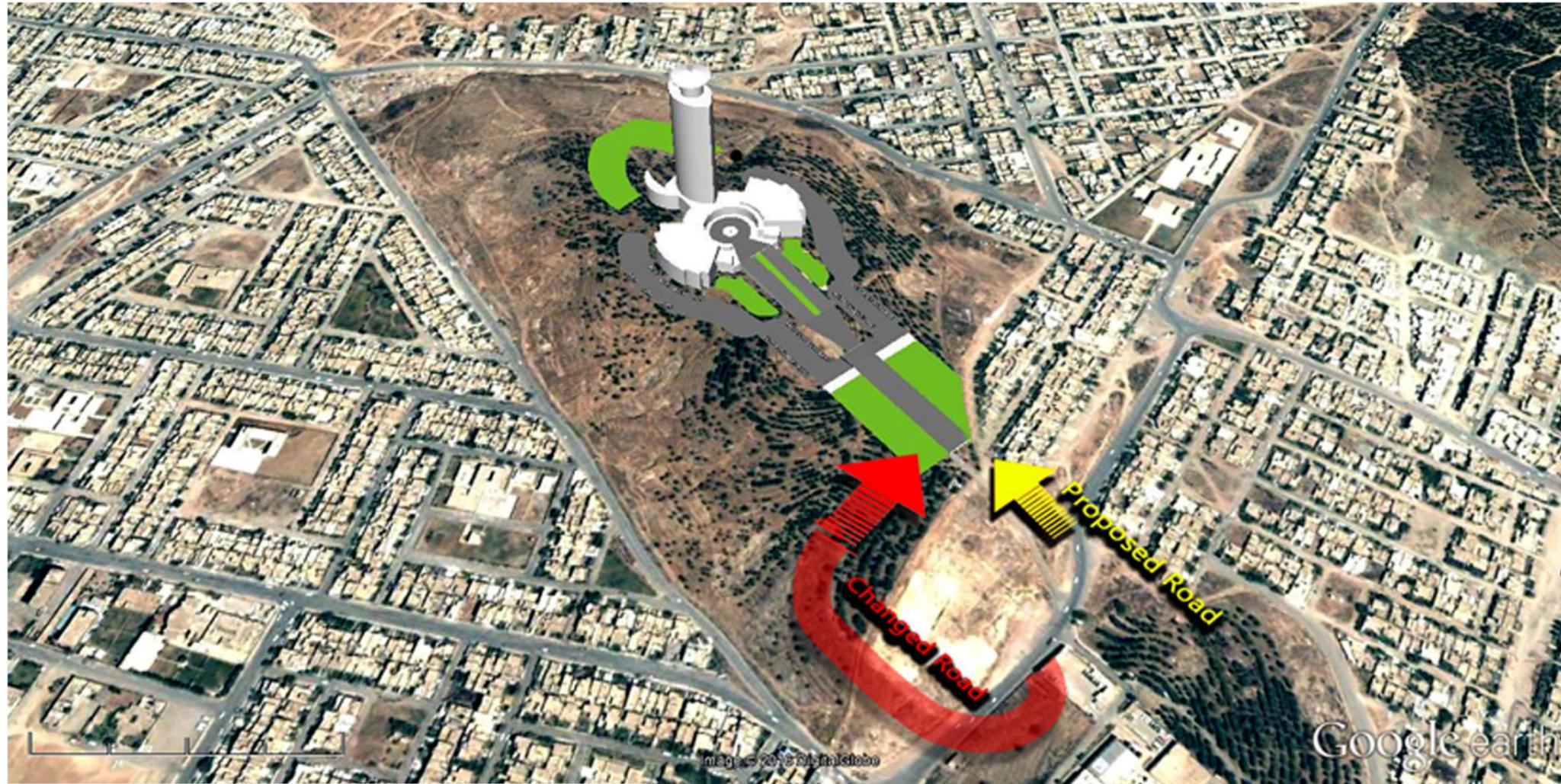
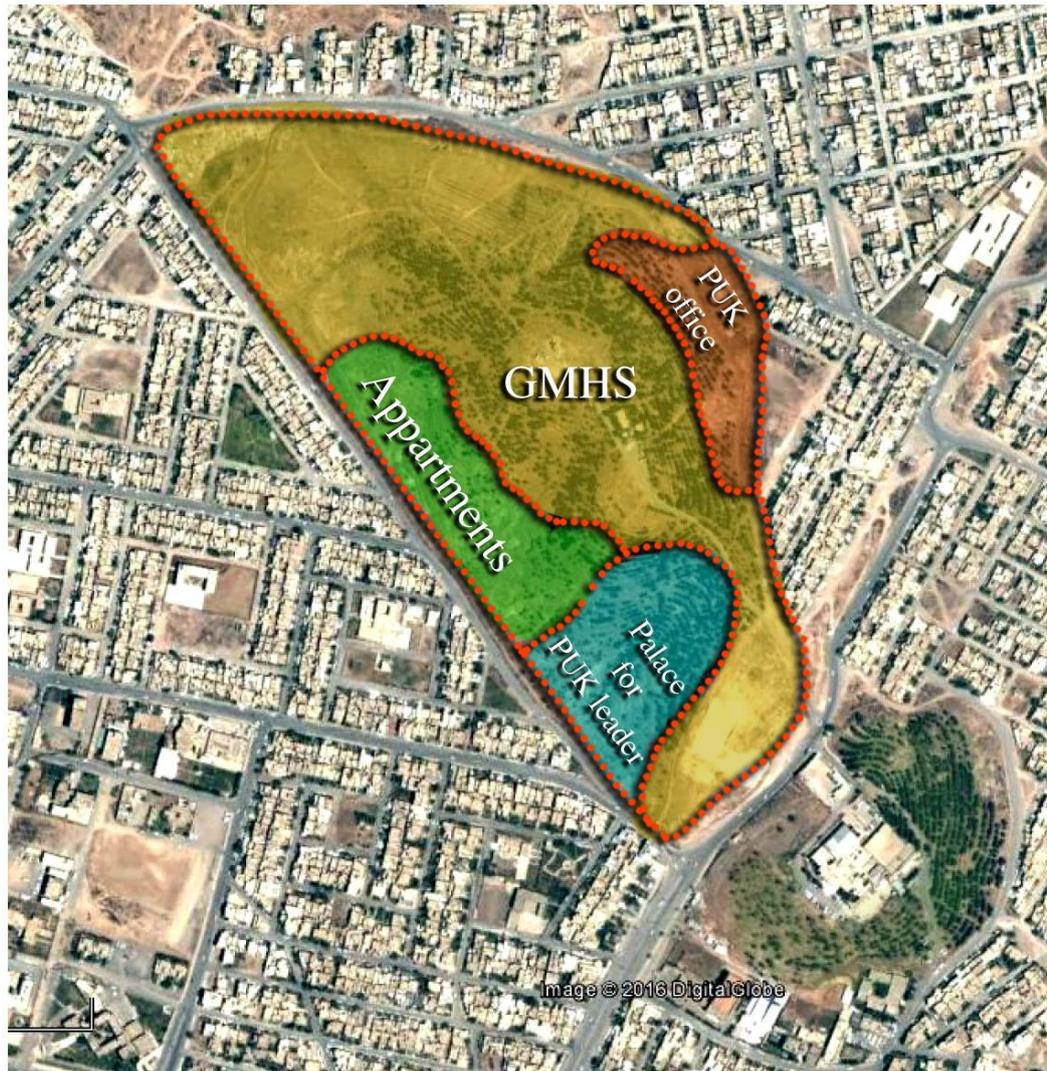


Figure 5-5: the yellow arrow indicates the proposed road in the drawings and the red arrow represents the alternative road which was suggested by SM. The Source: The author, adapted from Google Earth.



- Apartments
- GMHS
- PUK Office
- Palace for the PUK Leader

Figure 5-6: The distribution of the three plots which was carried out by the investor and the PUK party. Source: The author, adapted from Google Earth.

The physical presence of Rasool by the swimming pool, and his appreciation of the view, led to the decision to create new seating spaces. Accordingly, the architect designed two rows of terraces (in an embracing shape) around the pool (Figure 5-7). As the floors of the tower started to rise Rasool noticed that he needed to make another decision with regard to who would run the hotel, which was supposed to be fitting into the five-star category. Participant 6 recollected this by saying that the investor ‘felt that he needed to find a global and advanced operator to run the hotel’⁴¹⁶. This issue was scheduled to be resolved prior to the completion of the project. This is because the operator can only make changes to the project during the construction phases; it would prove too difficult to implement any change after the finishing stage. Thus, Rasool decided to involve an international company in the field of hospitality. Participant 4 argued that this decision was ‘late’⁴¹⁷, and believed that it should have been made earlier in the design stage because:

*Each company has its own criteria. I advised Kak Faruq to find an operator before my staff finalised the design proposal. But he said ‘I do not want to lose time let us forget about this and get the design finished’ ... he was in a rush and did not pay attention to this issue.*⁴¹⁸

According to this statement, Rasool was notified, in 2005, about the importance of engaging an operator in the design phase.

The designer was worried about a likely conflict between his work and the standards of the potential operator. Nonetheless, the businessman thought that this might delay the design process, and thus, he directed the architect to finalise the drawings. In 2009, Rasool reversed the decision of postponing the operator, and intensified the efforts to find a globally-known operator such as Hilton, InterContinental Hotels Group or Marriott International.⁴¹⁹

416 Participant 6.

417 Participant 4.

418 Ibid.

419 Participant 6.



Figure 5-7: The terraces which were added (during the construction) based on the investor's specification. Source: The author, adapted from Google Earth and Rudaw TV.

Each hotel company directed its professionals (including architects) towards Arkonsult in order to explore the architectural drawings of GMSH. This step was important to the companies before they made the decision to formally engage with the project. After intensive meetings were held between the professionals and Arkonsult's staff, several companies refused to engage with the project 'due to incompatibility between their standards and the design of the hotel' Participant 4 clarified.⁴²⁰

Eventually, the British corporation of Millennium and Cophorne Hotels (MCH) agreed to sign an operation contract with Rasool on the condition, as stated by Participant 1, of 'handing over the interior design'⁴²¹. The project manager, Participant 1, added that the professional staff of MHC, which included architects, 'decided to adjust the interior spaces according to their standards'⁴²². This adjustment resulted in some spaces having to be redesigned, and this took place from 2010 until the end of construction works in late 2013.

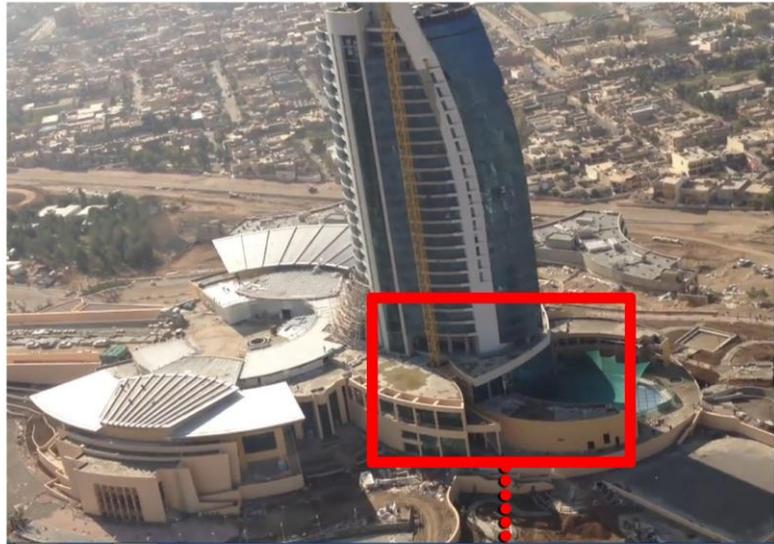
During the three years, MCH instructed Arkonsult to carry out a number of changes, which can be summarised as follows: (a) modifying functional relationships between some spaces. For instance, MCH ordered Arkonsult to create a direct relationship between some internal recreation functions, such as the spa and the gym, which led to the construction an internal bridge (Figure 5-8); (b) Redesigning the circulation system between some exterior and interior spaces. For instance, Participant 1 said that MCH's professionals criticised the original design which had not considered placing secondary entrances for the hotel guests, who use the car parks on the lower levels, and thus they re-designed some paths and connected them with secondary entrances. Participant 1 justified the absence of the secondary entrances in the original design by saying that the objective was to control the circulation of the guests, who were meant to enter through a sole (main) entrance for security reasons. It is worth explaining that the issue of security was a major concern in Iraqi Kurdistan, because all regions of Iraq had been witnessing unrest and post-conflict consequences, and many Iraqi cities witnessed the presence of terrorist groups, who often sneaked into public buildings and blew themselves up.

420 Participant 4.

421 Participant 1.

422 Ibid.

The location of the internal bridge in the overall mass



The location of the internal bridge in the plan



The location of the internal bridge in the plan

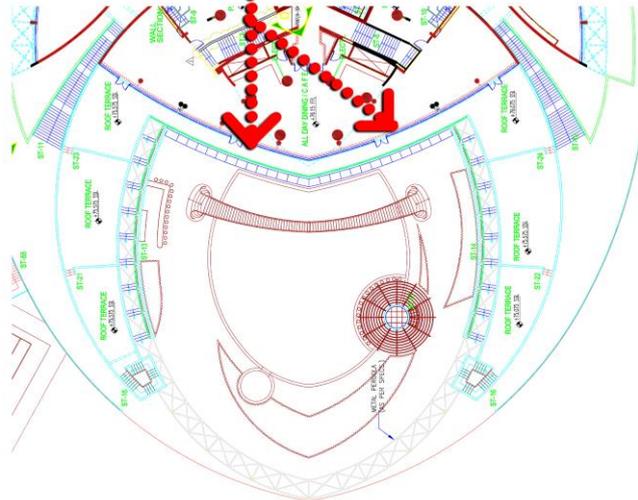


Figure 5-8: the location of the internal bridge which was specified by MCH.
Source: The author, adapted from Arkonsult and Rudaw TV.

As a result, the majority of the local architects and developers were proactive in filtering access to the spaces that they design or build. According to Participant 1, MCH's team rejected the idea of the sole entrance and said 'this is not acceptable ... you should provide secondary entrances for the guests'⁴²³. Thus, secondary entrances and ramps were added based on the order of the team, who primarily desired to help guests to reach the main reception area with less time and effort (Figure 5-9); and (c) inserting new functions into plan without affecting the structural framework. For example, MHC's decision makers attached a number of meeting rooms and shops to the conference hall (Figure 5-10).

5.4.5 Modifications made by the architect

Two prominent concepts came to the architect's (or Participant 1's) mind during a visit to the site. Firstly, he thought about retrieving the large glazed dome, which he removed from the first design proposal and secondly, he thought about increasing the size of the atrium. Participant 1 said that he:

Realised that the roundabout needed a covering structure to protect the hotel guests from rain and sunshine ... the form of the dome flashed into my mind and I felt that it was a good idea to use the dome that I suggested in the early proposals ... I noticed that the atrium is small and its size was not suitable for such a large hotel.⁴²⁴

The designer's concept was generated by the realisation that the roundabout needed a physical cover (Figure 5-11), and this was his chance to retrieve the dome that was cancelled in the first and second design proposals. In addition, he 'noticed' that the space of the atrium should be larger than he imagined in the design. These ideas were drawn and shown to Rasool, who ordered them to be materialised. However, the designer's proposal for the dome was hindered later by Allawi (Rasool's consultant).

423 Participant 1.

424 Ibid.

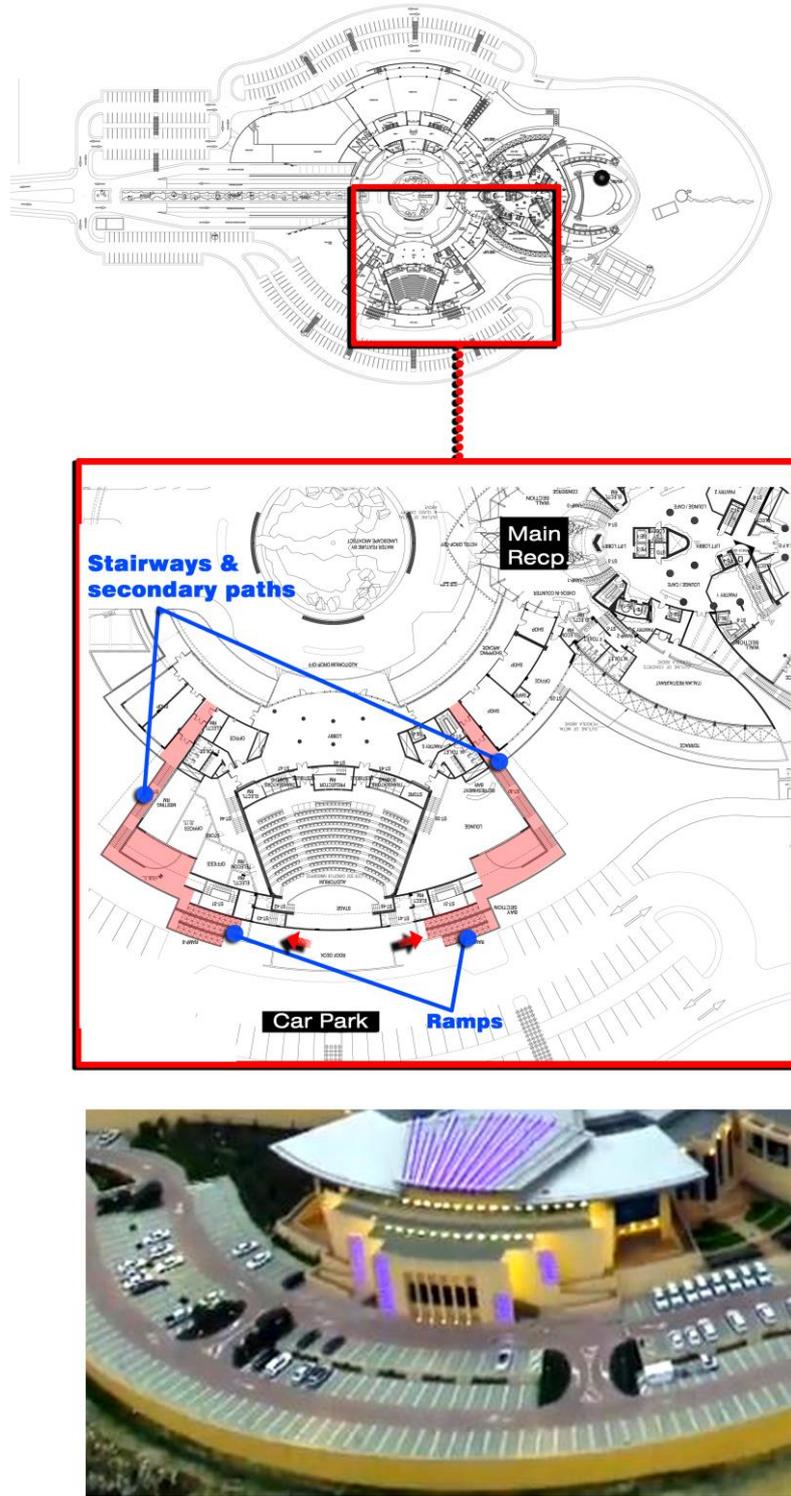


Figure 5-9: MCH ordered the architect to add secondary entrances to facilitate the movement of the hotel guests who use the car parks on the lower level. Source: The author, adapted from Arkonsult.

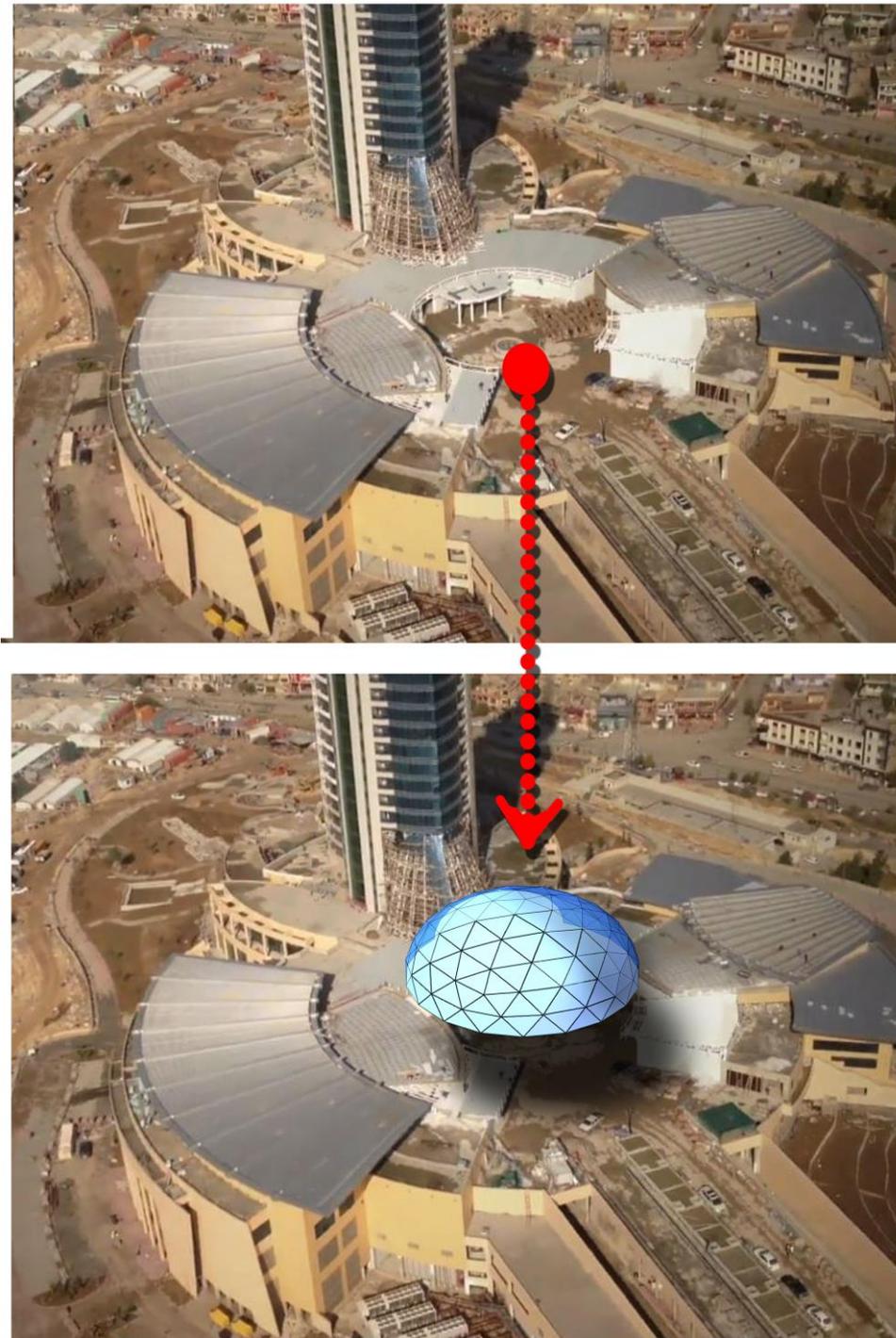


Figure 5-11: The architect noticed that the roundabout needed a covering structure, and he suggested to the investor that the roundabout could be covered by a glazed dome. Source: The author, adapted from Rudaw TV.

Allawi intervened and persuaded Rasool that the dome would be costly and would darken the roundabout. This argument put forward by Allawi convinced the investor, and he consequently ordered the dome to be cancelled. Participant 1 commented on Allawi's justifications and said:

*this was not true ... I desperately wanted to prove to Kak Faruq that this was wrong but Kak Faruq ... had the power to make the final choice, sadly cancelled the dome ... I wished I could have executed the dome it would make the project architecturally integrated.*⁴²⁵

The conflict is clear between the designer and Allawai, the latter of whom impeded the construction of a likely significant architectural element which could have changed the overall form of GMSH. Eventually, the opinion of Allawi overshadowed the efforts made by the architect to keep the dome. The above changes prolonged the construction phase, especially the intervention of MHC, which had been scheduled to have been completed in 2012.⁴²⁶ GHMS was officially opened on 2nd March 2014 (Figure 5-12). The next section will discuss the discourses around GMSH in everyday-life: the perception by the inhabitants of the city who have since been experiencing this landmark on an everyday basis.

5.5 The social production of GMSH: The project in everyday life

This section presents the views of admirers of the project, opponents and people who remained ambivalent towards it. In other words, this section will present the views of both 'elite' and 'non-elite' people, but the emphasis here is on the voices of the city inhabitants ('non-elites'), who were assumed to have been excluded from the creation of this case. If the 'elite' includes top politicians and decision-makers who created the project, the 'non-elite' refers to the middle class population who constitute the majority of the city's inhabitants. The focus will be on how the participants agreed or disagreed with the argument made by the producers of GMSH.

425 Participant 1.

426 Participant 6.



Figure 5-12: GMHS dominating the urban scene. Source: Rudaw TV (the two images above), the author (the bottom image).

Agreeing or conflicting opinions are considered here as indicators of power relations between decision and non-decision makers. Here, the ‘non-elite’ people were classified into two groups. Group A represents the people who lived around the project, and B is made up of inhabitants who resided farther away from GMSH (Figure 5-13).

The reason behind this classification is based on the assumption that these people might be affected by the project in different ways. Further, having perspectives from both groups helps to deliver an understanding of the wide-ranging feelings of city inhabitants. This PhD gathered data from questionnaires, interviews and media channels. In terms of the questionnaires, the total number of respondents came to 617. This number⁴²⁷ included 248 participants from Group A, and 369 from Group B. As for the interviews, there were 19 interviewees, and ten of them belonged to A and the rest to B. The content of some the interviews were dismissed due to repetition of information.

Group B contained a wide range of individuals and some of them were academicians and professionals, who delivered detailed as well as some critical perspectives. Below, the arguments of the ‘elite’ groups will be introduced first, and this will then be followed by the accounts of the ‘non-elite’ groups (Group A and B). In the inauguration ceremony of GMSH, the investors along with other top Kurdish leaders, introduced GMSH as being an important project for the city and for its people.

The Prime Minister of Iraqi Kurdistan, Nechirvan Barzani, said:

*This is another success story in the process of developing and rebuilding the Kurdistan Region, and the private sector has played a pivotal role in this regard from the beginning. ... The KRG has a clear vision for the tourism sector, and tourism can become an important aspect of our economy.*⁴²⁸

427 Several sheets of the questionnaire were abandoned because respondents did not represent ‘non-elite’ groups, which were not supposed to include: partisans of the PUK, upper-income class, people below the age of 16, and temporary inhabitants

428 Anonymous, ‘Prime Minister Barzani Opens the Grand Millennium Hotel in Slemani’, KRG official website (Kurdistan Regional Government), (3 March 2014), available at: <http://www.krg.org/a/d.aspx?l=12&a=50980>.

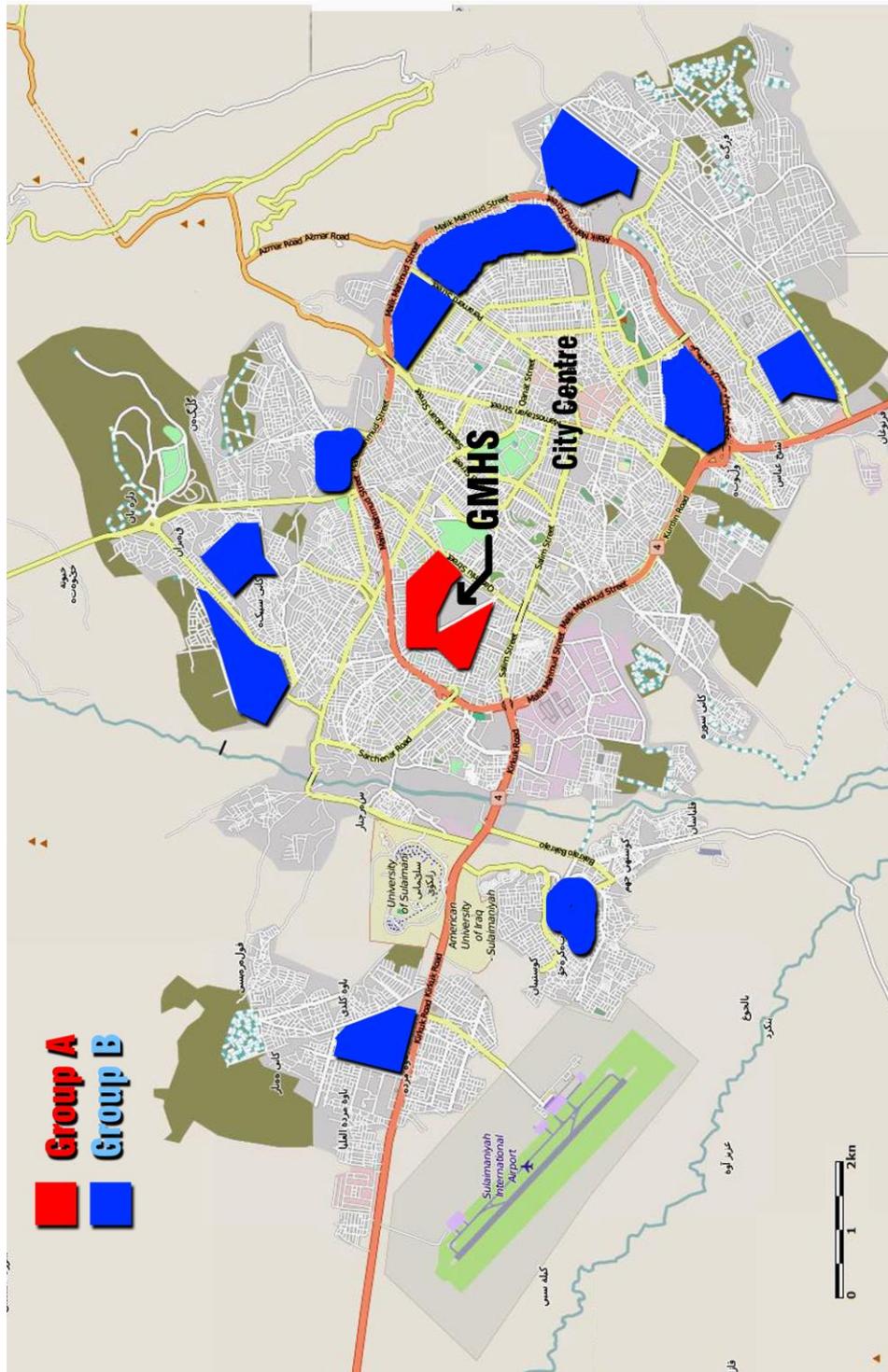


Figure 5-13: the locations of Group A and B. The participants of Group A were living in the surrounding areas (coloured red) of the project whereas those of Group B were residing in farther areas (coloured blue). Source: The author, adapted from <http://www.arcgis.com>.

Here Barzani is claiming that the project was built for the benefit of the local people and thus associated GMSH with architectural and economic development. The theme of architectural progress was also emphasised by the head and the CEO of Grand Millennium Hotels in Africa and the Middle East, Ali Hamad Alzaabi, who likened the project to a prominent building in the city of Dubai⁴²⁹, named Burj Al-Arab. Alzaabi stated:

*This property with [its] iconic structure will be known as the 'Burj Al Arab of Kurdistan'. The property will be the first visible landmark welcoming any traveller coming in or out of Slemani.*⁴³⁰

The association between GMSH and Burj Al-Arab was used to show that the former was built for the purpose of enhancing the architectural image of Slemani, which is another way of claiming to prioritise public interest. In terms of the economic aspects, Rasool claimed that GMSH would be economically beneficial as it would attract foreign visitors and become a source of employment for locals.

Similarly, Rasool's nephew, Warzer Sarwar, suggested that GMSH had been providing jobs for local people since its beginning in 2006 in the sense that 'more than 50% of the workers who participated in building GMSH were local'⁴³¹. Noticeably, most of the statements, which were given by Rasool and local officials, did not include data which supported these claims regarding economic benefit.

5.5.1 The Arguments of the 'non-elites'

In this section, the opinions of the 'non-elite' people are presented. The first section presents the views of Group A, who were the residents around GMSH, and the second includes the views of the city inhabitants, who resided away from the project.

429 Participant 4.

430 Crystal Chesters, 'EXCLUSIVE: Q&A with Ali Hamad Lakhraim Alzaabi', 31 December 2013, <http://www.hoteliermiddleeast.com/19068> <accessed on 15 December 2016>

431 Ibraheem, 'Shari Jwan opens costing 260 Million US dollar and 1100 people worked on it' [شارى جوان دهكرىتهمه 260 مليون دولارى تىچومو رۆژانه همزارو 100 كهس كارى تىداكرده].

Two sets of questions were asked in the questionnaire. The first set consisted of two short close-ended questions with fixed answers, and these questions were supposed to explore the participant's perspective regarding the main argument put forward by the elites about the space (GMSH). The second set comprised of three open-ended questions. These were constructed to understand the participant's own view about the entire case study. The questionnaire was written in the following format:

Section (A)

1. Those who created Shary Jwan argue that it is a success story which demonstrates the continuing process of modernising the architecture of Slemani and Kurdistan.
2. Those who created Shary Jwan argue that it will improve the revenue of Slemani because the project contributes to the tourist industry.

Section (B)

1. In your opinion, what are the positive aspects of Shary Jwan (GMSH)?
2. In your opinion, what are the negative aspects of Shary Jwan?
3. Would you like to add a comment?

It was noted that each group highlighted different issues. Below, these issues are elaborated on according to the group that presented them.

5.5.1.1 Group A

As shown in Figure 5-14, over half of the respondents accepted the argument of the elites that they created a modernised version of architecture. Nevertheless, 27% opposed that argument. These respondents showed a different opinion towards the elites' claim that the project would enhance the revenue of Slemani. Although 24% of Group A supported that claim, nearly 60 % of them rejected it. In terms of the answers for the open-ended questions, two main issues were highlighted by Group A: architectural and spatial. The first was about the symbolic and physical aspects of GMSH and the second was around the nature of the spatial relationships between the respondents and the project.

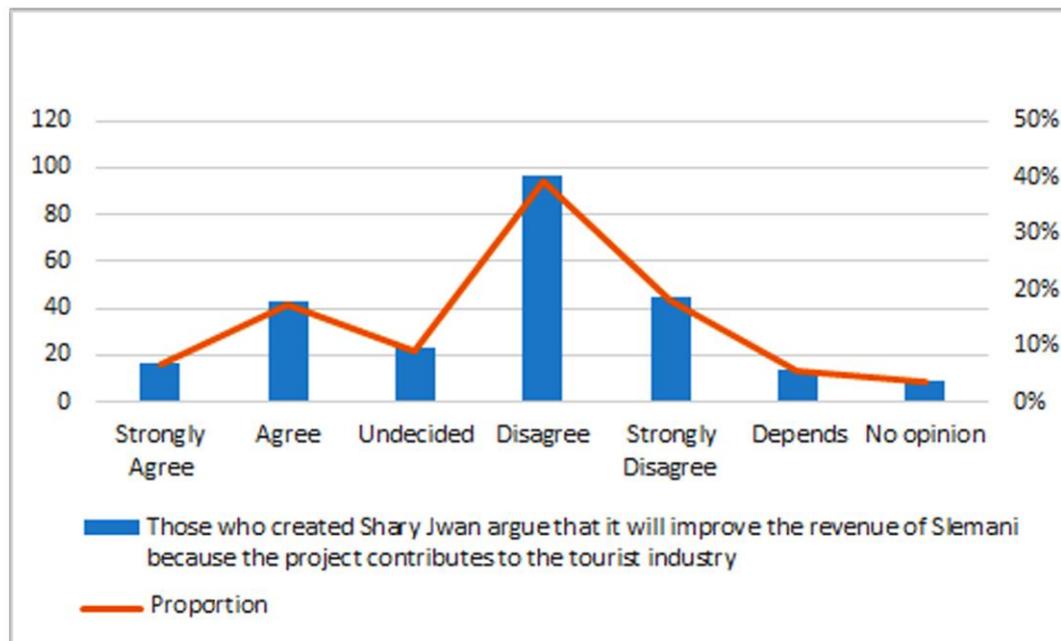
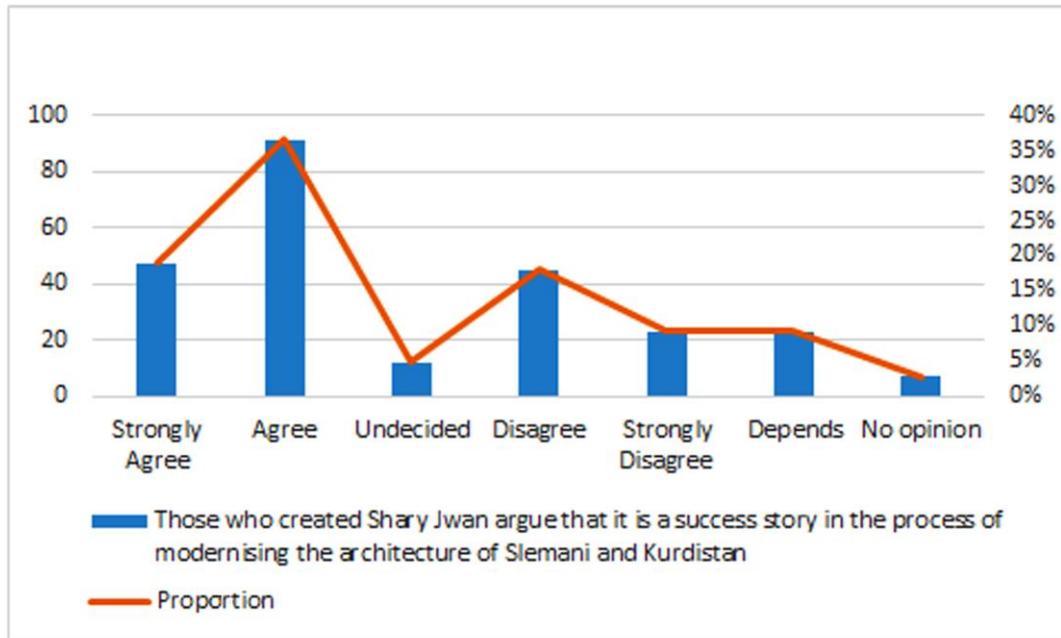


Figure 5-14: The responses of Group A to the two questions varied significantly. Nearly 60% agreed with the argument put forward by the elites about modernising the architecture of the city. It is worth to highlight that modernity is widely correlated by the local people (elites or non-elites) with western architectural. The supporters of this could attract those who were undecided in their judgement and thereby the numbers of the supporters is likely to increase. Interestingly, the respondents showed quite different attitudes towards the claim that GMSH benefited the tourist industry and local revenue. The figures here almost flipped meaning that around two thirds opposed the claim of the ‘elites’. Source: The author.

In regard to the architecture itself, precisely half of the respondents in the questionnaire perceived the architectural aspect of the project to be a positive factor, with the comments linking GMSH with modernity and urban development (Figure 5-15).⁴³² The same theme dominated the answers in the interviews. Participant 7, a college student, thinks that GMSH is important for the city:

*Slemani needs such projects ... When some of my friends visit the city and come to this area they feel that they are in Dubai ... the form of this building was built in European style. This neighbourhood has a different flavour now because the tower can be seen from different angles and it reminds you of modernity.*⁴³³

GMSH, in P 7's perspective, contributes to linking Slemani to Dubai which was perceived by Group A as a symbol of 'modernity' and a 'European Style'. In regard to the spatial relationship, the group exhibited a different approach towards this subject, as 61% of respondents answered negatively (shown in Figure 5-16). For instance, the comments emphasised the value of the forest which was removed by the investor and further criticised the privatisation of the site. Sample comments are given below:

This project is useful but on the other hand the forest should not have been completely cleared ... the businessman should have left areas for the public or should have chosen another location.

They occupied the forest and ruined it ... they should have provided at least 60% for the public, like gardens, tennis pitches and swimming pools.

They only build projects for themselves nobody cares about poor people. The prices over there are really high and poor people cannot enter this project. What have the public gained from this?

432 Ibid.

433 Participant 7, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 3 August 2014.

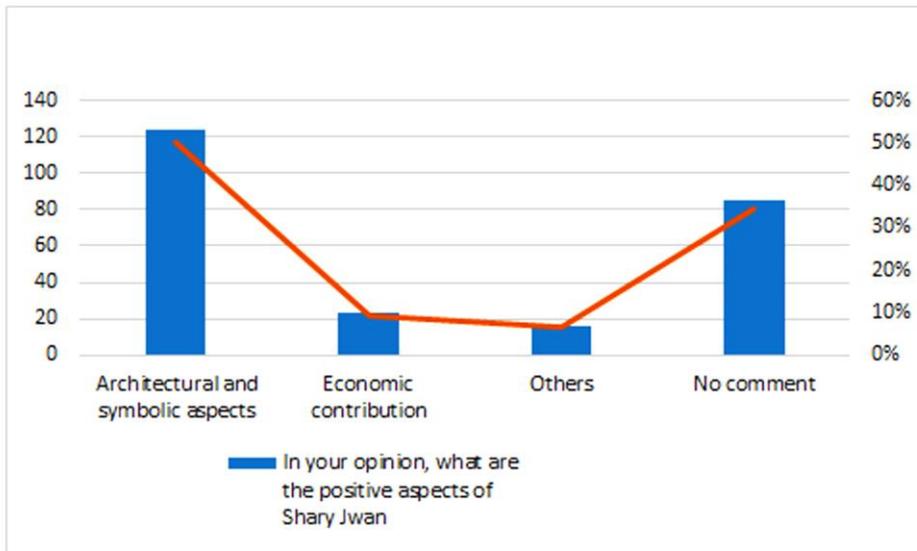


Figure 5-15: Half of the respondents expressed admiration for the architectural and symbolic aspects of GMHS. Around one third of the respondents chose to not write comments which could indicate that they were opposing the construction of the entire project. Source: The author.

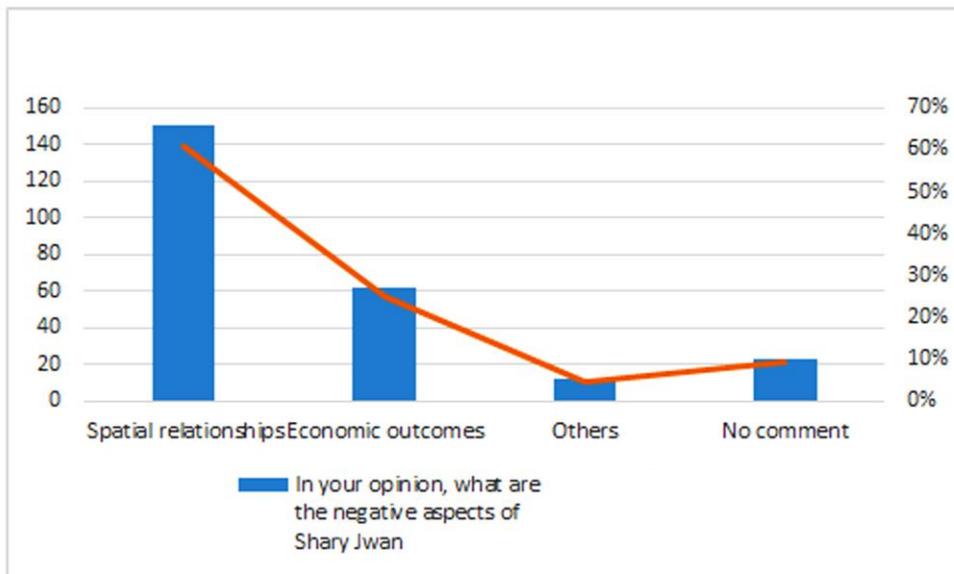


Figure 5-16: the spatial issues dominated the answers of Groups A. It can be noted that the number of participants who decided to not comment is less than that of the populations who answered the previous question. When people are keen to comment on a question about a negative side of a space, this may indicate that they dislike the space. Source: The author.

*This place which once was a place for birds and trees and benefited the public has now turned into a den full of thieves.*⁴³⁴

The first comment sorrow to have lost the forest and the second wished the (perceived) owners of this project had specified part of the site for public use. The last two statements refer to the phenomenon of the ‘gated community’ and the difficulty of the ‘poor’ segment of society to enter the project.

The interviewees provided further detail in regard to their reaction to GMSH. Inhabitants who lived near the street of Bakhtiary Taza (Figure 5-17) complained about dust and noise produced by the project. Participant 8, a primary school teacher, said that GMSH ‘destroyed’⁴³⁵ her family’s life. The teacher stated:

*I wonder what people have gained from this building? Now all neighbours have been complaining about the dust coming from the project. We have been cleaning our houses from dust everyday ... the construction machinery has been producing noise ... every time the hotel officials promise to sort out these problems, they lie to us ... our houses face the lower edges of the site ... rocks were left partially cut and untreated ... they are ugly.*⁴³⁶

According to the above statement, the developer had not paid adequate attention to the residents on that street in two senses: firstly, the project continued to produce dust even after the completion of construction works. At the time of collecting data for this investigation in 2014, the developer had been constructing some parts of the apartments in the lower part of site, and it is these apartments which are facing residents who are complaining about dust (Figure 5-18). In addition, there were other reasons behind the creation dust. Participant 6 attributed the dust to the degradation of soil, which was caused by uprooting thousands of trees.

434 Yahia Ali, ‘Survey on Group A’, 2014.

435 Participant 8, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 3 August 2014.

436 Ibid.



Figure 5-17: The location of the two surrounding streets of GMHS: Bakhtiyar Taza and Zargata. Source: The author, adapted from <http://www.arcgis.com>.



Figure 5-18: The project edges, which were facing the residents on Bakhtiary Taza Street, were unlandscaped. Source: The author, photographed in 2014.

Moreover, Participant 6 pointed out that there were two elements which exacerbated the issue of the dust: the nature of the site, which is elevated and exposed to winds, and the negligence of the investor who left the edges of the site un-landscaped. According to this interviewee, the architect and the civil engineers at the site proposed to plant the whole area surrounding the hotel including the lower part of the hill, but the developer hindered that and directed them to ‘ignore it for now. We have prioritised the building at the top [of the hill]’.⁴³⁷

Secondly, the appearance of the edges were perceived as ‘ugly’ largely because the edges were left un-landscaped which increased the level of dust. Concerning the noise produced by the project, households near Zargata Street (see Figure 5-17) complained that the sound of the exhausts of the electric generators, which faced their houses, disturbed them. Participant 9, a housewife, described the noise as like ‘a plane landing nearby’⁴³⁸, and said that the sound was so loud that she would close the windows when the generators were turned on.

Although the issues above are related to spatial relationships and most of Group A expressed resentment about the project, over half of them admired its architectural appearance. The other group (B) focused on different aspects of GMSH, and these are elaborated on in the next section.

5.5.1.2 Group B

Group B responded to the close-ended questions in a similar way to that of Group A. The majority of the respondents agreed with the elite’s argument regarding the process of modernising the local architecture. However, over half of them did not agree with the claim that the project contributed to the local economy (Figure 5-19). In regard to the open-ended questions, the arguments of Group B focused largely on two aspects: architectural and economic. The first included the perception of the physical appearance of GMSH and its role in depicting Slemani as a developed city.

437 Participant 6.

438 Participant 9, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 August 2014.

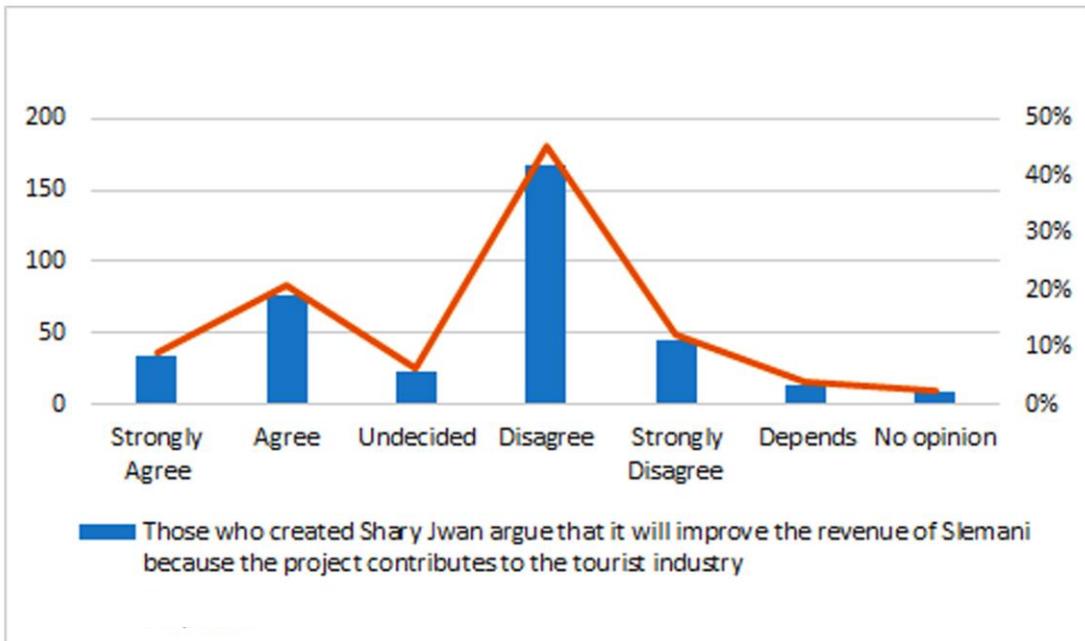
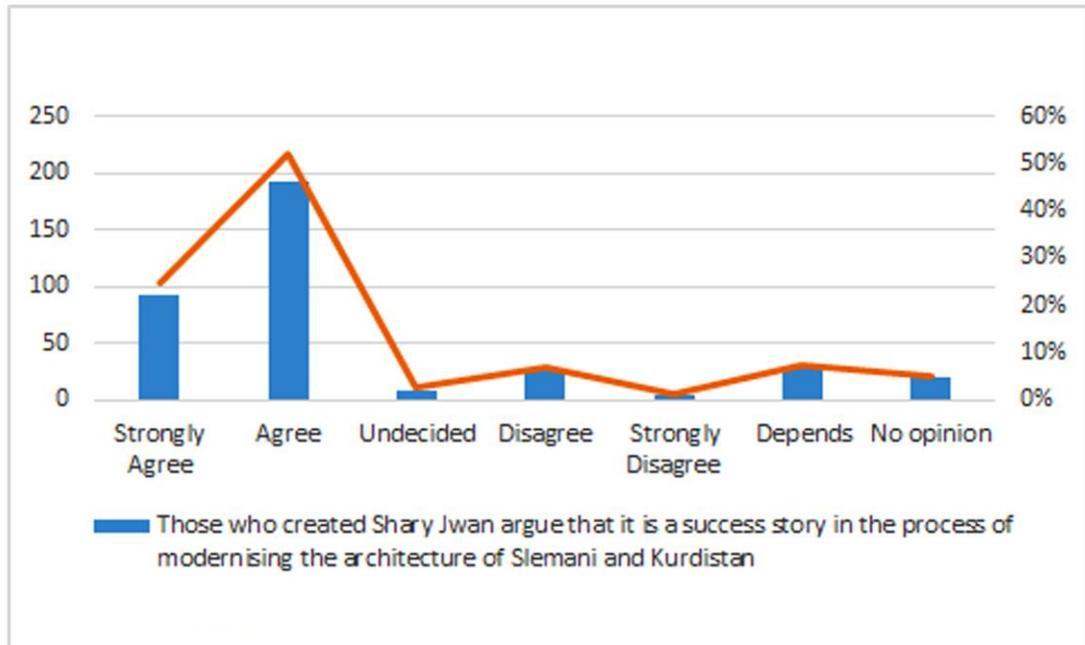


Figure 5-19: Group B responded in a similar way to Group A. The majority agreed with the argument that it modernised the local architecture. However, it seems that the promises made by the ‘elites’ about the growth of the tourist sector and the financial benefits were believed by the respondents. Around one third of the participants accepted these promises. Source: The author.

The second issue raised related to economic outcomes, such as the project's contribution to the local revenue and provision of jobs. Similar to Group A, 63% of the respondents of this group believed that the architectural form was a positive element.⁴³⁹ The accounts of those who admired the form will be presented first, and this will be followed by the views of the opponents (Figure 5-20). The architect and urban expert, Participant 10, stressed the value of the physical form of GMSH:

*The positive side of Shary Jwan is that the building is a representation of modernity ... it has established a new architectural identity for the city because it has reshaped the image of the city ... I think the architect wanted to emphasise the contradiction between the traditional style of the constructions around the site and the modern style of this project.*⁴⁴⁰

The interviewee was not only in favour of the physical manifestation of GMSH, but also justified why the designer had shaped the project in that way (the interviewee and the designer did not know each other). The statement shows that this expert perceived GMSH as having 'a new architectural identity' because the form of GMSH is unique and contrasts with the surrounding structures. However, other interviewees criticised the form of the project. An art academic at Slemani University, Participant 11, suggested that:

*It is not a problem to build projects with modern styles, but just completely modern. I would suggest that the idea of mixing traditional with modern styles is better ... if I was the architect, I would have designed the revolving restaurant as a Kurdish hat.*⁴⁴¹

The academician had no issue with the 'modern style' that GMSH manifests. However, they did wish that GMSH had included (or been influenced by) cultural or architectural elements.

439 Yahia Ali, 'Survey on Group B', 27 August 2014.

440 Participant 10, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 25 June 2014.

441 Participant 11, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 25 July 2014.

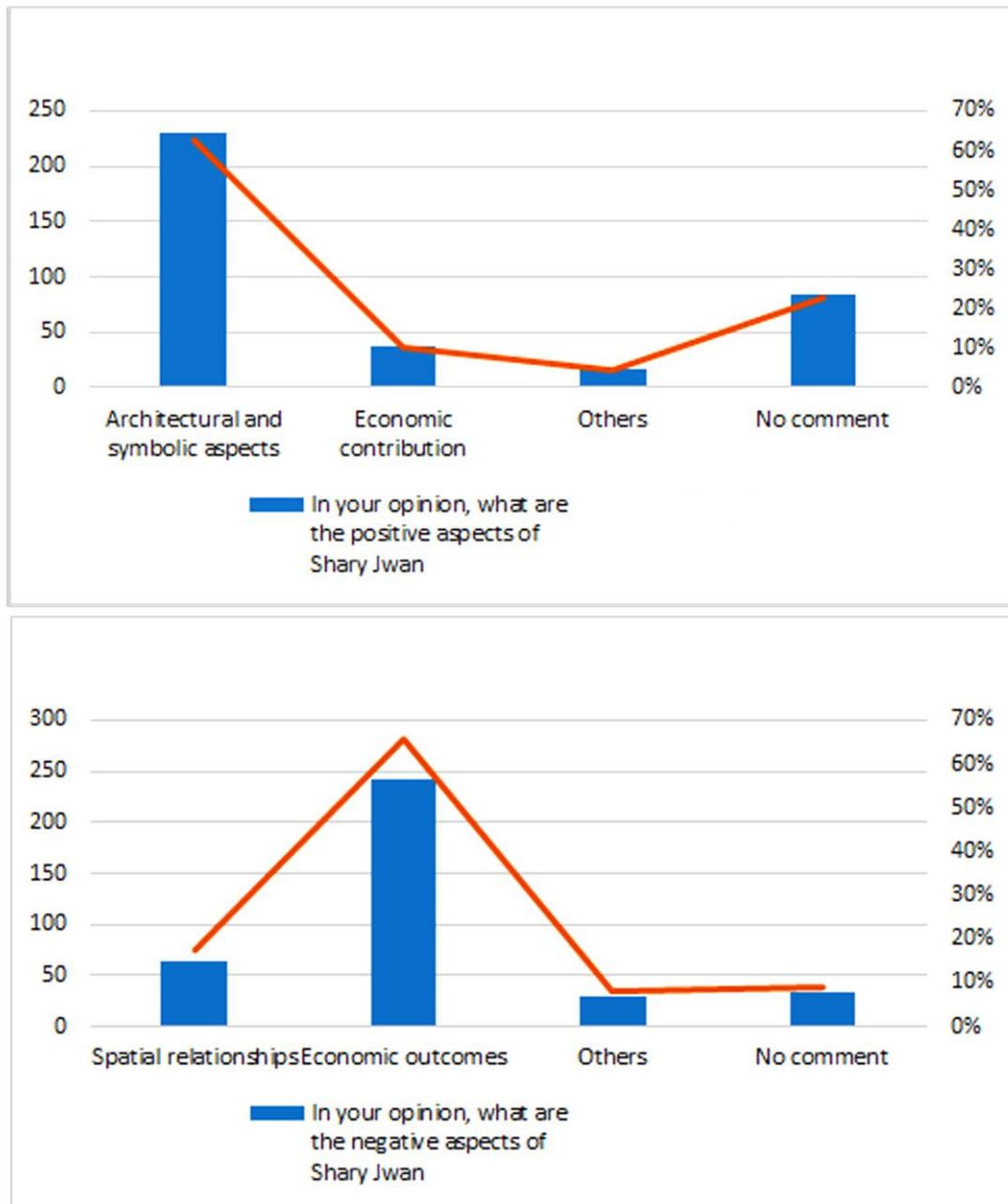


Figure 5-20: Similar to the trend in the comments of Group A, this group showed a tendency to admire the architectural form of the space. In terms of the negative aspects, the group focused on the economic side of GMSH and many wrote that they think that the project benefits the investor and those who support him. Others criticised the phenomenon of urban land commodification and believed that GMSH is one of the examples of that business policy. Source: The author.

One well-known Kurdish sculptor, Participant 12, was more critical and suggested:

This hotel is inappropriate for Slemani because it is not in keeping with the city's architectural heritage ... take for example, the ancient building of Saraa in the centre ... this hotel looks like the Burj Al Arab Hotel in Dubai ... Burj Al Arab suits its coastal context because the structure of the hotel emulates the sail of a ship, but Slemani has a different nature—it is surrounded by mountains and has its own architectural style.⁴⁴²

This sculptor was completely against the way GMSH was designed. They criticised the (perceived) similarity between this project and Burj Al-Arab in Dubai. The artist also emphasised that the facades were 'abstract', and that the design ignored 'architectural identity'.

The economic aspect provoked many criticisms by the respondents of Group B. 66% of the respondents believed that GMSH has had negative impacts from an economic perspective.

The comments below represent the most common opinions expressed:

The hotel owners prioritised Arab workers over us.

Development does not only mean building towers, it also means enhancing urban revenue and increasing people's incomes... Nobody knows what the economic outcome of this hotel is?

Millions of dollars were spent on this ... the city does not need this project for now. Instead of building this hotel they should have built a factory and employed young people ... we have thousands of jobless people and businessmen pour money on unnecessary projects ...

442 Participant 12, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 24 July 2014.

*The hotel officials do not employ local people they only bring foreign employees. The hotel owners should think of how to make their project useful.*⁴⁴³

It appears that these comments criticise how the interests of the ‘hotel owners’ were prioritised over those of the public. It is worth explaining that most commentators referred to owners instead of the owner and this was because there were allegations that the PUK officials had shares in Rasool’s business.⁴⁴⁴ The first commenter complained about providing jobs to Arab labourers and ignoring the locals⁴⁴⁵, who are mostly from a different ethnic group (Kurdish). The rest of the comments focused on the economic outcomes of the project. Likewise, interviewees paid more attention to the economic issue. Participant 2, a journalist working for Hawlati, a left-wing newspaper in Iraqi Kurdistan, labelled GMSH a ‘symbol of corruption’⁴⁴⁶. They said:

*Politicians facilitated business for some investors by loosening the terms and conditions so they work for themselves in the sense that middle and lower income people cannot gain from these ... the area was public property and no one should have the right to transfer its ownership to an individual ... without the support of the PUK party, the businessman would not have been able to construct this project ... I believe that Shary Jwan is a form of money laundering.*⁴⁴⁷

443 Yahia Ali, ‘Survey on Group B’, 2014.

444 Some international journalists reported this too. The journalist Philip Shishkin reported in Wall Street Journal about Rasool’s business: ‘His cell phone business was supported by the PUK, the Kurdish party that controls Slemani... To reward Mr. Rasool for his risky venture, the PUK gave him an exclusive license to operate in Slemani, the city under the party's control. PUK members also took a stake in Asiacell [the name of Rasool’s company], though exactly how much remains in dispute. U.S. officials believe the PUK may control as much as 20% of Asiacell. See Philip Shishkin, ‘Kurdish Rivalries Play Out on Cellphones’, Wall Street Journal, 24 November 2007, sec. News, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB119586996079802804>.

445 There were many racist comments but they were eliminated from the questionnaire

446 Participant 2, Interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 31 August 2014.

447 Ibid.

Based on the statement of the journalist, GMSH was constructed by the power of the PUK and Rasool was merely a vehicle for achieving the interests of the party. The allegation of money laundering was also mentioned by Participant 13, a leading member of one of the prominent political parties in Kurdistan. The politician associated GMSH with some other urban projects and argued that:

*The majority of these investment projects are merely vehicles for money laundering. The source of that money is unknown. In many cases, the processes for acquiring the land for the projects are illegal. The land is gained through patronage and political support*⁴⁴⁸

Participant 13 referred to the power structure in Slemani which undermines public interests and exploits public funds and lands. Participant 14, a construction dealer, denied any positive economic impact on their businesses, by stating:

*This project has not benefited the city's construction market ... the investor brought labour and materials from outside Kurdistan ... I and some of my competitors offered our services to the developer but our offers got rejected ... we found that the developer deals only with a closed-circle of businessmen ... Kurdish workers were not hired to work on this project. The site was full of Arab workers ... Because Arab workers earn lower wages.*⁴⁴⁹

The issue of how private interests became dominant emerged again in this statement. The construction dealers could not penetrate the 'closed-circle of businessmen' or the network that the contractors set up with particular businessmen. In the same vein, the Arab workers were hired to increase profits. Interestingly, this account contrasts with the information given by the hotel officials to the local media when they claimed that 'more than 50% of the workers who participated in building GMSH were local'⁴⁵⁰.

448 Participant 13, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 16 August 2014.

449 Participant 14, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 28 July 2014.

450 Ara Ibraheem, ' Shari Jwan opens costing 260 Million US dollar and 1100 people worked on it] .

In short, Group A and B had an almost shared opinion about GMSH's architectural aspect. However, the two groups complained about the rise of private interest versus that of the groups. Participants used different terms and phrases to express the issue of private and collective interests such as land occupation, a den of thieves, abstract design, prioritisation of Arab workers over us, and so on. There were different views about spatial and economic features, and this was related to the nature of everyday-life experiences such as the dust, the noise, landscaping, etc. For instance, respondents of Group A emphasised spatial issues because the issues were part of their everyday life. In the same vein, conflicting views can be addressed between A and B: whereas most participants in Group A wished GMSH had been placed elsewhere, others in Group B liked the existing location. The key reason behind the difference here is the direct impact that GMSH had on Group A due to the proximity of the project to the participants of the group.

5.6 The shaping powers of GMSH: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project

This section reveals the heterogeneous forces that shaped GMSH. The analysis depends mainly on the thematic approach, the matrix of power elements and forms, and the supporting technique of mapping. The next sub-section identifies the 'elite' people and the following one discusses relations and actions among the human actors in the case study. From there, the section will determine the major theme of power that governed the mode of production.

'Non-elite' groups are pre-identified and they are comprised of users of the project who lived nearby and had an ongoing relationship with it. The final part will highlight the invisible force(s) that influenced this case study. The non-human forces are seen here as having a significant impact on the actions and imaginations of both 'elite' and 'non-elite', and thus they contribute to shaping of architecture as well as human powers.

5.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped GMSH

In the light of the three elements of time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in GMSH and between them and non-decision makers), the key human forces can be named as follows: the investor (Rasool), the architect (Participant 4), the investor's consultant (Allawi), and the professional team of MCH. As detailed below, the capacities of these people were apparent within the phases of production that occurred within the project.

In the design phase, Rasool was the one who preconceived the theme for the project and this strongly shaped the design. For instance, the vertical element of the tower was imagined by Rasool, and he also determined the key functions within the construction. Moreover, he decided the location and used his political connections (with the PUK leader) to acquire the site. The architect, materialised Rasool's theme and produced the final architectural form. Allawi, the consultant, cooperated with the architect but sometimes interfered in the design. During the construction phase, the capacity of the above people remained the same until the professionals of MCH, Millennium and Copthorne Hotels, appeared on the scene and 'took over' the internal design of project. As illustrated in Figure 5-21, three key interconnected factors made Rasool the driving human force: time, actions and relations. Firstly, his influence extended over the design and construction phases. Secondly, came the actions and decisions he made during the phases above. Finally, was the nature of the relations between this businessman and other people who participated in this project. The way that he was described by the architect and other professionals as being the person who made the final decision is significant. For instance, when the architect and Allawi disagreed on adding a dome to the design each one of them attempted to convince Rasool, as he 'had the power to make the final choice'.

5.6.1.1 Exclusionary relations and controlling actions on an urban level

The relations between the decision makers and non-decision makers in this case can be described as exclusionary, as the actions of the elite group were controlling and sometimes encroaching.

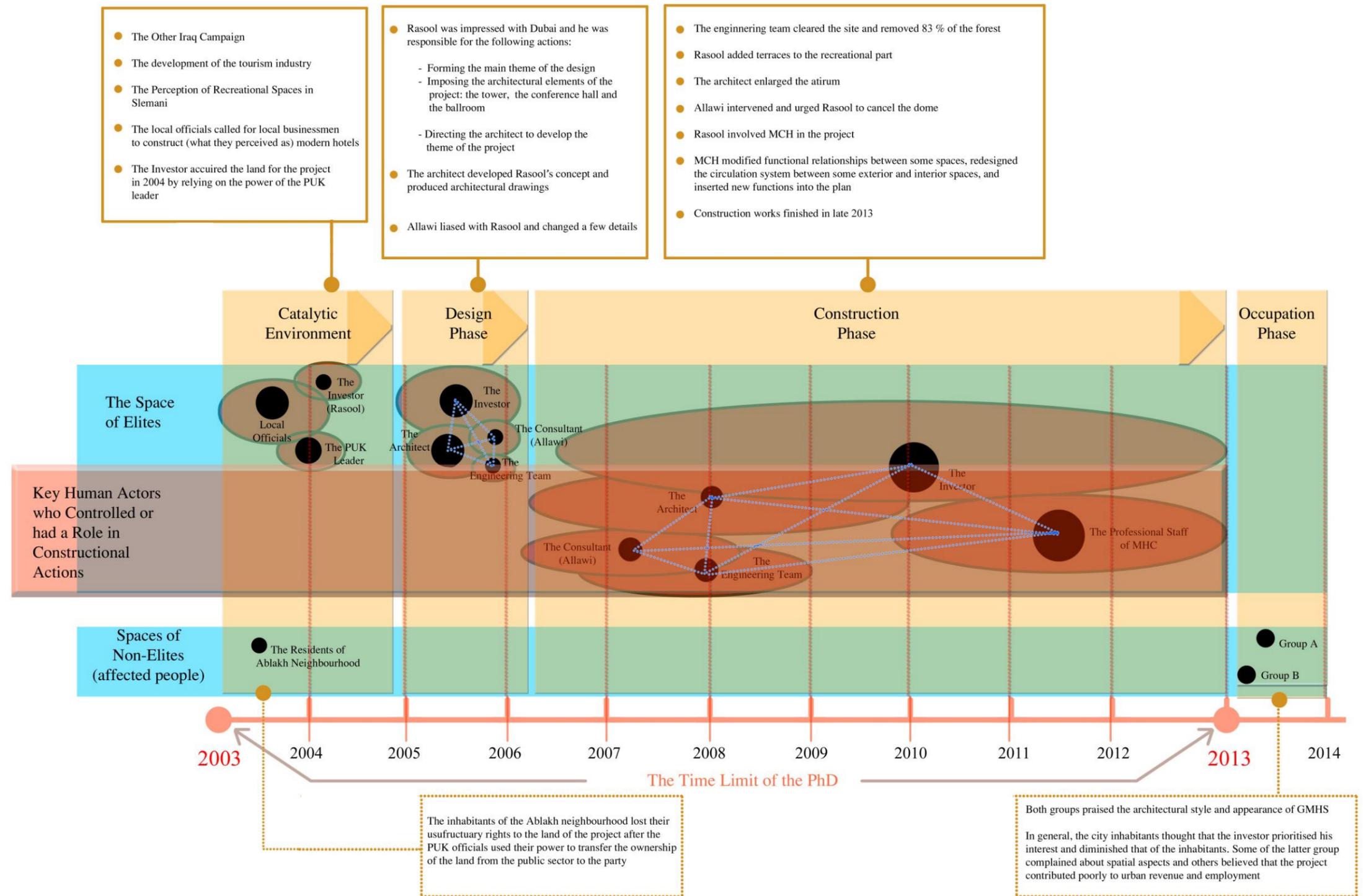


Figure 5-21: Visualisation of the production of GMSH. In the light of the three elements of time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in GMSH and between them and non-decision makers), the key human forces can be named as follows: the investor (Rasool), the architect, the investor's consultant (Allawi), and the professional team of MCH. The driving human-force was Rasool. Source: The author.

There are three major reasons behind this: Firstly, the decision-making process regarding the acquisition of the land of the project was tainted with monopolisation, privatisation and concealment. Before the beginning of the design stage, the investigation report from DASP (a government institution) revealed that the land of GMSH was ‘granted to the investor’ indicating that members of the PUK party who ran Slemani Municipality had the power to ‘transfer the ownership of land of the project from the public sector to the party’. This means that the officials had full control over urban areas. The inhabitants of the city actually lost the forest which once was public property. In addition, the data revealed that the local authorities usurped the usufructuary rights from the people who lived in Ablakh district (a neighbouring area of GMSH).

Secondly, the developer plus a few individuals did not only control the processes of production, but also ignored the negative consequences of these processes. When the architect designed the top of the hill, where GMSH stood, he drafted some proposals for the lower edges of the hill and showed the drawings to the investor who instructed him to not ‘care about this part and focus on the top’⁴⁵¹. This indicates that Rasool prioritised his project and private interest: if the lower areas had been designed and landscaped they would have provided a healthy and satisfying environment for the entirety of the residents around the GMSH. These residents complained about how their interests were suppressed by the producers of GMSH, and they highlighted many problems they had experienced, caused by the newly created space. For example, the noise of the generators and the dust which coated their houses, generated from the edges and the construction works.

Thirdly, the narrow interests of the project was stressed by both Group A and B. A large proportion of them disagreed with the argument put forward by the investor and his aids, which claimed that the project would economically boost local revenue. They also criticised, perhaps subconsciously, the phenomenon of urban land commodification. The words ‘the public’ and ‘the people’, ‘we’ and ‘our’, were embedded in the sentences written or spoken by the two groups, who linked these words to ‘interest’, ‘benefit’ and ‘gain’.

451 Participant 4.

Questions were raised by those people who complained, such as ‘what we gained from this project?’ and ‘where are our advantages?’ This indicates that respondents felt that GMSH was built at their expense. The population of Slemani did not only lose the forest, but also part of their budget. The construction of the bridge, which was funded by the public sector and was supposed to be constructed elsewhere to facilitate traffic flow, has become a part of the project.

Based on the actions and relations above, the story of the production of GMSH can be associated with the form of power-over, because the key theme appears to be domination. Throughout the phases of production, there was neither trace of collective or challenging actions, taken by both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ people, nor inclusionary or tensional relations, between the two groups. In addition, the investor did not only ignore the wellbeing of the residents of the neighbouring zones, but also encroached on public resources and overlooked the local authorities, which demanded him to compensate for the loss of the forest.

5.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity

The non-human force was embedded in the perception of modernity. This invisible force has a significant impact, which is explained below, on the imaginations and actions of both elite and non-elite groups.

The word ‘modern’ dominated the accounts of both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ people, and this word was repeatedly associated with ‘development’, ‘developed world’ and ‘global’. From the very beginning of the story of GMSH in 2003, decision-makers in Slemani perceived existing architecture as backward and inappropriate, and they subsequently amended the investment laws and urged businessmen to construct ‘modern’ buildings. It can be noted that the term ‘modern’ dominated the accounts of the local decision-makers and the developer, and further that they associated modernity with the architectural and urban images of cities within the Global North. This perception of modernity caused the investor to take the following actions: (a) choosing an architect who had an office in the UAE and instructing him to produce a ‘modern’ project.

(b) Advising the designer to emulate architectural landmarks in Dubai and Canada; (c) involving the team of MCH, which was described by Rasool as ‘a global leader’⁴⁵², and asking them to ‘take over the internal design’.

Non-elite populations were falling under the power of this invisible power, which was strongly present in the arguments presented by ‘non-elite’ groups. A significant number of the participants in Group A and B perceived the architectural style of GMSH as being positive, even those who criticised the project. The underlying assumption was that GMSH could be regarded as a representation of modernity.⁴⁵³

In summary, heterogeneous forces shaped GMSH but the investor dominated these forces. The businessman’s power was noticeable from the design phase when he conceived the architectural theme. Different views presented by the local people who participated in this study. On the one hand, the residents of the surrounding areas of GMSH complained about many aspects of the design. On the other hand, those who lived places in Slemani focused on economic aspects and questioned the benefits of the project for the whole city. Interestingly, the majority of the participants expressed satisfaction about the physical shape of the project. This satisfaction was motivated by the impact of the perception of modernity which was the invisible force here. The force controlled the imagination of the decision makers who created this space as well as the city inhabitants.

452 Mohammed Fatih, *Interview with Faruk Mala Mustafa* [نیدار له گه گهیل فاروقی مهلا مستهفا], Interview of the Day (Faruk Medical City/Sulaimanyah /Iraqi Kurdistan, 2014) <<http://knnc.net/Programme-Detail.aspx?TypeID=64&bernameID=2448#.U7DvtfmSyIu>> [accessed 14 February 2015].

453 During the writing process, many of the local people had been posting images of GMSH on different channels of social media and using English to dub the city ‘The Paris of Iraq’.

Chapter 6 : Investment-Driven Projects—The Case of ‘Garden City’

*I can provide evidence on what investors have done to this nation ... they operate hand-in-hand with powerful party members ... they are mafia groups who exploit both land and people.*⁴⁵⁴

6.1 Overview

Prior to 2003, Slemani was characterised by low-rise buildings. However, this architectural image has significantly changed as a result of expensive high-rise residential developments⁴⁵⁵ which came into being due to a demand formed by a number of factors. The demand was met by a constructional campaign which swept many areas of the city, and ‘Garden City’ (GC) was one of those high-rise housing projects built as a result of the campaign 2003 and 2013.

This case was initiated by a group of investors, locally perceived to be heavily backed by government leaders.⁴⁵⁶

454 Ali Hama Salih, a member of the Parliament of Iraqi Kurdistan and the deputy chief of the financial committee of the parliament, describing housing projects in Iraqi Kurdistan. See Ranj Sangawi, TV program, ‘La Barnamay Ranj Chi Gotrawa? [What was said in the program of Lagal Ranj],’ *Rudaw* (news agency), January 24, 2015, <http://rudaw.net/NewsDetails.aspx?pageid=99282>. [accessed 21 July 2015]

455 Anonymous, ‘Kurdistan Board of Investment | Housing’, Kurdistan Regional Government, official website, <<http://www.kurdistaninvestment.org/housing.html>> [accessed 10 September 2014].

456 The Kurdish MP Ali Hama Salih stated that Garden City and similar housing projects have not been built without the power of certain political elites, referring to the powerful members of the two ruling parties, See ‘Barnamay Legel Ranj [The Program of Lagal Ranj],’ *TV program: Keshay Wabarhenan - Bashi Yakam [Investment Issues - Part I]* (Erbil: Rudaw TV, 2015)

Several decision-makers, who are considered here as the 'elites', were involved in the creation of this case: the investors, the architect, the consulting staff at Slemani Municipality and the senior engineers at The Directorate of Investment Board of Slemani (DIBS). As time went by, power relations between the decision-makers began changing, which means that the influence of some individuals diminished or increased. It was noted that each change in relations impacted the physical form of the project: for example, the buildings were reshuffled, the dimensions of the blocks stretched, the design of flats altered, green and shared spaces within the complex shrank, and other such transformations. GC provoked various arguments which were raised by two categories of local people, those who were not within the 'elites': the first being the residents of the project and the second being those who live outside GC in the surrounding areas (the neighbours). These two groups of people have in a direct relationship with this housing complex. The dwellers in GC are the users of this space and the neighbours are the ones who are influenced by the project in various ways. In terms of the users, they challenged those physical transformations mentioned above, especially the shrinkage that occurred to shared and green areas. The arguments presented here largely criticised the investors for focusing on increasing profit and prioritising financial interests over the welfare of dwellers. Likewise, the neighbours stressed the opinion that the producers of the project ignored public interests. The majority of the neighbours felt that the project had been created only for the 'elites', and had widened social division, damaged the value of urban space and overlooked middle and low-income classes.

The importance of this case is embedded in its relationship with both power and social structures, as well as its value with regard to urban space, its representation of a strategic local regime and its connection to culture. The main argument of the 'non-elite' groups, the dwellers and the neighbours, demonstrates the dominance of those few individuals (the 'elites') over the process of creating this case. Noticeably, the nature of power relations between the 'elites' and the 'non-elites' tended to be 'power-over', which helped the investors maintain their private interests (which are seen here as abstract interests).

<<http://rudaw.net/sorani/onair/tv/episodes/episode/lagalranj-24012015muh>> [accessed 21 April 2015].

In other words, the dominance shown by the 'elites' enabled them to utilise GC for their ends. Both the dwellers and the neighbours complained about their interests being ignored. The neighbours raised the issue of the future with regard to the social structure of Slemani, something which arose through their belief that this 'gated community' is a space solely for the rich. In addition, some local people called for similar spaces to be constructed in the city's periphery. This might indicate the beginning of class tension the neighbours raised the issue of the future with regard to the social structure of Slemani, something which arose through their belief that this 'gated community' is a space solely for the rich. The neighbours also showed resentment towards the control of urban lands by a group of powerful local 'elites'. Further, they expressed a similar feeling towards the urban regime, the devaluation of city spaces and the use of these spaces for commercial purposes. Moreover, a significant majority wished the project was a park or a public space. One of the noticeable forces that was observed in this case was in regard to culture, something which arose out of the mentality behind the domestic design, particularly in regard to room function. For example, the way the rooms are arranged is according to the local cultural norms. This non-human power forced both the 'elites' and the 'non-elites' to make several changes to their housing units.

6.2 The demand for expensive housing

Three interrelated factors increased the demand for expensive residential spaces in Slemani: the socio-political environment, the economic and investment growth, and internal migration in Iraq. These factors are further detailed below.

As elaborated on in the first chapter, the creation of the Safe Haven region by the international powers in 1991, contributed to social and political stability which further improved after the peace agreement between the rulings parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). This stability allowed Kurdish politicians to focus on the constructional industry by creating new investment laws in 2004 and 2006. The latest law gave considerable power to businessmen.

The law allowed them to own urban lands, have exemption from taxes for 10 years, have free movement of labour machinery and money, and possess a number of several other privileges.⁴⁵⁷ The Kurdish economy saw significant development and the national revenue increased due to an advancement in the oil industry as well as other areas⁴⁵⁸, this was particularly prominent after the power vacuum of Saddam Hussein's government.

The economic development not only attracted significant and unprecedented investment capital, but also produced a new wealthy class who were seeking luxury spaces and social status.⁴⁵⁹ This class, according to Yaseen Rasheed, the spokesperson of the Kurdistan Investors Union⁴⁶⁰, seemed lucrative for investors and they responded to the need of the high-income class via building luxury housing.⁴⁶¹ This was facilitated by an investment law which was passed in 2006 (see Appendix M).

In the mid-2000s, investors began to heavily pour money into the housing market in order to create high quality residential spaces which, according to Rasheed, by and large did not benefit middle and low-income populations.⁴⁶²

He states:

457 See 'Kurdistan Region Investment Law,' governmental, Kurdistan Regional Government, (June 25, 2010), available at:

<http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?r=145&l=12&s=03010800&a=18619&s=010000>.

458 These sources are explained in Chapter Three and they include revenues generated from tourism industry, tax systems and financial allowances received from the central government.

459 Jack Kimball and Shamal Aqrabi, 'Kurdistan Region Attracts 12 Billion Dollars Investment in Three and Half Years,' official, Kurdistan Regional Government, (February 17, 2010), <http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?l=12&s=02010200&r=73&a=33844&s=010000>.

460 This is a non-governmental organisation. Its main purpose is to liaise between the government and investors. See Faryad Mohamad, '[The Government Institution did not Understand the Investment Law] المؤسسة الحكومية لم تفهم قانون الاستثمار,' *Kurdistan Investor's Union*, accessed August 2, 2016, http://www.kriu.org/3_to_print.php?id=1818§ion=1.

461 According to the then spokesman of the Investment Union of Kurdistan. See Yaseen Rasheed, interviewed by Nawzad Mahmood, *Iraqi Kurdistan's Investment Sector*, Rudaw (news agency), 2012 available at: <<http://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2012/7/invest848.htm>> [accessed 2 July 2016].

462 Ibid.

*People realized that investment projects were not benefiting the public much. Investors were targeting housing markets. All they wanted was fast money-generating projects. Some investors declined all projects except housing ones ... I was one of those investors too, I have to be honest. Investment projects [housing investments] must benefit people.*⁴⁶³

The word ‘public’ is commonly used in the Kurdish culture to connote the majority of the local inhabitants, who are mostly middle and low-income earners. Rasheed was referring to expensive housing projects which he described as ‘fast money generating projects’, by implying that investors focused on attracting affluent customers. It seems that the investors were backed by the government, according to Ali Hama Salih, the Kurdish MP and the deputy chief of the financial committee in the Iraqi Kurdistan Parliament. Salih stated:

*I can provide evidence on what investors [of housing] have done to this nation [Iraqi Kurdistan]. They operate hand-in-hand with powerful party members who back them ... they [the investors and their supporters] are mafia groups who exploit both land and people ... no one can question them ... In this nation there is not only oppression, but also massive looting.*⁴⁶⁴

The investors, according to Salih, not only receive support from ‘powerful party members’ but also they cooperate with the members as one group, which this PhD defines as an urban regime, something which is associated with the ‘mafia’ by Salih. As explained in the first chapter, regime members are usually leaders in their own realms, they maintain the form of ‘power-to’ between them but demonstrate the form of ‘power-over’ to those groups who are outside of their network.

463 Ibid.

464 ‘Barnamay Ligel Ranj [The Program of Lagal Ranj]’, TV program: Dabashkirdiny Zawi w Qairani Neshtajeboon - Bashi I [Ganting Lands and Housing Issues- Part I] (Erbil: Rudaw TV, 2015) <<http://rudaw.net/sorani/onair/tv/episodes/episode/lagalranj-24012015muh>> [accessed 21 April 2015].

Salih used the expression of ‘oppression’ which is usually attached with power-over. The fast-expanding housing market was further fuelled by the influx of nearly 38,000 migrant families, who moved from troubled parts of Iraq to the safe Kurdish region between 2003 and 2011.⁴⁶⁵ Many of these families were affluent and searched for comfortable dwellings. They contributed not only to the emergence of expensive housing but also to an unprecedented surge in property prices.⁴⁶⁶

6.3 The mental production of GC: An insight into the design scenario of GC formed by the ‘elites’

Three prominent groups contributed to the creation of GC: the investors, the architect (and his staff), and the consulting team at Slemani Municipality. The influence of the three groups is explained below.

The investor Aso Mohammed Ali, locally known as Aso Bamokey, and his business partners own a construction company called Halabja Group Holding (HGH) which built GC. They were impressed by a high-rise housing complex, named Pak City (Clean City) constructed by a Turkish firm between 2003 and 2007 (Figure 6-1).

Participant 15, a senior engineer worked at HGH, and described the inspiration of Pak City for the creation of GC:

Bamokey chose a Turkish-based architectural firm to repeat the experience of Pak City ... any casual observer, would say that GC is a copy of Pak City and even the titles are similar...

465 M.M.A. Ahmed, *Iraqi Kurds and Nation-Building* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) also see Edward Wong, ‘Iraqi Arabs See Unlikely Haven With Old Foes’, *The New York Times*, 2 Sep. 2009, available at: <<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/02/world/>> [accessed 18 April 2015].

466 Sherzad Shekhani, ‘ارتفاع هائل لأسعار العقارات في كردستان العراق بسبب تدفق المشتريين العرب’, [A Significant Rise in Properties’ Prices in Iraqi Kurdistan Due to the Influx of Arab Buyers]’, *Asharq Al Awsat*, 2011
<<http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=47&article=646170&issueno=12016#.V6CkoaIzIcA>> [accessed 2 August 2016].



Figure 6-1: The housing project Pak City (The Clean City) which was the first high-rise project in the city in 2004. Source: The author.

*people found Turkish constructions have to be of good quality and they are better than other projects ... I mean it is modern and European [Western style] ... They [the investors] told me once that Kurdish architecture is backward and something needs to be done to renew this.*⁴⁶⁷

It seems that the businessmen believed that constructing ‘modern and European’ models was the only method to ‘renew’ their local architecture which they perceived as ‘backward’. This was because the architectural form of Pak City, which was then regarded as ‘modern’, appeared as a distinguished-looking structure in Slemani, a city where low-rise buildings had previously characterised the urban landscape. Therefore, the business partners visited Turkey with the aim of finding a Turkish architect to design a similar project. In 2008, Bamokey and the partners thought about constructing a similar project to Pak City and they began searching for a Turkish company to design the project.

By 2009, a Turkish architect, Participant 16, who ran an architectural firm called Yapimar, was commissioned by the partners to design a new residential complex in Slemani; he was also promised other similar design projects in other Kurdish cities. Before the design of GC commenced, the businessmen imposed a ‘modern and western’⁴⁶⁸ theme on the architect’s work. The theme was perceived by Participant 16 as a synonym for ‘green architecture’⁴⁶⁹, the then contemporary architectural mainstream in Turkey.⁴⁷⁰ Therefore, the image of GC flashed into the designer’s mind, who decided to propose that name as a title for the project.

467 Participant 15, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 30 June 2014.

468 Participant 16, interviewed by Yahia Ali, email communication, 22 August 2014.

469 Participant 16.

470 The association of modern architecture with the concept of ‘Garden City’ has its historical roots in Turkish architecture. In her book, *Architecture in Translation*, Esra Akcan mentioned that Turkish architecture fell under the influence of the concept of ‘Garden City’ in the late 1920s. This occurred when the German urban planner, Hermann Jansen, designed the master plan of Ankara on the basis of ‘Garden City’ model, which was considered by political elites as a ‘modern’ approach of designing the new capital, Ankara. E. Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Duke University Press, 2012)

P 16:

I chose the title of Garden City and they [Bamokey and his partners] accepted it ... I wanted this project [GC] to be under the theme of Green Architecture ... our [Participant 16 and his staff] first sketches of Garden City resembled a green architectural image.⁴⁷¹

The role of P 16 is explicit in this stage in terms of conceiving GC, and in mid-2009 he submitted a design proposal which included 35% green areas and 12 blocks of flats. Each block of flats represented four types of design, each one rising gradually in height: 8, 10, 12 and 16 floors. In addition, the blocks were given green roofs⁴⁷², (Figure 6-2). The investors, however, rejected the above concept on financial grounds, which meant that were focused on reducing the cost of construction.⁴⁷³ The proposal ended up with a typical design of 10-floor buildings and no green roofs (Figure 6-3).⁴⁷⁴ In order to boost the profits of the project, the architect (P 16) was asked to increase the number of blocks as much as possible. Participant 17, the chief of the Engineering Department at Halabja Group Holding, mentioned that the final design proposal included 30 buildings and was submitted to The Directorate of Investment Board of Slemani (DIBS), which in turn sent the drawings to the Slemani Municipality for evaluation.⁴⁷⁵

In 2010, the consulting staff at the Municipality rejected the concept and returned the drawings with several changes to the proposal, based on their own design criteria, resulting in the number of blocks being reduced to 18 (Figure 6-4). The design criteria obliged investors to provide spaces for schools, green areas, a clinic and other services.⁴⁷⁶ Accordingly, the architect revised his design and added spaces for a school, clinic, mosque, gardens and other required spaces.

471 Participant 16.

472 Ibid.

473 Ibid.

474 Ibid.

475 Participant 17, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 4 August 2014.

476 Ibid.

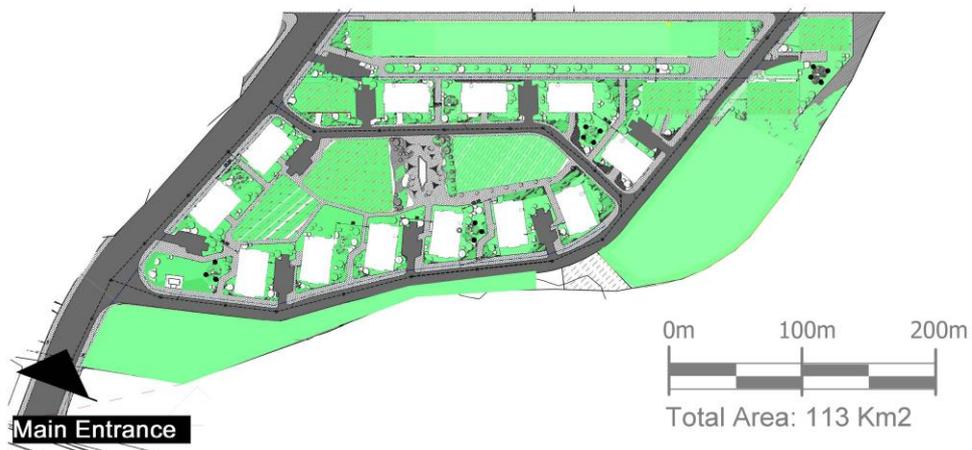


Figure 6-2: The first concept, which was created by Participant 16, of the site plan of GC. Source: The author, adapted from Halabja Group Company.



Figure 6-3: The site plan of GC after the investors ordered the architect to increase the number of buildings. This changed the arrangement of the site plan which ended up with 30 blocks. Source: The author, adapted from HGH.

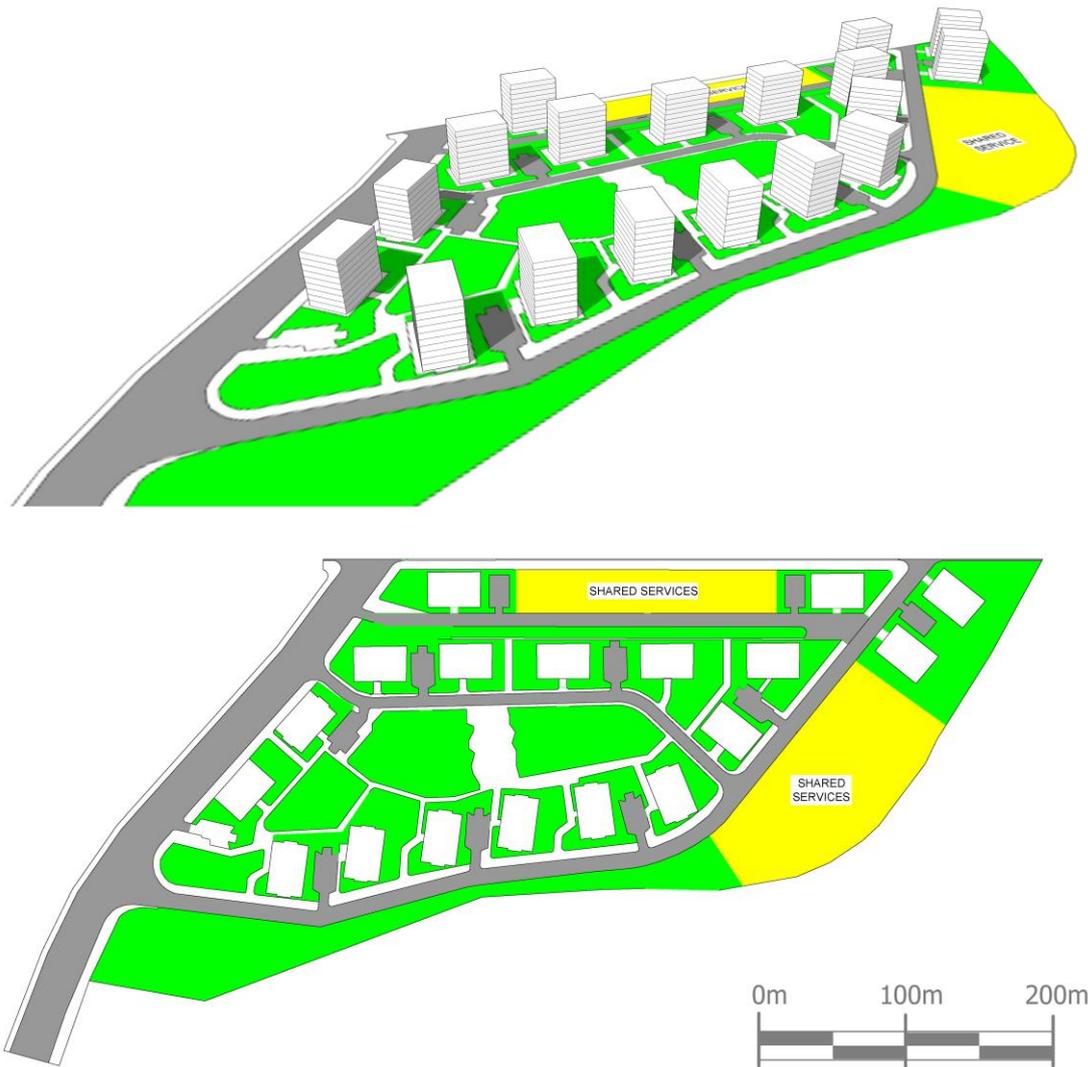


Figure 6-4: Staff at the municipality intervened and significantly reduced the number of blocks to 18. The staff ordered the architect to specify areas for services such as a clinic, a school, a mosque etc. Source: The author, adapted from HGH.

The project obtained construction permission on 11 November 2010.⁴⁷⁷ The terms and conditions of the licence stressed that the investors must not make any change to the design without obtaining permission from DIBS, otherwise, the company would receive penalties. However, after launching the construction, these terms and conditions, according to Participant 18, a member of the consulting staff at Slemani Municipality and a member who first checked the GC design proposal, ‘were blatantly breached by HG’⁴⁷⁸. In the next section these breaches will be presented.

6.4 The physical production of GC: Materialising the design

This section will explain two complementary elements of the ‘Garden City’ story. One of the elements of the story occurred before the design process, and the other after the process. The first element presents how the investor acquired the site of GC in mid-2000. This part is important due to its contribution towards fully understanding the formation of GC. It also aroused a controversy which will be explained in Section 6.5. The second element took place after the architect handed over the final drawings for the project in 2010, and it shows the chronological development of the construction phase of GC. In this stage, a number of changes occurred to the architecture of GC as both the architect and the investors felt that they needed to develop the design. These people made decisions when they saw how the physical outline of the project had emerged. Below, these two elements are explained.

6.4.1 Acquiring the site of the project

There are two conflicting arguments regarding the ownership of the site of GC. One stresses that the land was previously owned by Bamokey, and the other argues that the local government granted the land to him.

477 Farman Gareeb Saed (the general manager of Kurdistan Investment Board), ‘Decision Letter’, Board of Investment: The DIBKR, No. 6238, 15/12/2013.

478 Participant 18, interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 04 March 2015.

According to Participant 17, the site of the project was originally owned by the investor, Bamokey. This information was corroborated by the executive manager in the Directorate of Investment Board of Slemani, Participant 5, who emphasised that Bamokey purchased the land before the beginning of the project and ‘he had the right to deal with the property and its assets’:

Many areas in Slemani were for agricultural use before creating a new master plan for the city [in the middle of the 2000s] ... the site of the project [GC] was purchased by Aso Bamokey and he had the right to deal with the property and its assets ... after the master plan was created the utilization of the property changed to residential purposes, and Aso kept the ownership of the land ... he took advantage of the Investment Law of 2006 [see Appendix M] and applied for a licence to construct a housing complex.⁴⁷⁹

Looking at the other side of this argument, Participant 18 insisted that the land was public property dedicated for agricultural use. This interviewee stated that top government officials changed the land-use and ‘granted it to their business partners’⁴⁸⁰ referring to a number of businessmen including Bamokey.

Likewise, Participant 19, a senior engineer at Slemani Municipality who was involved in creating the master plan for the city, attributed the change of land-use to the power of the *Nokan Company*, a business corporation owned by the ruling party PUK.⁴⁸¹

479 Participant 5, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 08 July 2014.

480 Participant 18.

481 As clarified in Chapter 3, the political environment in Iraqi Kurdistan is relatively different and in regards to the fact that ruling parties have their own financial resources which give them a high level of independence. The then spokesperson of the PUK, Mala Bakhtiar, stated that his party has its own company referring to Nokan Company in the city of Slemani,. See Hiwa Aziz, [الناطق باسم حزب طالباني: إذا خاض نوشيروان مصطفى الانتخابات بقائمة منفصلة فسيقتد عضويته في الحزب, أخبار] The spokesman of Talabany’s party: if Nawsherwan runs for election then he will lose the membership of the party], *Asharq Al-Awsat*, 2009
<<http://classic.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&issueno=11107&article=516626#.VKfkHHvfnIU>> [accessed 3 January 2015].

This company was reportedly controlling large areas of the city including Kurdsat Quarter where the site of GC is located.⁴⁸² P 19 said that *Nokan Company* transferred the ownership of the land to Aso Bamokey prior to the emergence of GC, and added:

*Kurdsat Quarter was classified as an agricultural region, and in the mid-2000s when the investment campaign commenced, the local government re-planned the region and broke it into small plots in order to grant them to their business partners.*⁴⁸³

P 19's argument was confirmed when this I obtained an evidence⁴⁸⁴ from Slemani Municipality showing that the site of GC was originally classified as agricultural land and later changed, (Figure 6-5) (See Section 3.3.3, Chapter 3).

6.4.2 Launching construction

GC was executed in three phases: Phase A, B and C, and each one consisted of a number of blocks. During these phases, four key forces shaped the project. The relations between the forces changed over time and impacted the architectural aspects of GC in the sense that the final format of GC does not match the one in the drawings approved by DIBS. These forces are the investors, the architect, the DIBS and the role of local culture. In phase A, the erection of 6 blocks began in 2010, (Figure 6-6). This phase witnessed the dominance of the architect, Participant 16, and Yapimar's staff who supervised the work. When beginning to narrate the story of how GC was formed, Participant 16 associated the project with 'a child' who needs close and careful attention.

482 Muhammed Sekh Fatih, Fazel Najeeb and Farman Abdul-Rahman, 'Balga Rashakany Companiay Nokan [The Black Documents of Nokan Company]', *TV Program* (Slemani: KNN TV, 2010) available on YouTube

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HsTTRAIurk&feature=youtube_gdata_player>.

483 Participant 19, interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 14 March 2015.

484 According to this master plan, which was created for Slemani by the local government and a German company in 2009, the site of 'Garden City' was labelled as an agricultural area. However, the land-use of the area was later changed.

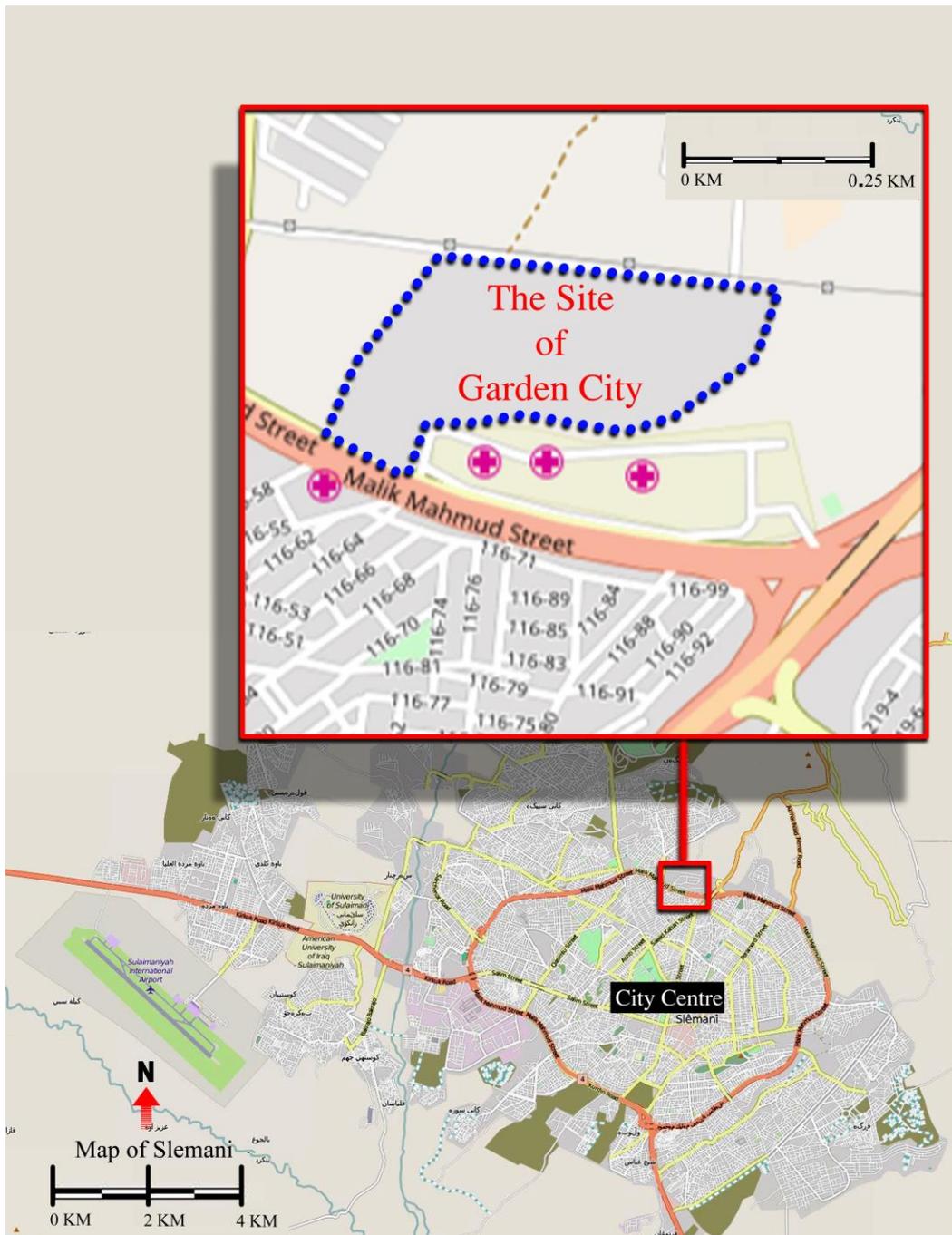


Figure 6-5: The site of ‘Garden City’. This area was dedicated by the local government for agricultural purposes but the land-use was later changed. Source: The author, adapted from <http://www.arcgis.com>.

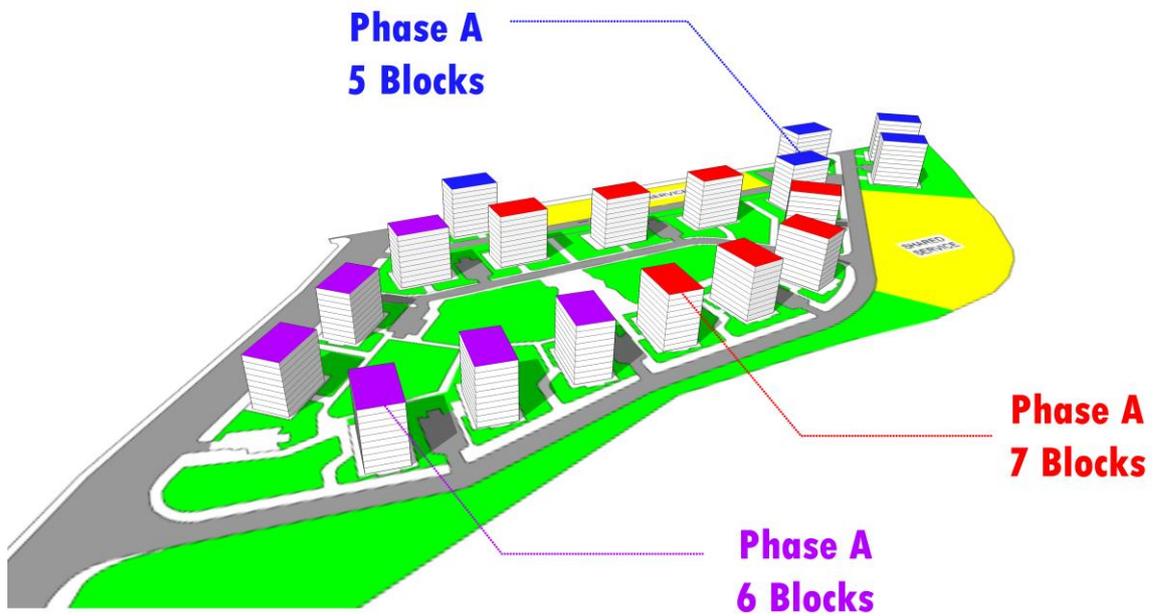


Figure 6-6: The three phases of construction as planned by HGH leaders. Source: The author, adapted from HGH.

The designer described the role of other actors during the commencement of construction works:

*They [the investors and their consulting staff] hardly altered things, they only changed windows and doors and small stuff. Their role was not a big deal. I tried to protect my design from changes ... our relationship was good and construction went well.*⁴⁸⁵

It seems that the influence of the other actors was cosmetic and marginal, and the relation between all actors was stable enough to allow the architect to function with a certain power. Nevertheless, his influence started to diminish as the construction progressed. At that time some concerns of cost and profit had arisen and the investors began to intervene and force several modifications. The architect described these modifications:

*Later, they heavily intervened in selecting finishing materials, and the design was driven away from its original concept ... They selected the cheapest material available in the market ... they even changed the colour of the façades and painted them with a very ugly colour.*⁴⁸⁶

This strong intervention expressed in Participant 16's statement denotes that he had begun to lose his power. Further, a disagreement occurred between the designer and the investors over his financial services. Ultimately, the relationship between the two sides escalated and Participant 16 left the project angrily.

The consulting staff at HGH took over but their role was limited by the investors. Participant 17 pointed out that the staff took care of technical details without changing the design. The absence of the designer encouraged P17 to overstep their mark and propose a design for future phases of Garden City (Phase B & C).

485 Participant 16.

486 Ibid.

P 17 justified his attempt and said that his proposals aimed to:

strengthen the theme of Garden City. I submitted some sketches proposing to clear some floors within the buildings for constructing hanging gardens, and I sent them to the owners of the company ... they [Bamokey and his partners] rejected my suggestions because of the cost.⁴⁸⁷

It seems that the power vacuum that was generated by the architect's departure was filled by the business partners. They did allow a new force, represented by Participant 17, to fill that vacuum. The third force that played a role was the DIBS staff. Participant 20 was a representative of DIBS and a senior engineer who checked the compliance of the construction with the approved architectural and civil drawings. This official described the power of DIBS and said:

We [DIBS' staff] supervised Phase A everyday when we had a resident engineer at the site of construction. Later the supervision system changed and it became every two months ... Our job was to visit the construction site in order to make sure that the approved design corresponds with the construction ... there was no continuous supervision on the construction works, but I can say that we were able to prevent major changes.⁴⁸⁸ [Phase B and C]

The official implies that there was full control over Phase A but later the power of DIBS changed slightly, which meant that the '100 per cent supervision' saw a regression. This allowed some minor modifications such as slight shifts in positions of doors and windows and changes in dimensions of flat rooms, however, the majority of the outline of the design corresponded with the approved drawings.

After Phase A finished in 2012, the company began selling residential units and the buyers moved in.

487 Participant 16.

488 Participant 20, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 04 September 2014.

At this point, the impact of the fourth force, the role of cultural factor, began to gain momentum. The dwellers were not satisfied with the design of their flats which did not complement the archetypical design of internal spaces in terms of dimensions and arrangement. As a result, the investors were overwhelmed by complaints and they decided to form a small committee, consisting of HGH staff, to study the feedback in order to enhance the design of the next phases (Phase B and C). The marketing manager of GC, Participant 21, headed the committee and analysed the dwellers' criticisms and concluded that they revolved around kitchens, breakfast areas, halls and sitting rooms.

P 21 said:

the architect [Participant 16] designed flats according to the Turkish standards and they do not fit the Kurdish culture... we [the committee] found that people view the kitchen as a social space more than a place for cooking ... I mean people in Slemani spend more time in the kitchen eating and chatting, therefore they prefer a large kitchen so they have a space to sit and chat. The kitchens of the flats [referring to the flats constructed in Phase A] are really small.⁴⁸⁹

Based on the manager's statement, the final actor represents the local culture. It seems that the way people view and use spaces in the flats had not been properly addressed by the 'elites', or the designer and the investors.

Another issue arose when Participant 21's team collected feedback from the dwellers, an issue which was embedded in stereotypical ideas about gender:

The absence of separate guest rooms in the flats was another obvious problem that was noticed. In fact, the architect thought that the halls could combine the functions of guest and living rooms.

489 Participant 21, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 30 June 2014.

*This again was criticised and did not suit the local culture because people in our society usually separate guest rooms from living rooms in order to keep their family members away from visitors*⁴⁹⁰

Emphasising separation represents a common gendered view of using domestic spaces, which is part of the local cultural norms, and this was the reason for the residents' resentment about the absence of guest rooms. These rooms serve to isolate particularly non-relative male visitors who are not allowed to access spaces used by female members of the family. The role of cultural factor motivated dwellers to make changes to their flats in Phase A, and also prompted the investors to consider a number of revisions for the next phases.

In dwellers asked the professionals who took over the design to remove or add walls to modify internal spaces. Bamokey and his colleagues, on the other hand, thought about commissioning a new architect who would be more aware of the mentality of the local people and the cultural grounds of utilising domestic spaces. Thus, a Dubai-based architectural firm called Engineer Adnan Saffarini (EAS) was commissioned to carry out the revisions, and re-design the next phases, which started in early 2013.

When Phase B and C began, shown in Figure 6-7, the investors took control of the project. Although the EAS team was involved, its role was largely restricted to technical aspects. Participant 22, who is a senior member at EAS, said his team 'actually did what they were asked to do'⁴⁹¹ denoting to the modifications which were majorly ordered by the businessmen.

In parallel, DIBS supervision ceased because the government had financial issues which led to supervising activities being stopped. This allowed the businessmen to manipulate both architectural and constructional processes—they also had access to top officials at DIBS and other relevant institutions. In this regard, Participant 18 argued that Bamokey and his partners overlooked the terms and conditions listed in the construction permission they obtained from DIBS.

490 Participant 21.

491 Participant 22, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 17 July 2014.

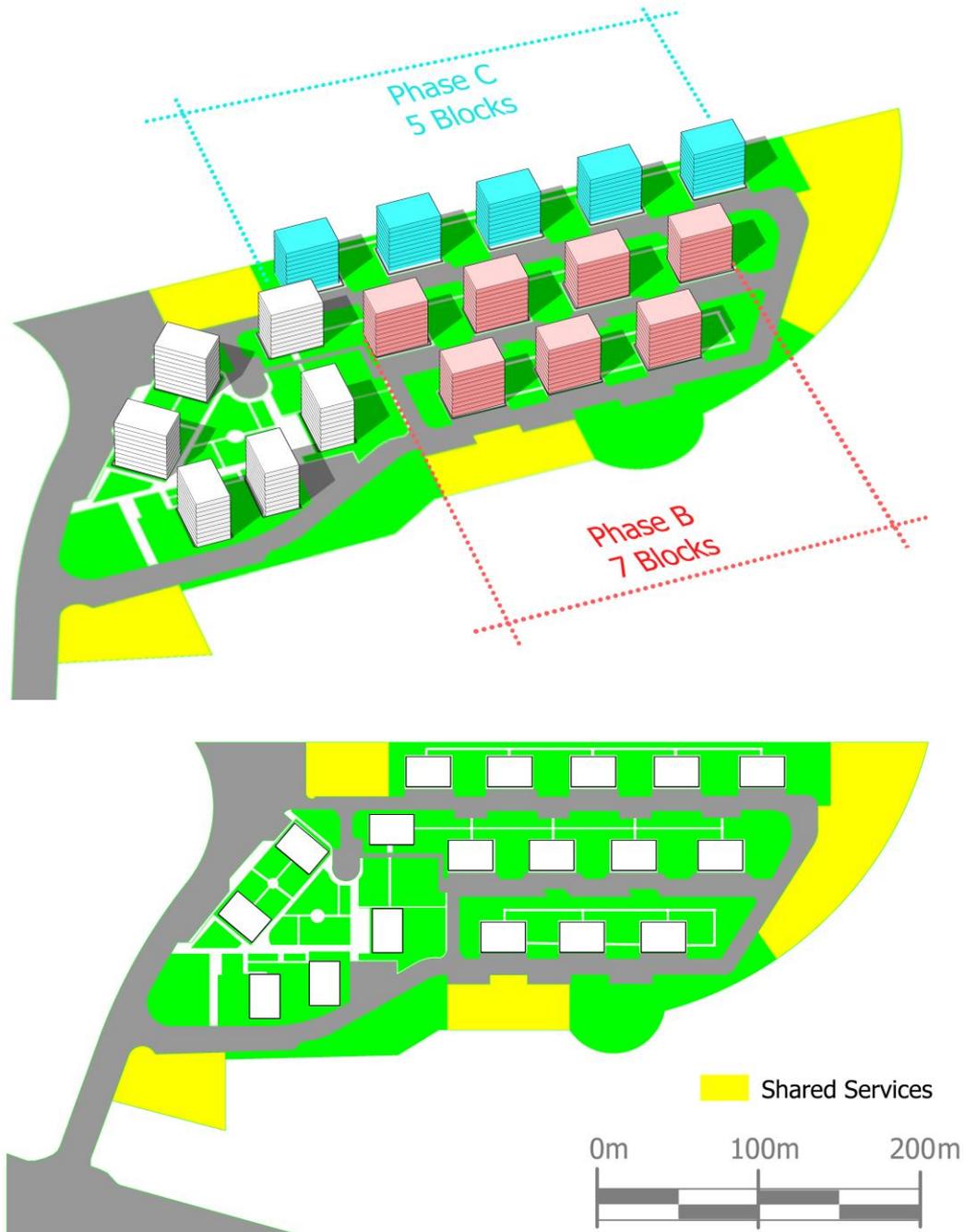


Figure 6-7: The site plan of 'Garden City' after the changes, which were instructed by the investors. It can be noted that the arrangement of buildings in Phase A tends to be similar to the approved drawing. The other buildings in Phase B and C were organised differently due to the increase of the influence of the investors after the absence of the architect and DIBS. Source: The author, adapted from HGH.

The participant said:

Phases B and C were completely uncontrolled ... in early 2014, I wrote a report to DIBS complaining about this situation and telling the top officials [decision-makers at DIBS] at this institution that there has been no supervision from any governmental institution on these phases since the completion of Phase A ... they [Bamokey and his business partners] can simply fix any issue by using the power of the top people.⁴⁹²

The ‘uncontrolled’ situation indicates the power of the business partners which became more extensive and more intensive, especially as the partners were able to access ‘top people’, or the decision-makers at the governmental institutions in order ‘to fix’ or to facilitate their business.

Moreover, a startling statement was given by the then head of the provincial council of Slemani Governorate, Participant 23, who assertively said that ‘each individual who facilitated the permission received a flat for free’⁴⁹³, implying that there was interest sharing or bribery. The above changes in power relations led to noticeable modifications on the outline level (site plan) and on the detail level (internal plans). A shuffle in the blocks took place to gain more space after the outlines of the buildings extended over these spaces, due to an increase in the area of the flats.⁴⁹⁴ These modifications led to a considerable shrink in the green areas that were designed in the original drawings (See Figure 6-7).

Bamokey and his partners, based on a DIBS document⁴⁹⁵, delayed the construction of the service buildings, such as the mosque, the school, the clinic, the nursery and the like.

492 Participant 18.

493 Participant 23, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 22 July 2014

494 See Farman Gareeb Saed (the general manager of Kurdistan Investment Board), ‘Decision Letter’, Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq, Council of Ministers, Board of Investment: The Directorate of Investment Board of Kurdistan Region, No. 710, 12/12/2014.

495 Ibid.

The information written in the documents can be summarised as follows: In 2010, the number of flats was 720 which preceded to rise to 836 in 2013—one year later it reached 864. This means that 144 residential units were added over four years. Three licences were given to this project between 2010 and 2014. The last two licences authorised the increase of housing units and other changes. When the first licence was obtained in 2010, all flats were one type with a fixed area of 197 sq.m. Later, the flats became four sizes 220, 232, 420, and 426 square metres. The construction of one of the public spaces, the mosque, has been cancelled without giving any reason. However, the investors submitted a written pledge to build it in the future expansion of ‘Garden City’, known as ‘Garden City’ II.

Participant 20 argued that this delay and the modifications were performed ‘in order to boost profits’⁴⁹⁶. He believed that the business partners postponed the services because they are non-beneficial spaces and require funding. In terms of the green areas, he suggested that the investors wanted more space for the blocks and thus they used the areas which were dedicated for gardens. Another reason Participant 20 explained, concerned the blocks which were moved to the centre of the project because the soil properties in the centre were better in terms of bearing capacity. This means that there is a huge reduction in construction cost (Figure 6-8). Further, by reducing the distance between the blocks, the cost of water distribution and sanitary pipelines decreased. The interviewee also pointed out that the increase of the number of flats contributed towards generating additional income, since the prices of flats were not regulated by the government.

Another interviewee, Participant 24, a senior civil engineer who worked at The Ministry of Housing and Construction, revealed that HGH reduced the level of safety of the GC structure, something originally endorsed by Slemani Municipality. Ultimately, this helped the company to save more expenses. This indicates that modifications took place not only on the architectural aspects but also on other structural specifications.⁴⁹⁷

496 Participant 20.

497 Participant 24, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 21 August 2014.



Figure 6-8: A satellite image showing the location of the valley, which would have caused a massive increase in the cost of the project if the investors had constructed buildings on the valley according to the original drawings. The blocks shifted to the centre of the project which considerably changed the site-plan of GC as it removed the central green space in the original design. Participant 20 confirmed that the valley has been filled and specified for some low-rise service buildings, which did not need a base with high bearing capacity Source: The author, adapted from www.arcgis.com.

6.5 The social production of GC: The project in everyday life

The inquiry into this case was oriented towards two ‘non-elite’ groups: the residents of GC and the inhabitants in the surrounding areas outside the complex. These people were regarded as having an everyday life relationship with this space. The arguments of the two groups will be presented and the underlying root of all discourses will be discussed in the analysis section. The focus will be on the views of the participants and whether they agreed or disagreed with the arguments made by the producers of GC. Agreeing or conflicting opinions are considered here as indicators of power relations between decision and non-decision makers. In this section, the methods of questionnaires and interviews were used; 52 questionnaire sheets were completed by flat owner-occupiers and 115 sheets by the people in the neighbouring areas. 5 flat owners and 9 people from outside the project were interviewed. The following section summarises the views of Group A, the residents of GC, and Group B, the city inhabitants around GC. The locations of these groups are illustrated in Figure 6-9.

Identifying the two groups as ‘non-elites’ was a challenging issue due to the social and economic differences between them. Although the residents of GC (Group A) were affluent, and many of them were partisans, they were still considered ‘non-elite’ people because they were the users of the space. Hence, the political and economic criteria were not applied to the GC dwellers. In addition, their voices were important because I later found that they also criticised the power of the investors, something which will be explained below. As in the case of GMSH, two sets of questions were asked in the questionnaire which followed the same pattern as set out before. Here, Section (A) asked:

1. The investors of Garden City argue that they have created a modernised version of housing architecture.
2. The investors of Garden City argue that their project has the best quality in terms of services, materials, furniture ... etc.

Section (B): In your opinion, what are the positive aspects of Garden City?

1. In your opinion, what are the negative aspects of Garden City?
2. Would you like to add a comment?

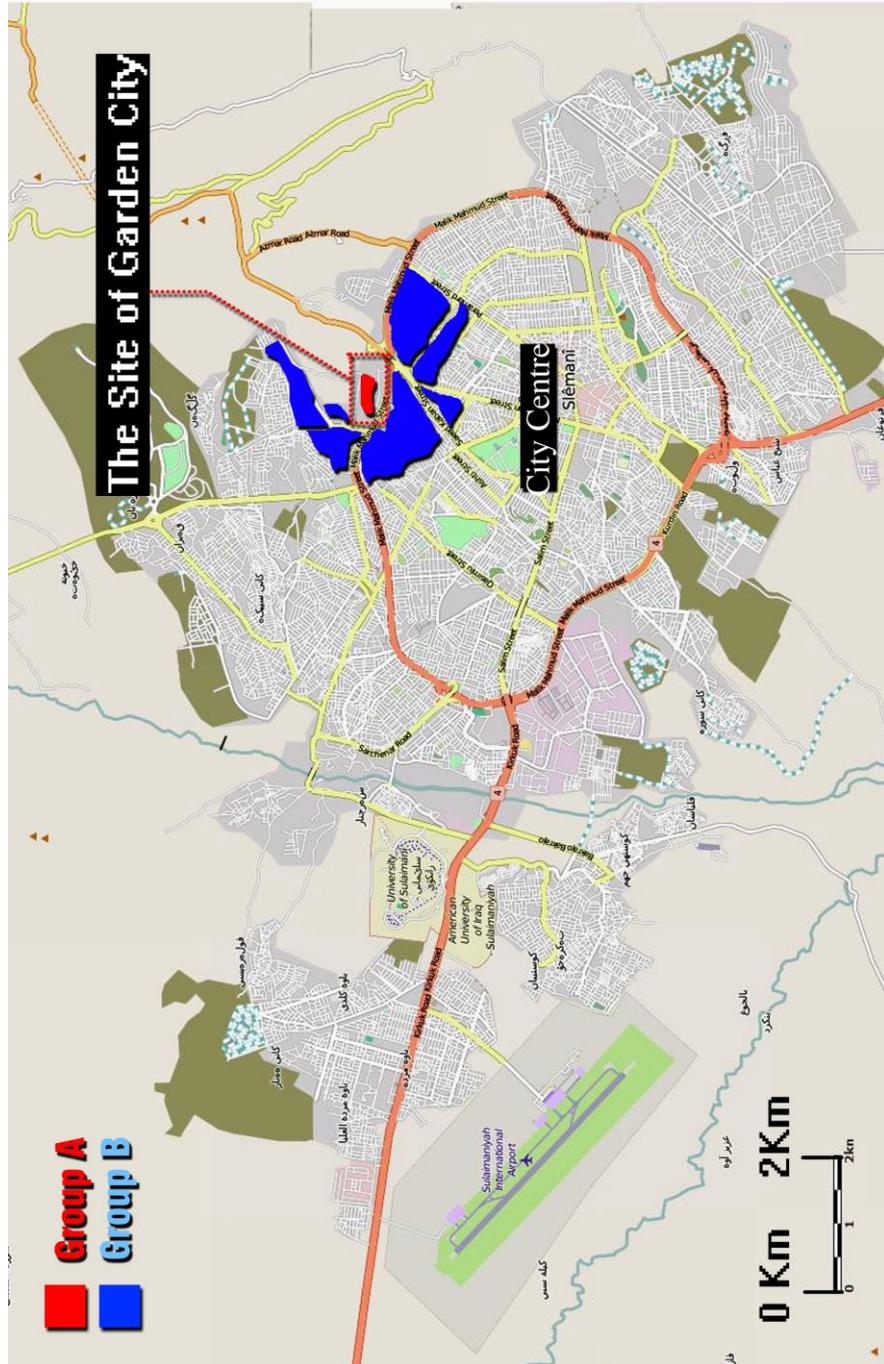


Figure 6-9: The methods of questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data about the opinions of the ‘non-elite’ people, who were classified into two groups: Group A were the residents of GC, and Group B included those who resided around the project. The group was considered to be the people closest to the space, and in an everyday relationship with GC. Source: The author, adapted from www.arcgis.com.

In terms of Group B, questions were the same except the second one in Section (A)⁴⁹⁸, which appeared as follows: Section (A)

1. The investors of Garden City argue that they have created a modernised version of housing architecture.
2. The investors of Garden City argue that their project contributes towards addressing the housing shortage in Slemani

6.5.1 Concerns raised by the dwellers of ‘Garden City’: Prioritisation of profits over dwellers

According to the questionnaires completed by 52 owner-occupiers (or 11% of the total number of the owner-occupiers), it was argued that the project’s investors prioritised profits over the well-being of the residents of GC.

The vast majority of Group A accepted the argument put forward by the investors, who declared that they had created a modernised version of accommodation. However, nearly two thirds disagreed with the claim made by the businessmen in regard to the quality of GC (Figure 6-10). When Group A turned to the questions in Section (B) they highlighted issues about the project they lived in. There were complaints over the lack of shared spaces and promised services within GC. For instance, issues such as the absence of green places, a school, a nursery and the like, dominated the answers (Figure 6-11). Nearly two thirds of the respondents positively viewed the architectural style of GC, for instance, some comments read ‘I like such European design’, ‘nice facades’ and ‘beautiful shape’. Moreover, 20% believed that the project contributed to the local revenue. However, over half of the flat owners complained about the quality of equipment and furnishings in their accommodation. Most of the complaints stressed the same point: the owners found differences between the qualities of the products that were stated in the contract, the ones signed with the investors, and that of the actual ones they had in their flats.

498 The reason behind the difference in the question was that I believed that dwellers might not be keen to answer a question about housing shortage, because they have already obtained accommodation.

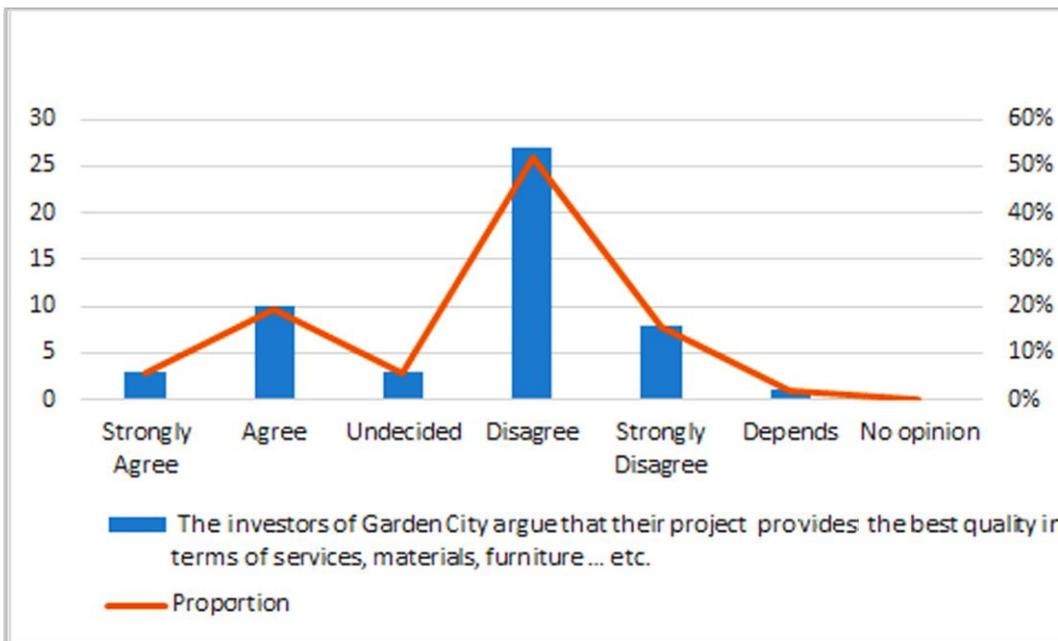
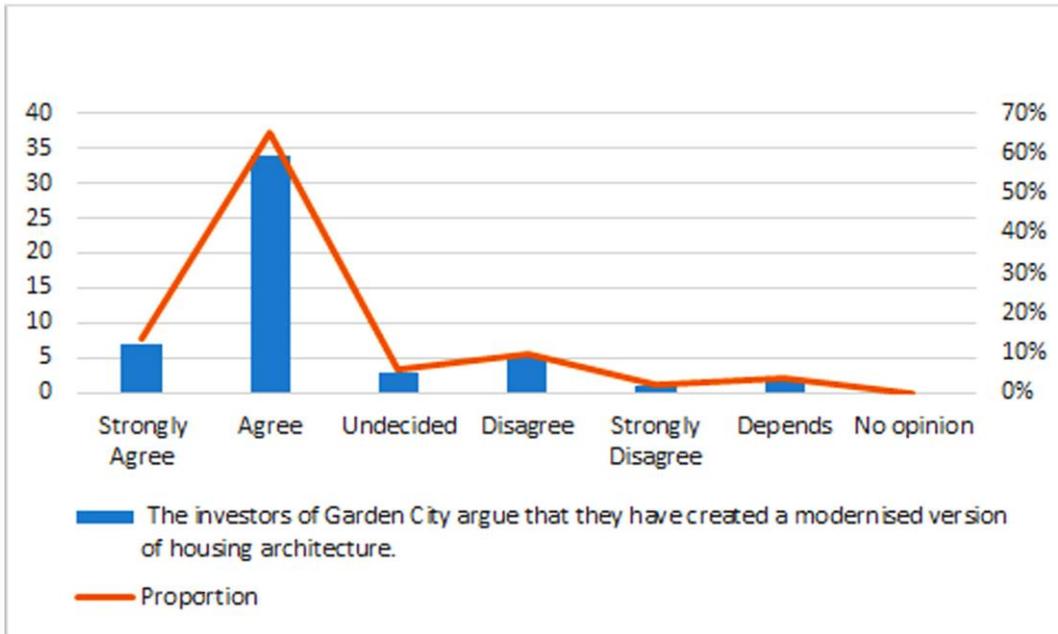


Figure 6-10: The majority of residents agreed that the investors’ argument which stated that they had produced a modernised project. It is worth highlighting that modernity is widely correlated by the local people (elites or non-elites) with the theme western architectural theme. However, 67% disagreed with the businessmen about the quality of the project, which indicates that the dwellers of GC were paid very little attention in terms of providing them with proper quality accommodation. Source: The author.

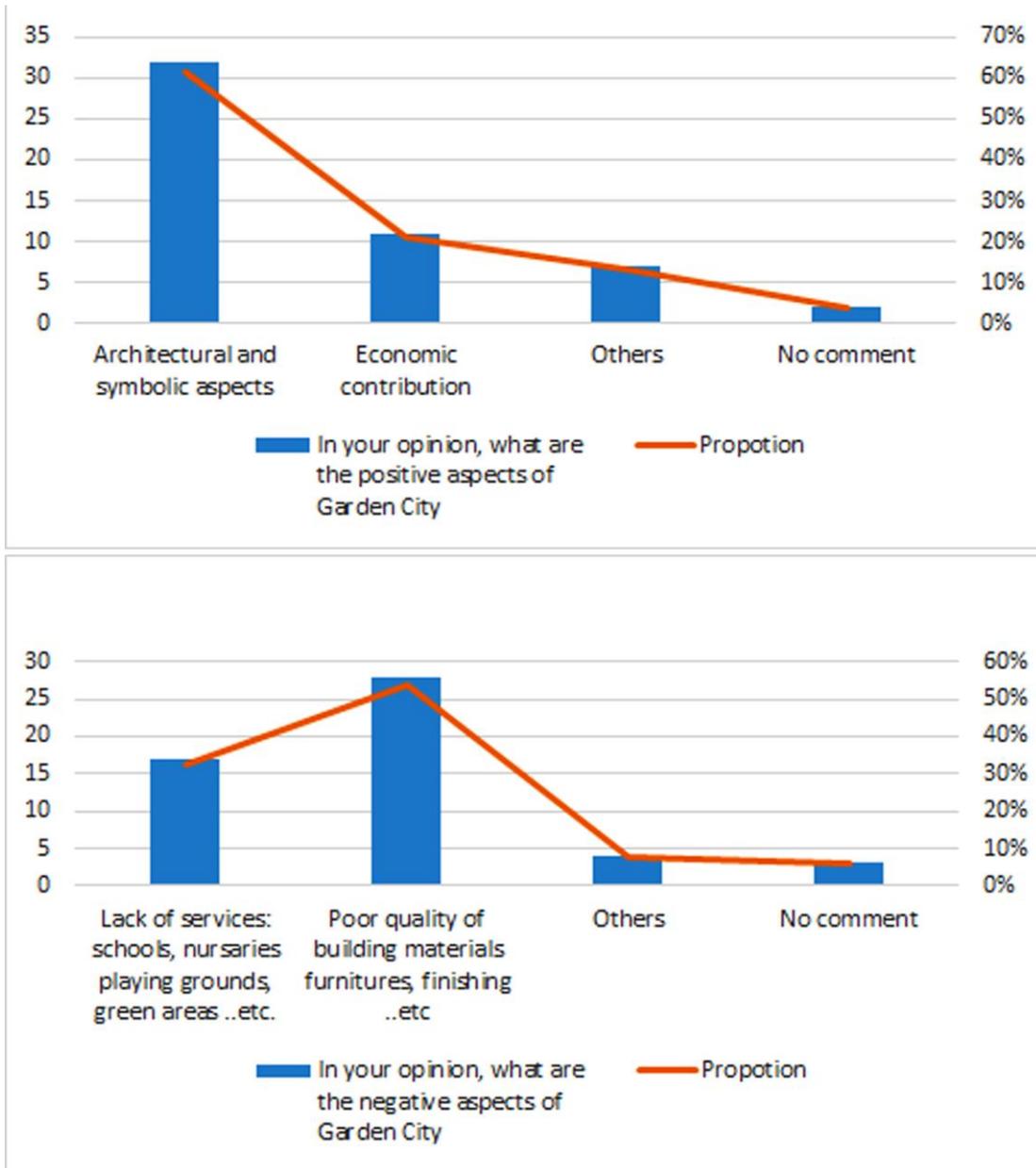


Figure 6-11: As can be seen above, the comments revealed the reasons behind the trend of the previous results where the respondents supported the investors on the architectural form. Nearly two thirds of the respondents positively viewed the architectural style of GC and many comments read ‘nice facades’ or ‘beautiful shape’, with 20% believing that the project contributed to the local revenue. In addition, some of the comments were about the positive role of the project in addressing the shortage of housing units in the city. However, over half of the flat owners complained about the quality of equipment and furnishings in their accommodation. For instance, one wrote ‘we were promised best quality products in the contract but in reality we got worse quality they deceived us’. One third also commented on the absence of the facilities that should have been constructed according to the contracts signed between them and the company. Source: The author.

For instance, one wrote ‘we were promised best quality product in the contract but in reality, we were worse quality, they deceived us’.⁴⁹⁹ One third also commented on the absence of the facilities that should have constructed according to the contracts.

Similar to the views presented in the questionnaire, the interviewees expressed their dissatisfactions about the standards of GC. In an interview, Participant 25, a resident of GC, criticised the owners of HGH for the ‘dishonesty’ they presented to their customers because the contracts signed by the owners obliged them to hand over flats with services (mosque, school, nursery ... etc.) within the project. The resident said:

*All they [the owners] want is money—no one cares about us ... We [the dwellers] spent too much money to gain a good place with decent services and gardens ... apart from the flats nothing has been built ... we talked with the company {HGH} but they have been making false promises.*⁵⁰⁰

As shown in the statement, the investors prioritised constructing the flats over other spaces which would not generate profits or would cost them extra. P 25 also referred to the issue of the quality of materials and furniture in the flats which were not the same as those mentioned in their contracts with HGH. Likewise, Participant 26 saw that the designers of the buildings ‘prioritised profit over people’⁵⁰¹ in the sense that the area lacks services and the blocks are lined up close to each other to maximise the exploitation of the land. This compromises the privacy of the residents because many of the balconies face each other (Figure 6-12).

Another resident, Participant 27, complained about the way the blocks were distributed and the distances between them. The resident added:

These buildings [the blocks in Phase B] resemble chicken cages. They are close to each other, balconies face each other ...

499 Yahia Ali, ‘Questionnaire for Dwellers of ‘Garden Cibidity’ ’, 12 July 14.

500 Participant 25, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 19 July 2014.

501 Participant 26, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face interview, 19 July 2014.

they [the investors] reduced distances between the buildings to gain more spaces and more money. They build these blocks and fill them with people. ... We cannot do anything to change the reality and even if we speak with them [with the investors to resolve the issues] they will not listen to us.⁵⁰²

In the statement above, P 27 used ‘they’ and ‘we’ which indicates two categories of groups, one of them imposed a space with certain layouts on the other, who dislike it. The association of ‘chicken cages’ with the buildings has a denotation within the local culture; it is used to refer to a high concentration of people. Proximity among the blocks is another issue mentioned in the statement, especially the blocks of Phase B and C. The proximity compromised the privacy of residents because some balconies face each other, which forced some dwellers to abandon them permanently.

6.5.2 Concerns raised by residents outside ‘Garden City’: Prioritising the wealthy class

It was noticed that most of the participants viewed GC as a space space in which affluent people were prioritised over middle and poor classes.

Group B, who filled 115 of questionnaire sheets, responded to the first question, regarding the production of a modernised version of housing, in a similar way to Group A. Two thirds of the respondents agreed with the investors’ argument. However, nearly the same percentage of them disagreed with the claim that Garden City contributed to the reduction of the housing shortage (Figure 6-13). In terms of the open-ended questions, almost half of the comments praised the physical form of GC, with the term ‘European design’ being used frequently. One of them wrote ‘I support that our city should house these types of ‘European designs’.⁵⁰³ However, nearly 70% of Group B emphasised the same issue regarding the phenomenon of the gated community.

502 Participant 27, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face interview, 20 July 2014.

503 Yahia Ali, ‘Questionnaire for Inhabitants Nearby Garden City’, 2014.



Figure 6-12: Many dwellers complained about the issue of the balconies facing each other and this caused the dwellers to abandon the balconies. This issue resulted from the proximity of the buildings and this in turn was caused by the aim of the investors to exploit the project and replace the green areas in the drawings with housing blocks. Source: the author.

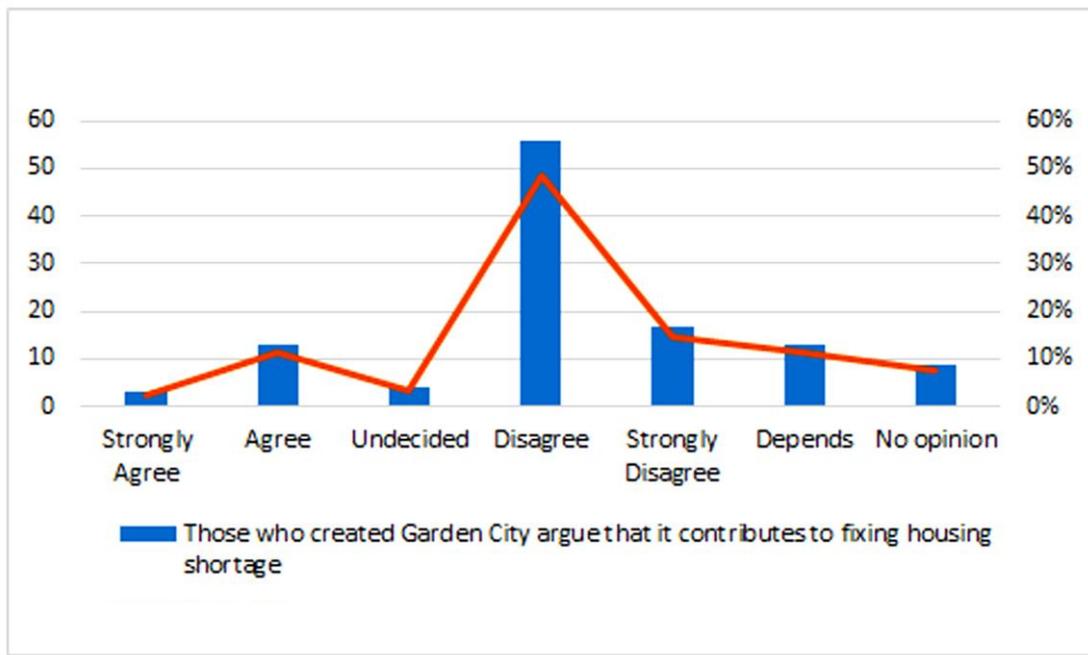
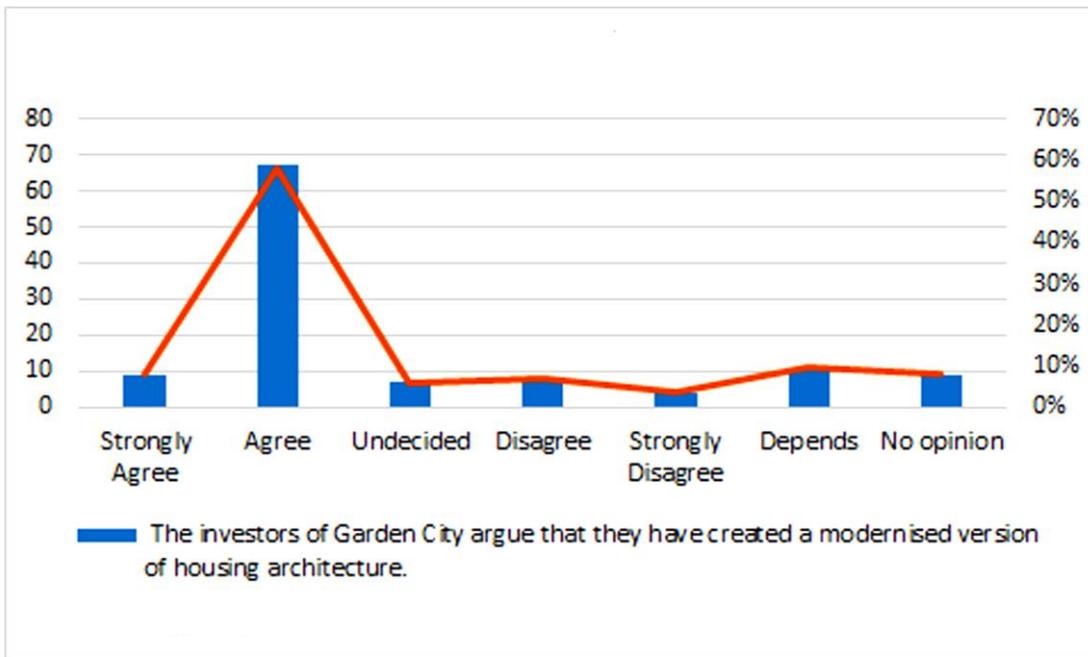


Figure 6-13: In regard to the question about the modernised version of residential space, Group B responded in a similar way to Group A. Two thirds of the respondents here agreed with the investors. However, nearly the same percentage failed to agree with the claim that GC contributed to the reduction of the housing shortage.

Some thought that the investors and the local government overlooked middle and low-income classes and focused on wealthy families. Concerns across opinions were focused on the (perceived) consequences of social divisions and economic aspects. For instance, one person stated that there was a ‘plot’ to gradually evict poor people to the city peripheries as a result of the growth of gated communities. It is worth explaining that the price of each flat ranged between 250,000 and 260,000 USD while the average wage per month in Kurdistan did not cross 1,100 USD at that time.⁵⁰⁴ These concerns were not only expressed by those ordinary people within Group B (Figure 6-14), but also (surprisingly) by a few urban officials.

Participant 23 (the then head of the Slemani Provincial Council) believed that GC was constructed to advantage a certain social class:

I asked the Investment Board [DIBS] who gave this site to ‘Garden City’: Have people and the government benefited from it [‘Garden City’]? Investment in housing means solving the lack of housing stock ... the land [of GC] was public property ... the water and electricity are public properties [subsidised by the government] ... public properties serve the interest of a few businessmen ... We should turn businessmen into an instrument for achieving real urban development. We should not allow them [referring to the investors of GC and others in Slemani] to turn us into instruments for their interests.⁵⁰⁵

The argument of power and priority seems to be reflected in the account of Participant 23. The official used the word ‘us’ which refers to the masses of people who were being controlled and used by ‘a few businessmen’ as ‘an instrument’. These businessmen exploited urban lands for their ends and prioritised high-income earners in order to generate profits, which in turn neglected the issue of the shortage of housing.

504 B. B. C. News, ‘Iraq 10 Years on: Good Times in Kurdish Irbil’, *BBC News*

<<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-21900576>> [accessed 4 August 2016].

505 Participant 23.

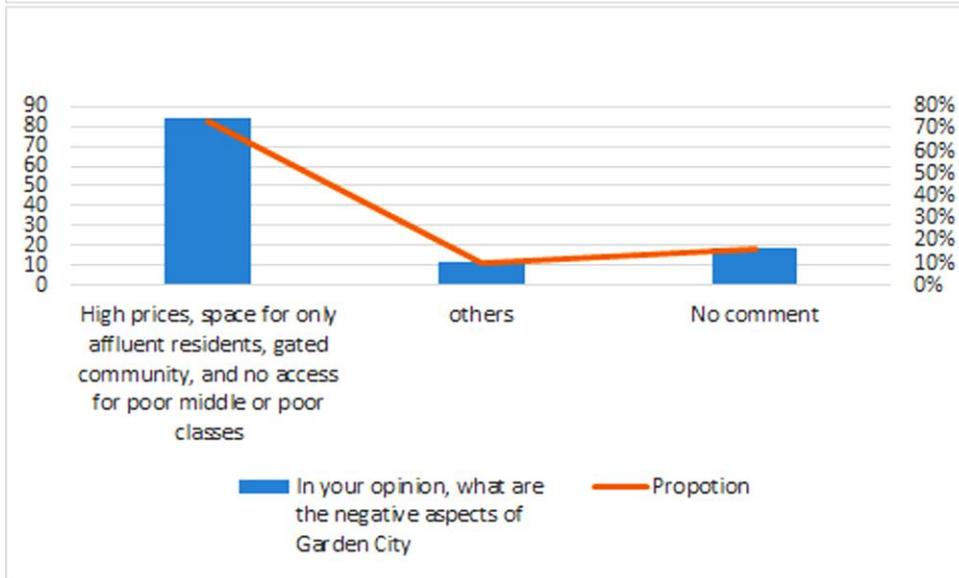
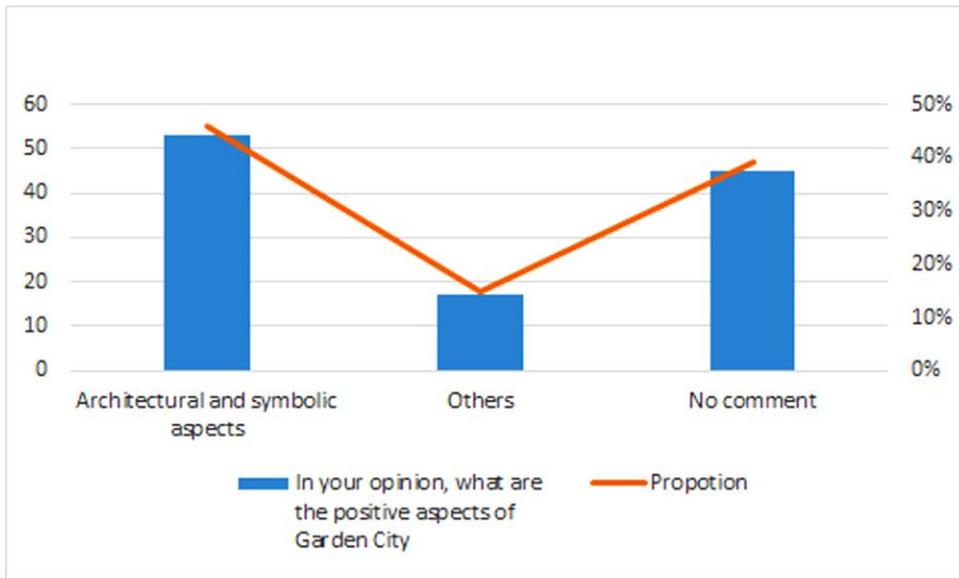


Figure 6-14: In a questionnaire directed towards the inhabitants who live around GC, the majority of answers raised objections to the growth of gated communities. Some associated the project with ‘a space of the wealthy class’, and others complained about the ‘astronomical’ prices. Source: The author.

The prioritisation of the high-income class, as perceived by Participant 10 an academic and urban planner who participated in creating the master plan of Slemani, can lead to social division. The urban scholar defined GC as ‘a real representation of gated community’ and added:

Separating a group of people in any society always indicates inequity. Whatever the reason for creating separation, for safety or protection, it produces inequity between classes [between high-income and low-income people] ... The owners of this project should have considered mixing the poor class with the wealthy one ... the spatial separation is persistent and it happened in other housing projects, and I do not know why the Investment Board and the Slemani Municipality would permit this type of separation.⁵⁰⁶

Similar to the argument put forward by Participant 23, the academic addressed the phenomenon of overemphasising wealthy groups and spatially isolating them, blaming governmental powers for allowing this phenomenon to inflate. In order to mitigate the perceived social segregation, he suggested a change in the current power relations between the ‘elites’ who produced or allowed GC to emerge, and those who were excluded from sharing in the project.

Participant 28, the journalist working at Hawlati Newspaper⁵⁰⁷, was more open in criticising some business elites for creating gated housing spaces. P 28 said:

The vast majority of housing projects are based on the fact that businessmen take lands from the government and get full control over them. ‘Garden City’, for example, is out of the reach of not only the low-income class, but also the middle class ... Why does the government allow this to happen? This rapidly raises suspicion that

506 Participant 10.

507 Locally characterised as a right-wing newspaper. Journalists in this newspaper have been more critical and they have often questioned the power of the PUK officials and the connection between them and some business elites.

they [top government officials] are partners with those businessmen ... this is what the people [the local inhabitants of Slemani] think, we [the journal staff] speak with them on daily basis.⁵⁰⁸

Given the account above, the local elites here consisted of governmental and business groups, who ‘take control over’ urban areas and create ‘abstract spaces’. A similar view was held by Participant 29, a government employee, who wished that the producers of ‘Garden City’ had been built in Slemani’s outskirts.

They [the producers of GC] should have taken these projects away ... they have occupied that great place and turned it into a place for expensive high-rise buildings and gates ... why did they not construct a public park? ... the place is for rich families, they have their own world, they are away from us what are the benefits of having them next to us?⁵⁰⁹

In the statement of this interviewee, the word ‘they’ was used to refer to the government and business decision-makers. It seems that they are often seen as one group and, as the participant perceived, they are seen as having ‘occupied’; a seemingly valuable or ‘great’ urban area and separated it from the non-wealthy population. The ‘benefits’ here can be correlated with public interest which, according to Participant 29, was not the case in GC.

6.6 The shaping powers of Garden City: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project

In this section, the heterogeneous forces that shaped GC will be revealed through subjecting the data, presented in the chapter, to thematic analysis. The matrix of power elements and forms (see table 4-1 in section 4.3.2.4) will be used.

508 Participant 28, interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 03 August 2014.

509 Participant 29, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 27 July 2014.

The matrix will be used alongside the supporting technique of mapping. The next sections begin with identifying those key decision makers who shaped the project. This will be done through considering their statements, actions and relations to each other and to ‘non-elites’, who are pre-identified and comprise of the users of the project and those who lived nearby it, or those who were in an everyday relationship with it. The final part will highlight invisible force(s) that influenced this case study. As elucidated in Section 4.3.2.2, non-human forces are seen here as having a significant impact on actions and imaginations of both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’, and thus they contribute to shaping architecture along with human powers.

6.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped GC

In light of the three elements of time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in GC and between them and ‘non-elites’), the key human forces can be named as follows: the investors, the architect, the consultants at Slemani Municipality and DIBS. As detailed below, the capacities of these people were apparent over the different phases of the project.

In the design phase, the investors (Bamokey and his partners) obtained the land for the project using the power of the PUK. The architect, participant 16, was asked to formulate a ‘modern’ housing complex similar to Pak City, a project which was already in existence. Participant 16 followed this instruction and almost directly copied the physical form of Pak City. The consultants at Slemani Municipality intervened in the design process and imposed their criteria, which significantly changed the architectural outlines of the scheme and caused a massive reduction in the number of housing blocks. In the beginning of the construction processes (Phase A), the investors’ power was constrained by the architect, who prevented them from carrying out substantial changes to the scheme. Similarly, the DIBS team, who supervised the scheme, checked the compliance of the construction against the approved architectural and civil drawings. As the construction works advanced to Phase B, the influence of the decision makers above cemented and the developers orchestrated the entire project and began to shape it according to their desires.

Consequently, alterations took place and the outlines of GC shifted dramatically. As illustrated in Figure 6-15, three key interconnected factors made the developers the dominant human force: time, actions and relations. First thing to note is the influence they extended over the design and construction phases. The second thing of importance were the actions and decision they made during these phases. Finally, the nature of the relations between them and other decision makers who participated in this project is important. For instance, the architect, who referred to GC as his ‘child’, indicates that GC needed to be carefully supervised, which in turn represented an attempt to prevent the businessmen from modifying the design. This attempt caused conflicts of interests and forced the designer to leave the project. One further example is that when the investors took full control of the scheme they did not allow other individuals to change the course of their strategy. They rejected the proposals of Participant 17, the professional who worked for the investors at HGH, and constrained the role of the team of EAS (who replaced Participant 16) to technical details.

6.6.1.1 Exclusionary relations and controlling actions on urban and architectural levels

The relations between the decision makers and non-decision makers in this case can be described as exclusionary, and the actions of the elite group can be said to have been controlling and at times, encroaching. There were key reasons behind this: Firstly, on an urban level, the decision-making process regarding the acquisition of the land for the project was tainted with monopolisation, privatisation and concealment. Prior to the design phase the land for the project was classified in the master plan of Slemani as agricultural, and it was owned by the public sector. According to Participant 19, the officials of the PUK, who ‘controlled urban areas’, used their power and ‘granted’ the site of GC to Bamokey. This led to an imbalance between the interests of the developers and those of local inhabitants, who lost part of their urban lands to a small group of people (including the dwellers of GC and the investors). The theme of narrow interest prevailed within the accounts of Group A and B. The first group raised the argument of prioritisation of profits over dwellers.

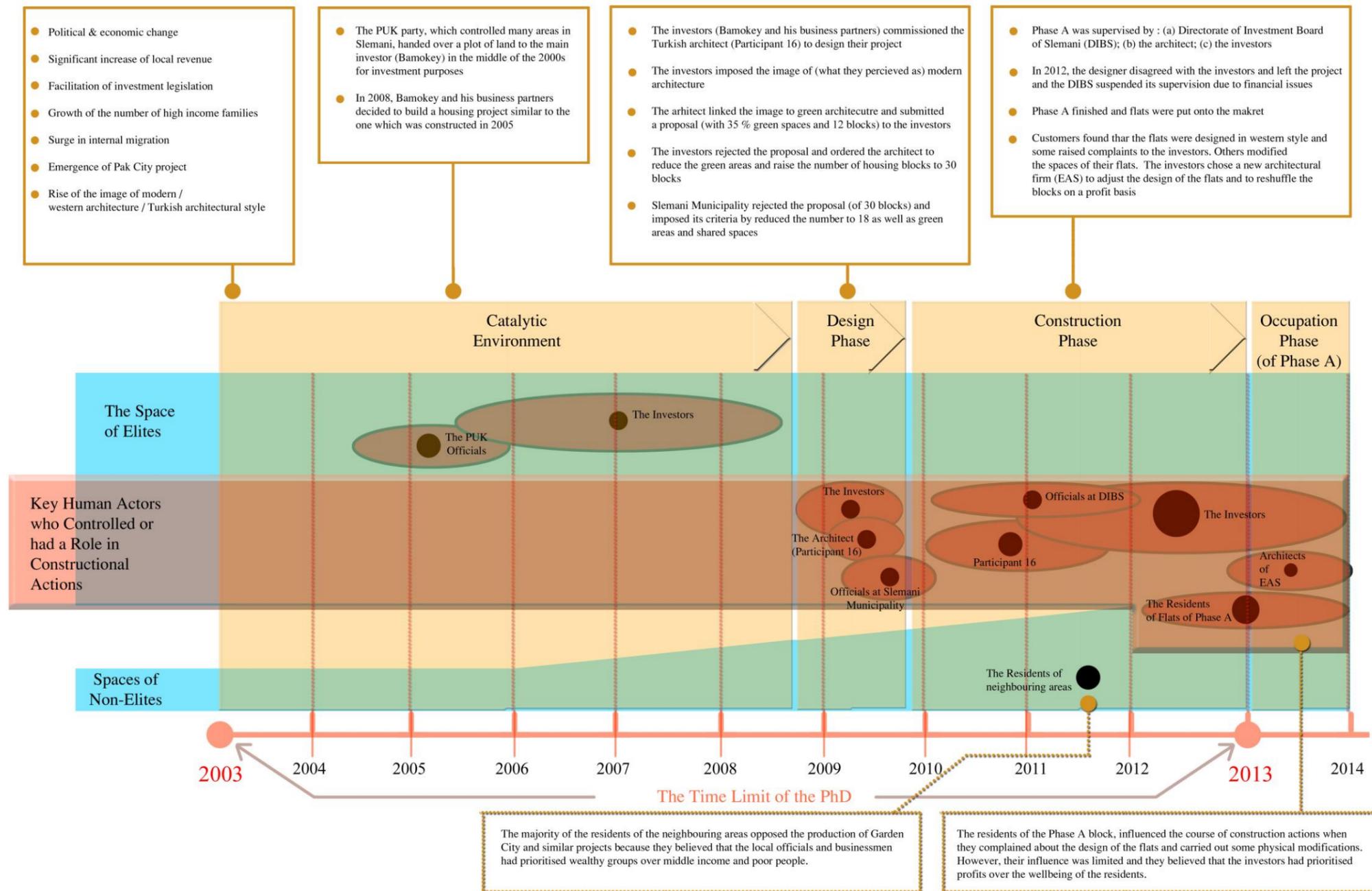


Figure 6-15: In a questionnaire directed towards the inhabitants around GC, the majority of answers raised objections towards the growth of gated communities. Some associated the project as representing ‘a space for a wealthy class’, and others complained about the ‘astronomical’ prices. Source: The author.

The questionnaire showed that over half of the flat owner-occupiers complained about the quality of equipment and furnishings in their accommodation. One third also complained about the absence of facilities that should have been constructed according to the agreement signed between them and the company. The second group expressed the issue of narrow interest in a different way. Throughout the spoken and written accounts, the participants emphasised the right of 'middle class' or 'poor people' to gain access to such space, believing that that the developers did not only prioritise their financial gains, but also the wealthy social class. Nearly 70% of Group B also criticised, what appears to be, the phenomenon of urban land commodification, and many of them felt that the urban decision makers along with the investors had encroached on their rights to have communal areas in Slemani.

Secondly, on an architectural level, the needs of the dwellers of GC were given very little attention. The developers along with the architect and other professionals, the DIBS team and the consultants of SM, controlled the processes of mental and physical production. Although the residents had an influence on the design of the flats of Phase B and C, their power was considerably limited for two reasons: (a) the modifications were minor in the sense that they occurred only to the interior design; and (b) the developers responded because they wanted to facilitate, or perhaps accelerate, the selling process of the flats. Group A had a similar tendency to that of Group B, expressing that Bamokey's partners had overlooked their wellbeing and prioritised profits. The interests here are embedded in the green spaces, the privacy of flats and the services within GC. It seems that the objective of the businessmen was not to establish cooperative production of housing, as they concentrated on the profits of GC rather than the wellbeing of its dwellers.

Based on the actions and relations above, the narrative of the production of GC can be associated with the form of power-over, because the key theme appears to be domination. Throughout the phases of production, there was neither a trace of collective or challenging actions, taken by both 'elite' and 'non-elite' people, nor inclusionary or tensional relations, between the two groups. In addition, the investors did not only ignore the wellbeing of the dwellers but also challenged the authority of the SM through not completely following the building regulations.

6.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity

The non-human force was embedded in the perception of modernity, something which is explained below. This invisible force had a significant impact on the imaginations and actions of both elite and non-elite groups.

The word ‘modern’ dominated the accounts of both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ people, and this word is widely correlated with the theme of western architecture and repeatedly associated with the ‘developed world’. Before the construction of GC, Bamokey and his partners, who regarded the local construction as ‘backward’, were ‘impressed’ with the housing complex of Pak City, which represented, what they perceived, as having a ‘modern and European’ architectural style. In the design phase, the investors prompted the architect to design a ‘western’ housing space. The latter, who chose the English title of Garden City, complied with their request and translated it into ‘the theme of Green Architecture’. The perception of modernity eventually caused the form of GC, in general, to be very similar to that of Pak City. Interestingly, the majority of both the occupants of GC and the city inhabitants, who participated in this research, agreed with the argument made by the developers who claimed that they attempted to ‘modernise’⁵¹⁰ the local architecture.

In brief, many forces can be seen in the story of GC but the investors dominated these forces. The businessmen’s power grew gradually, and they did not only forced the architect out of the project, but also ignored the construction limitations which were set by SM. The residents, who complained about numerous aspects of the design, managed to slightly modify some elements (such as shifting internal walls). The majority of the local people who participated in this study expressed dissatisfaction with this urban space. Most of the participants agreed that the investors prioritised their interests leaving the residents and locals on much smaller benefits. The impact of the perception of modernity on the architecture of GC was noticeable. This invisible force considerably influenced the decision makers who formed GC as well as the residents and many of the city inhabitants.

510 Up to the date of writing this thesis, many of local inhabitants have been posting images of GC on social media and branding the project ‘Rukashi Nuwy Slemani’, which translates *The New Face of Slemani*.

Chapter 7 : Government-Sponsored Constructions — The Women’s Shelter and Development Centre

7.1 Overview

This chapter introduces a project which was initiated by a group of women, the Committee of Women, who were members of the Provincial Council of Slemani. I was the designer of the project, which began in 2006 and was completed in 2013. The ‘Women’s Shelter ’ and Development Centre (WSDC) consists of two parts: a shelter which was created to house women escaping from domestic violence and honour-based crimes, and a development centre which was built for female employees working in the public sector in Slemani.

There was a demand for this project and there were influences behind this demand. The first influence was the reality that there are thousands of women who fall victim of honour-based crimes. The second, was the lack of secure shelters – many of these existing shelters were prone to frequent attacks carried out by male relatives of the escaped women. A final influence was the skills of women in the public sector, which were significantly weak in comparison to men. Similarly, they had a low participation rate; specifically speaking it was four times lower than that of men.

The project started when the Committee of Women proposed to the Provincial Council of Slemani to build the WSDC. Although the proposal was challenged by some council members, it was approved by a majority vote, and later it was passed to the Engineering and Administrative departments at Slemani Governorate Headquarters for them to produce the design brief. The brief was placed for tendering and my office, which is called HI-TECH, won the contract for undertaking the architectural design.

After the construction works started in 2009, a number of changes occurred to the project. There were two notable changes: the repurposing of the development centre into a security office and the modification of the orientation of the shelter.

The project was opened in early 2014, and after a couple of months the neighbours became discontented with the shelter. Some asked the shelter’s officials to heighten its fences in order to block visual contact between them and the refuge’s residents, and others called for the shelter to be relocated outside of the city.

This chapter argues that the common conception people had of women who escape their houses and reside in shelters, was the dominant force within the narrative of the case. This conception was present in all stages of the narrative and it heavily influenced the decisions made in the creation of the project.

This chapter is structured as follows. After an explanation of how the demand for this project arose, the chapter will then detail the development of the design scenario of WSDC. Following this, Section 6.3 narrates the commencement of the construction works. This is succeeded by an insight into the arguments produced by the ‘non-elite’ groups, or those users of the project and the people who were living in neighbouring areas of WSDC. Finally, the chapter ends with analysing the major forces which shaped this project.

7.2 The demand for a protective and developing space for women

Three key factors contributed towards creating a protective and developmental centre for women: (a) the increase of gender-based violence; (b) the inappropriateness of existing shelters and development centres; (c) the comparative weakness of women’s skills in workplaces. These factors are elaborated on below.

7.2.1 Gender-based violence

Over the last two decades, numerous physical and non-physical forms of violence were recorded against women in Iraqi Kurdistan, such as honour-based crime (HBC), online harassment, forced marriage, and female genital mutilation.⁵¹¹ HBS has been defined in many ways, and according to Robert Kiener the term refers to ‘women or girls [who] have been killed by a male relative for allegedly bringing dishonour upon their family’⁵¹².

511 Anonymous, ‘*National Strategy to Confront Violence against Women in Kurdistan 2012 -2016*’ p.2.

512 Robert Kiener, ‘Honor Killings: Can Murders of Women and Girls Be Stopped?’, *Global Researcher*, April 19, 2011, p.183.

This category of crime was regarded by the United Nations in 2008 as being a ‘serious concern in Kurdistan’⁵¹³. HBC was also the most significant factor which motivated non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the authorities in Kurdistan to intervene and protect oppressed women.⁵¹⁴ Thus, the focus here was on finding spaces to house women fleeing potential murder. In the 1990s and the 2000s, NGOs rented private houses in Slemani and other Kurdish cities to use them as women’s shelters.⁵¹⁵ Although there were no official statistics showing the precise number of these types of killings, NGOs reported 12,000 killings over two decades.⁵¹⁶ In addition, the number of HBCs increased in the 2000s and was estimated at 500 per year.⁵¹⁷ It is worth understanding that the proportion of 500 deaths to the population of Iraqi Kurdistan, was around 4,662,000 in that period.⁵¹⁸ The number of female adults, aged between 15 and 45 and who are the most prone to HBC, totalled around 800,000.⁵¹⁹ Thus, there was one death per almost 500 women within that age group. In terms of the intervention of the authorities, the Kurdish Parliament enforced the maximum penalty for HBC, and it decided to revise the Penal Code No.111 of 1969, which authorised judges to mitigate the penalty or pardon the offender of an HBC.

513 Shwan Muhammad, ‘Surge in Violence against Women in Iraqi Kurdistan,’ News Channel, www.france24.com, (May 24, 2008), <http://www.france24.com/en/20080524-surge-violence-against-women-iraqi-kurdistan?q=node/1924390//2>.

514 ‘IRAQ: Kurdish Government Promises More Action on Honour Killings,’ *IRINnews*, accessed May 17, 2015, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/91216/iraq-kurdish-government-promises-more-action-on-honour-killings>; John Lyland and Namu Abdullah, ‘کردستان: جرائم الشرف تحصد أرواح 12 ألف امرأة بين عامي 1991 و 2007 [Kurdistan: Honour-Based Crimes Harvest 12 Thousand Women’s Souls Between 1991 and 2007],’ *Asharq Al-Awsat*, November 22, 2010, 11682 edition, sec. News, <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=11700&article=596258#.WC8IaMmWIU4>.

515 According to the then Member of Provincial Council Knier Abdullah: Knier Abdulla, interview by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, June 1, 2014.

516 ‘IRAQ’; Lyland and Abdullah, ‘کردستان: جرائم الشرف تحصد أرواح 12 ألف امرأة بين عامي 1991 و 2007 [Kurdistan: Honour-Based Crimes Harvest 12 Thousand Women’s Souls Between 1991 and 2007].’

517 Kerim Yildiz, ‘Kurdish Human Rights Project: LEGAL REVIEW,’ *Kurdish Human Rights Project*, non-government organisation, 10 June 2007, available at: <http://www.khrp.org/>.

518 Kurdistan Regional Statistics Office, ‘Public Projections of Iraqi Kurdistan,’ official (Erbil: The Ministry of Planning of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), August 2014), 45, <http://krso.net/files/articles/200415050341.pdf>.

519 Ibid.

In 2002, the parliament removed the elements of mitigation and pardon from the law.⁵²⁰ However, some critics felt that this legal measure had been ineffective. Minoo Alinia, the author of *Honour and Violence against Women in Iraqi Kurdistan* wrote:

*In Iraqi Kurdistan, killing in the name of honour has been criminalised since 2002, even though there is a big gap between the law and its implementation ... honour discourse has for many decades legitimised and normalised the atrocities against women.*⁵²¹

The author points out that the revised law is insufficient in diminishing the phenomenon of HBC because the source of violence is embedded in the dominant discourses which legitimise the murder of women. Alinia implies, therefore, that the law required exceptional mechanisms to be implemented. In the same line of thought, Eva Reimers also referred to the discourses of HBC, believing that they are driven by Islamic values which are ‘supportive of these forms of femicide’⁵²². When forms of violence against women rose in the late 2000s (Figure 7-1)⁵²³, the Kurdish parliament enacted further measures to protect vulnerable women. The focus was on creating mechanisms to improve their safety, and laws were produced to institutionalise the protection of women.

In 2011, the Law for Combating Domestic Violence (LCDV) No.8 was passed and it prohibited all forms of physical and non-physical harm done to female adults. Further, the LCDV gave power to the local authorities to intervene in cases of domestic violence. The law also ordered the authorities to guard all shelters in Kurdistan, provide medical and psychological help, and bring aggressors to justice.

520 Alex Danilovich, *Iraqi Federalism and the Kurds: Learning to Live Together* (Routledge, 2016), pp.160–61.

521 Minoo Alinia, *Honour and Violence against Women in Iraqi Kurdistan* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.163.

522 Eva Reimers, ‘Representations of an Honour Killing,’ *Feminist Media Studies* 7, no. 3 (September 1, 2007): p.239.

523 See Patrick Cockburn in Sulaymaniyah, ‘How Picture Phones Have Fuelled Frenzy of Honour Killing in Iraq,’ *The Independent*, May 17, 2008, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/-829934.html>.

Place	Murder	Suicide	Burning	Self-Burning	Torture	Various Complaints	Sexual Attack
Erbil	26	12	102	64	234	1123	35
Dohuk	10	15	56	29		561	19
Slemani	8	25	153	49	834	519	78
Germyan	9	0	37	0	0	282	2
Total Number	53	52	348	142	1068	2485	134

Figure 7-1: The number of the incidents which are associated with violence against women within the Kurdish territories in 2010. It is worth noting that suicides are regarded here as form of violence in the sense that women took their own lives to escape the oppression they faced in domestic environments. Source: National Strategy to Confront Violence against Women in Kurdistan 2012 -2016 (Five Years Plan), p23.

7.2.2 Inadequacy of existing shelters and development centres

In the 2000s, there were limited numbers of shelters and development centres in Slemani. Moreover, these spaces were viewed by the local officials as inappropriate. Two of these officials were women: Participant 30, the general manager of women's shelters in Slemani province, and Participant 31, the then chief of the Women's Committee at the Provincial Council of Slemani Governorate Headquarters. These officials held that view because they thought that the shelters and development centres were not architecturally designed to fit the two functions: protection and development. As mentioned above, private houses were rented by NGOs and turned into shelters, and the DCs were also located in houses and government buildings. Consequently, there were many functional issues inside DCs and shelters. These issues were related to the dimensions of rooms and lack of spaces.⁵²⁴ The negative aspect of DCs, as Participant 31 put, was that they were designed for both genders and not only for women. Further, there were no specific activities, lectures or training courses designated for women.⁵²⁵ With regard to shelters, the most reported problem was the lack of safety due to attempts made by male relatives, as a form of retribution, to murder women who had escaped their homes and resided in refuges.⁵²⁶ The attacks on shelters had given rise to concern over the safety of women in refuges, as the journalist Azez Mahmood, reported in 2007.⁵²⁷ In 2008, the *Independent* journalist, Patrick Cockburn, described the case of Ronak, who resided in one of the shelters in Slemani:

Often retribution is carefully planned ... Ronak ... Accused of adultery by her husband and fearing an honour killing, she fled her house and took refuge first with the police who passed her on in March this year to the Asuda shelter in Slemani ... her would-be killer carefully chose his firing point in an empty office building beside the shelter and may have waited for her for a long time ...

524 Participant 30, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 07 September 2014.

525 Participant 31, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 03 September 2014.

526 Participant 30.

527 See Azez Mahmood, 'مرافىء - القتل 'غسلاً للعار' يمر بلا عقاب في كردستان' [Human Rights: Killing for bringing dishonour passes without punishment], *Marafea*, online news agency, 2007, <http://www.marafea.org/paper.php?source=akbar&mlf=interpage&sid=18095>.

*The windows in the shelter are mostly masked by curtains, but the one in the kitchen area leading to the bathroom had been taken down ... she came back into the kitchen; a gunman lying on a roof 20ft away shot her three times.*⁵²⁸

The journalist highlighted a common incident within many HBC cases; describing how she was chased and shot by her male relative. Cockburn implied that there were two aspects of the shelter which helped the killer to shoot the woman: the architecture of the shelter which was not prepared or designed to prevent such attacks, and the location of the building which was surrounded by other buildings (located in a residential area). The gunman used one of these buildings to fire at the victim.

These two factors were described by the manager of the Directory of Combating Violence against Women in Slemani (DCVW), Participant 32, in more detail. The manager, who was a police officer, said that several attacks took place in the 2000s because:

*The shelters were not well-designed to be safe places for women ... they [the shelters] did not have high fences and guard towers, and they were located in crowded neighbourhoods When a shelter is adjacent to two or three houses it becomes penetrable.*⁵²⁹

The main focus of the manager's statement is on human and physical barriers, which are perceived to provide 'safe places' for runaway women. Participant 32 highlighted two elements: architectural features (fences and guard towers), and the location (crowded areas). The absence of these two elements had made the existing shelters 'penetrable'.

528 Patrick Cockburn in Sulaymaniyah, 'How Picture Phones Have Fuelled Frenzy of Honour Killing in Iraq', *The Independent*, 2008 <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/how-picture-phones-have-fuelled-frenzy-of-honour-killing-in-iraq-829934.html>> [accessed 16 May 2015].

529 Participant 32, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 27 August 2014.

7.2.3 Women in the workforce

According to Participant 33, a member of the Provincial Council of Slemani in 2006, the comparative status of female employees was the central concern of local women officials in Slemani.⁵³⁰ The chancellor referred to two main issues: the exclusion of women from high-ranking posts in workplaces, and the narrow opportunities for employment that women had compared to men.

Firstly, Participant 33 stated that only 20 out of 9,000 governmental posts were occupied by women in the mid-2000s, and this ratio remained low over the following years.⁵³¹ In 2015 the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraqi Kurdistan, Qubad Talabani, announced that merely 38 out of 11,000 positions in the public sector were filled by female employees. Secondly, over 50% of the female workforce in Slemani worked only in the educational sector due to the limited opportunities open to women. In general, unemployment rates for both genders in Kurdistan were noticeably disproportionate throughout the 2000s and the beginning of the 2010s.⁵³² For instance, in 2009 the unemployment percentage for women was 34.39% versus only 9.565% for men, and in 2012, the levels of unemployment for women saw further increases, becoming four times higher than those for men.⁵³³ Figure 7-2 shows a comparison between percentages of unemployed men and women in different age groups.

The above two factors increased the demand for creating a development centre (a part of WSDC) for women employees, and encouraged a group of women councillors called the Committee of Women (CW) in the Provincial Council of Slemani (PCS) to initiate the creation of the first WSDC in the city.

530 Participant 33, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 September 2014.

531 Ibid.

532 Anonymous, 'National Strategy To Confront Violence against Women in Kurdistan', governmental report issued by the Supreme Council for Women Affairs, Iraqi Kurdistan, Erbil, September 19, 2012, available at:
http://www.ekrg.org/files/pdf/strategy_combat%20violence_against_women_English.pdf,
[accessed 20 June 2015]

533 Anonymous, 'The Pursuit of the Status of Social and Economic Environment in Kurdistan Region', government report issued by the Kurdistan Region Statistics Office, 2012, p.38, available at:
http://www.mop.krg.org/resources/MoP%20Files/Newsletter/SEMS_Report_Kurdish.pdf.

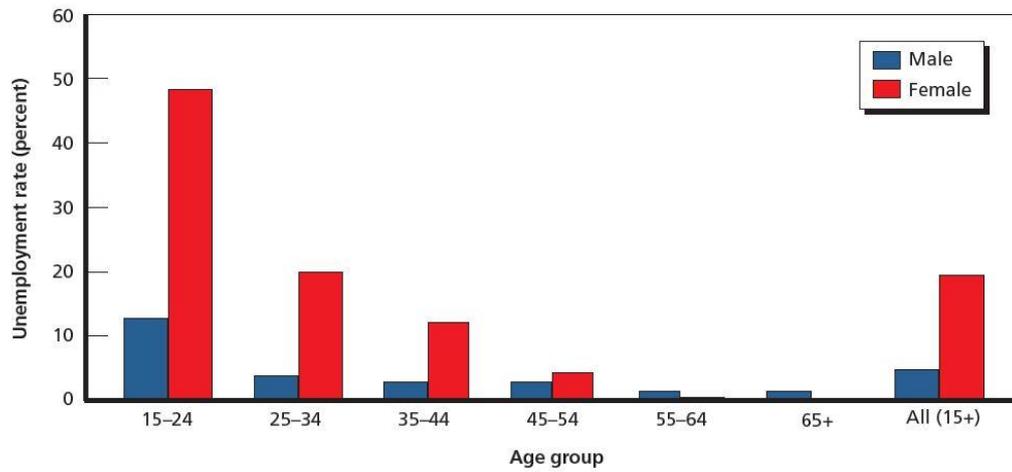


Figure 7-2: The percentage of unemployed women remained comparatively high and by 2012 it was four times higher than that of men. Source: The Kurdistan Regional Statistics Office.

7.3 The mental production of WSDC: conceiving the design of the project

As illustrated in Figure 7-3, the process of conceiving the design of WSDC went through many stages; however, three of them stood out as significant: (a) the CW raised and discussed a proposal in the PCS for constructing the project; (b) the proposal was handed to the Engineering and Administrative Department at Slemani Governorate Headquarters (SGH); (c) the architectural practice HI-TECH, which was owned by myself, was commissioned to design the project. These steps are detailed in the next section.

7.3.1 The WSDC proposal

In 2006, Participant 31, the chair of the CW and also an academician, formed a proposal, along with her colleagues in the CW, to build WSDC, something which was later discussed in the PCS.

Participant 31 stated:

We as the women's committee made the decision based on the facts we had obtained from official statistics ... the existing shelters were prone to be attacked ... All the existing shelters belonged to non-governmental organisations ... we thought it is the government's responsibility to take care of these women ... The idea of a development

*centre came from our objective of creating professional female employees and developing their skills ... we wanted professional women who are able to cope in workplaces and operate alongside male counterparts ... it was also proposed for the women inside the shelter ... we wanted the development centre to house intensive training courses, lectures, workshops and any cultural activity that strengthens the intellectual capacities of women.*⁵³⁴

534 Participant 31.

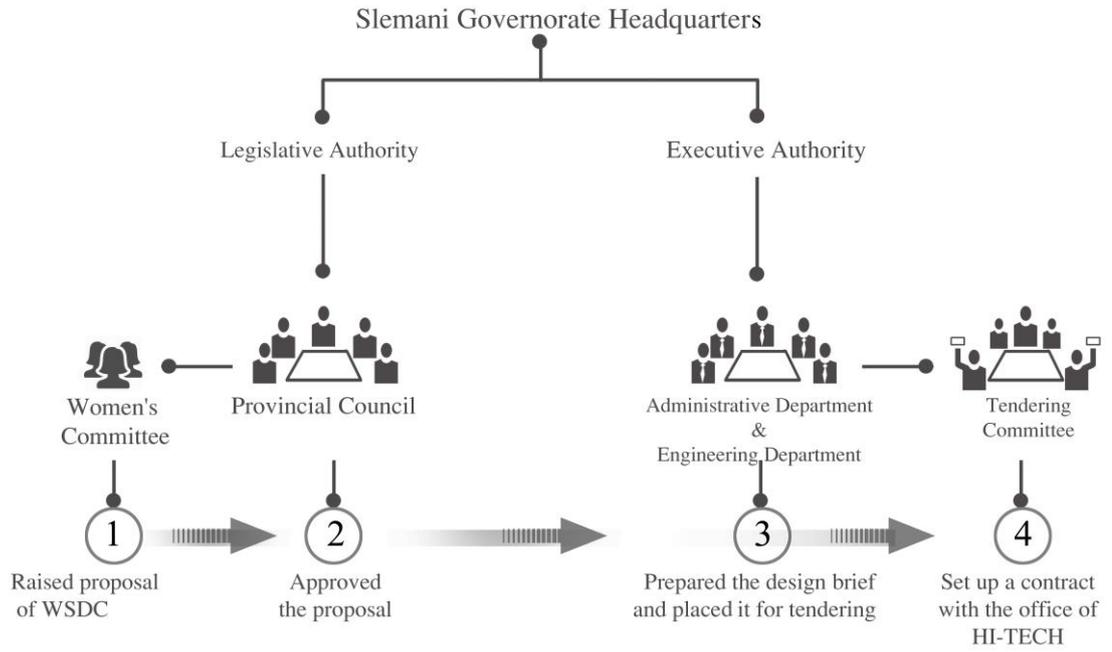


Figure 7-3: The procedure of the creation of the WSDC. Source: The author based on material obtained from PCS.

The committee preconceived major features of the project. In terms of the shelter, the stress was put on security as well as on the power of the government, which was seen as an essential factor to putting an end to the repeated attacks on the existing refugees.

The development centre was supposed to have an educational and cultural function. The most significant challenge facing the committee, Participant 33 outlined, was the financial factor.⁵³⁵ The CW started to think about revenue sources to fund their project, and a few months later they considered the allowances that were usually obtained from the central government⁵³⁶ of Iraq.⁵³⁷

Once the source of funding had been identified, the CW presented their proposal to the PCS in June 2006. The committee supported their proposal by relaying data about victims of domestic violence before the council members of the PCS and the proposal went on to receive a majority vote.⁵³⁸

However, a heated debate preceded the endorsement of the proposal. Participant 33 noted that those members who opposed the project were ‘all men ... some of them belonged to Islamic factions and others were secular’⁵³⁹. She believed that the male chancellors, who constituted the majority of PSC throughout the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s, were not sympathetic towards women who experienced domestic violence. These opponents pushed for the removal of the proposal from the PCS agenda and the cancellation of the project.⁵⁴⁰ Whereas some councilmen believed that the project stood against Islamic values, others argued that the WSDC was unnecessary.⁵⁴¹ Participant 33 recollected the debate, commenting on the opposing arguments:

535 Participant 33.

536 These allowances were part of the Regional Development Program, which was created by the Ministerial Council of Iraq in January 2006, in order to develop regions of Iraq, including Kurdistan, which were believed to be overlooked by Saddam Hussein’s administration. See ‘Iraq Budget Law 2006,’ *Iraqi Local Governance Law library*, September 8, 2009, <http://www.iraq-lg-law.org/en/node/2116>.

537 Participant 31.

538 Participant 33.

539 Ibid.

540 Ibid.

541 Participant 31.

Islamic members derived their argument from Islamic Sharia [Islamic Law] ... Sharia often enshrines patriarchy and justifies brutal domestic violence ... there are verses in Quran [the holy book of Islam] that obviously and brutally command husbands to beat their wives ... they [the Islamic councilmen who opposed the project of WSDC] believed that our project would encourage women to rebel against the authority of husbands and male relatives ... the secular members [who were mostly members of the PUK] tried to convince the council that our project was a waste of money ... they said that constructing roads and underpasses is much better than building our project.⁵⁴²

The project was seen by the Islamic members as a space for disobedient women and as a place to encourage women to ‘rebel’ against the male-dominated system—in their view this was prohibited in Islamic Law. The other opponents did not only undermine WSDC, but they also believed that the project did not serve or represent public interest. After the endorsement of the proposal, it was sent to the Engineering and Administrative Departments at Slemani Governorate Headquarters (SGH) for the production of a design brief, followed by an invitation for architectural offices to place their bids to create the design of WSDC. This is explained in the next section.

7.3.2 Engineering and administrative departments at SGH

When the proposal for the WSDC was endorsed by the PCS in 2006, it was transferred to the Engineering Department (ED) and the Department of Tenders and Contracts in the following year. The first produced the design brief and the second conducted the legal process of tendering the brief. These two points are elaborated on below. In terms of the ED, the head of the CW set up meetings with senior architects and engineers at the department with the aim of creating the brief. Participant 31 recollected the main topic of the meetings, saying:

542 Participant 33.

*Because this project was unprecedented in Slemani, the task of preparing a design brief was difficult. We began searching on the Internet and looking for designs of women's shelters in Europe and the USA ... because we assumed that they had constructed many shelters and development centres ... Some of us had already visited a shelter in Germany and other countries ... they provided details about the spaces and the design of the buildings.*⁵⁴³

The main focus here was on existing designs within European and American cities. The designs were seen as the best examples of women's shelters and the basis for producing the brief.

As a routine procedure, the ED informed Slemani Municipality to specify a plot of land for the project. According to Participant 34, a senior consultant at Slemani Municipality (SM), the decision of allocating the land was influenced by the requirements of the ED which aimed to place the WSDC in a remote location and away from highly populated areas.⁵⁴⁴ It appears that the chief focus here was aimed at one part of the project, which was the women's shelter. This architectural space, according to the head of the CW, was seen by the decision-makers of the CW and the ED as a 'sensitive building' which 'should be located carefully in our society'⁵⁴⁵.

As explained in Section 6.1, there were many attacks on women's shelters in Slemani, and one of the perceived reasons behind the attacks was the location of the shelters. In 2007, SM specified a location in a neighbourhood called Qirga in which the surrounding areas were not as densely populated as other parts of the city (Figure 7-4). The ED had prepared the design brief and received information from SM regarding the location of the project. These details were sent to the Department of Tenders and Contracts (DTC) which in turn initiated the legal procedure for tendering the design, and which then saw many architectural offices submitting bids. In August 2008, the design went to the office of HI-TECH which was owned and run by myself.

543 Participant 31.

544 Participant 34, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 8 June 2014.

545 Participant 31.

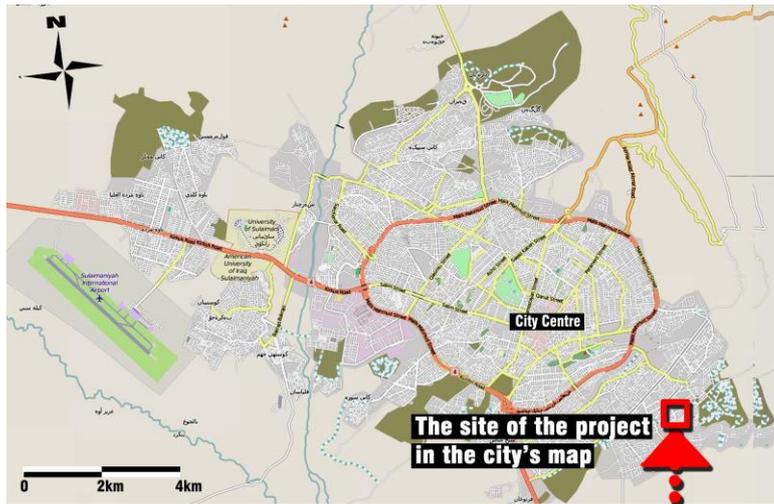


Figure 7-4: The surrounding areas of the location were not densely populated in the late 2000s. Large vacant areas can be seen in the satellite image, which was taken in 2010. Source: The author, adapted from <http://www.arcgis.com> and Slemani Municipality.

7.3.3 The architectural bureau of HI-TECH: the concept of ‘shared space’

The theme of ‘shared space’ came to my mind while I was doing some sketches for the project. I created this shared space, which is an open space, in the middle of the project with the aim of bringing together women from the shelter and the development centre (Figure 7-5).

I perceived that there would be two different categories of women using the project: those from the shelter and those from the development centre. While those in the shelter would be vulnerable due to the domestic violence and they had suffered from psychological pressures, the others, as female employees, would enjoy a relatively normal life. The assumption here was that the employees would be very likely to empathise with the shelter’s residents and thus I believed that the existence of a common space would be supportive for the residents. This is because the employees may commiserate with the residents and reduce the latter’s psychological stresses. In addition, the two groups could share various sorts of information and activities, especially as the development centre houses many social and cultural events. The shared space could be also used for open-air training lessons, shows, festivals and the like. Hence, the shared space was the central concept and structured the entire architecture of WSDC, influencing the design of its sections and plans. In terms of the sections, the shared space with other parts of the project was designed to be on a flat surface and since the land slope of the site was 10% I had to level out all the components of WSDC (Figure 7-6).

As for the plans, the outline of the two buildings (the shelter and the DC) took an embracing shape in order to surround the central shared space. This was because I wanted to create visual and circulation axes between the outdoor shared space and the indoor spaces. In regard to the position of the shared space, I placed it away from the surrounding roads for security reasons, which also meant that it would be protected from the nearby populated areas. I believed that if I placed the shared space against the adjacent roads the risk of attacks could be higher because the women in the shelter who use the shared space would be seen by people walking by.

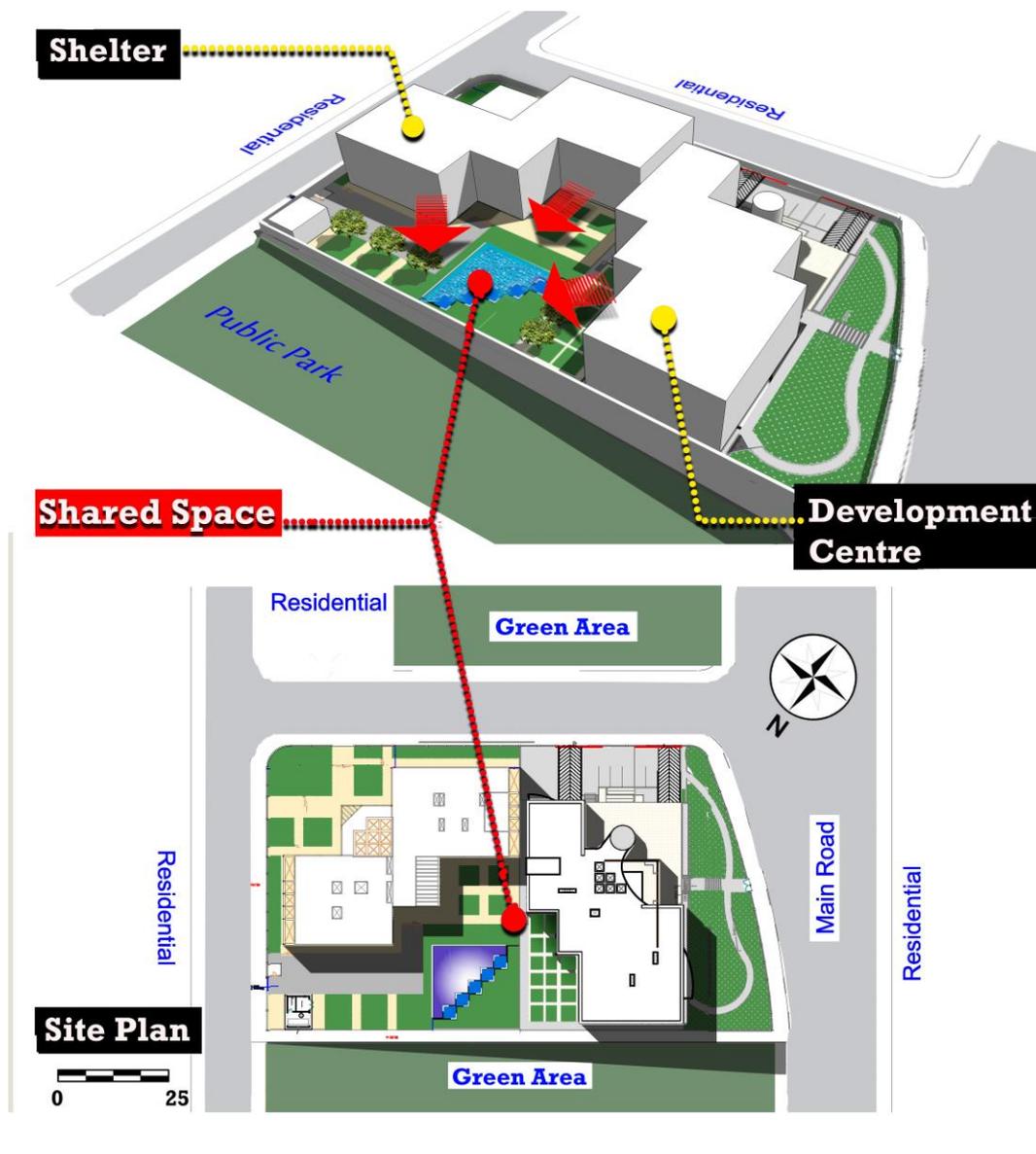


Figure 7-5: I located the shared space in the middle of the project and directed most of the interior spaces toward this outdoor space. The shared space was not exposed to the surrounding streets for privacy and security reasons. Source: The author, adapted from the work of HI-TECH office.



Figure 7-6: The shelter and the development centre were levelled out in order to place them at same level of the shared space. This would facilitate circulation between the SS and the internal spaces of the two buildings. Source: The author, adapted from the work of HI-TECH office.

Once the detailed drawings were completed in September 2008, I handed them to the ED's staff in order for them to review the design. The staff approved most of the drawings but rejected the open axis between the shelter and the DC. They placed written comments on the plans saying:

*There is no separation between the women's shelter and the Development Centre. Since the shelter should be well isolated, it should not be exposed to another building ... Therefore, the architect needs to place a wall between the two buildings. The architects at the ED viewed the project differently: they wanted the shelter to be 'isolated' from and not 'be exposed' to the development centre.*⁵⁴⁶

Accordingly, the notion of the separation and isolation was translated to a physical barrier (wall) which they wanted to be placed between the two constructions. I felt that the wall would damage the function of the shared space because the barrier would impede the visual and circulation axes that I created in the project. I attempted to convince the architects to replace the wall with a row of trees or a line of fountains, but the staff insisted on erecting the dividing wall. As the barrier had become a matter of fact, I could not change the architectural form of the project because I had to respect the time scale mentioned in the contract (maximum six months). On 20 January 2009, I (bitterly) submitted the final drawings with the dividing barrier in the middle of the shared space (Figure 7-7).

The next section explains the chain of modifications that occurred to WSDC during the construction phase. The contract between my office and SGH did not include providing supervision services, which meant that I had no influence on the execution of the design. Moreover, the administrators of the ED had the authority to conduct changes on the buildings where they believed necessary.

546 Ari Ahmed, Shno Kamal, and Rebeen Muhammed (architects at the Engineering Department of Slemani Governorate Headquarter), Decision Letter: revision on the design of Women's Shelter and Women's Development Centre', Iraqi Kurdistan, Slemani: SHG, No. 1342, archival code 1019-B, signed by the three architects on 18 November, 2008.

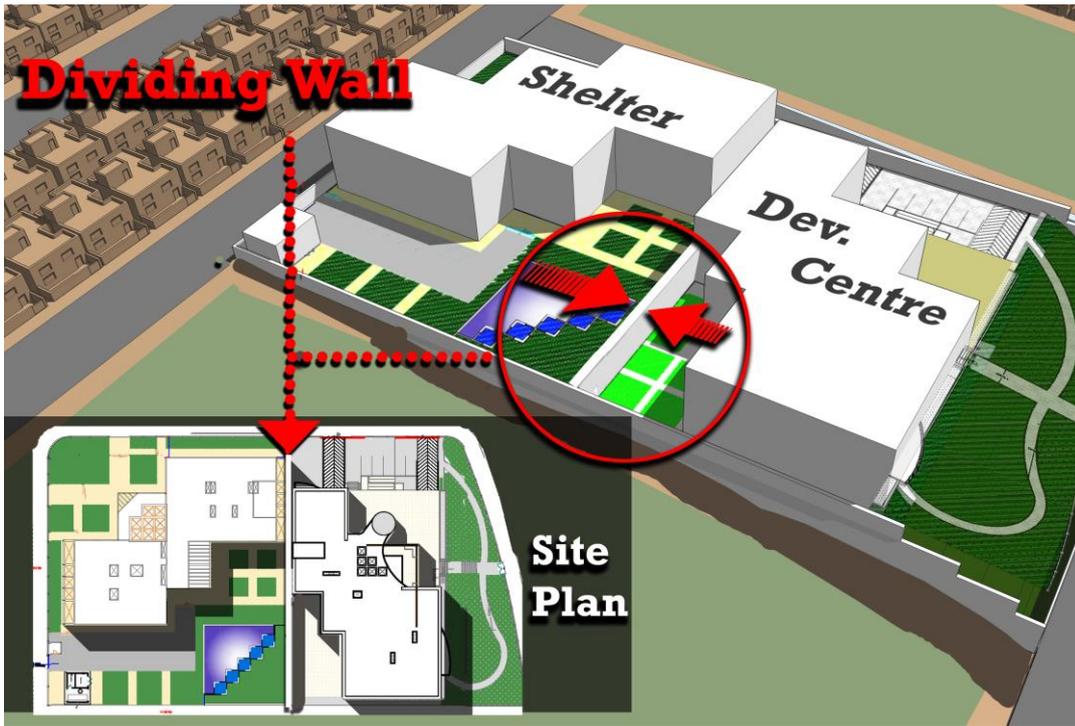


Figure 7-7: The location of the dividing wall, imposed by the Engineering Department, disintegrated the shared space. Source: The author, adapted from the work of HI-TECH office.

7.4 The physical production of WSDC: changing the design of the project and the disintegration of the shared space

In summer 2009, the ED handed the architectural drawings to a construction company to execute the design. Over the four years of building works, many modifications occurred to the design, but three of them stood out as the most significant: (a) changing the levels of the buildings; (b) rotating of the shelter (c) repurposing the development centre. These three changes are detailed in the next section.

7.4.1 The shift of the levels

At the beginning of the construction, the ED ordered the construction company to lower the ground of the development centre.

Participant 35, who was a member of the ED staff who supervised the construction works, recollected the discussions which took place in the ED over the issue of level changing:

We agreed that keeping the two buildings on the same level would compromise the isolation of the shelter... we thought that the people using the centre would be more comfortable if they were away from the shelter ... because, you know, the shelter is a problematic space... usually women in the shelter are pursued by their relatives so the architects wanted the women isolated.⁵⁴⁷

The shelter's residents were viewed, by the decision-makers at the ED, as a group of people who are a source of problems and should be kept away from the DC. This assumption appears to be the main reason behind splitting the two constructions. As a result, the ED staff ordered the construction company to lower the ground of the development centre by two metres. As shown in Figure 7-8, this change led to a significant disintegration of the shared space.

547 Participant 35, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 25 July 2014.

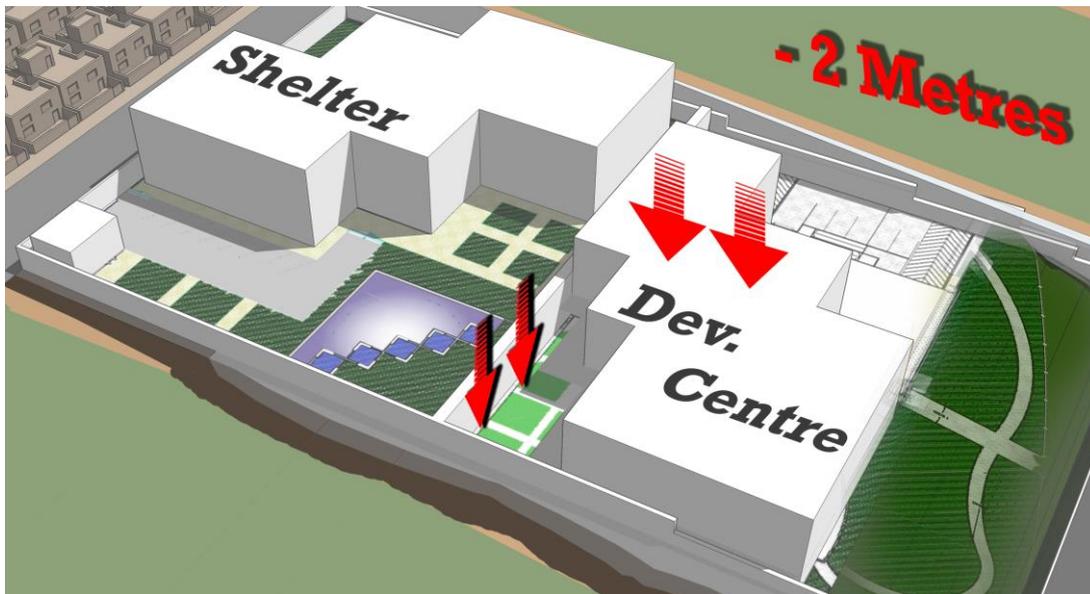


Figure 7-8: The ED decided to lower the DC by two metres which further disintegrated the SS which was split into two levels. Source: The author, adapted from the work of HI-TECH office.

7.4.2 The rotation of the shelter

When the erection of the shelter began, the senior architects of the ED decided to turn over the mass of the shelter, meaning that the entire architectural plans and other details, were rotated 90 degrees (Figure 7-9).

According to Participant 36, one of the senior architects, this change occurred because the ED's decision makers:

Did not want the rear outdoor space of the shelter to overlook the development centre ... they [the refuge residents] needed to be separated, for example, we expected this space to be full of women and this could be uncomfortable for the women inside the development centre ... because they [the users of the DC] might not want to interact with the residents of the shelter so we decided to separate them ... we did not want the main entrance of the shelter to face the houses on the opposite site so it was a good idea to turn around the entrance to the opposite side and provide it with a proper security space... because this weakens the security side and could be annoying to the neighbours.⁵⁴⁸

The 'rear outdoor space' refers to part of the shared space which space was expected to be a place in which the shelter's residents assemble. Since the shelter overlooks the DC this was thought to cause disturbance to the users of the DC. P 36 also referred to the ED's aim of turning around the main entrance (Figure 7-9). The decision makers did not want the entrance to face the houses on the other side of the branch road due to the perceived security issues, which again show that the shelter's residents were regarded as a problematic source which could annoy the neighbours. In addition, the senior architect mentioned that the 'elite' added a 'proper security space' which was specified for use by the security guards, as a place where they can stay overnight during long shifts. Similar to the objective of splitting the levels of the buildings (the previous section), the aim here was to further isolate the shelter.

548 Participant 36, interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 14 August 2014.

In the Design

Main Entrance →



After Changes

Main Entrance

Security Building



Figure 7-9: The ED seniors decided to rotate the shelter 90 degrees and add a security building next to the main entrance which was shifted to the other side of the refuge. The rotation not only caused a massive disintegration of the shared space, but also a noticeable reduction of green areas. Source: The author, adapted from the work of HI-TECH office.

7.4.3 The repurposing of the development centre

When the construction works of the development centre finished in late 2013, the then provincial governor of Slemani, Bahroze Salih, decided to turn the DC into the Directorate for Combating Violence against Women (DCVW). This directorate, which is affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior of Kurdistan, is run by police officers and its key function is to protect female adults suffering from domestic violence.

The manager of the directorate, Participant 32, said that the idea of repurposing the DC emerged when top officials at the Ministry of Interior requested the governor of Slemani to provide them with a relatively large building for the directorate. Participant 32 revealed that the governor ‘offered’ to convert the DC and use it for the DCVW and the officials agreed to take the building.

The decision above was made without consulting the project initiators (the CW), but it was also something that went unchallenged by the members of the provincial council (the regulatory authority). The council ceased to act in 2010 due to power conflicts between the ruling party of the PUK and the Change Party, which accused the PUK members of monopolising top positions of SGH and other institutions in Slemani.⁵⁴⁹

The head of the CW, Participant 31, commented on the above decision, stating that the CW members:

expected this to happen ... when we started this project we asked the governor many times not to change the use of the project and hand it to other institutions ... our concerns did not diminish ... when the project was under construction we went to the site and put a signboard saying that this building was created to be a development centre and shelter for women only ... by doing this we wanted to make sure that the use of the building would not change.⁵⁵⁰

549 Anonymous, ‘گۆران: بآئىكى ناو يهكئى رازى نهبون پاريزگارى سليمانى لائبريت’ [The Change Part: a wing of the PUK party did not agree to remove the governor of Slemani from the post], online article, Hawlati, news agency (webpage), the office of Slemani, 16 December 2013, available at: <http://hawlati.co/نهر شيفمکان/22511>, [accessed 11 August 2014].

550 Participant 31.

The concern of the CW members was based on the relatively weak power they possess, and this motivated them to ask the governor, whom they believed to have power, ‘many times’ to maintain the function of the project. This same motivation was behind the placing of the signboard. It seems that the governor overlooked the attempts made by the CW and eventually handed over the development centre to the DCVW.

In late 2013, the project was complete and occupied in the following year (Figure 7-10). The next section presents the arguments of the project users and the neighbours.

7.5 The social production of WSDC: The project in everyday life

This section focuses on the arguments produced by two categories of ‘non-elite’ groups: the users of the project, and the residents of the areas surrounding it.

Before introducing the arguments of the ‘non-elites’, it is worth explaining three points: (a) I focused on the shelter due to the repurposing of the development centre, and thus I believed that there was no point in including the centre in my inquiry, as it had been turned into a security building; (b) it is important to refer to the fact that accessing the shelter was extremely difficult due to the security precautions and the sensitivity of the individual cases inside the shelter. While I was waiting at the gate of the shelter, with the aim of entering in order to interview some people, I was surrounded by armed guards. The administrators of the building discussed the possibility of letting me access the building. They they contacted some relevant people several times, but ultimately, I was prevented from gaining access to the inside of the shelter. I was told by the shelter’s officials that they have a strict no entry policy towards any stranger because most of the runaway women who lived in the refuge had received death threats from their relatives, and those threatening did not know the location of these women. These refuge users did not want to be identified by anyone, or their location in Slemani to be known. I presented the letter of support that I received from the school of architecture (Sheffield University) to the refuge officials but they insisted in not letting me enter the building.



The position of the camera



Figure 7-10: On the top: a satellite image of the site along with a panoramic view of the development centre. On the bottom: an image of the shelter, after it was opened in early 2014.

Nevertheless, I was able to conduct interviews outside the building. I had conversations with two administrators in public spaces, and was able to contact two former residents of the shelter, who have been coded as Participant 37 and Participant 38; and (c) I decided, prior to the interviews, to introduce myself as a researcher as opposed to the designer of the building. From a cultural point of view, people in Slemani, and other regions in Iraqi Kurdistan, tend to hide their true feelings when criticising someone face to face. I believed that disclosing my role as the designer of the WSDC could put interviewees in a difficult position, as they would likely not speak as freely – particularly if they wanted to criticise any aspect of the design or the role of the architect. If I had revealed my status as the architect, the interviewees may have given incorrect or misleading data, which would in turn, allow the credibility of my research to come into question. The next sections present the accounts of the users of the shelter and the views of the neighbours.

7.5.1 The users of the shelter: the argument of a wrong design, a massive mistake and a curse of God

Two types of people were regarded as the users of the shelter: the individuals who were in charge of the building and the women who were living in the refuge. In regard to the first group, the general manager of women's shelters in Slemani, Participant 30, heavily criticised the process of the design by saying:

The project initiators (the CW members) should have consulted us during the preparation of the design ... We are the ones who know the requirements of the project. We are the ones who know how to design this project. This building was created with utter ignorance ... some people at the Governorate (SGH) sat together and set up the design program based on their imaginations ... the architect as well never consulted us ... The design of the shelter is completely wrong ... it is a failure.⁵⁵¹

551 Participant 30.

Based on the statement above, the formation of the design of the shelter was viewed by the manager as a top-down process. Participant 30 blamed a group of decision-makers, which included the ED staff and the architect (myself), for overlooking other relevant people regarding the creation of the design. In addition, this official described the current design as ‘wrong’ and ‘unsuccessful’ because she believed that her group, which included people who worked with sheltered women for many years, know better than the people who actually drafted the design. I asked Participant 30 what she would have suggested if she had had the power to design the shelter, and she described her thoughts on what she perceived as a ‘the correct design’.⁵⁵²

As shown in Figure 7-11, Participant 30 desired the architectural form of the shelter to resemble a prison: this meant placing a courtyard in the middle and surrounding it with a ‘strong construction’. Moreover, her ideal design would have included, in her words, ‘very narrow windows [which] should be barred’. This architectural approach, as this manager believed, would prevent the refuge’s residents from interacting with the neighbours, and allow the administrators to impose ‘maximum control’ over the behaviour of the residents.⁵⁵³ Similarly, Participant 39, one of the administrators of women’s shelters in the city, reckoned that the design brief of the shelter was a ‘massive mistake’⁵⁵⁴ because:

*The people who generated the design brief did not pay attention to vital facilities ... there are many missing rooms in the shelter. Take for example the security room ... solitary confinement ... we [referring to Participant 30, the administrators of the shelter and her staff] want these rooms for those who repeatedly cause trouble with their mates ... the sizes of some rooms are inappropriate ... now each bedroom can accommodate more than two, or three individuals and this is wrong because we want the rooms to accommodate one person ... we want to reduce frequent every day fights between inmates.*⁵⁵⁵

552 Ibid.

553 Ibid.

554 Participant 39, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 9 June 2014.

555 Ibid.

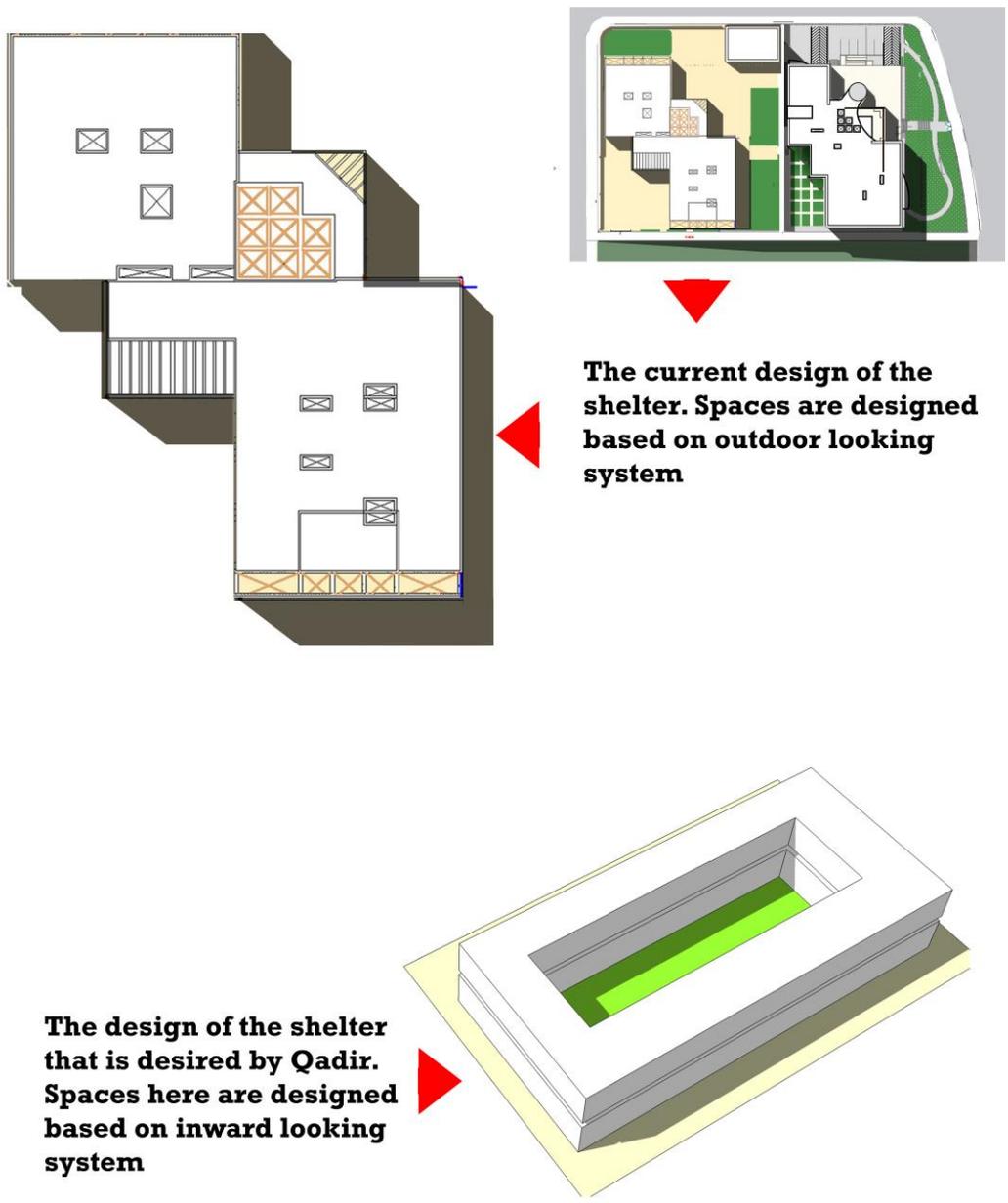


Figure 7-11: The general manager of women’s shelters in Slemani, Participant 30, wished that the architect had designed the shelter to face inwards. Source: The author, drawn based on the description of Participant 30.

The gist of the above statement indicates the aim of imposing maximum restrictions on the behaviour of the refuge's residents, something which was translated through expressing a wish for security and confinement spaces. Participant 39's perspective corresponds almost exactly with that of the previously discussed view of the general manager (Participant 30).

The desire of both administrators was to turn the shelter into a prison-like building. On the other hand, the shelter's residents demonstrated views which were almost in complete contrast with those of the administrators. Participant 37 was one of the runaway women who had spent a period of time in the shelter. She described her experience during that period by saying:

P 37: We were not allowed to use some rooms The cafeteria, the garden, and the balcony ... we were in a prison. There was a strict schedule for meals ... when some individuals made mistakes the manager punished all the others ... They [the administrators] were blaming us for quarrelling a lot but some of us were doing this because they were under psychological pressure ... we spent most of the time in these rooms without breathing fresh air [going to outdoor spaces] ...

Interviewer: What would you do if you were the designer of the shelter?

P 37: I wish it was designed as a park-like place ... so we could grow flowers ... enjoy the scene of gardens.⁵⁵⁶

This former user of the shelter complained about the restrictions placed on the building's residents, and she compared the building with a prison. Based on the statement, the supervisors of the building limited the use of outdoor spaces and women were kept inside their rooms, which seems to be the reason behind the desire to convert the building to a 'park-like place'.

556 Participant 37, interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 27 July 2015.

Participant 38 similarly criticised the limitations imposed on her shelter-mates, mates, perceiving two aspects of the shelter as ‘mistakes’, something she describes below:

There were no places for our kids ... nursery and playground ... the other thing is the location of the shelter ... it is very far from the centre of the city. We are humans we have the right to visit places in the city. We like going to markets and leisure places

Interviewer: But going outside might put your life in danger?

I know, but this can be sorted in many ways ... like increasing the number of guards ... choosing the time for going out ... cameras can be used for surveillance.⁵⁵⁷

The woman implied that the missing spaces and the far-out location were consequences of the mentality of the shelter producers who did not treat the refuge’s residents as normal individuals. She said that they were locked inside the refuge and their children did not have the spaces they needed. It is worth mentioning that the spaces that Participant 37 referred to were not included in the design brief, which was created by the ED and received by my office staff. The woman complained about the location of the building, which was collectively decided by the ED staff and the consultants at Slemani Municipality. The current location is relatively far (nearly 4 kilometres) from the city centre, where she wanted to enjoy various social activities.

In short, both the administrators and refuge residents criticised the design, but interestingly these groups had very contrasting views. While the managers wished to increase the level of isolation and heighten security measures, the residents desired to escape the limitations imposed on them. Furthermore, the two groups had different perspectives about what they regarded as missing spaces: whereas the residents argued that there was a shortage of open and leisure spaces, the administrators believed that the building lacked security and confinement rooms.

557 Participant 38, interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 29 July 2015.

7.5.2 The people of the neighbouring areas

The majority of the inhabitants in the neighbouring areas of the refuge were notably vocal. In general, the arguments of the neighbours revolved around two core concepts: adding physical barriers to the shelter in order to prevent visual contact and taking the shelter out of Slemani. These two arguments are presented in the following sections.

7.5.3 The call for further isolation

Many neighbours called for visual contact to be obstructed between the shelter's occupiers and passers-by. Participant 40, a shopkeeper near the project, said:

*We have not been able to go near the building ... the women shout at us through the windows and call us bad names ... me and my family have been avoiding the building ... the fences of the building should be higher than that so they can stop the women insulting us.*⁵⁵⁸

The residents of the shelter were depicted by the shopkeeper as aggressors and thus he kept himself and his family away from their building. He suggested that the height of the fences of the shelter should be increased in order to avoid visual contact with its occupants. Similarly, Participant 41, who was a college student, agreed that the shelter was causing social problems. She stated:

*Neither I nor my mum could go close to that building because women in it would stare at us through the windows ... they are really scary especially in the evening ... the shelter's owners can erect high walls around the building ... these women can be provided with leisure facilities so they focus inside and do not think about annoying people outside the shelter.*⁵⁵⁹

558 Participant 40, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 7 June 2014.

559 Participant 41, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 4 June, 2014.

Again, the lack of physical barriers between the refuge's occupiers and the neighbours was stressed by the interviewee. The users of the refuge were perceived by Participant 41 as 'scary', meaning that they were also seen as being likely to cause harm. The suggestion of constructing the 'high wall' was indirectly referring to turning the building into a form of a prison. Also, Participant 42, a taxi driver, repeated the idea of the physical barrier through claiming that the participant claimed that the refuge's residents sometimes misbehaved and offended the neighbours through acts such as screaming at night, or turning the TV volume up, taking off their clothes and standing at windows naked.⁵⁶⁰ The driver and several other neighbours expressed their desire to sell their houses and move to other areas of the city.

7.5.4 The call for relocating the shelter

Unlike the group above who wanted to move to away from the shelter, some neighbours called for repurposing the building and relocating this space to outside the city. The most outspoken opponent was a religious man, Participant 43, who stated:

This shelter stands against Islamic Sharia (law) ... because it encourages women to disobey their husbands. Listen! Allah said in the Quran that men have authority upon women ... good women must be obedient and not escape their homes ... This building should be away from our families ... if there were family disputes women can stay with their relatives and parents but not in the shelter ... many women inside the shelter are sinful and they have escaped from their families ... I do not like my daughters to see these disobedient women.⁵⁶¹

The preacher used verses from the holy book of Islam to show that the shelter is unacceptable in Islamic Law.

560 Participant 42, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 7 June 2014.

561 Participant 43, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 11 June 2014.

He believed that this building not only houses 'disobedient' women, but also encourages them to challenge the authority of their husbands, something which is given by Allah. Participant 43 also regarded the shelter as an unwanted space which should be taken away from the city because it accommodates 'sinful' female adults.

Likewise, Participant 44, a housewife, hoped that the government would repurpose the shelter and relocate its residents to the outskirts of Slemani. This is because, as P 44 stated, the shelter 'has become attractive for deviant young people'⁵⁶². She claimed that some young adults had been frequently wandering around the shelter, and sometimes climbing the fences of the shelter and exchanging written messages with the women. In addition, she said that some clashes between the security guards and young men have occurred. These incidents, P 44 stated, should not happen because 'there are many conservative families living around here and they cannot accept these things'⁵⁶³.

The arguments presented above were produced only two months after the opening of the shelter, when the surrounding inhabitants became sure that the project was occupied by runaway women. In addition, a group of resentful neighbours spoke with the shelter's officials about resolving the perceived issues of the building.⁵⁶⁴ I managed to interview some estate agents who were operating with properties within the areas around the refuge. They confirmed that the prices of the properties had significantly fallen by almost 40% because of the reluctance of the potential buyers to reside near the refuge.

To sum up, the neighbours above were opposed to the shelter and they expressed their desire to isolate or close down the refuge. This is because the women in the shelter were depicted by these people as an unwanted social group who should not be seen or reside in that neighbourhood.

562 Participant 44, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 5 June 2014.

563 Ibid.

564 Participant 30.

7.6 The shaping powers of WSDC: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project

This section identifies the heterogeneous forces that shaped WSDC, depending mainly on the thematic approach, the matrix of power elements and forms, and the supporting technique of mapping. It starts by highlighting human forces, or ‘elite’ people, and then it turns its focus on relations and actions among those forces. The final part will reveal the invisible force(s) that influenced this case study.

As explained in the literature chapter, three powers are pre-identified: ‘elites’, ‘non-elites’, and non-human actors. The first represents those who make decisions during the design and construction phases; the second refers to the group who use the produced space or who or who have everyday relationships with the space; and finally non-human actors are seen here as having a significant impact on the actions and imaginations of both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups.

7.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped WSDC

In light of the three elements of time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in WSDC and ‘non-elites’), the key human forces can be named as follows: the members of the Committee of Women, the ministers of the Engineering Department and the architect. As detailed below, the capacities of these people were apparent over the different phases of the project. In the design phase, the CW members, who initiated the whole project, were the ones who made the decision to divide the project into parts (the shelter and the DC). In addition, they operated along with ED professionals to produce the design brief, which determined the internal spaces among other things such as the number of floors...etc.

The brief was later handed over to the architect who, in turn, shaped the form of the project and created what he named ‘the shared space’. Once the construction phase began, the CW individuals and the architect disappeared from the scene, and the ED ministers took the full control over WSDC.

These people carried out a number of significant modifications, such as rotating the shelter and lowering the DC, which not only utterly dismantled the shared space, but also contributed to further isolating the inhabitants of the shelter. As soon as the occupation stage began, the provincial governor of Slemani made the decision to repurpose the DC and transform it into a security building. As illustrated in Figure 7-12, three key interconnected factors made the ED people the dominant human force: time, actions and relations. Firstly, their influence extended over the design and construction phases. Secondly, the actions and decisions they made during the phases above. Finally, the nature of the relations between them and other decision makers who participated in this project. For instance, they had more influence than the CW during the creation of the design brief, imposed a number of limitations on the architect, and took full control of building works.

7.6.1.1 Exclusionary relations and controlling actions on urban and architectural levels

The relations between the decision makers and non-decision makers in this case can be described as exclusionary, and the actions of the elite group were controlling. As explained below, there were two key reasons behind this situation.

Firstly, on an urban level, the decision of placing the WSDC into a residential zone was unilateral. Prior to the design phase the land of the project was specified by (only) the SM officials. This decision provoked anger among the majority of the inhabitants, who participated in this study. They complained about the SM decision and expressed unwelcoming attitudes towards the space, and thus some of them, who saw the refuge's residents as 'disobedient' 'scary' or 'harmful', called for 'relocating' the WSDC and others demanded further isolation of the shelter.

Secondly, on an architectural level, the users of the refuge and the women employees, who were planned to benefit from the DC, were completely excluded in the following senses: (a) the officials who ran the shelter were not consulted about the design or construction processes, and this caused the officials to criticise the entire scheme and associate it with 'failure'; (b) the residents were neither asked about the creation of the scheme nor had the opportunity to use some spaces as designed by the architect.

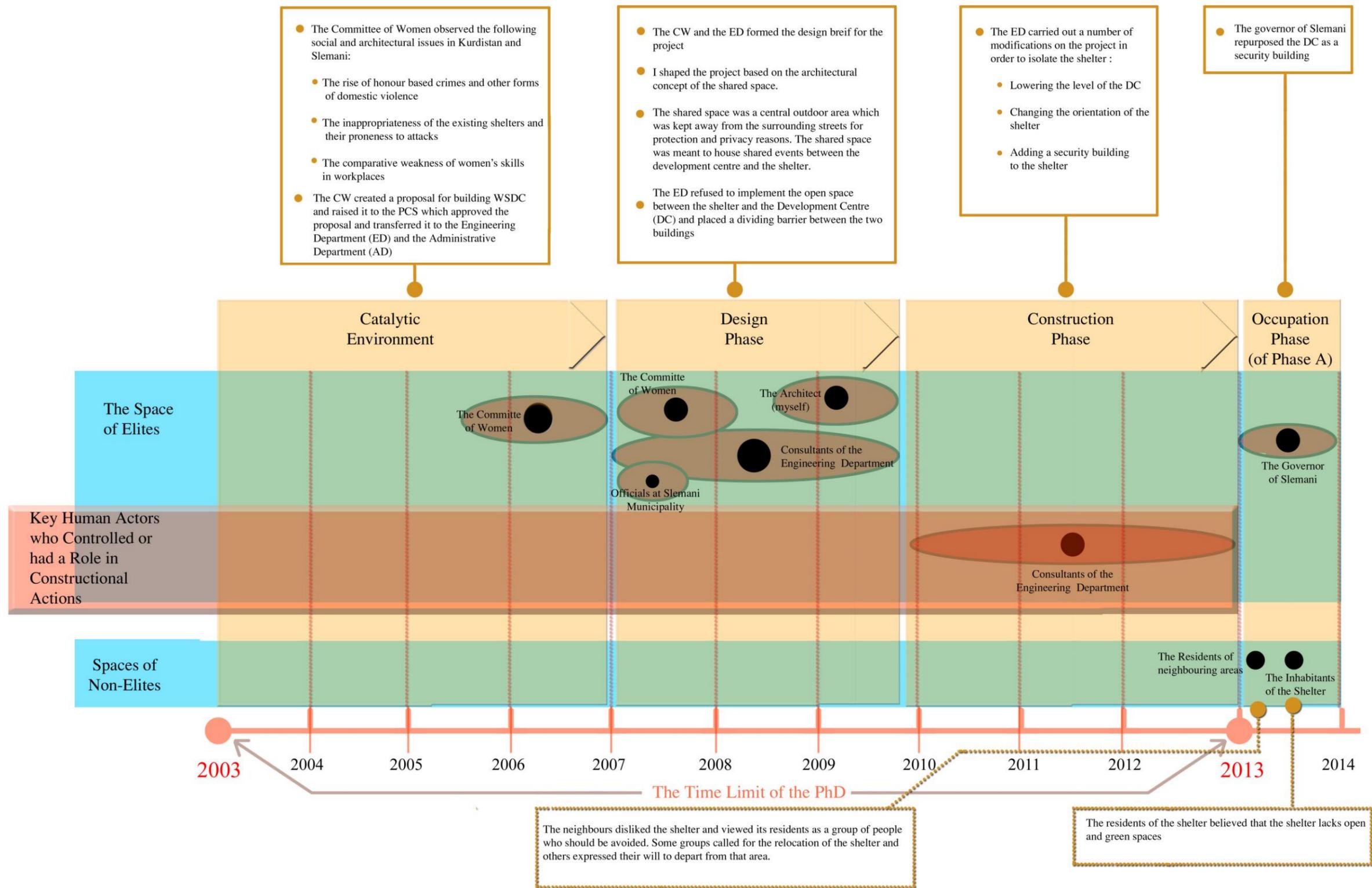


Figure 7-12: In light of the three elements of time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in WSDC and 'non-elites'), the key human forces can be named as follows: the members of the Committee of Women, the ministers of the Engineering Department and the architect. The driving human-force was the ED consultants. Source: The author.

For example, the shared space was completely dismantled. This led the women to express hateful viewpoints about the shelter and compare it to a 'prison'; and (c) the employees who needed training to improve their careers were deprived from using the DC. Based on the actions and relations above, the narrative of the production of WSDC can be associated with the form of power-over, because the key theme appears to be domination.

Throughout the phases of production, there was neither a trace of collective or challenging actions, taken by both 'elite' and 'non-elite' people, nor inclusionary or tensional relations, between the two groups. In addition, the decision makers, especially the consultants of the ED, did not only ignore the wellbeing of the vulnerable women, but also further isolated them from society.

7.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity

The non-human force was embedded in the common conception of the women who reside in shelters. This invisible force had a significant impact, which is explained below, on the imaginations and actions of both elite and non-elite groups.

The residents of the shelter were perceived by the ED consultants as a social group who should be 'separated' from the rest of society. This perception drove many of the actions which resulted in further isolation for the refuge, such as, the rotation of the building and the construction of the dividing wall. The isolation was exacerbated in the occupation phase when the managers of the shelter desired to impose their 'full control' over the women in the building, thus prohibiting the women from accessing some indoor and outdoor spaces. In addition, many of the interviewed inhabitants of the surrounding areas of the building viewed the homeless females as part of an unwanted social category, thus they asked the managers and some local officials to make some architectural changes, such as heightening the fence. Moreover, repurposing the DC into a security space contributed to the additional separation of the refuge residents.

In short, several powers formed this case but the decision makers at the engineering department at SGH were the most influential. They did not only change the original design of WSDC, but also carried out numerous modifications during the construction period. The users of the shelter, who complained about many architectural aspects, did not have the power to make any change to the space. They were subject to the prejudice surrounding morally-depraved or disobedient women. This prejudice was the invisible force here, and it was behind many decisions made by the provincial governor of Slemani, who repurposed the development centre, and the ED officials. Even the calls, raised by the neighbours and other local individuals, for displacing or further isolating the shelter was motivated by that prejudice.

Chapter 8 : Private-Driven Constructions—The Case of Self-Supervised Houses (SSHs)

8.1 Overview

The fourth case study in this PhD is Self-Supervised Houses (SSHs), a term which refers to any private house that is built, financed, and supervised by an individual. I chose this name to emphasise the power element, in the sense that those individuals who built their houses, were in a certain position which enabled them to make influential decisions to shape their private spaces. This case is different from the previous cases. Here decision makers do not tend to be local ‘elite’ groups, who hold official positions or have professional architectural knowledge. Instead, most of them are middle-income people, who work in different institutions of the public sector. The people here are the owner-occupiers who designed and erected their accommodations (SSHs) based on their own needs.

The demand for this category of architecture (SSHs) increased dramatically in Slemani and other Kurdish cities in the years following the socio-political developments of 2003. The demand was attributed to several socio-economic factors. In that period, the income of public sector employees multiplied ten folds⁵⁶⁵, and at the same time, these employees were provided by their employers with plots of land and financial support⁵⁶⁶. This enabled these people to construct and finance their own houses. In addition, the construction of SSHs was boosted by the rental demand which arose from displaced families who moved to Slemani after fleeing troubled regions of Iraq. Migrant families benefited SSHs owners financially because the families needed accommodations and a significant majority of them rented SSHs in the city.

This chapter narrates the stories of four SSHs. They were chosen based on specific criteria, which were used to filter out 568 examined houses.

565 Roula Khalaf, ‘Iraq: 10 Years Later’, *Financial Times*, 2013

<<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c9b2ce20-8c42-11e2-8fcf-00144feabdc0.html>> [accessed 13 August 2016].

566 See Yad Faraj, ‘ERBIL Housing Strategy’, unpublished Master’s thesis, 2013, Delft University of Technology (Netherlands), Faculty of Architecture Real Estate & Housing, also available at: <https://repository.tudelft.nl/islandora/object/uuid:aab23a61-653a-43a4>

The houses were located in the district of Rapareen which is located 9 kilometres west of the centre of Slemani. The area expanded enormously after 2003 due to SSHs because Rapareen was one of the preferred areas for those who had the desire to move outside the crowded city core. In terms of the four SSHs, they share the same limitations in terms of plot specifications, height, and the number of accommodated people. Despite these limitations, the owners of the SSHs set up different initial design concepts based on their personal needs.

When the owner-occupiers started the procedure of obtaining construction permissions, their design concepts were interjected into the space of 'elites', who control these procedures. At this stage, the owners were obliged to follow building regulations, which were issued by the municipality. The regulations conflicted with the wishes of the owners who wanted to materialise their concepts. Ultimately, the owners complied with the regulations and submitted standardised drawings to the municipality for acquiring construction permissions. Once the owners obtained the permissions and had their architectural drawings approved, they began their productive actions (construction works) and flouted many elements of the regulations. The owners changed the plans, which had been approved by the municipality, because they wanted to execute their original concepts which had not been permitted by the regulations. During the middle of this stage (the productive actions), and while the owners were implementing the changes, new (perceived) design issues emerged which led to the owners modifying their designs even further.

The narrative of the SSHs shows how they were shaped by heterogeneous forces. Dominated the others: the building regulations and the ownership of SSHs. Power tensions between the two forces were observed throughout the chain of events and in the discourses raised by 'elite' groups. This chapter concludes that the most powerful force were the owners of the SSHs.

The chapter is structured as follows: after an explanation of how the demand for SSHs began to rise after 2003, the design scenarios, which were set up by the owners of the four SSHs, are introduced. Subsequently, the progress of the four SSHs into the spaces of 'elites' and productive actions is narrated. This is followed by an exploration of power tensions and discourses of 'elites' groups. Finally, the chapter ends with concluding remarks about this case.

8.2 The demand for SSHs

In general, three factors contributed to fuelling the demand for private houses in Slemani: a significant rise in the income of the employees working in public sectors (middle income population), incentives given by the government to public sector employees, and displaced families coming from other regions of Iraq. These factors, which will be elaborated on here, resulted in an unprecedented growth of the number of private houses. According to Participant 34, a senior consultant at Slemani Municipality, massive agricultural areas in Slemani were converted to residential zones in order to respond to the demand for housing.⁵⁶⁷ The conversion was based on the 1998 law of land parcelling⁵⁶⁸, which allowed changing farmland and non-farmland into residential areas and transferring the right of ownership from the government to individuals. Statistical data shows that the average number of people who obtained construction permission for building private houses per year was low before 2003. Between 1991 and 2002 the number was only 648 per year⁵⁶⁹, however, this rocketed up to 4257 per year between 2003 and 2013.⁵⁷⁰ SSHs spread over many areas in Slemani especially in those peripheral areas such as Rapareen, which is the focus of this chapter (Figure 8-1). In regard to the first factor, salaries of employees working in the public sector had multiplied ten folds following the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's government. For instance, teachers who received nearly one US Dollar per month in Saddam's time, had their stipends increased to 500 dollars in 2004.⁵⁷¹

567 Participant 34.

568 Anonymous, 'قانون رقم (3) لسنة 1998 : قانون اطفاء وافراز الاراضي داخل حدود البلديات' [Law No. (3) of 1998: Land Parcelling Law within areas of municipalities]' (Kurdistan National Council), available at: <http://www.iraqlid.iq/LoadLawBook.aspx?SC=181020078166074> < accessed 21 June 2015>

569 Anonymous, '2000-2007 راپورتى نامارى بيناسازى تايبهت به ژماره‌ى ريبيدانى مؤلمتى بينا له‌سه‌ر ناستى هه‌ريم له سالى' [Report of Building Statistics Regarding the Construction Licenses at State-Level from 2000-2007], government report issued by the Kurdistan Region Statistics Office, Iraqi Kurdistan: Erbil, 2012, available at: <http://www.krso.net/files/articles/120814015812.pdf>.

570 Anonymous, 'سليمانى له‌نيوان 1991 بۆ 2013' [*Slemani between 1991 and 2013*], a government report issued by the Directorate of Statistic in Slemani, Iraqi Kurdistan: Slemani, 2014, available at <http://www.sulistat.com> <accessed 16 April 2015>.

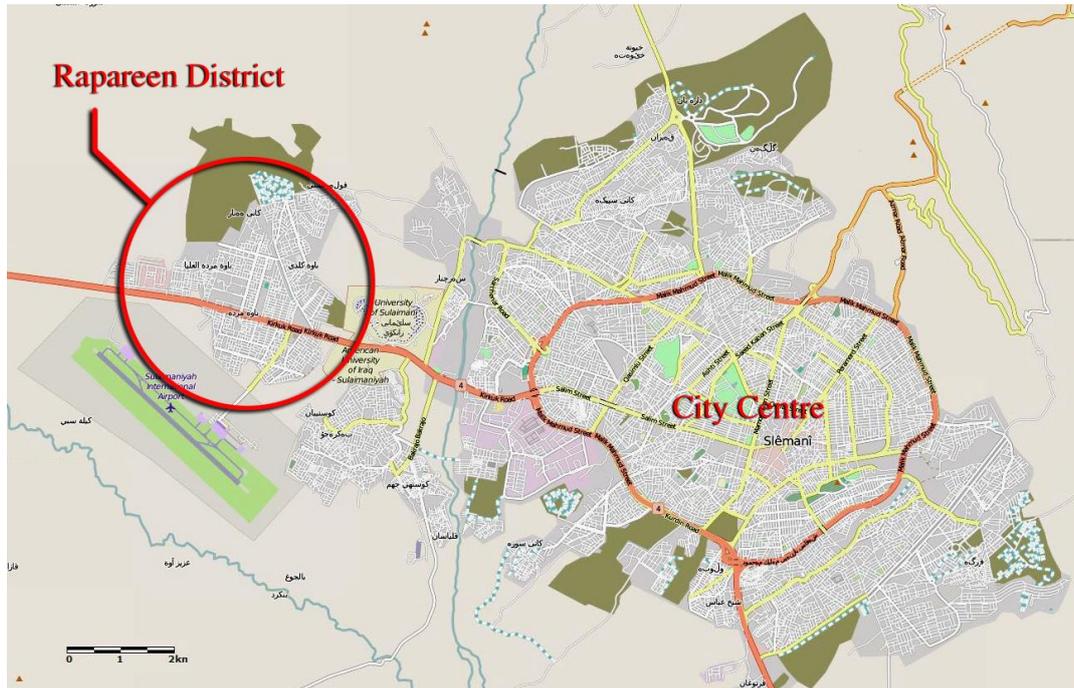


Figure 8-1: The location of the district of Rapareen. It is located 9 kilometres west of the city centre. Source: The author, adapted from <http://www.arcgis.com>.

571 Roula Khalaf, 'Iraq: 10 Years Later', *Financial Times*, 16 March 2013, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c9b2ce20-8c42-11e2-8fcf-00144feabdc0.html>.

As shown in Figure 8-2, government employees fall into the category of the middle income class⁵⁷², which includes both genders. Over 10% of the total inhabitants of the Kurdish region were employed by the public sector in 2013.⁵⁷³ These people were able to construct houses with the aid of local authorities.

In the mid-2000s, these authorities initiated the provision of plots and financial loans to support employees of the public sector. The loans also included cash for those who intended to get married. Members and supporters of the ruling parties (the KDP and the PUK), were prioritised in terms of being granted plots which were very expensive at that time.⁵⁷⁴ In Slemani, PUK, the ruling party, often supported SSH owners in order to boost its popularity.⁵⁷⁵ The value of the loan for construction covered 45% of the total cost⁵⁷⁶ of building a single storey house.⁵⁷⁷ This significantly facilitated the construction of SSHs especially for the majority of public sector employees who received plots of land for free and had their incomes multiplied considerably. The demand for private houses was further increased by displaced families fleeing from troubled areas of Iraq.⁵⁷⁸

572 See RTI International, 'Kurdistan Region: Economic Development Assessment' (USA: United States Agency for International Development USAID, December 2008), p.5, http://www.mop.gov.krd/resources/MoP%20Files/PDF%20Files/DCC/Studies/EDA%20Report_English.pdf.

573 *Kurdistan Region of Iraq 2020: A Vision for the Future* (Erbil - Iraqi Kurdistan: Ministry of Planning, Kurdistan Region, 2013), p. 54
<http://www.mop.gov.krd/resources/MoP%20Files/Newsletter/kurdistan_region_of_iraq_2020_new.pdf>.

574 Yad Faraj, 'ERBIL Housing Strategy', 2012, p. 6.

575 See Ranj Sangawi, TV program: 'گرفته‌کانی نەخشەدانانی ناو‌مدانی له باشووری کوردستان' [Issues of Development Planning in Southern Kurdistan]', Rudaw (news agency), Iraqi Kurdistan: the office of Slemani, 2016, available at:
<http://rudaw.net/sorani/onair/tv/episodes/episode/lagal_ranj_01092016> [accessed 8 September 2016]

576 In mid- 2000s but this kept changing according to the fluctuation of Iraqi currency.

577 Ahmed Rasheed, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, June 5, 2014

578 See Tom Watson, 'Those Families in Iraq Fleeing in Terror from Isis Killers – They Are Our Problem | Tom Watson', *The Guardian*, 12 August 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/aug/12/families-iraq-terror-isis-killers-kurdish-minorities-military-action>.

Group	Income (In USD)	Status
Upper income	Over \$6000	Heads of business
Better off	Over \$2000	Senior executives
Middle-income	Under \$2000	Government staff Middle level staff
Low-income	Under \$600	Small traders Workers Labourers
Very low-income	Under \$400	Widows Pensioners Unemployed

Figure 8-2: The average earnings of the middle income group or public sector employees. Source: Faraj 2012, p.36.

Within a period of four years after the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, the number of displaced Arab families who entered the city of Slemani (the city, not the whole province) rose significantly. These fleeing families renting houses hit 30,000 - about 4% of the total population.⁵⁷⁹ Most of those people resided in SSHs in the Rapareen district due to cheap rents in comparison to other areas of the city.

The above factors led to a dramatic growth in the population of Rapareen, which until then had been mainly inhabited by middle income residents. The manager of Media Relations at The Directorate of Rapareen Municipality, Participant 45, mentioned that the population of the district rose from a few hundred residents in 2003 to more than 100,000 in 2013.⁵⁸⁰ This municipal official pointed out that the majority of Rapareen's inhabitants in 2014 were employees in the public sector, who benefitted from the socio-economic development after 2003.

P 45 said that nearly one third of inhabitants are indigenous, with the rest coming from outside the city. Private houses in Rapareen, formed 60 % of the overall urban fabric in 2013.⁵⁸¹ As shown in Figure 8-3, SSHs extended outwards on both side of the Slemani – Kirkuk highway in a decade. P 45 agreed that the urban extension is partially attributable to socio-economic reasons, believing that the personal motivations of the inhabitants were an additional factor:

*Those people [the inhabitants of Rapareen] want to escape noise and air pollution in the city centre. They want fresh air. They wanted to build a large house in a less crowded area. They like their houses to be designed according to their wishes.*⁵⁸²

579 Salam Kuba, 'الاستثمار العقاري والسياسة الإسكانية في العراق' [Real Estate Investment and Housing Policy in Iraq], Al-Hewar, online newspaper, 30 November 2008, available at: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=154952>, [accessed 26 July 2015].

580 Participant 45, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 21 July 2014.

581 Karzan Ali, Omid Abdullah and Meraan Hussien, 'The Ratio of Private Houses in Rapareen', government report issued by The Directorate of Rapareen Municipality, Iraqi Kurdistan: Slemani, 8 November 2013, No. 3885674-B, archival record: 767534/1-B/ R34, pp.394-396.

582 Participant 45.

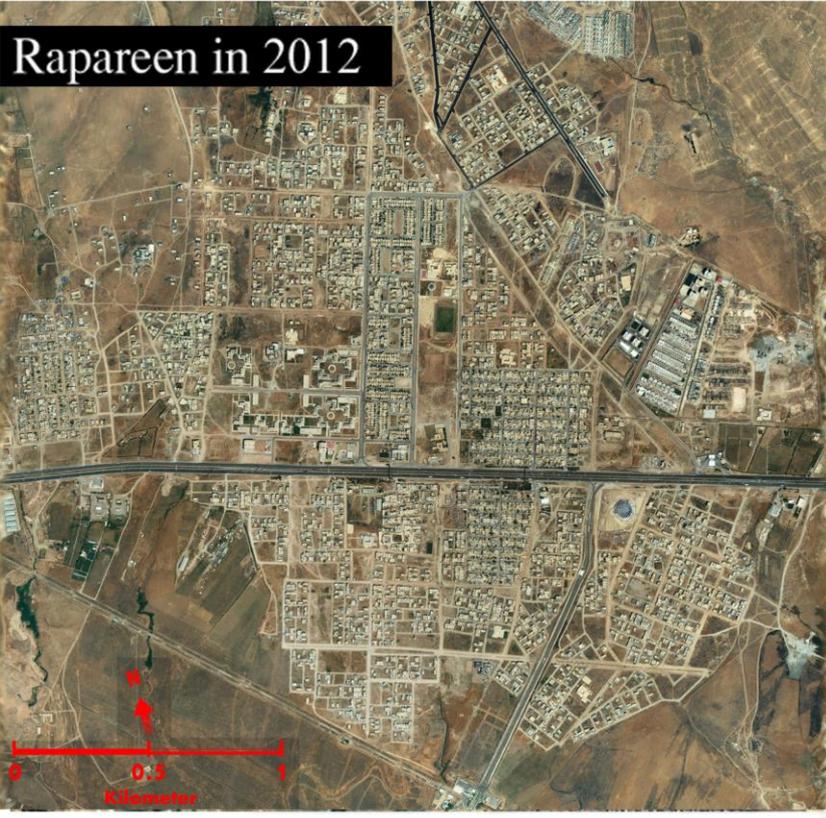
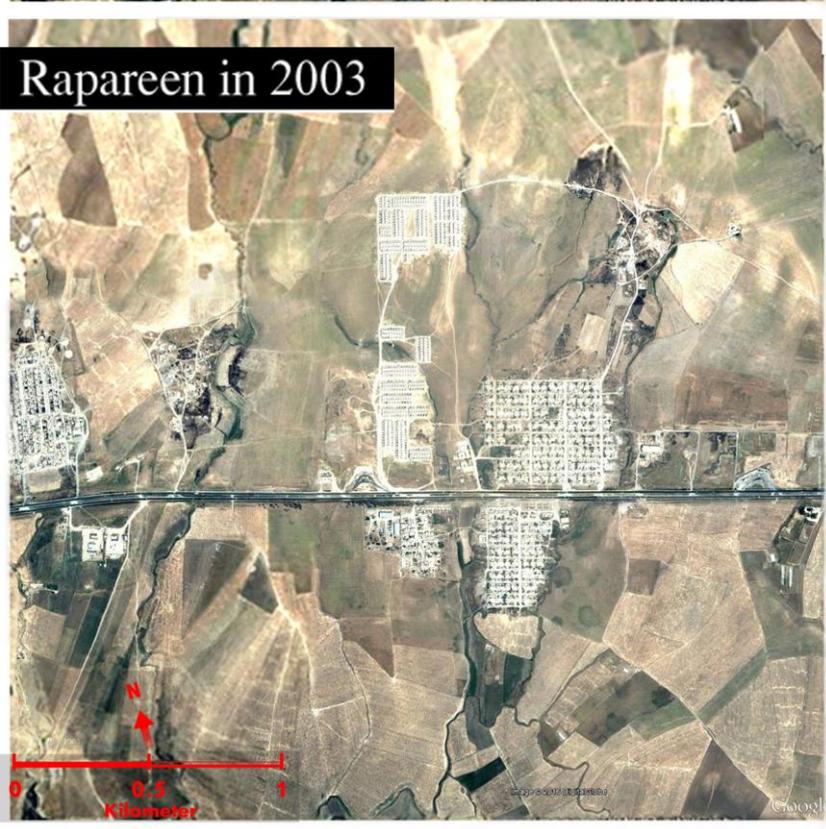


Figure 8-3: The development of Rapareen in the space of 10 years. Source: The author, adapted from maps obtained from Slemani Municipality.

The desires outlined in the statement indicate two types of forces: environmental and personal. The city core, which was perceived to be overcrowded from cars and built-up areas, forced those living there who could afford to build SSHs to head out to the city's peripheries, like Rapareen, in order to build houses in a relatively quieter and less polluted area. Secondly, personal preferences played a strong role in building SSHs. People believed that they had the liberty to shape their houses based on needs, and that they could build larger houses than those found in Slemani's centre. As a result, SSHs in Rapareen were designed in various architectural forms and this will be detailed in the following sections.

8.3 The mental production of SSHs: an insight into the design scenarios formed by the owners of SSHs

The fieldwork study here was carried out with the aid of three architectural offices in Slemani. The study included 568 SSHs, and gradually these were filtered to four SSHs which were chosen as case studies. The four cases represent the most common types of SSHs in Rapareen in terms of architectural aspects, and this section will solely concentrate on the design concepts which were formed by the owners of the four SSHs. The remaining SSHs in the study were used to present other indications which will be demonstrated in section 8.5.

In order to only focus on the force relations which produced the chosen SSHs, the variety of the four SSHs was limited in the sense that House A, B, C and D share a number of features. They were:

- Constructed on a flat plot with the same dimensions : 10 metres wide and 20 metres deep;
- Surrounded by built areas on three sides, with the front facade facing a street;
- Having two floors: ground and first floor;
- Built by their owner-occupiers;
- Produced to accommodate four people: parents and two children; and
- Constructed by public sector employees, who were given plots of land for free by the local government in addition to construction loans.

In addition, the four SSHs were designed between 2007 and 2008, and built between 2008 and 2010. There were five reasons behind choosing the period behind choosing this period. Firstly, the period witnessed a rise in the production of SSHs because the majority of SSHs owner-occupiers received plots from the public sector between 2004 and 2006 when the socio-political environment in Kurdistan settled after the 2003 war, and the demand for SSHs increased. Subsequently, the majority of owner-occupiers began creating concepts for their houses and applying for construction permission. Secondly, an overwhelming majority of those who applied for the permissions completed the construction of their houses by 2010. Thirdly, when Slemani Municipality changed its building regulations in 2011 (as will be explained in section 8.5), the procedure of obtaining permissions took longer and most of SSH owner-occupiers who started in 2011 finished their houses after 2013 which is beyond the time frame of this PhD. Fourthly, this investigation could not reach and interview some of those owner-occupiers who produced SSHs between 2010 and 2013. Finally, the SSHs of the owner-occupiers, who agreed to participate in the investigation, share the features which are outlined above.

The narrative of each house will be outlined, accompanied with time indications. The cases are named as follows: House A, B, C, and D, and their owners are labelled Participant 46, 47, 48 and 49. These owners formed and developed the design scenarios of the houses with their spouses, initiated the process of building, obtained loans and controlled construction works, and ultimately used or lived in the SSHs with their families. Each SSH was imagined by its owners in a unique way. This is because the driving force in each case was different. This section will only present the design scenarios which were formed by the four owners, and the following sections will trace the progress of the scenarios as time went by as well as when other actors became involved in the stories of the SSHs.

Before proceeding with the stories, it is worth clarifying that the most typical arrangement of domestic spaces within the four SSHs, as well as the majority of houses in Rapareen, are gender specific.

A guest room in the Kurdish tradition is designed in a particular way. This room is a sitting area for visitors (usually male visitors) and it is often segregated from family zones, and it sometimes serves as a space for guests staying overnight.

Guest rooms are usually placed on the ground floor and are close to the house gate. This facilitates the movement of visitors to the inside and outside of the house and maximises segregation between the visitors and family areas. Kitchens are viewed as private spaces for the family – used not only for cooking but also for assembling family members to eat and chat. In most cases, kitchens are more important than living rooms, and they are designed larger than customary to accommodate such social activities. Kitchens are commonly associated with domestic activities carried out by the housewife; since she spends most of the time in the kitchen, the best position for this space is in the front of the house, near the garage and facing the main entrance as this position enables housewives to take care of various domestic activities such as monitoring the house entrance especially when it is approached by visitors, controlling children's movements in the garden, carrying food or goods easily from the nearby garage to inside the kitchen. The rear areas of houses are dedicated for bedrooms. These areas are usually quiet especially in houses with one elevation (the other three sides are blocked by built areas) (Figure 8-4).

The next section explains the design scenario of the four houses.

8.3.1 Houses A, B, C & D

The owner of House A, Participant 46, worked as a school teacher and was granted a plot in 2006. P 46 thought up an idea for his house and discussed it with his wife. The pair developed the idea and the requirements of their future house together.

The owner described them and said:

*P 46: We wanted large rooms for the kitchen and the guest room ...
Because we have many visitors.*

*Interviewer: But this would affect other spaces inside and outside
your house.*

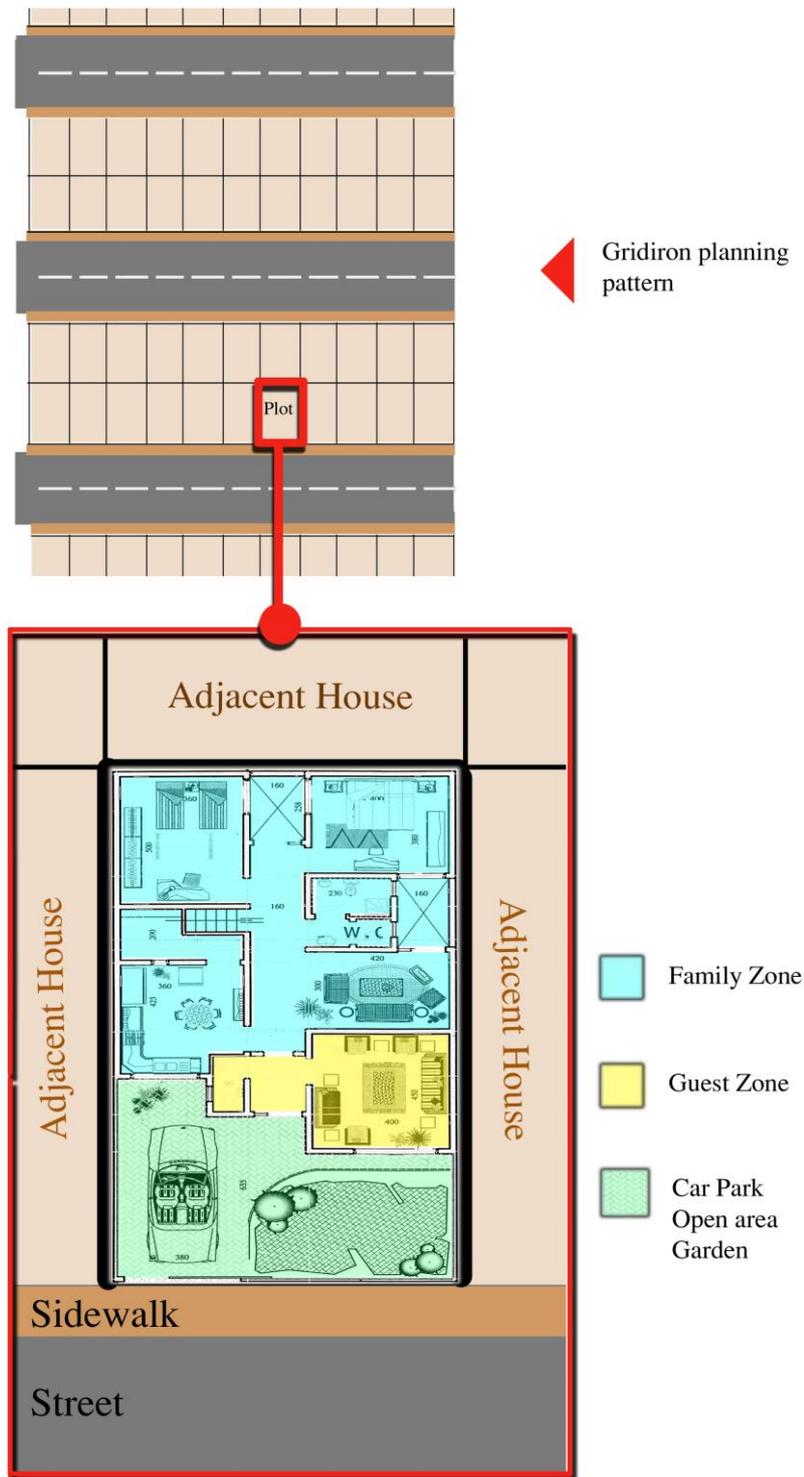


Figure 8-4: The typical arrangement of domestic spaces of SSHs in Rapareen. Source: The author, based on the data obtained from the three architectural offices in Slemani.

P 46: We did not care about the garden and other rooms ... we decided to get the first floor separated because we wanted our son to get married and live with us upstairs.

We [the owner and his wife] told him [the son] we will make you feel free [completely separated and provided with all rooms and means that any house needs] in your house.⁵⁸³

There were two main decisions made collectively by P 46 and his wife before heading to an architect to commission him or her to draft plans. In terms of the first decision, they specified large spaces for the kitchen and the guest room. This decision was influenced by the local archetypical way of arranging domestic spaces. Here the kitchen and the guest spaces were prioritised and given a relatively large space. This is because the former was seen as the main family zone and the latter was important for accommodating the ‘many visitors’. The second decision was related to the family desire to have their son living in the same house on the first floor. The parents promised their son that he would ‘feel free’ in his ‘house’ (or his section of the house); these two indicating three architectural aspects: there would be no staircase linking the two floors internally, the entrance to the first (independent) floor would be isolated by walls or partitions and connected to an external staircase leading upstairs, and the first floor would contain all the rooms that any house needs (for example: a guest room, a kitchen, a bath ... etc.). All these aspects are meant to make the son feel he is in his own private house and does not need to use any space on the ground floor.

House B was imagined differently. Participant 47 was a mechanical engineer, who lived for 20 years in Germany, and when he returned to Kurdistan and had a job in the public sector, he was granted a plot (for free) in 2006. P 47 began to think about the design with his wife. They wanted the rooms of their house to be unobstructed by walls, something which is locally called *Khanoy Krawa* خانووی کراوه, which translates to Open House, meaning a house with fewer internal walls or visual obstacles similar to open-plan spaces.

583 Participant 46, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 11 August 2014.

Sometimes, people use the phrase *Zhoory Krawa* ژوری کراوه which translates to Open Room, again referring to the open-plan system. In this regard, P 47 said:

P 47: I do not like traditional houses. I wanted something modern and European. Houses in our country are like prisons ... people put up too many walls.

Interviewer: But people here [in Slemani] isolate guest rooms because they do not like visitors to meet or see the women of the household.

*P 47: I do not care about this culture ... I used to live in a flat with *Zhoory Krawa*. I had a large open space and used it as a living and guest room. We [himself and his wife] welcomed our guests and we chatted and watched TV. The kitchen was exposed to the living room ... I wanted to repeat the design of that flat here in my house in Slemani. My flat in Radebeul [the German city where P 47 lived] was surrounded by trees and plants. So I liked to create indoor and outdoor gardens. I want to see green things around me.⁵⁸⁴*

This vision was in complete contrast to that of House A. The approach here was strongly influenced by a different design culture which created the flat in Radebeul. This shifted the ground below the gender-based spatial arrangement in Slemani. This typical arrangement was described by P 47 as ‘traditional’, and he compared it to a ‘prison’. Thus, the owner decided to ‘repeat’ or replicate the plan of his Radebeul flat, which combined the kitchen and the living rooms into one space. Moreover, he preferred to spare more space for gardens, which again was another element of the flat in Germany.

Houses C and D were driven by the desire of making profit. They represent one of the archetypical SSH types, which assembled commercial and residential spaces, a model which started to spread in the mid-2000s in Rapareen.

584 Participant 47, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 August 2014.

The will to generate financial profits emerged when Rapareen expanded and the demand for shopping and markets grew enormously, something which was intensified by the insufficient number of stores in that area.

Participant 48 was a driver working for one of the local governmental institutions. He was in financial debt to his relatives. After he received his plot in 2006, the relatives advised him to turn part of his future house into a profitable space. Therefore, Owner C stated:

P 48: I liked my relatives' idea so I proposed it to my wife and she liked it too ... We thought the idea of turning the ground floor into a mini market was a good thing to do ... we can live [reside] upstairs [the first floor] separately.

Interviewer: Did you think that the idea of residing on a separate floor and having a mini-market below was a good thing or something which would make you comfortable

P 48: Why not?! Do not forget that I had loans to repay and in the meantime this idea benefited me ... financially.⁵⁸⁵

It seems that the approach of designing this SSH was influenced by the motivation of generating money via using half of the house for commercial purposes. P 48 and his wife collectively planned to split up the entire ground floor and devote it to a rentable mini store, with the family choosing to live on the first floor.

Similarly, the decision made about House D was influenced by the same motivation. Participant 49 was an accountant working at one of the state banks and he gained his plot in 2006. P 49's design agenda was controlled by the desire to maximising profits through harnessing spaces of his house.

The owner explained this below:

585 Participant 48, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 August 2014.

P 49: From the beginning, I set up the idea of dedicating most of my house for rental.

There are many Arab families looking for accommodations. Part of the ground floor could be storage for renting and the rest [the remaining space of the ground floor] could be for living ... [for accommodation]. I put [specified] the first floor up for rent ... my wife did not like this idea but I insisted on executing my plan because there were many financial burdens on our shoulders.

Interviewer: Why did your wife not like the idea?

P 49: She thought this would kill⁵⁸⁶ the house ... she said the idea will also constrain our movements and our liberty and will ruin the house's façade ... I ignored her comments.⁵⁸⁷

Unlike Houses A, B, and C, the decision here was made without full consent of the wife, indicating that the husband had more influence over the design scenario, which complied with his need to generate money and mitigate financial pressure. The wife wanted to strengthen the residential value of this SSH via reducing profitable spaces.

She anticipated that the storage on the ground floor would be problematic in three senses: (a) the storage would replace the car parking space, which would eliminate space for an open area which is necessary for light and fresh air; (b) the potential renters of the storage could use the space for various commercial reasons which might cause disturbance for the family; and (c) the renters of the car park and those who reside on the first floor are non-family members which restricts family movements to the inside and outside of the house.⁵⁸⁸

586 Locally, the expression of killing in architecture refers to act of causing a space to receive little sunshine or fresh air.

587 Participant 49, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 15 August 2014.

588 Ibid.

To be specific, the width of House D was 10 meters, and this would be significantly narrower if P 49 specified nearly half of this width to construct an entrance and staircase for the renters on the first floor, as well as deducting the other half for the storage. This will leave a couple of meters for the entrance of the ground floor which will be for the owners of the house; (c) the appearance of the house could become aesthetically displeasing given the outdoor stairway, the storage, and the two separate entrances.

All these elements would be placed together in a 10 metre distance. These considerations caused the wife to believe that they will consequently ‘kill the house’. However, P 49 went on with his design concept anyway, ignoring his wife’s concerns. The final decision was made: the front part of the house will be constructed as a storage space, which will be rented, and the first floor will be separated and handed to tenants. At this point, the concepts of the four SSHs (House A, B, C, D) became ready to be subjected or submitted to two establishments. Firstly, a local architectural bureau drafted professional drawings, which were subsequently submitted to the office of the Engineers’ Union (EU) in Slemani for ratification. Secondly, once the owners had their drawings approved by the EU, they submitted them to Slemani Municipality for construction permission.

The next section will narrate the progress of the four scenarios through the three establishments.

8.3.2 The design scenarios of the four SSHs

This procedure of obtaining construction permission to have Houses A, B, C & D built, which is visualised in Figure 8-5, consisted of three key stages: (a) design concepts or sketches had to be translated by a licensed architect into standardised architectural drawings; (b) the drawings were sent to a non-governmental organisation, entitled The Engineers’ Union (EU), to check the compliance of the drawings with the building regulations (BR) issued by Slemani Municipality; (c) finally the drawings were submitted to a consulting committee at Slemani Municipality (SM) for verification.

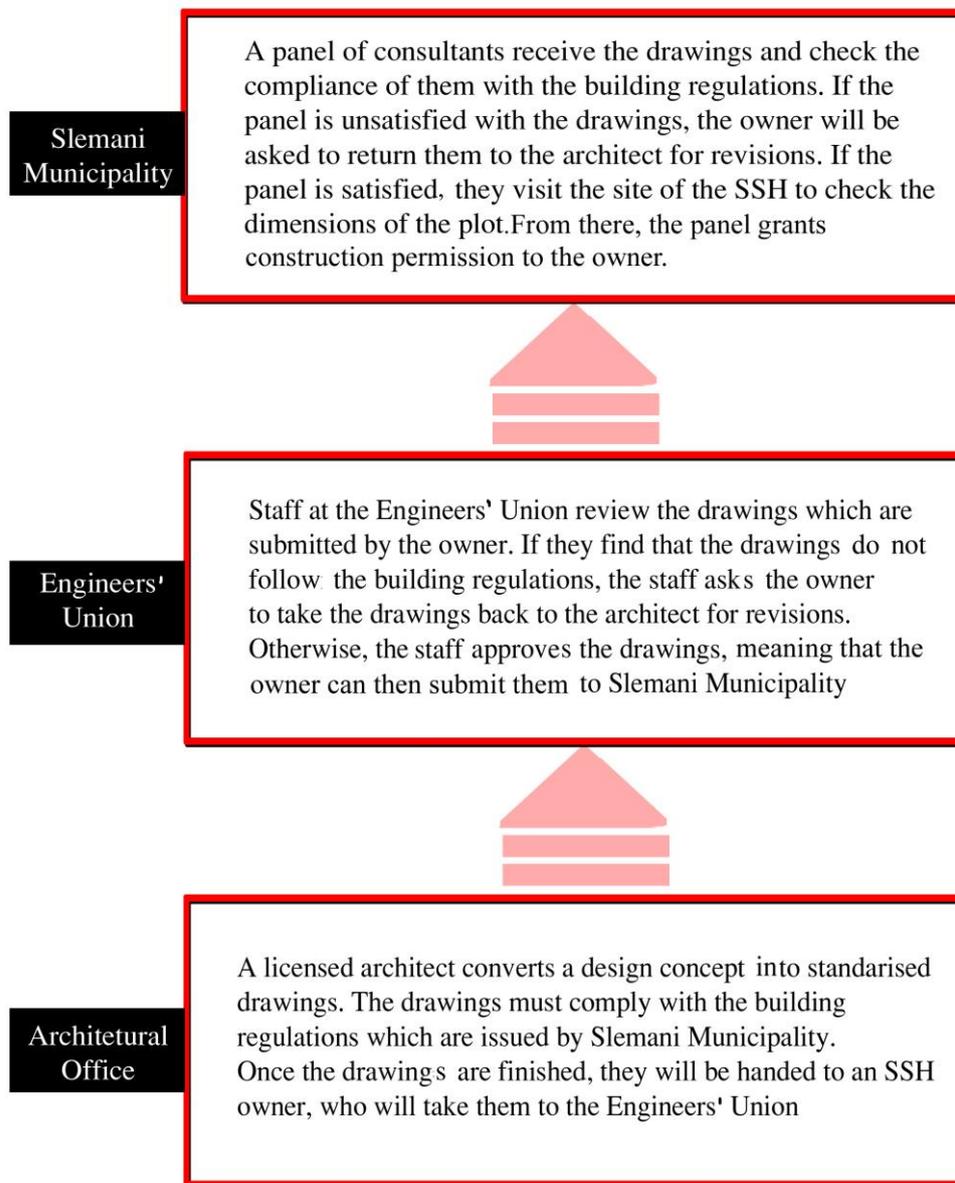


Figure 8-5: The procedure of obtaining construction permission before 2011. Source: The author based on the description provided by municipal officials and Architects A, B and C, and SSHs owners. Source: The author, based on information obtained from the Engineer's Union and Slemani Municipality.

Then the committee reviewed the drawings and visited the site of the house to check the dimensions of the plot before deciding whether to grant construction permission (CP). In 2011, the municipality tightened its strategy for granting construction permissions and the reason behind this will be explained in section 8.5. I will start by providing a summary of the BR and their influence on SSHs before narrating the progress of the four scenarios.

As illustrated in Figure 8-6, BRs⁵⁸⁹ focused only on SSHs' plans and did not influence facades in the sense that owner-occupies had the full liberty to design their facades with various colours, materials, shapes ... etc. In general, four architectural aspects of SSHs were controlled by BRs: Firstly, the dimensions of plots. A common dimensional size in Rapareen was 10 metres wide and 20 metres deep,⁵⁹⁰ which moulded the plots into a rectangular. Secondly, the height of the houses was limited and not permitted to exceed three floors with an option of constructing a basement—the maximum height for each floor was 3.5 metres. Thirdly, owners were forced to allow for open areas in their SSHs. These areas are places which are not shaded or covered by a roof a ceiling—the percentage of open areas within the total plot was specified to be at least 20% (a minimum of 40 sq.m). Finally, the setback distance should be 2 meters if the width of street in the front of the SSH is between 8 and 20 metres. However, if the setback reaches 3 metres if the width of the street is 30 metres.

Returning to the four design scenarios of houses A, B, C and D, they were presented to three local architectural bureaus. The names of the architects, who ran the bureaus, are labelled as follows: Participant 50 (designed House A), Participant 51 (House B) and Participant 52 (House C and D). To begin with, the owner of House A explained his concept to Participant 50, being clear of his plan to split the ground floor from the first and to build a large kitchen and guest room. P50 told the owner (P46) that the concept conflicted with the BRs which did not allow separation between the two floors. The architect advised P 46 to postpone executing the separation until the final construction permission had been obtained.

589 See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.

590 These dimensions was changed after Slemani Municipality wanted to limit the urban sprawl of Rapareen. For instance 8m x 20m.

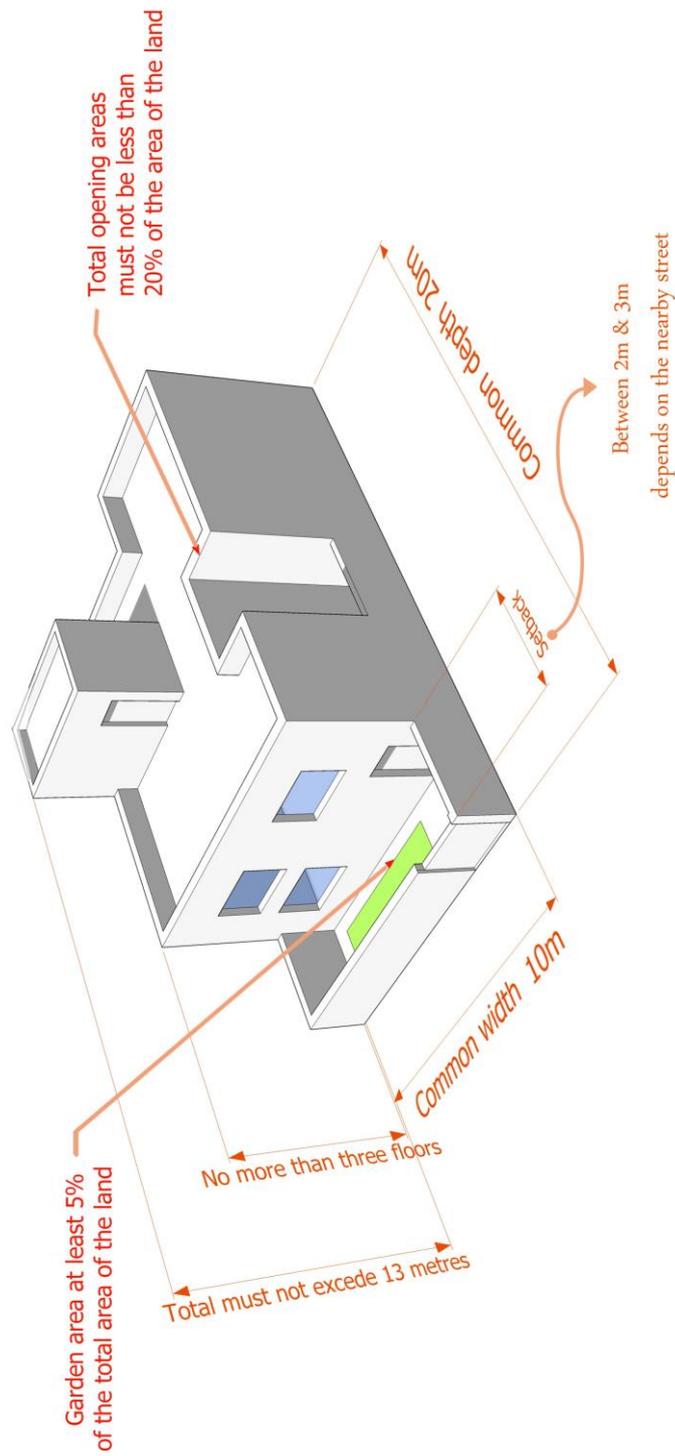


Figure 8-6: The spatial limitations imposed on SSHs by local building regulations. Illustration: the author, based on the building regulations issued by Slemani Municipality.

Speaking further of this, P50 added:

I wanted him [P 46] to escape the regulations and submit plans with a degree of flexibility so once he obtained the permission [CP] he could execute his concept ... we [the architect and the owner] were asked by the union [the EU] to make changes to the design because we had reached the minimum requirement of the ratio of open areas and they [EU's staff] wanted us to increase the areas of the windows to let more sunshine and air come inside the house.⁵⁹¹

The owner faced the power of the regulations, so the architect suggested to ‘escape’ this by submitting different architectural drawings. Therefore, plans were drawn with ‘a degree of flexibility’ in the sense that P 46 could easily change the design of the house according to his concept once he acquired CP.⁵⁹² Despite the flexibility of the drawings, the EU forced minor modifications in accordance with the BR. Figure 8-7 shows the plans of House A as approved by the EU and SM in 2008.

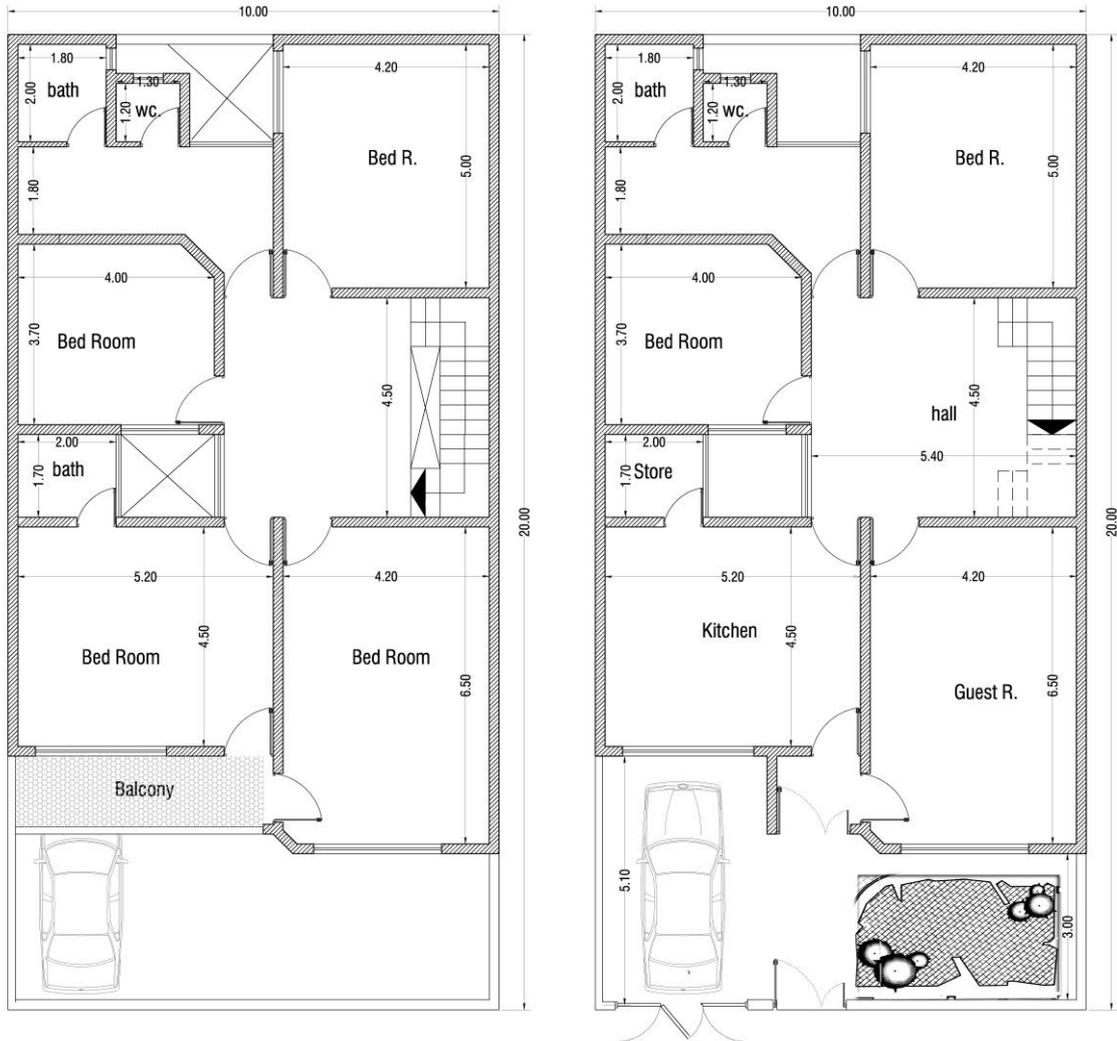
House B went through the same procedure as the previous house. Figure 8-8 demonstrates the plans which were drawn by the architect and approved by EU and SM in 2007. The design concept here was in compliance with the regulations because the latter encouraged open and green areas in domestic spaces. P 51 described the process of obtaining the construction permission for House B:

There were no problems in getting the permission [CP]. The staff at the Union and the municipality happily approved the drawings and the procedure [of acquiring CP] finished quickly ... the regulations have always been in favour of houses with green open spaces.⁵⁹³

591 Participant 50, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 30 August 2014.

592 The drawings allow the changes to be done without affecting the structure of the house. To put it more simply, the structural system of nearly all houses in Rapareen were load-bearing walls, and this means any change that owners make should not cause any damage or weakening to the walls

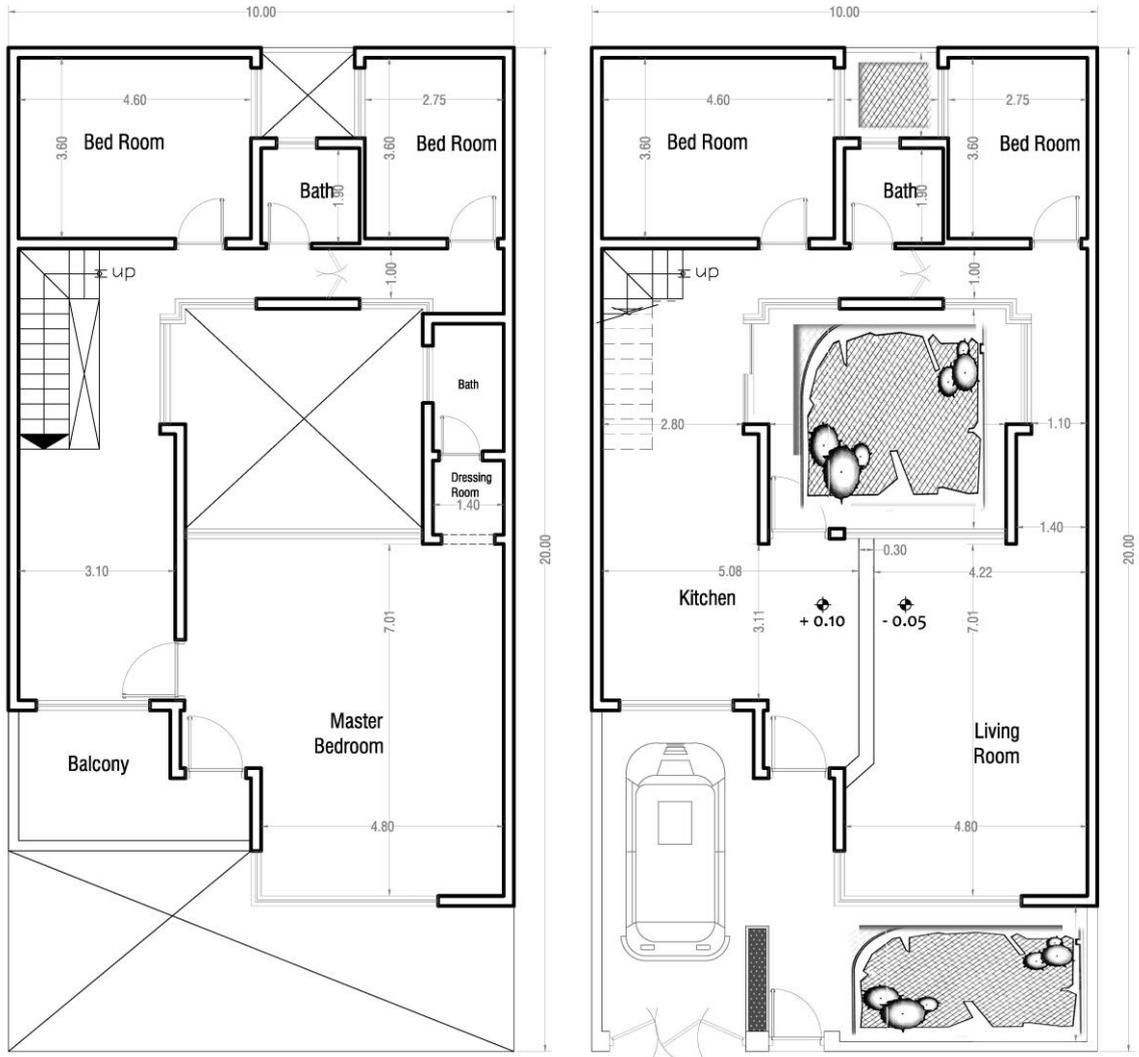
593 Participant 51, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 06 August 2014.



First Floor

Ground Floor

Figure 8-7: The approved plans of House A. Source The author, adapted from the work of Participant 50.



First Floor

Ground Floor

Figure 8-8: The approved plans of House B. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 51.

Unlike the case of House A, the BRs were not in conflict with the desires of Participant 47, something which accordingly led to final drawings which agreed with the original scenario set up by the owner of House B. In addition, the procedure for obtaining CP was smoother than that of House A.

At that stage, there were no future architectural changes in the owner's mind. In contrast to House B, the scenarios of Houses C and D deviated from the BRs. The owners of these houses aimed to specify spaces within the two SSHs for businesses. This was prohibited by the BR because Rapareen was designated as a residential zone in the master plan of Slemani, and commercial activities were not allowed in SSHs.⁵⁹⁴ The activities were placed in the master plan in specific areas in the district away from SSHs.⁵⁹⁵

Similar to what happened in the case of House A, the owners of House C and D found their design concepts could not be drafted into standardised drawings. The two SSHs' owners were offered a solution by the architect, participant 52, who said:

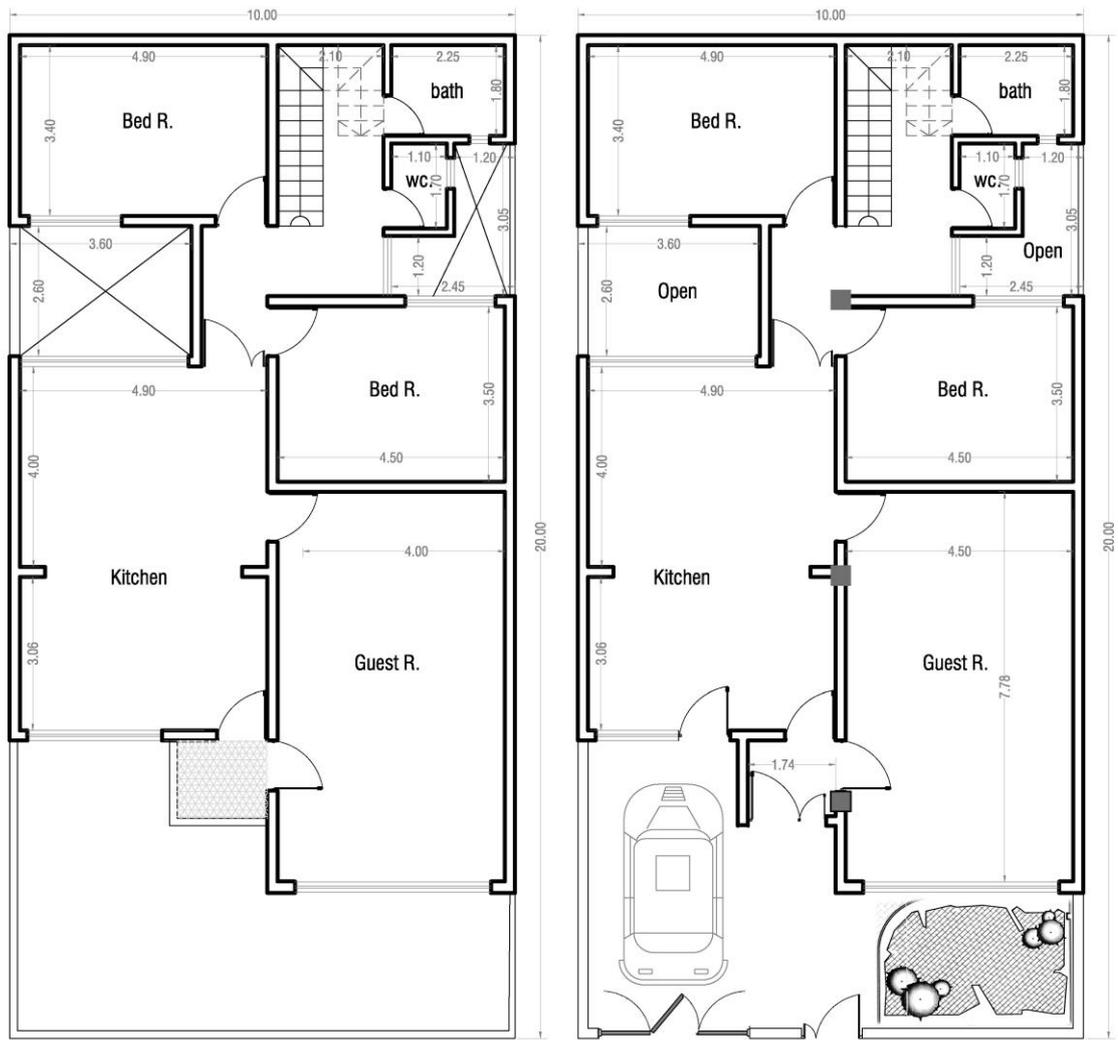
There was no solution but to make adjustable plans for the permission ... they [Participant 48 and 49] wanted something which was very difficult to achieve ... Nobody at the Union or the municipality would accept the idea of turning an entire floor into a business place [the concept of P 48] or using most of a house as rented space [the concept of P 49].⁵⁹⁶

The 'adjustable plans', illustrated in Figure 8-9 and 8-10, consisted of two solutions. In terms of House C, the architect changed most of the structural system of the ground from bearing-wall to beam-and-column. This allowed the owner to remove walls (after acquiring CP) and create a fairly open space for the market he wanted to let. As for House D, the architect provided a relatively large space for the car park and the garden.

594 After Iraqi Kurdistan went into financial crisis in 2014, the municipality loosened its regulations and allowed people to construct mini markets in their houses.

595 Participant 52, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 09 August 2014.

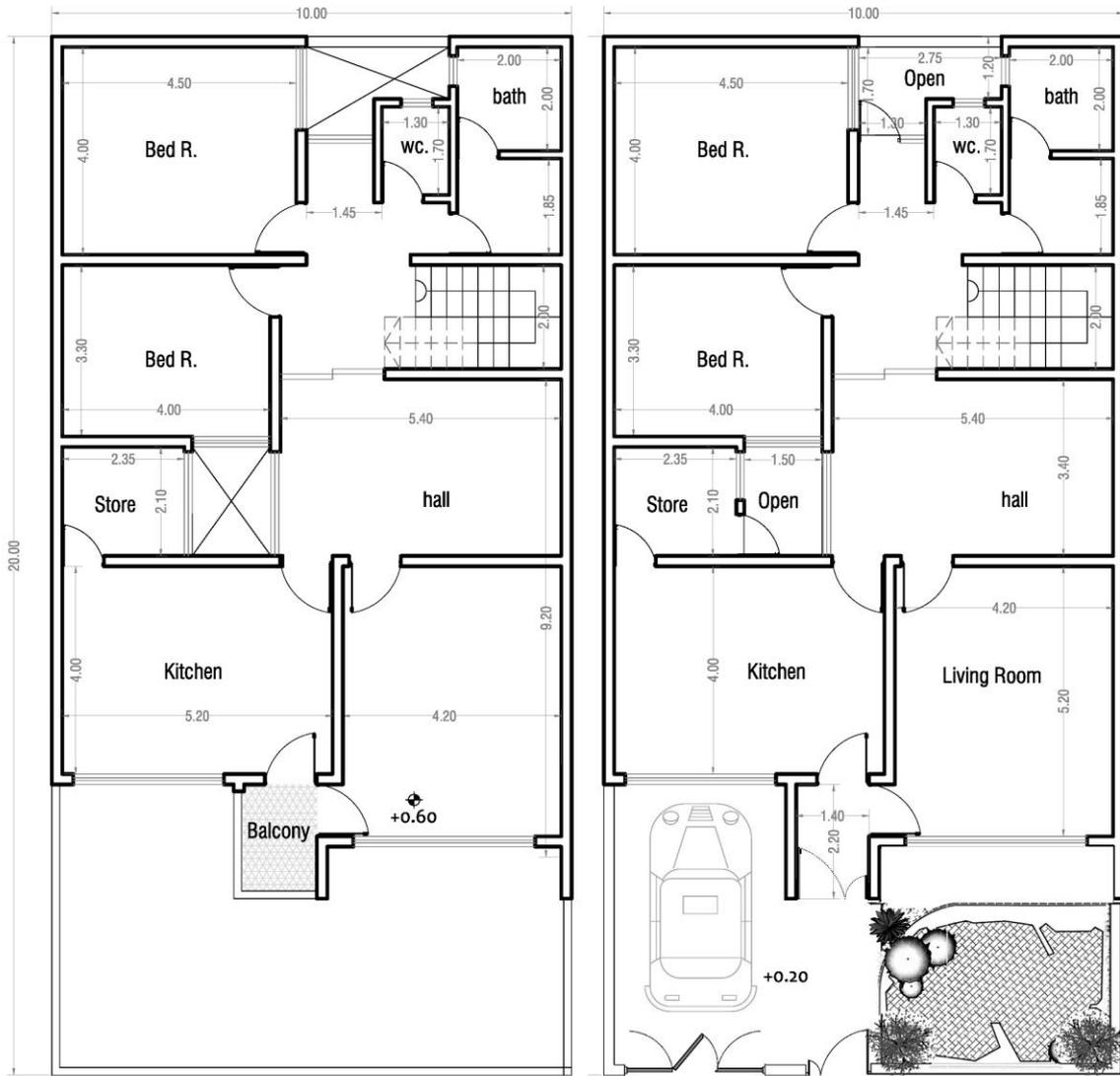
596 Ibid.



First Floor

Ground Floor

Figure 8-9: The approved plans of House C.



First Floor

Ground Floor

Figure 8-10: The approved plans of House D.



Figure 8-11: The plans of House A after the changes. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 50.

This solution would enable Participant 48 in the future to replace the car park with the storage, and the garden with an external staircase for the separate floor. The two solutions freed P 48 and P 49 from potential conflicts, which would have taken place between the regulations and the desires of the two owners. Up to this stage, all four SSHs had been given CPs, thus meaning that the owners began construction works (productive actions). These works are the focus of the next section.

8.4 The physical production of SSHs: materialising the design scenarios of the four houses

After receiving construction permissions, the owners began to modify the designs of their houses in order to materialise the scenarios which they set up in the first place. The modifications, which were carried out by the owners between 2008 and 2010, will be detailed below. While the owners were undertaking the changes, they realised that their initial concept needed additional changes. Therefore, they developed their scenarios and added further modifications, which are detailed below.

In 2009, Participant 46 implemented a few modifications on his design that had gained planning permission—these modifications were done before the beginning of the construction. The modifications were: (a) the internal staircase was removed in order to split the first floor from the ground floor; (b) an external half landing staircase, leading to a separate floor was added, and the balcony was extended to provide a proper landing for the stairway; (c) a new entrance for the first floor was created.

Figure 8-11 shows these modifications and compares the new design with the old one. While P 46 was running the construction, two additional changes occurred to the ground floor of this SSH. The owner's wife visited the site of the house and perceived some issues in the design. Participant 46 recalled her comments:

She came to the house and saw that the size of the kitchen was small and she thought there was a chance of enlarging it ... I removed the storage and reduced the space of the opening⁵⁹⁷.

597 Participant 46.

The wife focused on the kitchen space and offered suggestions for stretching the area. The re-sizing of the kitchen related to the way in which the family viewed this room, which was meant to accommodate various activities.

P 46 consulted his architect about the suggestions and the latter advised him to remove the wall which separates the storage from the kitchen, and to shift the wall which was currently between the kitchen and the opening area. These changes were recommended by the architect because he saw that they were structurally safer.

The second change was triggered by the belief that there was a space under the external staircase which the owner added after CP. He viewed that space to be a:

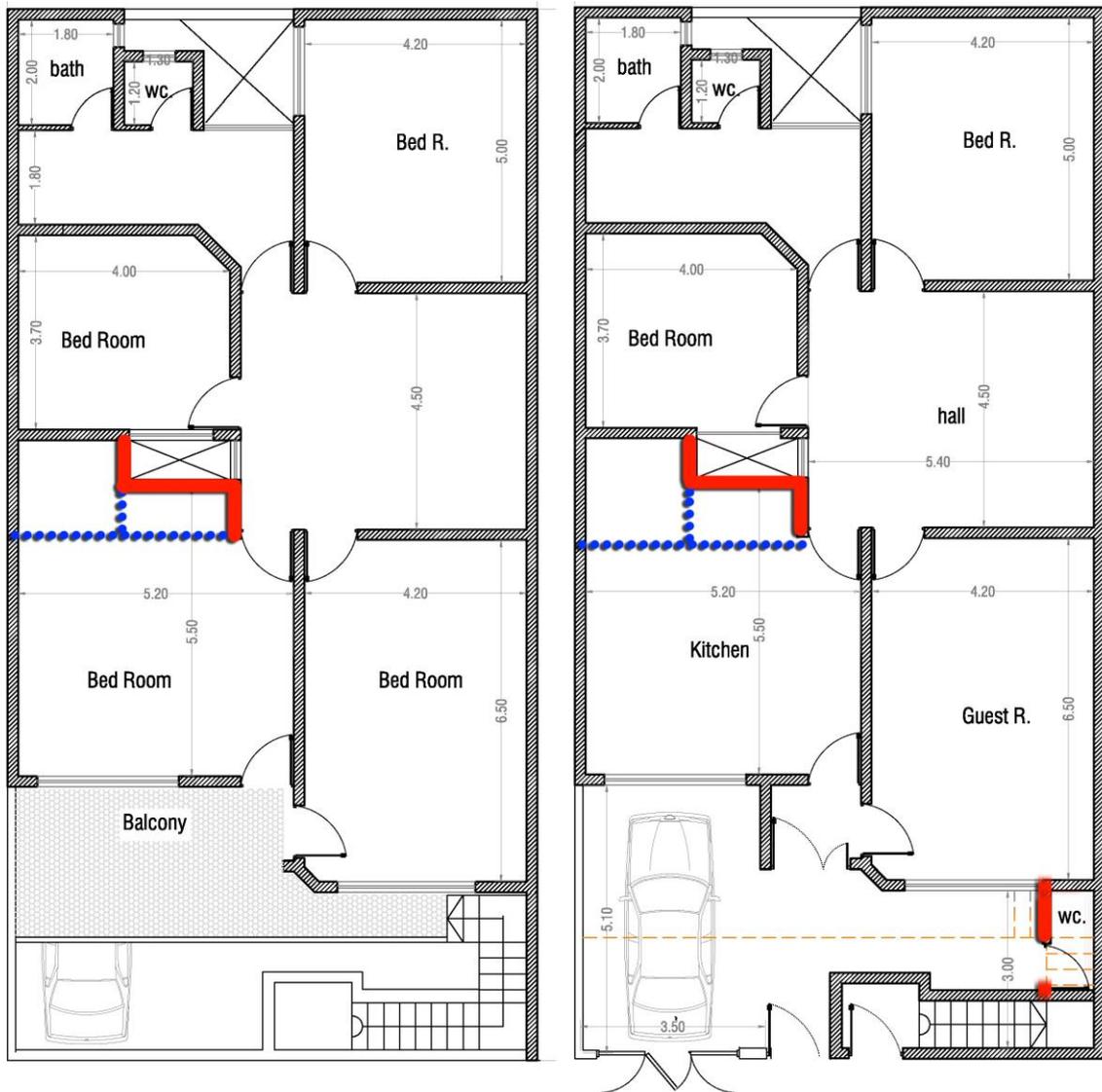
Waste place ... I mean I could use that place for the thing I wanted to do but could not find a place for ... From the beginning I wanted a separate toilet for my guests so they can use it outside the house⁵⁹⁸ [an outdoor toilet which could be used instead of the indoor one].

This second change is also related to the mentality of the family in arranging domestic spaces. In other words, the design scenario was based on isolating the guest room from the family zone and building an outdoor toilet which would increase the isolation of the guests in the sense that they would not be able to access the family zone where the only toilet is (Figure 8-12).

After all these changes were executed in 2010, they resulted in the following: (a) the open areas were reduced by almost 50 percent; (b) the hall became larger; (c) the store and the garden on the ground floor and the bath on the first floor were not built; (d) the car park was half covered by the extended balcony.

Turning to House B, its owner had the desire to execute the approved drawings. However, as the structure of this SSH was nearing completion, the owner realised that there was an issue in the design and after consulting his wife they agreed to carry out some modifications.

598 Ibid.



First Floor
after the additional changes

Ground Floor
after the additional changes

Added Elements ■
Removed Elements ●●●●●

Figure 8-12: The plans of House A after the additional changes. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 50.

P 47 explained the modification by saying:

We [he and his wife] realised that there was absolutely no green surface on the first floor unlike the ground floor. We thought of solutions ... I finally decided to extend the front balcony and construct another one next to the master bedroom.⁵⁹⁹

The lack of green areas on the first floor related to the couple's aim of living in a space surrounded by gardens or green surfaces similar to their flat in Germany. The two balconies, which are mentioned in the statement, were seen as the right architectural elements to achieve this. These elements could bring the concept of the additional green areas into reality. Figure 8-13 illustrates how the balconies were stretched, something which reduced the open areas from 28% to less than 15% of the total area of the plot because the balconies covered the courtyard and the car-park.

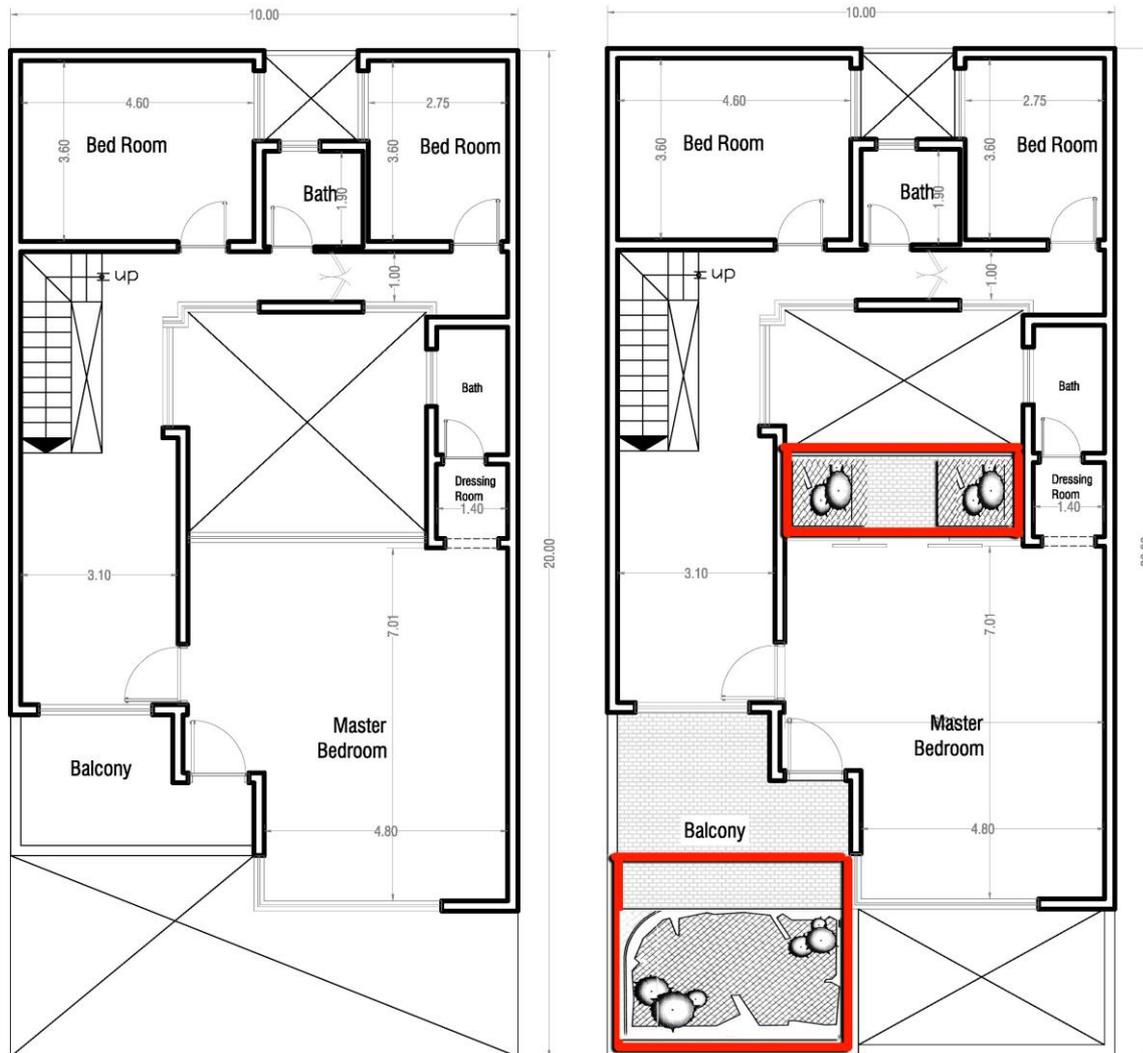
In regards to House C, its owner, who planned to move his family to the first level and turn the ground floor into a mini-market, commenced reshaping his house in 2008 after he obtained CP. He had an external staircase built leading to the first level (where the family would reside) which replaced the parking area which existed on the approved ground floor.

Moreover, he decided to have some of the internal walls on the ground floor removed in order to create an open space for the mini-market (Figure 8-14). After the changes had been executed, he decided to invite the businessman, who would become the tenant of the ground floor, in order to view the floor. Participant 48 said the businessman was dissatisfied, saying that he:

saw the hall [the open space on the ground level] was small ... he wanted to replace the garden by a paved area because he wanted to use the area for showing and selling some his stuff in stalls ... he wanted to knock down some walls and erect new ones.⁶⁰⁰

599 Participant 47

600 Participant 48.



First Floor
in the approved drawings

First Floor
after the extension of the balconies

Added Elements ———

Figure 8-13: The plans of House B after the owner extended the balconies. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 51.

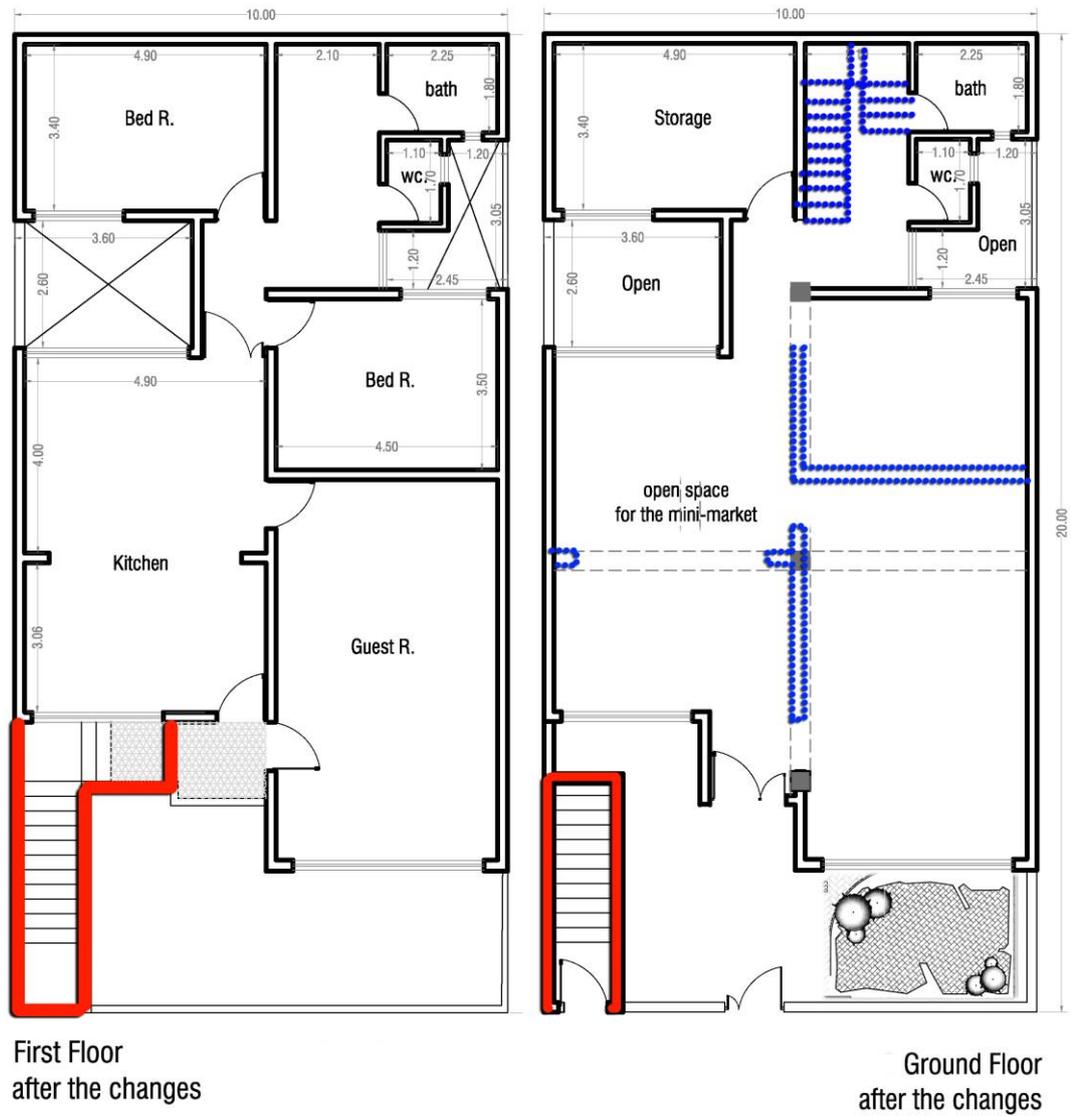


Figure 8-14: The plans of House C after the changes. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 52.

The businessman enforced the following changes: (a) extending the outline of the open space, which was done by shifting some internal walls; (b) removing the garden and replacing it with a paved area; (c) demolishing part of the fence in order to place stands for showing his goods (Figure 8-15). As for House D, its owner performed two major modifications: he moved the internal staircase to the outside and replaced the garden, which was drawn in the endorsed plans.

Secondly, Participant 49 converted the parking place to a storage space. As explained earlier, these changes were within P 49's initial concept. They slashed open areas by 70% (Figure 8-16). While the owner was working on materialising his concept and aiming to finish it, his wife visited the site to view the structure of her future house.

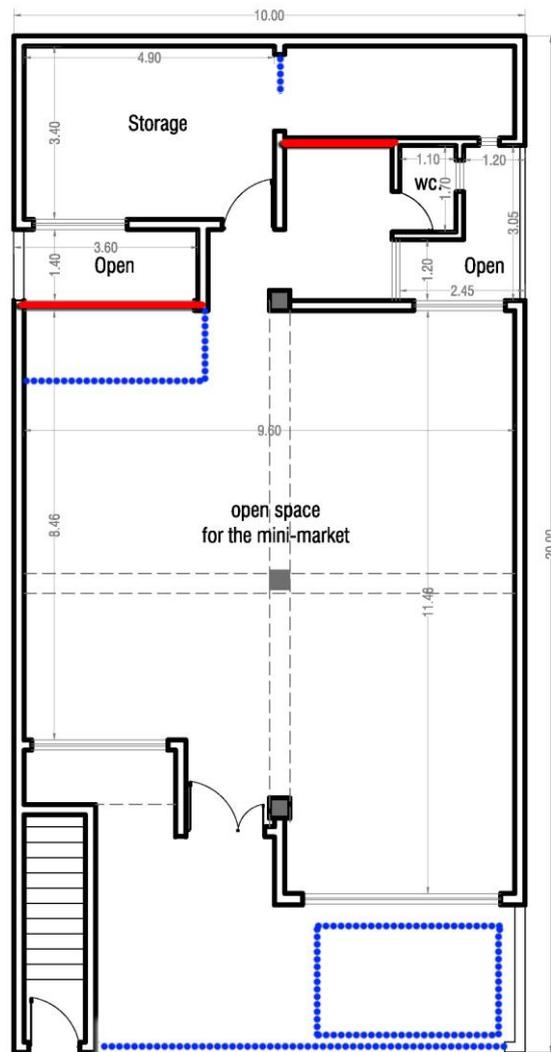
According to P49, she did not like some aspects of the house:

My wife was shocked when she saw the kitchen and the open areas. She said they were quite small. She intensely disliked that and told me she will never reside in the house. She said this house is like a tomb and desperately asked me to enlarge it but I did not want to change anything... we quarrelled over this issue ... But I finally realised that she was quite right and agreed to do what she wanted.⁶⁰¹

The above incident indicates a tension between two forces. The owner wanted to precede the construction based on his concept but the wife hindered this. The conflict that happened between their two opposing wishes ended up with restoring the car park and the open areas, which provided more natural lighting to the kitchen.

The wife believed that the family zone had been diminished in favour of profitable spaces. She perceived the kitchen and open areas to be small and they caused the house to resemble a 'tomb'. Eventually, P 49 was convinced by her argument and he did the following: enlarged the kitchen, cancelled the storage and restored the car park (Figure 8-17).

601 Participant 49, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 August 2014.



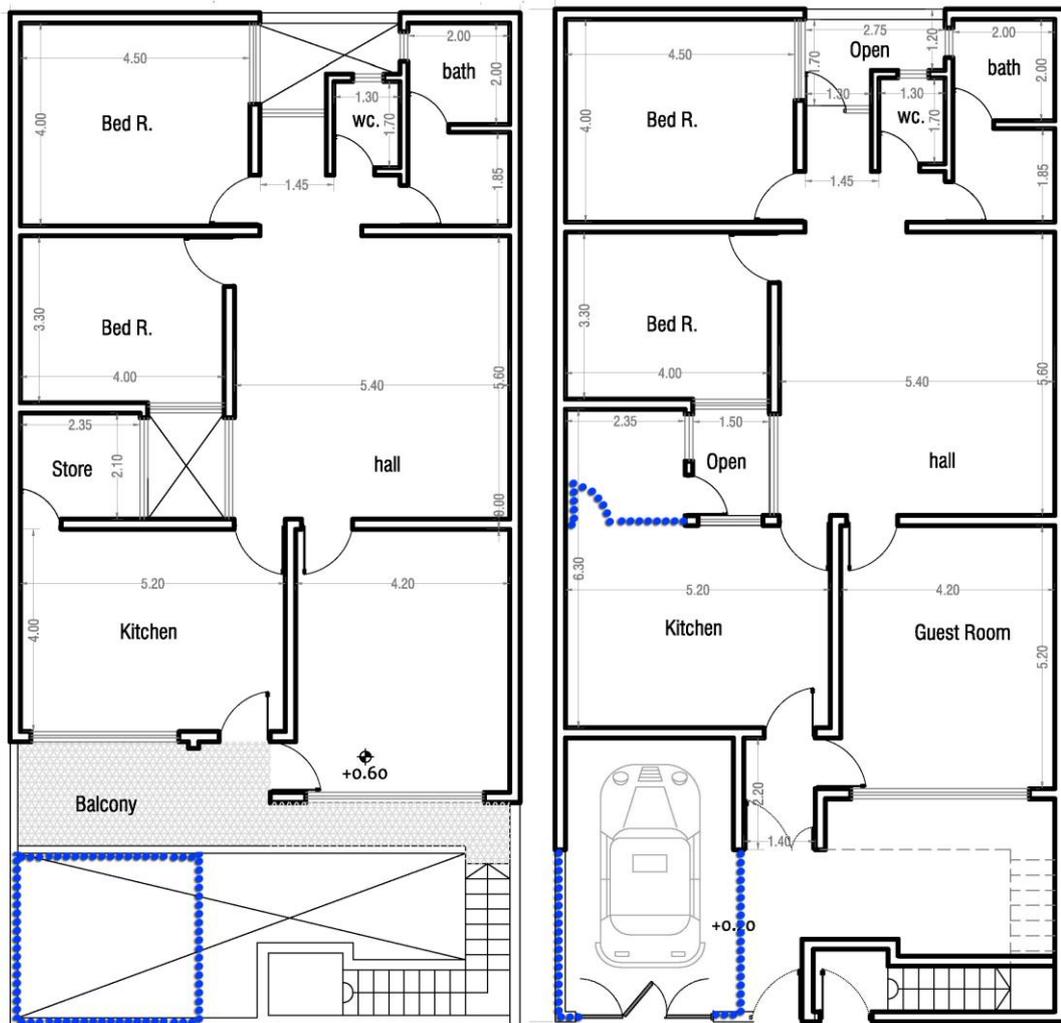
Ground Floor
after the additional changes

Removed Elements
Added Elements _____

Figure 8-15: The ground floor plan of House C after the additional changes. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 52.



Figure 8-16: The changes implemented to House D. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 52.



First Floor
after the additional changes

Ground Floor
after the additional changes

Removed Elements
 Added Elements ———

Figure 8-17: House D after the additional changes. Source: The author, adapted from the work of Participant 52.

The changes which happened to the above four SSHs were strongly countered by local ‘elites’, who were municipal officials, architects, architectural critics and urban professionals. The next section will outline the arguments raised by the ‘elites’ and their measures to prevent the changes.

8.5 The social production of SSHs: SSHs in everyday life

This section will outline the phenomenon of undermining BRs in Rapareen. It will further demonstrate how this phenomenon has provoked outrage among ‘elite’ groups which in this case refers to architects, municipal officials and urban professionals. As mentioned in section 8.2, a survey of 568 SSHs in Rapareen was carried out with the assistance of three architectural offices in Slemani. All of the SSHs covered in the survey were designed and constructed within a ten year period (2003-2013).

Figure 8-18 displays the results of the survey and it should be noted that 71% of the total number of the examined SSHs underwent changes after their owners gained construction permissions. The (perceived) failure of SSHs’ owners to comply with BRs provoked outrage among municipal officials. Accordingly, in 2011 the municipality updated its BRs and toughened the process of granting construction permissions. This was done in order to limit the power of SSHs’ owners and maximise the control of the municipality over the modifications.⁶⁰² As mentioned earlier, prior to 2011 CPs were given to SSHs’ owners once a municipal committee had visited the site of the SSH and checked the dimensions of the plot. After 2011, the municipality complicated the procedure of granting CPs in order to ensure that owners would not make changes to their houses during construction. Three stages were developed: Firstly, initial permission was handed to an SSH owner once the committee had inspected the plot and approved drawings, which then allowed the owners to commence construction works. Secondly, once a municipal committee had visited the site of the SSH and reported the completion of the structure of the SSH, which must be built according to the approved drawings, a second permission will be handed to its owner.

602 Participant 50, 51 and 52.

Area of the House	Number of SSHs	Design changed after obtaining construction permission	The ratio of the changed SSHs
up to 100 sq.m	67	43	64%
between 110 sq.m and 190 sq.m	211	115	55%
up to 200 m2	246	193	78%
Above 200 sq.m	43	37	86%
Total	567		71%

Figure 8-18: A survey performed on 568 SSHs which were constructed between 2003 and 2013. This was conducted by the author with the aid of three architectural offices in Slemani. The offices were run by Participant 50, 51 and 52. Source: The author.

This permission will allow SSHs' owners to resume building their houses until they reach the finishing stage. Thirdly, the final permission is given when the completion of the SSH is reported to the committee. These stages were designed as a reaction to the modifications that happened to SSHs before 2011.⁶⁰³

Nevertheless, the survey conducted for this research found that even after obtaining final construction permissions, owners continued to change the design of their houses (Figure 8-19). Some modifications took place in terms of adding or removing elements such as staircases, walls, gardens, car park and ceilings. This motivated architects, urban planners, academics and some decision makers at Slemani Municipality to increase calls for more control over the architectural and restructuring processes of SSHs. The arguments of these groups, which will be detailed later in this section, had been continuing up until the time of writing this chapter. It is worth re-mentioning that before 2003 the number of architects and urban planners in Iraqi Kurdistan, particularly in Slemani, were recently founded in the city (mid 2000s).

In the same period, groups of urban professionals and architects moved to Slemani from other regions of Iraq due to the socio-political changes after 2003.⁶⁰⁴ These groups, together with municipal officials, produced discourses of architectural chaos and deformation [Sheiwaw in Kurdish].

Below, some arguments of the 'elites' are presented. In 2010, the Kurdish architectural critic Tayb Jabar called for increasing the power of Slemani Municipality by imposing a new set of regulations and considering historical and cultural values. In an interview, Jabar stated that he wanted the municipality to 'be a supervisor over this [the process of regulating SSHs]'⁶⁰⁵. Jabar perceived SSHs as being built by individuals who lack 'architectural illumination'.

603 Participant 34.

604 Detailed in Chapter 3.

605 Tayb Jabar, بیناسازی کوردستان مۆرکی کوردەواریی پێوه نییه [Kurdish Architecture has no Identity], online article, The Kurdistan New (news agency), Iraqi Kurdistan: Slemani, 2010, available at: <http://knwe.net/Direje.aspx?Jimare=4540&Cor=4&Besh=Witar>, [accessed 5 July 2015].

Area of the House	Number of SSHs	Number of SSHs built before 2011	Total number of SSHs which were changed after obtaining construction permissions and during the construction process	Number of SSHs built after 2011	The number of SSHs which were changed after obtaining the final permission
100 sq.m	67	19	12	48	32
between 110 sq.m and 190 sq.m	211	50	27	161	88
200 m2	246	187	145	59	46
Above 200 sq.m	43	28	36	15	12
Total	567				

Figure 8-19: The SSHs continued to be changed even after the creation of new Building Regulations in 2011. Source: The author.

Jabar was referring to people who are not architects or civil engineers, those do not have the proper knowledge which is required to construct a house:

*Apart from engineers, people in our country do not understand architectural drawings ... in terms of constructing buildings, people do not know what a wall, a ceiling, and building blocks are... they lack architectural illumination.*⁶⁰⁶

The alleged absence of architectural illumination was a justification for handing SSHs over to experienced groups, who are supposedly able to produce better houses. In 2013, the journalist Haval Muhammed published an article, entitled ‘In Terms of Colours and Designs: Slemani is a deformed city’⁶⁰⁷, in the local newspaper Hawlati. Muhammad documented some images of SSHs facades and described them with the term ‘Sheiwaw’ (deformed) (Figure 8-20). The journalist highlighted the views of ‘three specialised individuals’ on SSHs: a municipal official, an architect and a psychologist.

The municipal official, named Zardasht Rafeeq, who held the post of the manager of the Department of Information at Slemani Municipality, criticised the physical manifestation of SSHs in relations to aesthetic values. Rafeeq argued that some elements chosen or added by owners to their houses, such as facade colours and external staircases, had negatively affected the ‘common sense’, making the city ‘ugly’. This official concluded by stating ‘we have to tighten the building regulations to control this mess ... the municipal council needs to take measures to address the visual aspects [of SSHs.]’⁶⁰⁸

Likewise, the architect and the psychologist disliked the SSHs. The architect argued that SSHs’ facades ‘are deformed and cause visual pollution ... they [the facades] must be heavily manipulated by the municipality’.

606 Ibid.

607 Haval Muhammed, ‘لەرەنگ و دیزایندا: سلیمانی شارێکی شیواوه’ [In terms of its Colour and its Design: Slemani is a Deformed City], online article, Hawlati Newspaper (webpage), 2013 available at: <<http://hawlati.co/22931>> [accessed 5 July 2015].

608 Ibid.

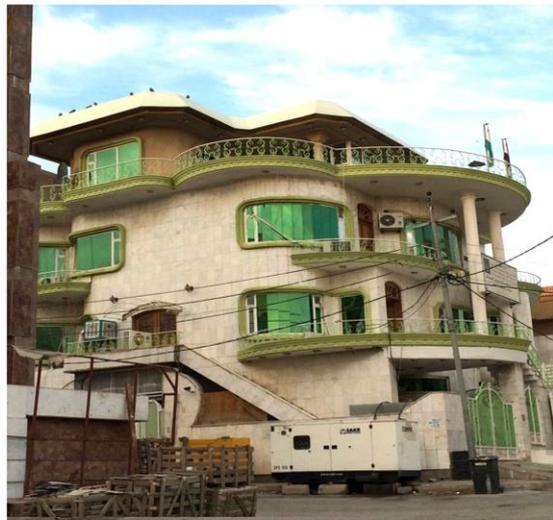


Figure 8-20: SSHs facades have been depicted by the elites as deformed, ugly and chaotic. The local authorities in Slemani and Iraqi Kurdistan do not oblige house owners or builders to unify the facades of their accommodations. Source: The author.

The psychologist suggested that SSHs can be psychologically harmful in the sense that ‘the disorganised colours of facades negatively affects human behaviour’. As time progressed, the ‘elites’ became more vocal about seizing back power from the owners by limiting their realm of productive actions. In 2016, a popular Kurdish TV talk show programme was broadcasted from Slemani, hosting a number of architects and top municipal officials from all cities of Kurdistan. The main course of the conversation revolved around issues of power and BRs, and the talks were directed by host, Ranj Sangawi, towards SSHs. One of the guests Abdul-Momen Taha, the general manager of the Directorate of Physical Planning of Kurdistan, expressed his views on SSHs:

Taha: We [the six guests in the program] all agree that we are dissatisfied with the current architectural situation in Kurdistan

Host: Something puzzles me ... you have significant power and yet you allow these everyday mistakes to occur

Taha: This is related to building regulations

Host: But regulations are created by you?! You set up plans, do you not?! You set up strategy, don't you?! Why do you direct people toward a wrong path?!

Taha: ... the government cannot force regulations upon people.⁶⁰⁹

In the above dialogue, several indications of power were exhibited. While the host thought that the power was in the hands of Taha, the latter attributed it to BRs and SSHs owners. Thus, Taha did not only want to change regulations, but also invited the government to be stricter and enforce further BRs.

609 Ranj Sangawi, TV program: ‘گرفته‌کانی نه‌خشه‌دانانی ئاوددانی له باشووری کوردستان’ [Issues of Development Planning in Southern Kurdistan], Rudaw (news agency), Iraqi Kurdistan: the office of Slemani, 2016, available at: <http://rudaw.net/sorani/onair/tv/episodes/episode/lagal_ranj_01092016> [accessed 8 September 2016].

Further, both the host and Taha perceived the changes, which were carried out by the owners of SSHs, as mistakes. This in turn indicates that both persons held the belief that architecture should be manipulated solely by professionals. Another guest in the program was Kurdo Ihsan, the manager of Directorate of Physical Planning in the Kurdish city of Duhok. He also believed that the main issue of SSHs is the authority SSH owners have over their properties – a power which enables them to perform modifications. Ihsan added ‘It cannot be permitted that individuals [denoting SSHs owners] supervise their houses ... how come they are allowed to construct their houses’. This argument was reflected by other guests. Bayar Omer, an architect, outlined the role that municipalities should have in Iraqi Kurdistan, saying ‘in a country like the UK, the government does not allow its people to build what they like’. Omer here referred to the power that the local British authorities have in housing production, and contrasted the British model to that of Kurdistan. These arguments were also corroborated by the academician and chancellor at the Engineers’ Union in Slemani, Participant 10, who regarded the changes done by SSHs owners as problems and encroachments which should be regulated by BRs. P 10 said ‘these problems are sorts of encroachments and the inspection process⁶¹⁰ is insufficient’. P 10 believed that the municipal agents or the inspectors should exert further control over SSHs and prevent changes.

All of the above arguments not only associate power to ‘elite’ groups, but also undermine the productions of ‘non-elites’ – branding them as disorderly and creators of ‘confusion’.

8.6 The shaping powers of SSHs: Identification of human and non-human forces which produced the project

This section reveals the forces behind the architectural formation of SSHs. The analysis uses a thematic approach, the matrix of power elements and forms, and the supporting technique of mapping. Below, ‘elite’ decision makers who shaped the four houses will be identified, and then their relations and actions will be discussed.

610 Participant 10

‘Non-elite’ groups are pre-identified and they include the users of the project, or those who have an everyday relationship to it. The final sub-section will highlight invisible force(s), or non-human forces which impacted actions and imaginations of both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups.

8.6.1 Identification of the human forces which shaped SSHs

In light of the three elements of time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in SSHs and between them and ‘non-elites’), the key human forces can be named as follows: the owners of SSH, private architects, professionals of the EU and ministers of SM. In the design phase, the owners formed their design concepts and handed them to private architects, who converted the concepts to standard drawings and advised the owners on how to materialise their ideas after obtaining construction permissions.

The professionals of EU and SM had a similar role in checking the compliance of the architectural and civil drawings with the building regulations. In the construction phase, the role of SM consultants continued through the occasional inspection of the building works, which was something supervised by the owners.

As illustrated in Figure 8-21, three key interconnected factors made the SSHs owners the dominant human force: time, actions and relations. Firstly, their influence extended over the design and construction phases. Secondly, their actions and the decisions they made during the phases above. Finally, the nature of the relations between them and other decision makers who participated in shaping these spaces. For instance, the owners instructed the private architects to design the houses, and then proceeded to flout the building regulations which were imposed the SM officials.

8.6.1.1 Exclusionary relations and controlling actions

The relations between the elites and non-elites makers in this case can be described as tensional, and the actions as opposing.

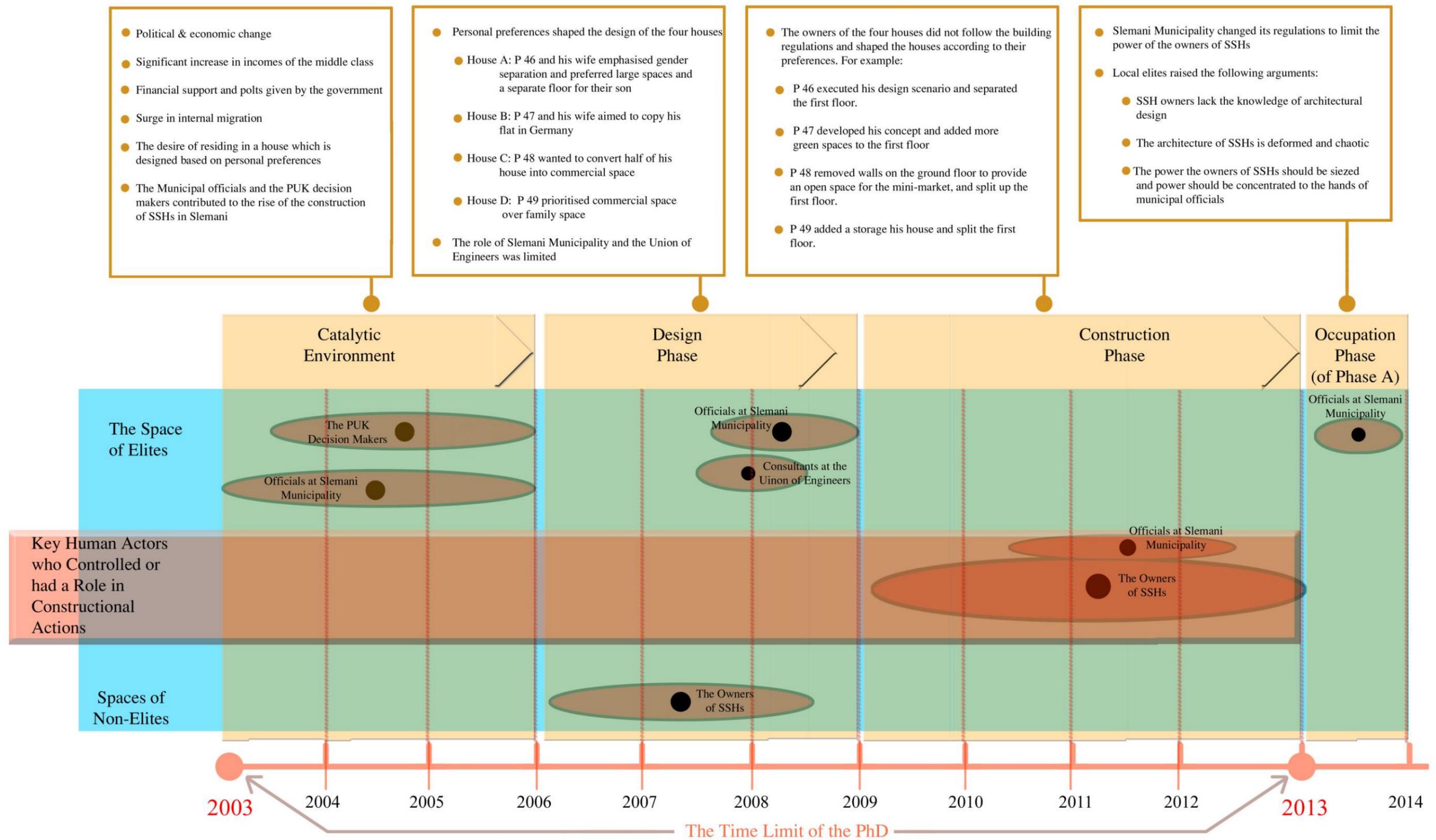


Figure 8-21: Visualisation of the production of the four SSHs. In light of the three elements of time (or the timeline of production), actions (mental and physical) and relations (among the decision makers involved in SSHs and between them and ‘non-elites’), the key human forces can be named as follows: the owners of SSH, private architects, professionals of the EU and ministers of SM. The key human-force was the owners of SSHs. Source: The author.

There were two key reasons behind this situation: Firstly, while the officials of the EU and SM maintained and emphasised the execution of the building regulations, the SSHs owners continued to flout the regulations and modified their spaces without obtaining legal permission. Secondly, both parties attempted to control the design and construction processes of SSHs, and their actions went against each other. The tension between the two sides grew in the 2000s and reached its momentum when the SM officials toughened their regulations in a bid to hinder SSHs' owners from changing their designs. However, the new regulations appeared to be ineffective because the owners continued to break them and perform modifications. SM ministers called for further tightening in various media channels, up to the time of writing this PhD.

Based on the actions and relations above, the narrative of the production of SSHs can be associated with the form of power-over, because the key theme appears to be challenge. Throughout the phases of production, there was neither trace of collective or coercive actions, taken by both 'elite' and 'non-elite' people, nor inclusionary or exclusionary relations, between the two groups.

8.6.2 Identification of the non-human force: The invisible power of the common perception of modernity

The non-human force was embedded in the building regulations which seemed to be the norms that were largely taken for granted. This invisible force had a significant impact, something which is explained below, on the actions of both elite and non-elite groups.

The SM consultants inherited the regulations from previous planning systems, which were created by foreign planners. These systems and building regulations remained almost unchanged for decades, and the vast majority of residential developments in Slemani, and other major cities in Iraqi Kurdistan, depended on those systems. Moreover, the regulations (somehow) constrained the imagination of urban decision makers and non-decision makers, and thus this impacted housing architecture. For instance, the majority of residential areas which were built in the late 2000s of the city, shared similar physical characteristics.

In brief, heterogeneous powers shaped the SSHs and some of the forces stood out as the most dominant, namely the owners of the houses who made influential decisions which impacted the architecture of SSHs. Nevertheless, power tensions between these human actors and the municipal officials were apparent throughout the chain of events. Both parties aimed to control design and construction processes of the SSHs. The invisible power here was the building regulations which were the centre of the discourses around the case.

Chapter 9 : Conclusion and Discussion

9.1 Overview

*There is a politics of space because space is political.*⁶¹¹

The argument that is put forward in this PhD is in line with Lefebvre's statement above. Architecture is a product of political forces, and it is through this lens that I attempted to understand the politics of space in the city of Slemani and establish an arena for contemplating alternative ways for this spatial politics to manifest.

Slemani's urban form witnessed an unprecedented shift when the city expanded, resulting in its size almost doubling in a single decade. This Kurdish urban area had not seen such expansion since it came into existence over two centuries before. Much of the urban land, which was designated as agricultural in the city's master plan in the 1980s and 1990s, has either been privatised or turned into built-up areas. The rapid development has been described by numerous Kurdish public figures, planning professionals and local officials as 'unplanned' or 'out of control'. Hence, it is imperative to understand the root of this phenomenon and the nature of the decision making that underpinned it, in order to contemplate the creation of an alternative politics. As a city which witnessed various forms of conflicts and social crisis, Slemani needs a different strategy for space construction— one which relies on empowerment, participation and non-discrimination.

This PhD has an exploratory and explanatory nature and is designed to answer the overarching question: what were the powers behind spatial production in Slemani between 2003 and 2013?

611 Henri Lefebvre, 'Comments on a New State Form', *Antipode* 33, no. 5 (2001): p.774.

This main question is broken down into two groups of sub-questions, those of which are concerned with theoretical principles of power and production within the socio-political context of Slemani. The first group of sub-questions include the following: (a) what is the concept of power?; (b) what is the relationship between power and space?; (c) how does this relationship influence processes of space production?; and (d) how do different power structures produce divergent spaces? The second group of sub questions is made up of four questions, all of which are related to the empirical section:(a) what were the reasons or motivations behind the rapid architectural development between 2003 and 2013; (b) who exerted power over architecture and urban spaces in the city?; (c) which mechanisms shaped the built environment?; and (d) what invisible or non-human forces were involved in processes of space production?

The first group of sub-questions have been addressed in the literature chapter. It is concluded that power is a combination of the capacity to take actions, which could be mental or physical, and the relations between two contradictions, objects and subjects. These elements operate in the following sense: the objects possess a greater capacity than the subjects to take actions, make decisions or influence the actions of the subjects; and the subjects are those who have less capacity and are always controlled by the objects in different ways. The duality of objects and subjects is associated with the contradiction of ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’, or with elite theory, through the notion that objects refer to the way in which the minority, or the ‘elites’, hold power and control subjects or ‘non-elite’ people. In addition, objects can be non-human agencies such as social norms or cultural values which influence actions and behaviours of masses of people.

The above understanding of power is linked to architecture and space production. Based on Lefebvre’s readings of space, processes of space pass through three moments: the mental, the physical and the social. I correlated the moments, as an architect, with the routine phases of architectural production: the design phase (the mental), the construction (the physical) and the occupation the social. The ideal mode of production, according to the literature review, particularly those scholarly insights which relate to Lefebvre’s concept and post-conflict reconstruction, occurs when both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups cooperatively run the three phases.

As far as I am aware of, as an academic and Kurdish architect who operated for years within the context Iraqi Kurdistan, this cooperative model has not been in existence in Slemani or in the entirety of Iraqi Kurdistan.

I was aware that groups of urban leaders, predominantly politicians, had the capacity to mobilise public resources and legislative support, which controlled processes of spatial production. Similarly, they were in support of large-scale projects which otherwise would not have been built. In addition, people who were not within the power sphere of those groups, or who could not access such spheres, had no real influence on space formation. This hypothesis, alongside my social background, impacted the development of this PhD in terms of its theoretical and methodological positions. For instance, the choice of theories and case studies correlated with the hypothesis.

In terms of the second group of sub-questions, they have been addressed within the empirical section. Based on the findings from the literature chapter, a theoretical framework was developed and this set the scene for investigating the politics of space in Slemani. The methodology, which is qualitative in nature, relied on the case study approach. Three categories of space, which was frequently produced in various scales and functions during 2003-2013, have been explored. These categories are investment-driven projects, government-sponsored constructions and privately-sponsored houses. Splitting the cases into these three categories, ranging from macro to micro scales, was a way of revealing how social forces interact on different levels. Further, two criteria determined the choice of the each case—the physical features of the case studies and the power of the people who shaped them. Data about the cases was collected through different procedures, using the methods of ‘mapping controversies’ and questionnaires. This data was then analysed using a thematic lens with the support of three techniques: story configuration, mapping and descriptive analysis.

The empirical study revealed the following aspects of space production in Slemani: the major social-economic factors behind the rapid development after 2003, the heterogeneous forces that manipulated formation processes, and the mechanisms by which these forces shaped the built environment. Understanding this context led to three subsequent findings that are listed below.

Firstly, the theme of domination defines the politics of space in Slemani between 2003 and 2013. In other words, there were groups of different decision makers, including intellectual, business and political groups, who controlled urban lands and dominated the majority of the processes which contributed to the formation of the built environment. The perpetuation of this mode of production threatens to prompt urban segregation, or perhaps even wreaks damage to the integrity of urban neighbourhoods. The mode has resulted in the creation of abstract spaces which are detached from their social, natural and historical context. Moreover, power forms are contingent on the scale and the physical properties of space. On the urban scale, the form of power-over (domination) was clear. Some high-valued spaces were used by the most powerful decision makers, who had the capacity to mobilise public funds and legislative power as an instrument to promote their narrow interests. This process did not have noticeable opposition or counter actions from less powerful populations. Conversely, on the micro level, the form of power changed to power-within (challenge). Spaces were subject to intensive power tensions between two social groups. It seems that many local inhabitants, especially the middle class and non-decision makers, prioritised their personal interests over public ones. Power tensions or challenging actions did not occur when almost all large urban spaces were repurposed and commodified.

Secondly, there were invisible and influential forces in all case studies, and these powers were non-human such as social norms, common perceptions, and building regulations. In most cases, these forces were taken for granted and they significantly impacted the built environment on different levels.

Based on the theoretical and empirical studies, this PhD proposes two strategies for reforming the politics of space in Slemani and potentially in other major Kurdish cities. The first strategy, which I label the tangible (or concrete) reform, targets the existing institutional and informal governing structures. The second strategy is the non-tangible (or abstract) reform and it has an ideological nature and aims to improve social consciousness through media and educational organisations.

This chapter presents four sections of this research: the discussion, contributions, limitations and recommendations for future research. The first section is a discussion of the theoretical and empirical parts. The focus here is on addressing the overarching research questions and the sub-questions.

There are three sub-sections within the discussion. Section 9.2.1 and 9.2.2 are dedicated to answering the first group of the sub-questions, the following sub-sections will cover the overarching question and the ones within the second group. The subsequent section outlines the theoretical, methodological and pragmatic contributions. Then, limitations of the theoretical framework and methodology are presented. Finally, recommendations are made about the potentiality of using the conceptual framework in developing the understanding of power relations between ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ populations in different environments, notably the process of applying the empirical model in other major Kurdish cities.

9.2 Discussion and findings

This section is dedicated to answering the overarching research questions and the sub-questions. I will begin by explaining the answers to the first group of the sub-questions, and will then turn to the next group. Section 9.2.1 addresses the question regarding the concept of power, and 9.2.2 is concerned with the rest of the questions within the first group.

The following section, 9.2.3, responds to the overarching question and the second group of sub-questions which are about the forces and mechanisms of production. Finally, 9.2.3.3, discusses alternative strategies for space making.

9.2.1 The concept of power: the capacity to act and contradictory relations

Although power is a complex phenomenon which is often contested, a shared ground has been established, based on various approaches, to explain the concept of power in the context of urban development between 2003 and 2013 in the city of Slemani. In this context, power is a combination of the capacity to take actions, which could be mental or physical, and relations between two contradictions: objects and subjects. In this thesis, the duality of objects and subjects is associated with two social groups: ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’. According to elite theory, ‘elites’ are those minorities who hold power and control masses of people (non-elites).

Power can take many forms, something which is classified in the literature in diverse ways; for example, power as visible, as direct control of people's actions, as non-visible, as able to influence beliefs and imaginations.⁶¹² However, in this research the forms are viewed in a broader sense. To explain further, power is cast into four models: power-over, power-to, power-with and power-within, and in each model the elements of power (capacities, actions, relations and the duality of objects and subjects) change. The elements and forms of power help to formulate a matrix which contains three themes of power: domination, cooperation and challenge.

It is concluded that the first two forms share many aspects and are thereby treated as being connected to the theme of domination. The others are connected to the themes of cooperation and challenge. In the case of 'power-over' and 'power-to', domination is shown through the ways in which 'elites' dominate mental and physical productions. In other words, 'elites' make prevailing decisions about architectural design and construction processes. Relations between 'elites' and 'non-elites', according to Michel Foucault, are ingrained with 'rejection, exclusion, refusal, blockage, concealment, or mask'⁶¹³. Once the power turns into 'power-with', or cooperation, both groups take collective actions in regard to the design of space and its construction, and relations between them are often described as inclusive. This is because the capacity to make decisions or to act is shared. The situation differs when challenge or 'power-within' comes into being. The capacity of 'elite' groups is often confronted by 'non-elite' populations, who disobey the decision makers and persistently seek to influence and make decisions within the realm of architecture. Hence, relations are tensional and actions are opposing. The matrix of power forms and elements along with the three supporting techniques (story configuration, mapping and descriptive analysis) helped to analyse the four case studies.

After shaping an understanding of the concept of power, I linked it with processes of architectural production by using Lefebvre's readings of space, and this is explained below.

612 Steven Lukes, *Power, Second Edition: A Radical View* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Bertrand Russell, 'The Forms of Power', in *Power*, ed. by Steven Lukes, *Readings in Social and Political Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 283.

613 Foucault, 'The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume I', p. 83.

9.2.2 Space as a product of socio-political forces: The impact of different forms of power on space production

Space is contingent to the nature of power relations among people, particularly between ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ populations. Thus, it responds to changes in these relations. If power becomes wholly concentrated in the hands of certain decision makers, or ‘elites’, the space detaches from its natural, social and historical contexts.

On the contrary, the more power is shared, the more the space becomes organic and attached to the three contexts. In order to study the relationship between power and space, two main theoretical perspectives were used to create a conceptual framework: Elite Theory and the theoretical approach of Henri Lefebvre. The first classifies society into two categories: ‘elites’—the minority who have capacity to make decisions and control the actions or interests of a majority of people who represent ‘non-elites’.⁶¹⁴ The second, in a broad sense, is about the capacity of the two social categories in shaping the built environment. The production of space, as Lefebvre proposes in the spatial triad, comprises three moments —the mental (the conceived), the physical (the perceived) and the social (the lived). As an architect, I associated this triad with the conventional phases of architecture: (a) the design stage: the design is conceived, and the mental process takes place; (b) the construction phase: the design is materialised and construction works begin; and (c) the occupation phase: the produced space is experienced in everyday life.

When the above phases fall under certain systems of power, the resultant spaces are impacted. The politics of domination (power-over) or cooperation (power-with) result in different categories of space: the ‘abstract space’ and the ‘absolute space’. The first exists under the form of ‘power-over’—when ‘elites’ take full control of the processes of production, especially the phases of design and construction. On the other hand, the second occurs when the form of ‘power-with’ is present, or if both ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ populations cooperatively run space production.

614 James Hans Meisel, *Pareto & Mosca* (Prentice-Hall, 1965); Alan Zuckerman, ‘The Concept “Political Elite”: Lessons from Mosca and Pareto’, *The Journal of Politics*, 39.2 (1977), 324–44 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2130054>>.

‘Abstract space’ is often inorganic or detached from its surrounding social, natural and historical contexts due to its quality, which is designed to advantage the dominant ‘elites’ who created it. These benefits could be financial, ideological or political. Based on Marxist thought, this space is often associated with the concept of the ‘exchange-value’, in the sense that it is produced to be placed on the market. Other spaces are either shaped according to cultural, religious, or political purposes. On the other hand, ‘absolute space’ represents the ‘use-value’ and is produced to serve its users and all who are in everyday life relationships with it.

Thus, it is organic and significantly connected to its social, natural and historical environments. The processes of space formation in the city of Slemani were seen in light of these concepts of power and space, and they will be discussed in the next section.

9.2.3 The politics of space production in Slemani

The economic and political shift that occurred after 2003 accelerated and facilitated the construction industry in Iraqi Kurdistan. This was the prime reason behind the rapid urban and architectural development in Slemani. Various formal and business structures were involved in this development and there were certain human and non-human agencies, explained below, that controlled the production of space.

The human forces consisted predominantly of business, political and intellectual elites, with the most powerful elites being the male members of the PUK party. The partisans, who, since 1991, had been occupying the majority of the top government positions in the city, and managed to shape many social and economic aspects according to the interest of the party and their own personal advantages. The power of the PUK elites affected the built environment on macro and micro scales; an example of their influence being the delay which occurred in the project of the city’s masterplan in the mid-2000s. One of the major reasons that prolonged the design processes was the conflict of interests among these elites; their opponents had heavily criticised their pursuit of private gains at the cost of the wider community.

These leaders, along with other business and intellectual decision makers, shaped the city's spaces according to their ideologies and interests. This left narrow opportunities for the rest of the inhabitants, or 'non-elites', to take part in production processes.

In terms of non-human forces, they were taken for granted and originated from two sources: external and internal. Firstly, Iraqi Kurdistan has inextricable political, cultural, and economic ties with foreign (or western) powers that occupied it twice in the early 20th and 21st centuries. Western architectural culture has had a strong impact on the minds of Kurdish planners, architects, urban officials as well as non-professional people.

From the accounts of the participants who took part in this PhD, it is clear that the concept of modernism was largely perceived as a synonym for the architectural designs and planning standards of Europe, the USA, Canada and the like. Secondly, the local social norms had significant influence on the arrangement of spaces—especially when it came to the notion of private⁶¹⁵ and public spaces. The following sections will detail these forces, as well as their impact on the architecture and the urban built environment in Slemani.

9.2.3.1 'Power-over' as a dominant form: the lack of cooperation between 'elites' and 'non-elites' and the role of 'elites' in governing processes of architectural production

Throughout the four case studies, two forms of power can be identified: 'power-over' and 'power-within'. The first form was dominant in three case studies, which are Grand Millennium Sulaimani Hotel, 'Garden City' and Women's Shelter and Development Centre. The second power form was seen within the case of the Self-Supervised Houses. The two forms are explained below.

Firstly, the form of 'power-over' was the prevailing form in terms of producing architectural and urban spaces in the city of Slemani.

615 For instance, women are often viewed as part of private life and therefore those spaces which house females are separated considerably.

The three main categories of ‘elites’ (political, business and intellectual) exerted significant power over processes of design and construction (mental and physical moments). In concrete terms, constructions were designed by certain groups of decision-makers, who also administered or supervised construction processes. These buildings were imposed on ‘non-elite’ populations, who had almost no influence on the design and construction processes. As explained in Chapter 3, ‘power-over’ is strongly associated with the theme of domination, and this form of power has certain features: (a) ‘elites’ possess full capacity to make decisions; (b) relations between ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ often have an exclusionary character in the sense that ‘elites’ attempt to keep ‘non-elites’ away from processes of decision-making and from promoting material and non-material interests; (c) the actions of elites are often controlling; and (d) ‘non-elites’ have almost no capacity to make decisions. As shown in Table 9-1, 9-2 and 9-3, these elements are examined in relation to the three case studies. ‘Elites’ in all these cases made influential decisions about the spaces they produced but in different ways.

In the urban-scale spaces, namely Grand Millennium Sulaimani Hotel and Garden City, business leaders were in control of design and construction stages due to their roles in: (a) conceiving design themes; (b) hiring architects; (c) funding and supervising constructional works. Hence, the businessmen seemed to be more influential than other political and intellectual (cultivated) groups. In the case of the Women’s Shelter and Development Centre, cultivated ‘elites’ were prominent in terms of conceiving the architectural concept, defining the design brief, supervising construction works, and specifying the location of the building within the city. During the construction period, the group made significant changes to the Women’s Shelter and Development Centre. ‘Non-elite’ groups had no influence on the design and construction processes (mental and physical production), but after the projects finished (and the social production started) these groups began to produce metaphors, symbols and arguments. In addition, minor physical modifications took place, especially in the cases of the Garden City and the Women’s Shelter and Development Centre, but these modifications did not change the overall architectural theme or even physical appearance. Secondly, the form of ‘power-within’ can be identified in the case of the Self-Supervised Houses, in which ‘non-elite’ groups made significant decisions in relation to conceiving design concepts and supervising construction stages.

The Form of Power		The form of 'Power-over' (the domination of elites) in the Case of Grand Millennium Sulaimani Hotel (GMSH)
Power Components		
Capacity of Elites	<p>The main decision makers were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The investor Mustafa Rasool • The designer Sherko Pasha • The consultant Allawi • Architects at Millennium and Copthorne Hotels (MCH) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The investor Rasool made the following decisions which led to the physical formation of GMSH: creating the theme of the design, choosing the location of the hotel, hiring and directing the architect (Pasha) over the course of the design and construction phases and allowing an external force, Millennium and Copthorne Hotels (MCH), to be involved in the design process. Rasool was the one who preconceived the image of the project and this strongly shaped the design. • The designer Pasha translated the concepts of Rasool into a concrete architectural form. • The consultant Allawi, the contractor of the project, intervened in the design and prevented the construction of some architectural elements. • The architects at MCH took over the processes of design and construction of the all interior spaces
Relations	<p>Exclusionary Relations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The locals, who had usufructuary rights in the site of the project, were excluded from using the space • The elites ignored local labourers who complained about not being hired for construction works (physical production) • The investor has privatised the financial benefits of GMSH • The majority of non-elite populations who had everyday relationships with the project believed that they were excluded from using this space because no public zones (within the project) were provided, and access to the facilities of the project was restricted to high-income guests only
Actions	<p>Controlling Actions</p>	<p>The actions taken by the investor, who used the power of the local officials, were controlling and served narrow interests. These actions are listed below:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The site of the project was originally public property but the ownership of the land was forcibly transferred to the investor and the ruling party of the PUK • The land was a forest, which was seen by the locals as of historical value to Slemani and contained rare types of trees and plants. It was removed, and this also caused environmental problems to the inhabitants of the neighbouring areas • The Investor used the power of top PUK members, who manipulated local revenues, to withdraw funds from the public budget in order to finance this private project
Capacity of Non-Elites	<p>Non-elites possessed no capacity to make decisions</p>	<p>The 'non-elite' groups below were not allowed to make decisions about shaping the architecture of GMSH during the production processes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The people who had usufructuary rights in the site of the project • The residents of the neighbouring areas or who had everyday relationships with the GMSH

Table 9-1: The analysis of the case of GMSH. Source: The author.

		The Form of Power	The form of 'power-over' (the domination of elites) in the case of Garden City (GC)
		Power Components	
Capacity of Elites Relations Actions Capacity of Elites		<p>The main decision-makers were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The investor Aso Bamokey and his business partners • The designer Yasar Deger • The consultants at Slemani Municipality (SM) • The senior engineers at The Directorate of Investment Board of Slemani (DIBS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The investors imposed the “modern” image on the design and constrained the power of the architect. During construction, they repeatedly intervened and changed some architectural features and this caused the architect (Deger) to leave the project. The investors did not allow professionals who were working at the investors’ company (Halabja Group Company) to influence the course of their strategy and actions. The investors continued to flout the regulations, which were set up by SM, and changed the design of GC, for example by increasing the number of floors of the blocks of Phase B and C, reducing green areas, and delaying the construction of the services inside GC. • The architect Deger conceived the design of the GC, and he was in charge of the construction process of the first six housing blocks (Phase A). • The consultants at Slemani Municipality influenced the design of Deger and ordered him to reduce the number of blocks to 18, increase spaces for green areas and shared services, and limit the number of storeys in each block to 10. • The senior engineers at DIBS supervised Phase A, ensuring that the investors complied with the regulations of SM and that construction proceeded according to the approved plans.
		Exclusionary Relations	In general, the investors ignored the needs of the residents of GC, and they created a gated urban space which only houses a wealthy population (excluding other social classes). In the second and third stages of construction, Phases B and C, the investors responded to the complaints raised by GC’s residents. However, the latter group complained about numerous aspects of the project, such as the absence of buildings for shared services (a school, a clinic, a nursery etc.) and the lack of green spaces. Similarly, the inhabitants of the neighbouring areas argued that GC contributed to exacerbating social inequalities.
		Controlling Actions	<p>The actions taken by the investors, who used the power of the local officials, were coercive and served narrow interests. These actions are listed below:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This research obtained data showing that the land was originally public property but the ownership of the land was transferred to the investors. • The investors ignored the rights of GC residents by taking the following actions: (a) using the zones which were designed to be green spaces and converting them to built-up areas; (b) delaying the construction of shared services; and (c) changing the quality of finishing materials and furniture, which were set out in the real estate contract. • The businessmen controlled the price of housing units or flats and this led to housing only wealthy families.
		Non-Elites possessed limited capacity to influence the architecture of GC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The power of GC dwellers was extremely limited. Although the investors responded to the complaints of the dwellers, the former carried out a few changes to the interior design of the flats of the blocks in Phases B and C. These changes did not affect the overall architecture of GC. The residents were allowed to modify the interior design of their flats. • The businessmen did not respond to the repeated requests by GC inhabitants for shared services to be built. • Many residents of the neighbouring areas wished they had the power to replace the entire site of GC with a public space(s), and others wished to move GC to the periphery of the city.

Table 9-2: The analysis of the case of GC. Source: The author.

<p>The Form of Power</p> <p>Power Components</p>	<p>The form of ‘power-over’ (the domination of elites) in the case of Women’s Shelter and Development Centre (WSDC)</p>
<p>The main decision-makers were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The members of the Committee of Women (CW) at Slemani Governorate Headquarters (SGH) • The senior architects at the Engineering Department at SGH • The designer of the project (myself) • The provincial governor of Slemani 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The CW initiated the project and participated in producing the design brief • The senior architects of the ED collectively formed the design brief with the CW and supervised the construction works. The architects further isolated the shelter by taking the following actions: disintegrating the shared space, splitting the adjacent development centre by lowering its level, and rotating the shelter • I was responsible for creating the concept of the WSDC design, modelling the architectural form, and shaping the internal spaces • The governor decided to repurpose the development centre and ordered the local authorities to hand the building over to the <i>Directory of Combating Violence against Women</i>
<p>Exclusionary Relations</p>	<p>Two major (non-elite) groups were completely outside the spheres of decision-making:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The users of this space including the residents of the shelter, administrators and those employees who were supposed to take courses in the development centre • The inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood.
<p>Controlling Actions</p>	<p>The actions below were taken by the elites without consultation or discussion with relevant non-elite groups, especially the project’s administrators and users:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setting up the design brief and other architectural features • Placing the site of the project in a location the elites perceived to be suitable • Isolating the shelter and changing the design of the project • Repurposing the development centre
<p>Non-elites possessed limited capacity to influence the architecture of WSDC</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The residents of the shelter wished to redesign the building and increase outdoor and green areas. In addition, they complained about their space being isolated from society. • The administrators who ran the shelter complained about a number of missing facilities, such as a clinic and a playground for children. • People outside the shelter associated this building with a curse of God and called for the building to be placed elsewhere.

Table 9-3: The analysis of the case of WSDC. Source: The author.

The Form of Power Power Components	The form of 'power-within' (challenging the power of elites) in the case of Self-Supervised Houses (SSHs)
<p>The main decision-makers were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultants at Slemani Municipality (SM) • Architects who run private offices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The consultants at SM imposed the building regulations (BRs) which were the centre of debates around SSHs. In addition, these elites visited construction sites and checked the compliance of the drawings with the building regulations, and they granted construction permissions. • Architects, who provide services to owners of SSHs, helped the owners to materialise their concepts and evade the limitations of the BRs
<p>Dialectical Relations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The architecture of SSHs was produced between two extremes: the elites and the owners of SSHs. Both groups made influential decisions, and these decisions were not collectively made as the groups were in persistent tensions
<p>Challenging Actions</p>	<p>The tensions (mentioned above) can be seen in the actions of both groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the one hand, SSHs owners continued to flout BRs and adjust the design of their houses according to their needs, and in the arguments of the owners the BRs were seen as restrictive power • On the other hand, elite groups, such as architects and municipal officials, tightened BRs and called for even more tightening in order to gain more control over SSHs, and these groups produced a discourse of deformation, associating the architecture of SSHs with chaos. This discourse had been strongly affirmed by the 'elites' in various media channels up to the time of writing this PhD
<p>Non-Elites possessed capacity to shape the architecture of SSHs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SSHs owners controlled the design concepts and supervised construction works • Able to challenge the power of municipal officials • Did not follow or were not influenced by the discourse of deformation which was used by elites to control the architecture of SSHs

Table 9-4: The analysis of the case of SSHs. Source: The author.

This form of power, which is linked to the theme of challenge, has distinguishing features: (a) ‘elites’, in comparison with other forms of power, possessed less capacity to make decisions about shaping architectural spaces; (b) relations between ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ were often in tension; (c) the actions of non-elites were challenging and driven by personal values; (d) ‘non-elites’ here have a greater capacity to make decisions. As illustrated in Table 9-4, the four features were examined within the case of Self-Supervised Houses. The ‘elite’ groups, represented by urban planners, architects and consultants at Slemani Municipality, were not able to fully control SSHs’ in terms of them making decisions on the architecture of the houses, but the decision makers did persist in tightening building regulations and aiming to constrain the landlords’ power. Moreover, the elites, who had more access to media channels than the rest of the local populations, damned the politics of SSHs production and linked it to ‘deformation’ and ‘chaos’. Relations between the elites and the owners were characterised by power tension between the two groups.

This tension arose because of challenging actions taken by the owners, who continued to flout building regulations and viewed the regulations and the permission procedures as constraining their liberty to shape their spaces. As the form of ‘power-over’ dominated the production of architectural spaces in Slemani, the resultant spaces tend to be abstract, something which is elaborated on in the next section.

9.2.3.2 ‘Abstract space’: the tendency towards exploiting urban spaces for the promoting of narrow interests

As outlined in the literature chapter, physical and non-physical aspects of architecture are strongly linked to the nature of power which governs the modes of spatial production. Based on the theory of Henri Lefebvre, ‘abstract spaces’ are those projects which are produced by ‘elites’ and in isolation from ‘non-elites’, and are sometimes designed to only serve the needs of certain ‘elites’.⁶¹⁶ Therefore, ‘abstract spaces’ are usually detached from natural, social, or historical contexts. All case studies, which are examined in this research, are ‘abstract spaces’ in this definition of the term.

616 The theory is explained in relation to architecture in Chapter Two

This is due to there being no trace of the form of ‘power-with’. To explain this more clearly, three elements of ‘power-with’ were not present in the four case studies: shared capacity of making decisions, inclusive relations and collective actions. Throughout the case studies there were rifts between the spaces of ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups, meaning that each group exerted power over architecture in separation from the other. With this in mind, the cases are explained below.

The most abstract case was the Grand Millennium Slemani Hotel in which power was concentrated to the hands of the investor. The project served the narrow benefits of the businessman, had negative consequences on public funds, and damaged one of the city’s most valuable and ancient forests. Similarly, the investors in the case of Garden City imposed their own strategy for profit on the construction without paying attention to the architect and the regulations of the local authorities. The businessmen shaped GC according to their financial interests, and this caused many spatial issues. The issues were: the shift of the blocks, the reduction of green spaces and the delay of erecting shared services. Likewise, intellectual ‘elites’ produced the Women’s Shelter and Development Centre in complete isolation from ‘non-elites’. The design brief and the architectural concept were created not on the basis of the needs of the users, but on the basis of precedent designs and the architect’s concept. The physical and architectural modifications, which were made to the project during construction works, were orchestrated by the consultants of the Engineering Department (at the Slemani Governorate Headquarters). The case of Self-Supervised Houses also represents ‘abstract space’ due to power tensions between ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ groups, something which contrasts with the principles of ‘absolute space’. According to Henri Lefebvre, one of the main features of ‘absolute space’ is that there are no power tensions between the realms of the physical, mental and social. Groups in these realms should act in concert and thus produce integrated spaces which suit their needs.⁶¹⁷ The case of Self-Supervised Houses shows that the actions of each of group (‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’) were directed towards different ends: while the staff at Slemani Municipality and the Engineer’s Union aimed to enforce building regulations and procedures, owners of Self-Supervised Houses worked for their own personal and financial interests.

617 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 39–52.

9.2.3.3 The power of non-human agencies

One of the significant findings to emerge from this research is that in each case study there was an invisible non-human force influencing mental, physical and social production. As explained in the literature chapter, objects, which are one of the four elements of power (capacity, actions, relations and the duality of object and subject), usually influence subjects' behaviour and thoughts. In brief, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argue that in each society there are ruling ideas which govern processes of production.⁶¹⁸ Michel Foucault studied certain social, economic, and scientific norms which have the capacity to turn masses of people into subjects.⁶¹⁹ Bruno Latour suggests that social actions are not only caused by human power, but also by 'other types of forces'⁶²⁰ which he defines as non-human actors.⁶²¹ According to Latour, an actor is 'anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference'⁶²². Taking the above accounts into consideration, there were non-human agencies which invisibly affected the course of productive actions in all four cases.

To begin with, the perception of modernity or modern architecture played an influential role in producing the architectural themes of the projects of Grand Millennium Slemani Hotel and Garden City. This perception caused the decision-makers of the two buildings to see no alternative to the architectural images that are produced within cities situated in the Global North. For instance, the investor of Grand Millennium Slemani Hotel overtly ordered the architect to create a design similar to tower buildings in Dubai and European countries, and the concept of placing a revolving restaurant was borrowed from the CN Tower in Canada.

618 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas*, p.1845.

619 Foucault, 'The Subject and Power'.

620 Bruno Latour, 'Reassembling the Social-an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory', *Reassembling the Social-An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, by Bruno Latour, Oxford University Press, (2005): p.70.

621 The concept of the power of non-human actors has been discussed in various ways in both classical and modern philosophies. For instance, it appeared in the work of Karl Marx, and later it was broadened by other philosophers such as Michel Foucault and Bruno Latour. In Marx's philosophy, non-human actors influence the understanding of social life because whatever exists depends on matter.

622 Ibid p.71.

In the case of Garden City, the businessmen gave their project an English name believing that it would be a representation of modernity. Moreover, the businessmen copied the architectural form of one of the common types of housing complexes in Europe, a representation of space which was based on the investor's understanding of modernity. As for the Women's Shelter and Development Centre, the prejudice towards women who escape their houses and reside in shelters was the non-human force and something which significantly impacted the architecture of the Women's Shelter and Development Centre. Interestingly, this conception caused 'elites' and 'non-elites' to further isolate this space from society.

The project was modified several times in order to increase the distance between the shelter building and the surrounding areas. In their arguments, the neighbours compared the shelter to a curse of God, meaning that the space was perceived as extremely unpleasant. In the case of SSHs, the non-human force was the building regulations, which were the centre of the power tensions throughout the narrative. The regulations were created by 'elite' planners decades ago, and they had become the norms which govern the architecture of Self-Supervised Houses.

These norms caused municipal officials to view Self-Supervised Houses as uncontrolled spaces and thus they toughened the procedure of granting construction permissions.

9.2.4 Potential alternative for the local politics of space production

Based on the theoretical and empirical studies, this PhD proposes two strategies for reforming the politics of space in Slemani, and potentially in other major Kurdish cities. The attempt is to provide general concepts on the possibilities for alternative approaches to space production without indulging in detailed arguments, particularly on political mechanisms for social change. This is largely because such complex knowledge requires further studies and analysis which are beyond the capacity of this PhD, which has an exploratory and explanatory nature. The first strategy, I label the tangible (or materialistic) reform and it targets the existing governing structures. The second is the non-tangible (or abstract) reform which has an ideological nature that relates to social consciousness.

The overarching objective is to achieve an ideal mode of spatial production, in which the politics of space making is defined by collective actions and inclusive relations which are ensured by the cooperation of 'elites' and 'non-elites'. This collaborative operation works towards producing spaces that are ingrained within their natural, social and historical contexts. Below, I will explain the two strategies, and will then propose a theoretical model for an ideal form of space production.

In regard to the first reform, the strategy is to overcome the phenomenon of the concentration of power that lies within the hands of governmental officials, urban professionals, architects and other types of cultivated or business 'elites'. The case studies showed their passive nature through the way in which different 'elites' exerted excessive power on shaping spaces in Slemani, depriving 'non-elites' of their rights to contribute towards developing the spaces they lived in or experienced in everyday life. This mode of spatial politics produced abstract spaces that, in most cases, had not only nurtured public resentment, but also gave rise to voices which called for a radical reform. However, this sort of reform might cause violence and thus it needs to take place slowly. Further, in the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, which saw a string of violent power changes, tangible reform should only be carried out in a peaceful way. I would suggest that any future transformation within the politics of spatial production should be materialised in civil and non-violent ways, namely through legislative authority. Members of the Kurdish parliament, which includes opposition parties and professionals, are capable of forcing urban decision makers to allow or encourage local models, programmes and initiatives in regard to space making.

The second reform, the intangible, is an ideological policy which involves educational systems, media channels, informal knowledge-sharing sources (social media), and activities that are performed cooperatively with marginalised populations, such as middle income and poor classes and non-partisan women. The objective here is to educate people about space making, and importantly how to question, discuss or resist those taken for granted cultural norms and thinking systems that contribute towards producing abstract spaces. The creation of an alternative ideological critique should not only be done by sociologists, architects and urban professionals, but also by marginalised populations, who need to contribute and have their voices heard. Once the critique has been created, an ideal mode of space production can then emerge.

Below, I suggest the following theoretical model, which is visualised in Figure 9-1, as an alternative mode of production which aims at creating spaces which benefit the wider community, including both ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’.

It is concluded in the literature chapter that processes of spatial formation in post-conflict zones should be based on participation and empowerment, where elite and non-elite populations collaboratively operate in order to collectively produce architecture which serves various economic, social and cultural interests. This approach is also in line with Lefebvre’s concept of ‘absolute space’. Hence, I suggest that any alternative should be inspired by the theme of shared interest.

The model, proposed here, contains four principles, which are arranged in a timely manner and according to a conventional pattern of architectural production (design, construction, and occupation), are listed below:

- a. Agreement on shared interests: before launching processes of architectural design, both elite and non-elite groups need to engage in discursive talks with the aim to agree on shared interests and gains. Both sides have their duties and responsibilities. If both sides fail to reach an agreement, government officials (who must remain as neutral as possible) mediate to settle disagreements and should make sure that the agreement ultimately occurs. The intellectual elites use their knowledge to enrich and support the talk and other elites, particularly government officials or businessmen (if the space is set for investment purposes), provide the infrastructure to facilitate the talks.
- b. Drafting the shared interests: once both parties have arrived at an agreement, the intellectual ‘elite’ (architects, engineers, planners, urban professionals ... etc.) use their knowledge to translate the agreed gains into 2D architectural drawings. Other ‘elites’ monitor the scientific and technical aspects within the design processes, and mobilise all relevant provisions including the legislative backup.
- c. Materialising the shared interests within an organic working environment: once the design has been finalised, construction works take place organically, meaning that the works are carried out collectively by both groups. Users of space or affected people should be allowed to constitute the labour power.

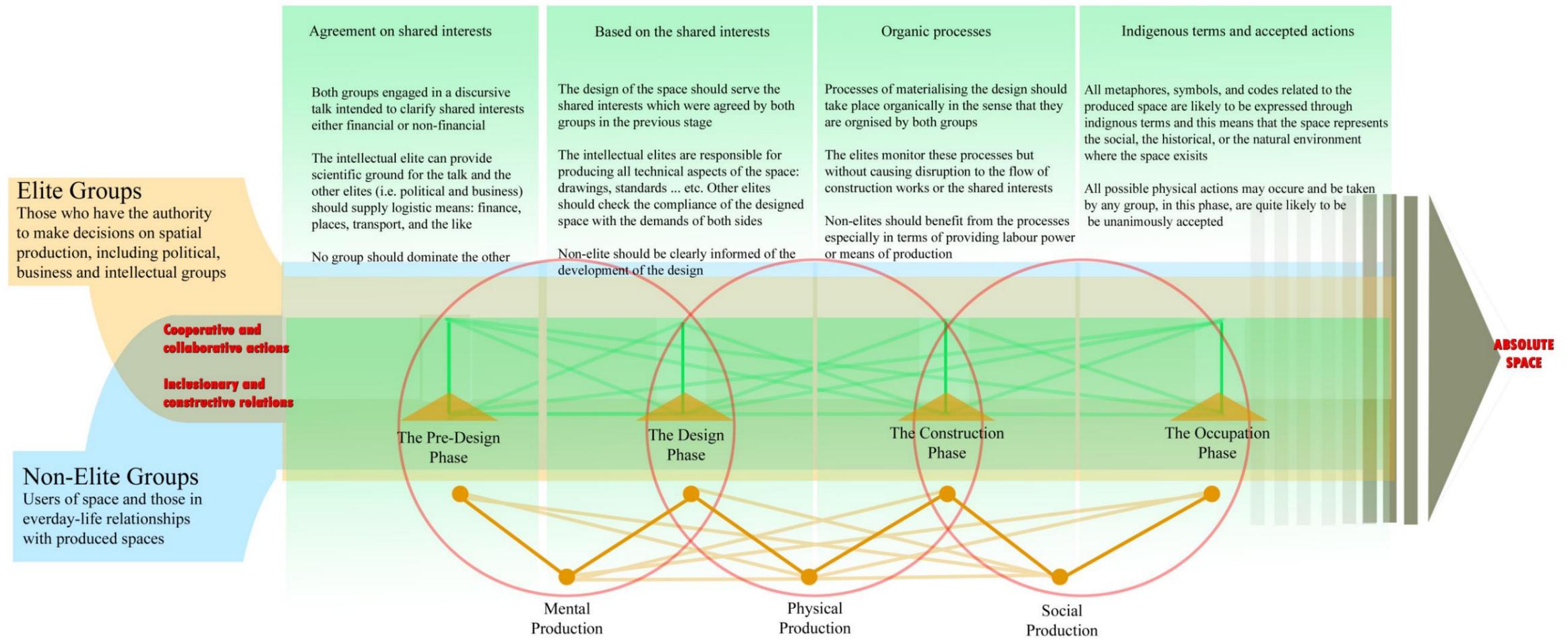


Figure 9-1: The visualisation of the alternative politics of space production that I propose based on the theoretical and empirical studies of this PhD. Source: The author.

The labour power not only produces architecture as use value, but also as exchange-value, which means, for instance, securing employment for ‘non-elites’ as well as developing their skills. All of the individuals who have authority, such as architects, projects owners, and government officials, are responsible for arranging the course of action without prompting disruption.

- d. Living in spaces that are attached to the context: after the phases of design and construction reached an end and the occupation stage has begun, the reactions or expressions about the produced space are very likely attached to social, historical and natural environments. Space here represents the need of its producers and is physically constructed by shared actions and mentally by indigenous terms. For instance, metaphors or symbols, which are born out of the space, reflect the context by adopting native terms. Moreover, future changes to the produced spaces are expected to be unanimously accepted by the two sides, because they do not violate the overall system of production, which has been already planned by ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’.

The model above is in line with the theme of cooperation, or the form of ‘power-with, and this space politics, which is characterised by inclusionary relations and collective actions, will enable both ‘non-elites’ and ‘elites’ to have almost equal capacities to make decision about shaping the space they live in or with.

9.3 Contributions of the thesis

Three contributions can be found in this work: the theoretical, methodological and pragmatic, and they are elaborated on below. Each of them is derived from one of the main parts of this research. For instance, the theoretical contribution is related to the literature chapter and the pragmatic to the empirical study.

9.3.1 The theoretical contribution

The theoretical contribution of this PhD is embedded in the conceptual framework.

The conceptual framework was devised based on different approaches to power and architecture, and the potential alternatives to the politics of space production.

As explained in the literature and methodological chapters, the construction of the framework is based on concepts of power and production, with particular attention paid to elite theory and its relationship to the philosophical production of space. This is a relational framework which has not yet, as far as I am aware, been combined within scholarship. The two theories are not typically connected as elite theorists have tended to focus on power within politics.

Similarly, those who follow Lefebvre's analysis pay attention to processes of architectural production and spatial relations more than power structures. This PhD attempted to present Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* through a rarely used lens, namely that of power and architecture. These two realms have been linked with three Lefebvrian concepts: the spatial triad, the moments of production and 'abstract' and 'absolute' spaces. Firstly, the theoretical model of the spatial triad is reintroduced here through power relations between two social groups: elites and non-elites. Secondly, the moments of production (the mental, physical and social) are used in the realm of architecture, in the sense that each moment is linked with one of three architectural stages: (a) the mental moment through the formation of design concepts; (b) the physical moment through the construction processes; (c) the social moment through the occupancy phase (the building in use). Thirdly, the notions of 'absolute' and 'abstract' spaces are associated with both power and architecture. This means that the nature of power relations between elite and non-elite groups impact the architectural features of a building. When a mode of production is governed by the form of 'power-over' (domination of 'elites') the resultant space becomes abstract, and when the mode is governed by the form of 'power-with' (cooperation between 'elites' and 'non-elites') the space becomes absolute. In simple terms, 'abstract spaces' are conceived and controlled only by 'elite' people, who use spaces as instruments to promote narrow interests, and in contrast 'absolute spaces' are collectively constructed by 'elite' and 'non-elite' populations, and these spaces subsequently benefit both groups.

9.3.2 The methodological contribution

The methodological contribution is related to the design of the empirical model, a model which has never been mobilised by another scholar in relation to my use of theoretical concepts and approach to data collection and analysis.

My conceptual framework combines Lefebvre's repertoire on space with 'elite' theory. There has not been a common model to follow because Lefebvre himself did not present a well-defined methodology, and thus his scholars devised various methodological frameworks based on existing methods. The originality of my model is embedded in the fact that I interpreted a complex philosophical work and turned it to a methodological instrument. The thesis also adapted the method 'mapping controversies' to suit the nature of the research.

Lefebvre's writings have been widely criticised for not offering clear empirical approaches. In this respect, Christian Schmid, one of the most prominent researchers on Lefebvre's oeuvre, says that the question of how to translate Lefebvre's concepts about space into concrete empirical studies 'brings us to ... possible trouble ... his books remain elusive when it comes to this question'⁶²³. There are diverse interpretations for the legacy of the French philosopher, and scholars have been viewing his spatial theory according to their cultural and knowledge backgrounds. Schmid adds:

*Lefebvre did not develop any sophisticated methodology. He and his colleagues and assistants used the existing methods that were available at the time, based mainly on qualitative methodologies. It follows that there are no simple recipes or models that would allow us to apply his concepts*⁶²⁴

Based on the statement above, the creation of a model for applying Lefebvre's theories would be a major contribution to knowledge. However, this task is not simple because of a range of epistemological barriers, related to the nature of the research paradigm,

623 Schmid, p. 35.

624 Ibid, p. 35.

facing researchers in this field. This research was able to merge two paradigms, the interpretive and the critical, and use them in the inquiry processes. This was done because the phenomenon of power might be elusive, and in this situation participant accounts cannot always be trusted.

For instance, power relations between elites and non-elites sometimes appear to be taken for granted, and this poses a threat to the credibility of investigations which rely solely on an 'interpretive paradigm'.

One of the advantages of the pilot study, which was conducted during this PhD, was that it highlighted the issue of relying on the interpretive approach. Many participants appeared to accept the reality that 'elite' groups have better knowledge than 'non-elites', and thus 'elites' should have the authority to govern architectural spaces. The lessons taken from the pilot investigation contributed to developing the methodology of the main study, and thus the critical paradigm was included.

The methods of data collection and data analysis were customised in order to fit the purpose of the research. I slightly developed the approach of 'mapping controversies', in the sense that the three empirical elements of following, documenting and mapping were used to study the three phases of space production. I overlapped the approach with the analytical technique of story configuration and devised a relatively contemporary version of the visual-representation of mapping.

To sum up, this methodological strategy can be followed or advanced further. For instance, the conceptual framework and the approach of data collection and analysis can be utilized to study the formation of built environments in different contexts.

9.3.3 The pragmatic contribution

The pragmatic contribution can be summarised in two parts: the actual and the alternate. The first is embedded in the role of this PhD in identifying the underlying nature of the politics of space in the context of Slemani. This included the various forces and mechanisms of space production as well as the consequences of those politics on local inhabitants.

Understanding the mode of production was the overarching aim of the research because any attempt to change the existing reality should be done on the basis of an understanding of ‘what is’.

My thesis is a dedicated response to the numerous calls, raised by local urban officials, academicians and many non-professional residents, to enhance planning and architectural practices after the rapid urban sprawl between 2003 and 2013.

An urban development which was described as ‘chaotic and ‘unplanned’. The case studies showed that the issue with this development was not only about who made decisions, but rather how and why decisions were made, and on what basis.

The above part leads to the second one, the alternate, which is connected to the strategies that have been proposed in this chapter, strategies which were drawn from both theoretical and empirical parts of this PhD. I suggested a potential for an alternative approach to spatial formation where there are no top-bottom or bottom-top fashions, but rather an integrated power system between decision makers and non-decision makers. Here the two social categories are expected to have the potential to run an ideal mode of production and produce organic spaces. This strategy is an invitation to local officials, architects, planners, or those who share the ambition of living in a better urban or architectural space, to work towards reforming the existing politics of architectural production.

9.4 Limitations of the research

Two main limitations can be noted in this PhD, and they revolve around two poles: theoretical and methodological. Below, both limitations are discussed.

Firstly, the capacity of the theoretical framework used in this PhD is by and large limited to the power of human agency. The framework draws largely on ‘elite’ theory, which is about a group of humans monopolising power, and ‘the production of space’, which in general refers to humans’ capacities to produce spaces. Although this research explained the influence of non-human actors in shaping architecture in Slemani, the explanation can be further developed.

This is because all the non-human actors, which were discovered in the case studies, are non-physical, such as social norms and common perceptions or prejudices. Based on the *Actor Network Theory* developed by the philosopher Bruno Latour and other writers (such as John Law), physical objects can also impact the processes of forming architecture in the same way humans do.⁶²⁵

In this PhD, the exploration of the power of physical objects, such as the means of production and various architectural elements, was limited, but could be studied further in future investigations. Another theoretical limitation is related to the sensitivity of the research topic, which sometimes includes data about politics.

Due to the geopolitical location of the case studies, which is in the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, some participants, who were members of the local political structure, tended to conceal their own political orientation or give misleading information. Attempts were made to address this issue by digging into archival records in order to reveal additional data and compare them with participants' views.

Secondly, there were methodological restrictions which were due to difficulties in accessing powerful 'elites' and locations. The 'elites' in large-scale projects were difficult to reach and this was the case for two key reasons: (a) the financial source of the projects, which were regarded by the local public as a form of money-laundering. This caused some people to be reluctant in participating in the research and something which prevented some participants to talk about the economic aspects of the projects; and (b) the gatekeepers did not allow ordinary people (including myself), who do not belong to political and business networks, to interview the 'elites'. I attempted to resolve this issue by searching for alternative resources: interviews with 'elites' in media channels, and accounts of individuals within the sphere of power of the 'elites'. Another methodological restriction was the location of the case studies. As explained in the methodology chapter, there were many theoretical and practical reasons for focusing only one Kurdish city. The city of Slemani has been governed by a different ideology from that of other major Kurdish cities, namely Erbil and Dohuk. Historically, the ruling party in Slemani, the PUK, was shaped by different groups but the PDK, which governs Erbil and Dohuk, has a hereditary power.

625 Latour, 'Reassembling the Social-an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory.'

The limitations elaborated on above can be considered as potential direction for further research, and this is explained in the next section.

9.5 Recommendations

9.5.1 Recommendations to improve policy procedures and practice guidelines

This PhD has proposed alternative (tangible and intangible) strategies to reform the politics of spatial production in Slemani and other cities within Iraqi Kurdistan. The propositions could benefit political or intellectual elites. For instance, decision makers who operate as government figures or urban planners.

In addition, others can advance the propositions: urban and architectural scholars who function as consultants in public sectors or formal agencies, especially those who advise or work alongside municipal officials in masterplan departments at municipalities.

The key players, listed above, need to revise processes of masterplans and adapt them to respond to social, natural and historical requirements. This can only be materialised through involving affected populations or urban inhabitants in those processes, which should be a way of considering various views and needs of these populations.

The theme of shared interests, for instance, which is stressed throughout this thesis and derived from the politics of cooperation or ‘power-with’, can be a starting point for developing practices of urban design. Moreover, various local models, perhaps similar to the one that is presented in Section 9.2.4, can be invented based on that theme. Understandably, once masterplan procedures have been developed and customised, building regulations should change, which will impact spatial practices. In the sense that both decision makers and non-decision makers will be more compliant to the adapted rules, meaning that less challenges or troubled power relations would be seen.

9.5.2 Recommendations for future research

As explained earlier, the approach which has been developed in this research makes theoretical, methodological and pragmatic contributions. On the theoretical level, the conceptual framework contributes not only to understanding the formation of architecture in different social contexts, but also to raising awareness of the potential influence of ‘non-elite’ populations on processes of architectural production.

More attention can be paid to the role of physical non-human-actors in shaping architecture. In terms of data collection and analysis, the abstract model that was developed can be used by researchers, who rely on qualitative research, to study different contexts. Finally, I proposed a potential for shaping an alternative strategy of space production and it includes two set of reforms: one is tangible, which targets formal and informal governing structures, and the second is intangible and has an ideological nature which aims to improve social consciousness in regard to architecture and urban planning.

In order to transform the ideology of spatial production, I invite urban scholars to expand my propositions and develop the knowledge of spatial practices on a participatory and empowerment basis. Further investigation and analysis of the architectural spaces of the city of Erbil is strongly recommended, and there could be further studies which gain more access to ‘elite’ groups through using stronger political connections.

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Appendices

Some documents and records have been removed due to ethical and confidentiality reasons.

Appendix A: Ethics approval and other related documents

Appendix B: List of the interviewees

Appendix C: Transcription of the interviews

Appendix D: The questionnaire design

Appendix E: Documents of Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives

Appendix F: Documents related to the pilot study

Appendix G: Documents related to the case of GMSH

Appendix H: Documents related to the case of GC

Appendix I: Documents related to the case of WSDC

Appendix J: Documents related to the case of SSHs

Appendix K: Documents related to the methodology

Appendix L: The Iraqi-law No.165 of 1964 on municipal management

Appendix M: The investment law of 2006—Iraqi Kurdistan

Appendix A: Ethics approval and other related documents



08/09/2014

Yahia Ali
School of Architecture

Dear Yahia

PROJECT TITLE: The Politics of Urban Development in Iraqi Kurdistan: The role of urban actors in restructuring the urban architectural landscape of the main cities in

APPLICATION: Reference Number 000141

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 23/06/2014 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 000141 (dated 17/04/2014).
- Participant information sheet 000213 (17/04/2014)
- Participant information sheet 000214 (17/04/2014)
- Participant consent form 000215 (17/04/2014)
- Participant consent form 000216 (17/04/2014)

If during the course of the project you need to [deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation](#) please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

Michael Phiri
Ethics Administrator
School of Architecture

Participant Information Sheet

زانبارى دەبارى ئەم توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيە

ناۋىشانى توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيە :

رېيىزەكانى گەشە كىردنى شارەكانى ھەرىمى كوردستان - عىراق
رۇلى دەسە ئاتىران و سەرمايە داران لى و گەشە كىردنە دا لى ماۋە
دە سانى رابىر دودا

بەشدارىۋى بەرپىز:

رۇلى بەرپىزت زۇر كىرنگە لەم توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيە دا. ئەم توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيە شىكىردنە ۋە دەكات بۇ ئەم گەشە كىردنە خىرايە شىكەكانى ھەرىمى كوردستان لە ماۋە ۱۰ سالى رابىر دودا . نامانجى سىرەكى ئەم توپۇزىنە ۋە دەسنىشەكەردنى ھۆكەمەكانى گەشە پىكىردنى شارەكانى ھەرىمە ھەروەھا سىرۋىتى ئەم گەشە كىردنە ھىيە ، چۆنىتى دەست پىكىردنى و ، مەپەستەكان ، مىكانزەمەكان ھىند.

داۋا لە بەرپىزت ئەكەم ھاۋكارىم بەكەيت لە پەرىپىدانى ئەم توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيە ، ھەروەھا چاۋپىكە ۋە تىكى كورت ئەنجام بەدەن بۇ ماۋە ۳۰ - ۴۰ خولەك.

ۋەكەنت تومار دەكەرت لەكەت چاۋپىكە ۋە تەنەكە پاشان شىكىردنە ۋە ھىيە ۋەردى بۇ دەكەرت بە مەپەستى زاننى رۇلى بەرپىزت بەشۋە ھىيەكى گەشنى لەپىۋزە ھىيەكى دىبارىكراۋا چى بوۋە و چۆن بوۋە لە ھىيەكە لە شارەكانى ھەرىمى كوردستان.

ئەگەر ھىيە ئەنجامە گەشەكانى توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيەم بىلەپىكىرەتە ۋە لە كۇنفرانسە جىپەنەكان ياخود لە كۇنفرانسە زاننىتەكاندا ، ھەروەھا بە مەپەستى پاراستنى ناۋى بەرپىزت بەھىچ شىۋەك نامازە بە ناۋت ناكەرت لە ئەنجامە گەشەكانى توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيەم.

بەرپىزت ئازادى لە بەشدارىكەردن لەم توپۇزىنە ۋە ھىيە ھەروەھا ئەتوانىت بەكەشەتە ۋە ھەر كەتەك كە تۇ پتە ۋە پتە سەجەم پىرسىارەكان كە لە تۇ دەكەرت بەسەند كراۋە لە لاپەنى لىۋنە ھىيەكى پىسپۇرە ۋە لەم بواردە لە زانكۇ شىفلىد لە بەرىتانىيا.

زۇر سوپاس بۇ ھاۋكارىكەردن

ئەگەر بەرپىزت پىرسىارىكت ھەبوۋ تەكايە پەيوەندىم پىۋە بەكە لە رىگەي :

ئىمەيل : arp12yta@sheffield.ac.uk

figer2004@yahoo.com

00447845447351 : مۇبايل:

قورمى رهزامه ندى به شداربوو

ناونيشانى تويزينه وهكهم :

رېيازدهكانى گه شه كردنى شارهكانى هـهرىمى كوردستان - عىراق
رؤلى دهسه ئاتلران و سهرمایه داران له و گه شه كردنه دا
له ماوهى ده سالى رابـردودا

ناوى تويزهر : يحيى ظاهر علي جهبلرى

به شداربووى به رېز : تكايه هيمى (✓) دانى له ناو چوارچيوهكان

- 1- سه رجه م زانياريهكان له سه ر نه م پرۆژهيه دهريارهى نه م تويزينه وهيه نه زمانم ههروهه تىگه يشتووم له شىوانى به شداريكردنم ، ههروهه دهرفه تم هه بوو بۆ پرسياركردن له تويزهر.
- 2- پيم وتراوه كه به شداريكردنم خۆبه خشانه يه ههروهه ده توانم بکشيم وه له هه ر كاتيك به بى پيدانى هيج پرۆشيك ، ههروهه ده توانم ره تى هه ر پرسياريك بكم كه ئاره زوم نيه وه لاسى بده مه وه
- 3- دلتيام كه سه رجه م زانياريهكانى كه ده يبه خشم پاريزراوه ، ته نها تويزهر ههروهه ها گروهه كه ي بويان هه يه چاوى پيابخشيني ، ههروهه ناوى من بلاو ناكريت له نه نجامه سه ره كيه كانى نه م تويزينه وه يه
- 4- لاريم نيه نه گه ر تويزه ران سوود وه رگرن له و زانياريه نه كه نه به خشم له نايه نه ده دا
- 5- رهزامه ندم به به شداريكردن له م تويزينه وه يه

..... ناوى به شداربوو :
..... بهرور :
..... واژوى به شداربوو :

..... ناوى تويزهر :
..... بهرور :
..... واژوى تويزهر :

Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project: **The Politics of Urban Development in Iraqi Kurdistan:
The role of urban actors in restructuring the urban architectural
landscape in the last decade**

Name of Researcher: **Yahia T. Ali**

**Participant Identification Number for this project:
initial box**

Please

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/letter
(delete as applicable) dated *[insert date]* explaining the above research project
and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw
at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative
consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular
question or questions, I am free to decline. *Insert contact number here of
lead researcher/member of research team (as appropriate).*
3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential (only if true).
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my
anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with
the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the
report or reports that result from the research.
4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research
5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant
(or legal representative)

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent
(if different from lead researcher)
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Date

Signature

Lead Researcher
To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Date

Signature

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/pre-written script/information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix B: List of the interviewees

Participant 1, the project manager and the nephew of the investor, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 14 July 2014.

Participant 2, a journalist at one of left newspapers in Slemani, the project manager and the nephew of the investor, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 24 July 2014.

Participant 3, The then deputy manager of the Slemani Investment Board (SIB), interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 24 August 2014

Participant 4, This architect, was approved by Rasool, interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 8 July 2014.

Participant 5, the deputy director of the Slemani Investment Directorate (SID) interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 08 July 2014

Participant 6, who supervised the construction works of GMSH interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 09 September 2014.

Participant 7, a college student, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 3 August 2014

Participant 8, a primary school teacher interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 3 August 2014.

Participant 9, a housewife, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 August 2014.

Participant 10, The architect and urban expert, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 25 June 2014.

Participant 11, The art academic at Slemani University, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 25 July 2014.

Participant 12, one of the (well-known) Kurdish sculptors, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 24 July 2014

Participant 13, a leading member of one of the prominent political parties in Kurdistan, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 16 August 2014.

Participant 14, a construction dealer, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 28 July 2014

Participant 15, a senior engineer worked at HGH, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 30 June 2014.

Participant 16, a Turkish architect running an architectural firm called Yapimar, interviewed by Yahia Ali, email communication, 22 August 2014

Participant 17, the chief of the engineering department at Halabja Group Holding, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 4 August 2014.

Participant 18 who is a member of the consulting staff at Slemani Municipality and was one of the staff who checked the first design proposal of GC interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 04 March 2015.

Participant 19, a senior engineer at Slemani Municipality who involved in creating the master plan of the city, interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 14 March 2015.

Participant 20 was a representative of DIBS and a senior engineer who checked the compliance of the construction to the approved architectural and civil drawings, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 04 September 2014.

Participant 21, the marketing manager of GC, Participant 21, headed the committee and analysed the dwellers' criticisms interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 30 June 2014

Participant 22, who is a senior member of EAS interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 17 July 2014.

Participant 23, the then head of the provincial council of Slemani Governorate, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 22 July, 2014

Participant 24, who worked at The Ministry of Housing and Construction revealed that HGH reduced the factor-of-safety, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 21 August 2014.

Participant 25, a resident of GC , interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 19 July 2014.

Participant 26, a resident of GC interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face interview, 19 July 2014.

Participant 27, a resident of GC interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face interview, 20 July 2014.

Participant 28, journalist working at Hawlati Newspaper, interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 03 August 2014.

Participant 29, a government employee GC neighbour, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 27 July 2014.

Participant 30, the general manager of women's shelters in Slemani province, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 07 September 2014.

Participant 31, the then chief of the Women's Committee at the Provincial Council of Slemani Governorate Headquarters, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 03 September 2014

Participant 32, the manager of the Directory of Combating Violence against Women in Slemani (DCVW), , interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 27 August 2014.

Participant 33 who was one of the members of the Provincial Council of Slemani in 2006, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 September 2014.

Participant 34, a senior consultant at Slemani Municipality (SM), interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 8 June 2014.

Participant 35, who was a member of the ED staff who supervised the construction works interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 25 July 2014.

Participant 36, one of the senior architects at the ED, interviewed by Yahia Ali, Skype interview, 14 August 2014.

Participant 37, a woman who spent a period of time in the shelter interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 27 July 2015.

Participant 38, a woman who spent a period of time in the shelter, interviewed by Yahia Ali, telephone conversation, 29 July 2015.

Participant 39, one of the administrators of women's shelters in the city, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 9 June 2014

Participant 40, Participant 40, a shopkeeper near the project interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 7 June 2014.

Participant 41, who was a college student, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 4 June, 2014.

Participant 42, a taxi driver, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 7 June 2014.

Participant 43, religious man, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 11 June 2014.

Participant 44, a housewife, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 5 June 2014.

Participant 45, the manager of Media Relations at The Directorate of Rapareen Municipality, Participant 45, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 21 July 2014.

Participant 46, the owner of House A, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 11 August 2014.

Participant 47, the owner of House B, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 August 2014.

Participant 48, the owner of House C, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 15 August 2014.

Participant 49, the owner of House D, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 13 August 2014.

Participant 50, Architect A, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 30 August 2014.

Participant 51, Architect B, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 06 August 2014.

Participant 52, Architect C and D, interviewed by Yahia Ali, face to face conversation, 09 August 2014.

Appendix C: Transcriptions of the interviews

Participant 1

Interviewer: In your opinion, what are the benefits or aspects of this project?

Participant 1: This project has become a modern representation of the city. We have provided jobs and the project has activated business and tourism

Interviewer: What are the components of the project?

Participant 1: There are many spaces in the hotel. The major spaces meeting rooms, a spa and a mutlipurpose halls.

Interviewer: who specified these spaces?

Participant 1: Kak Faruk

Interviewer: I have learned that the British corporation of Millennium and Copthorne Hotels was involved in the design, who involved them and what was their role?

Participant 1: Kak Faruk made the decision of involving them. After the structure of the hotel was finished, we decided to hand over the interior design

Interviewer: In terms of the proposal of the dome, which was suggested by the architect, why this

Participant 2

Interviewer: How would you judge this project [GMSH]?

Participant 2: this is tint with corruption.

Interviewer: why would you say that?

Participant 2: Politicians facilitated business of some investors by loosening the terms and conditions so they work for themselves in the sense that middle and lower income people cannot get advantage from these

Interviewer: could you please explain this more clearly?

Participant 2: This investor acquired an area in one of the most expensive zones of the city is you ask the local people they will tell you that the price of one metre square was a few hundred US dollars, and most importantly, the area was a public property and no one should have the right to transfer its ownership to an individual. The investor with some top politicians took the land, and without the support of the PUK party, the businessman would not have been able to construct this project.

Interviewer: But why would do this, I mean, taking the land and building this hotel?

Participant 2: I believe that Shary Jwan is a form of money laundering.

Interviewer: But the investors and many people say that the hotel is a symbol of modernity would you agree with this?

Participant 2: No, This project is a symbol of corruption

Interviewer: as you live near this project [GC], what are the positive and negatives of the project?

Participant 2: The vast majority of housing projects are based on the fact that businessmen take lands from the government and get full control over them. Garden City, for example, is out of the reach of not only the low-income class, but also the middle class. People who can pay hundreds of thousands US dollars must be belonging to a rich class. Top government officials facilitate these projects. Why does the government allow this to happen? This rapidly raises the suspicion that they are partners with those businessmen. As journalists in working at a local newspaper, we listen to people who say the same thing but they are powerless. These projects are merely money laundering this is what the people think, we speak with them on daily basis.

Participant 4

Interviewer: could you please narrate the story of this building? How it was started and who initiated the project?

Participant 4: I met some friends of Kak Faruk in Abu-Dhabi and during that meeting a conversation took place over the concept of building a five-star hotel in Slemani.

Interviewer: who were these people?

Participant 4: The only thing I knew that they were friends of kak Faruk

Interviewer: Please continue.

Participant 4: These people said we need an architect to design such project, and they said that since you are a Kurdish architect and from the region, what do you think of this? I agreed and they said we will contact Mr. Faruq and see what he would decide. Later, Mr. Faruq accepted the idea and he wanted to visit my office to know the staff and the office quality.

Interviewer: When you met Mr. Faruq, what was his vision or theme for this project?

Participant 4: He wanted something modern like the building in Europe and the developed world, and he wanted it to be a tower building so it would be a physical landmark that is seen from everywhere.

Interviewer: Did he talked about a specific building to be imitated?

Participant 4: he visited many advanced cities around the world and he was impressed with contemporary architecture there, and you know, Dubai was one of these cities. He saw how architecture has developed in Dubai and other developed cities, he wanted something similar to the towers in the cities

Interviewer: was there any specific element that he wanted to be in his project?

Participant 4: Yes, for example, he asked to place a revolving restaurant at the top of the building similar to the CN Tower in Canada

Interviewer: was there any change during the construction period?

Participant 4: Yes. When Kak Faruk visited the site he thought that we had ignored the area around the swimming pool. He stood up next to the pool and told his engineering staff that the area around the pool overlooks the city and can give a beautiful view

Interviewer: what was the story of the British company Grand Millennium?

Participant 4: Before Grand Millennium, there were many other companies that were contacted by Kak Faruk, such as Hilton, InterContinental Hotels Group or Marriott International. There were many negotiations between the professional teams of these companies and Pasha's staff. Several companies refused to engage with the project.

Interviewer: Why?

Participant 4: This was due to incompatibility between their standards and the design of the hotel.

Interviewer: Did you try to change anything during the construction time?

Participant 4: Yes, there were two things. I realised that the roundabout needs a covering structure to protect the hotel guests from rain and sunshine. This will bother the hotel guests, and as I mentioned before, I suggested a glazed dome in my first concept, and the form of the dome flashed into my mind and I felt that it was a good idea to use the dome I suggested in early proposals.

Interviewer: and what was the other thing?

Participant 4: noticed that the atrium is small and its size was not suitable to such a large hotel.

Interviewer: did you manage to execute them?

Participant 4: Kak Faruk accepted the two ideas. The idea of enlarging the atrium was executed. But his friend Allawi convinced Kak Faruk that the dome will cost too much money and it will caused the roundabout to be dark, but this was not true because the dome was supposed to be glazed and this is will be a lightweight structure and allows sunshine to penetrate. I

desperately wanted to prove to Kak Faruq that this was wrong but Kak Faruq cancelled the dome.

Interviewer: was there anything that you wished to place in the design?

Participant 4: I wished I could execute the dome it would make the project architecturally integrated

Participant 14

Interviewer: in your opinion, what are the benefits of this project?

Participant 14: This project has not benefited the city's construction market

Interviewer: why?

Participant 14: the investor brought labour and materials from outside Kurdistan

Interviewer: could you explain this more clearly?

Participant 14: I and some of my fellows offered our services to the developer but our offers got rejected

Interviewer: why?

Participant 14: because the investor dealt with other merchants, and we found that the developer deal only with a closed-circle of businessmen. We were excluded from that equation. Neither Kurdish merchants nor labourers benefited from the hotel. Kurdish workers were not hired to work in this project. The site was full of Arab workers

Interviewer: why the developer would hire Arab worker?

Participant 14: because Arab workers earn lower wages.

Participant 13

Interviewer: how would you judge this project?

Participant 13: the majority of these investment projects are merely money laundering.

The source of that money is unknown. In many cases, the processes of acquiring the land for the projects are illegal. The land is gained through patronage and political support

Interviewer: why would you say it is money laundering?

Participant 13: without the support of the PUK, the developer would not be able to get the land and build such a huge hotel. Look at the money they spent. They spent millions of US dollars, and this is only for their benefits. The PUK and the KDP are authoritarian parties, and they get hire people to act as businessmen so they can do money laundering.

Participant 11

Interviewer: some people think that constructing buildings modern styles, like this project, would ruin the city, what you think of that?

Participant 11: There is no problem to build projects with modern styles, but not completely modern. I would suggest that the idea of mixing traditional with modern styles is better

Interviewer: in terms of this project, how could we translate your idea?

Participant 11: the project is in the middle of the city and can be seen from different angles so it should have included Kurdish architectural symbols.

Interviewer: in this respect, do you have any ideas?

Participant 11: if I was the architect, I would have designed the revolving restaurant as Kurdish hat.

Participant 12

Interviewer: in terms of architectural style, how you view this project?

Participant 12: This hotel is inappropriate for Slemani because it is not in keeping with the city's architectural heritage

Interviewer: please explain this?

Participant 12: the designer of the project should have thought about the architectural history of Slemani. There are many old buildings in the city with unique styles, take for example, the ancient building of Saraa in the centre. This designer of the hotel has not paid attention to these building. If you look carefully, this hotel looks like the Burj Al Arab Hotel in Dubai. It is ridiculous to imitate a building in different context. Burj Al Arab suits its coastal context because the structure of the hotel emulates the sail of a ship, but Slemani has a different nature it is surrounded by mountains and has its own architectural style. The materials used on the hotel's facades, are very abstract, and they do not represent the architectural identity of Slemani.

Participant 10

Interviewer: as an architect and urban planner, how would you view this project[GMSH]?

Participant 10: the positive side of Shary Jwan is that the building is a representation of modernity, and the architectural aspect seems to be well designed. It has established a new architectural identity for the city because it has reshaped the image of the city.

Interviewer: but some people criticised the appearance of building saying that the project did not follow the architectural style of the surrounding context.

Participant 10: I think the architect wanted to emphasise the contradiction between traditional style of the constructions around the site and the modern style of this project

Interviewer: as you live near this project [GC], what are the positive and negatives of the project?

Participant 10: I believe that projects like Garden City increases social division. Separating a group of people in any society always indicates inequity. Whatever the reason for creating separation, for safety or protection, it produces inequity between classes. This is unfair! The owners of this project should have considered mixing the poor class with the wealthy one and not dedicating the project for only rich people. Architecturally, the spatial separation is persistent and it happened in other housing projects, and I do not know why the Investment Board and the Slemani Municipality would permit this type of separation.

Participant 8

Interviewer: as a neighbour of this project, what are the positives and negatives of this building?

Participant 8: this hotel destroyed our life.

Interviewer: can you give me more details please?

Participant 8: Now all neighbours have been complaining about the dust coming from the project. We have been cleaning our houses from dust every day you can ask other neighbours they will tell you more. The construction machinery has been producing noises during the day and this is very annoying as you know we have kids and old people some of them want to sleep during the day but they cannot sleep due to the noises. and we cannot

Interviewers: have you complained to the hotel official?

Participant 8: We have, but every time the hotel officials promise to sort out these problems but they lie to us. They give false promises. We cannot bear to reside here anymore, our houses face the lower edges of the site, as you can see, rocks were left partially cut and untreated, please look at them you will see that they are ugly

Participant 7

Interviewer: as a neighbour of this project, what are the positives and negatives of this building?

Participant 7: Slemani needs such projects because these projects are the representation of our city. When some of my friends visit the city and come to this area they feel that they are in Dubai. As you can see, the form of this building was built on European style. This neighbourhood has a different flavour now because the tower can be seen from different angles and it reminds you of modernity

Participant 15

Interviewer: could you please tell us how the project started and who initiated the project?

Participant 15: Bamokey chose a Turkish-based architectural firm to repeat the experience of Pak City. In fact, any casual observer, would say that GC is a copy of Pak City and even the titles are similar. Because both projects use the word city and it is an English word.

Interviewer: why the investors chose that particular architectural style?

Participant 15: they wanted to respond to the market needs, people found Turkish works have a good quality and they are better than other works. I mean it is modern and European.

Interviewer: did the investors talked over the style?

Participant 15: They told me once that Kurdish architecture is backward and something needs to be done to renew this

Participant 16

Interviewer: how the project started and who contacted you first?

Participant 16: There were five people came to my office, and introduced themselves as Kurdish investors. The investors liked my work and when they knew I am a Kurd from Dyar Bakr they decided to commission me and I was genuinely keen and proud to contribute to Kurdish architecture in Iraqi Kurdistan. They told me that they want to construct three housing project in the Kurdish cities of Slemani, Erbil, and Kirkuk.

Interviewer: who chose the title of Garden City?

Participant 16: I chose the title of GC and they accepted it. I told the investors if we manage to build the same housing complex in the three cities, this will be a great achievement. I wanted this project to be under the theme of Green Architecture and I wanted to get this theme spread across Kurdistan. When the design started, our first sketches of GC resembled a green architectural image.

Interviewer: as construction started, was there any change in the project?

Participant 16: Yes. There were many. I terms of Phase A They hardly altered things and they only changed windows and doors and small stuff. Their role was not a big deal. I tried to protect my design from changes, and throughout the phase our relationship was good and construction went well. The

problem started when Phase B began. They heavily intervene in selecting finishing materials, and the design skewed from its original specifications. I refused this. They selected the cheapest material available in the market, and this ruined the architectural that I created for the project.

Interviewer: were they able to execute the changes?

Participant 16: In Phase A they could not but they ultimately modified the entire project and handed the project to another architect because when Phase B started, and they even changed the colour of the façades, and painted them with a very ugly colour. We also had financial disagreement and I angrily left the project. I am very sorry to see project after the modification. You know, when you create a design and start a project this looks like nurturing a child and as an architect I wanted this child to grow in better way.

Participant 5

Interviewer: In terms of the site of the project, how the investors obtain the land?

Participant 5: Many areas in Slemani were for agricultural use but before creating a new master plan for the city. The zone around the Shesteka was prohibited from use because Saddam regime wanted this zone to be vacant due to political reasons. After 2003, the government started to sell lands in this zone and the land of the project was purchased by Aso Bamokey and he had the right to deal with the property and its assets because the land was originally owned by the family of the investor and after the master plan was created the utilization of the property changed to residential purposes, and Aso kept the ownership of the land because he wanted to use it for business purposes, and he took advantage from the Investment Law of 2006 and applied for a licence to construct a

housing complex. This is an infrastructure, and for us, it is a good idea when a landlord wants to build an investment project on his land.

Participant 19

Interviewer: Some officials told me that the land was originally owned by the family of the investor, what is your opinion?

Participant 19: this is not true. The project is located in an urban area called Kurdsat Quarter. Kurdsat Quarter was classified as an agricultural region, and in the mid-2000s when the investment campaign commenced the local government re-planned the region and broke it into small plots in order to be granted to their business partner. Top politicians gave the land to the investor to build the project.

Participant 17

Interviewer: was the design process conducted only by the office of the architect, did you participate in that process? You know, you have architects.

Participant 17: Actually we wanted and I personally made some proposals in order to strengthen the theme of GC. I submitted some sketches proposing to clear some floors within the buildings for constructing hanging gardens, and I sent them to the owners of the company.

Interviewer: did the investors consider your proposals?

Participant 17: No, they rejected my suggestions because of the cost.

Participant 20

Interviewer: what was your role, as the staff of the DIBS, in this project?

Participant 20: We [DIBS' staff] supervised Phase A everyday when we had a resident engineer at the site of construction. Later the supervision system changed and became every two months

Interviewer: why it changed?

Participant 20: the change was because the Investment office reduced the funds for supervision the government wanted to use the money for other things. Going back to your question, I would like to explain our role. Our job was visiting the construction site in order to make sure that the approved design corresponds the construction. We were not available 24 hours. There was no 100 percent supervision, but I can say that we were able to prevent major changes. Phase A nearly matched the drawings unlike the others

Participant 21

Interviewer: Were the dwellers happy the design of the project? Did they complain about something?

Participant 21: In face no, there were issues. When we finished Phase A and sold the units to people, they started to complain about the design of the flats. This is because the architect designed flats according to the Turkish standards and they do not fit the Kurdish culture. The dwellers complained about this and we found that people view the kitchen as a social space more than a place for cooking, you know, I mean people in Slemani spend more time in the kitchen eating and chatting, therefore they prefer a large kitchen so they have a space to sit and chat. The kitchens of the flats are really small.

Interviewer: what were the other issues raised by the dwellers?

Participant 21: The absence of separate guest rooms in the flats was another obvious problem that was noticed. In fact, the architect thought that the halls can combine the functions of guest and living rooms. This again was criticised and did not suit the local culture because people in our society usually separate guest rooms from living rooms in order to keep their family members away from visitors

Participant 18

Interviewer: you said that Phase A is different from B and C, could you please explain this more clearly?

Participant 18: The Phases B and C, have been completely uncontrolled and there were many changes on the projects. We saw shifts in the positions of the blocks and the shrinking in green areas. I wanted to raise this issue to our manager, in early 2014 I wrote a report to DIBS complaining about this situation and telling the top officials at this institution that there has been no supervision from any governmental institutions on these phases since the completion of Phase A but I got no response, and I knew that I will get no response.

Interviewer: why?

Participant 18: They can simply fix any issue by using the power of the top people

Interviewer: do you mean the investors?

Participant 18: yes, that is true.

Participant 25

Interviewer: as a resident of this project, what are the positives and negatives of this project?

Participant 25: actually we are shocked by this project.

Interviewer: why?

Participant 25: When we signed the contract with the company, we found that the specification of the flat in contract were very attracting. So we were impressed by that but when the flats finished and we received them we were shocked when we saw the reality. The quality of the furniture and the doors and windows are really poor and they do not match the information in the contract. We are shocked by dishonesty of the investors. All what they want is money no one cares about us they constructed the project for their benefits. We spent too much money to gain a good place with decent services and gardens. They promised to build mosque, school, nursery and other services within the project yet apart from the flats nothing has been built

Interviewer: did you manage to raise this issue with the company?

Participant 25: we talked with the company but they have been making false promises

Participant 27

Interviewer: as a resident of this project, what are the positives and negatives of this project?

Participant 27: I live in Phase B and the flats here are not as good as those in Phase A. The building in Phase B are really bad.

Interviewer: why?

Participant 25: These buildings resemble chicken cages. They are close to each other balconies face each other and we have been unable to use these balconies. When you get out and stand in the balcony you will see other people in the balconies on the other side. The distance between the balconies are really small. This is inappropriate in our culture. The investors just want to make money at the price of our privacy they reduced distances between

the building to gain more spaces and more money. They build these blocks and fill them with people I meant people like us. You can see how we are trapped in these buildings.

Interviewer: But why you do not speak with the decision makers of this project?

Participant 25: Speak about what?

Interviewer: I mean to resolve these problems you have been talking about.

Participant 25: We cannot do anything to change the reality even if we speak with them they will not listen to us.

Participant 23

Interviewer: as a government official, how would you judge this project?

Participant 23: this type of housing projects have not been built for the sake of middle or low income classes. I ask the Investment Board which gave this site to Garden City, have people and the government benefited from it? Investment in housing means solving the lack of housing stocks and we have housing problems especially for young people who want to get marry and form families and get housing units. Investors used urban lands for their interests, the land of the project was a public property and their misused it. These projects get public services but they do not provide benefit for the public the water and electricity are public properties and these are subsidised by the government by us. But public properties serve the interest of a few businessmen.

Interviewer: How would you change or resolve these issues when you are in power

Participant 23: We should turn businessmen into an instrument for achieving a real urban development. We should not allow them to turn us into instruments for their interests

Participant 29

Interviewer: as you live near this project, what are the positive and negatives of the project?

Participant 29: The investors ruined this city. They construct projects without paying attention to us. They should have taken these projects away rich people can afford living away from the city. The investors brought them here they have occupied that great place and turned it into a place for expensive high-rise buildings and gates and I am really sorry about losing the site because it was open and people used them and it was full of flowers. People used to come in that area and sit.

The investors did not think of building a project for benefiting us why did they not construct a public park? Instead of building this project? the place is for rich families, they have their own world, they are away from us what are the benefits of having them next to us?

Participant 32

Interviewer: could you please explain why this project was constructed?

Participant 32: before constructing this project there were issues with shelters in Slemani the shelters were not well designed to be a safe place for women. The shelters were often attacked by male relatives of the residents of the shelters.

Interviewer: in what sense the shelter were not safe?

Participant 32: they did not have high fences and guard towers, and they were located in crowded neighbourhoods. Criminals can use climb over other houses and reach the shelters. When a shelter is adjacent to two or three houses it becomes penetrable

Participant 31

Interviewer: why you build the project?

Participant 31: We as the women's committee made the decision based on the facts we had obtained from official statistics. Women experience violence and oppression and especially honour based crimes. Also the existing shelters were prone to be attacked.

We thought that the main reason was the absence of shelters which are supervised by the government. All the existing shelters belonged to non-governmental organisations.

Interviewer: so you wanted to use the power of the government?

Participant 31: this is true and we thought it is the government's responsibility to care of these women. Shelters in many countries in the world are supervised by their governments. The idea of a development centre came from our objective of creating professional female employees and developing their skills because women employee were way behind their male colleagues I mean in terms of skills we wanted professional women who are able to cope in workplaces and operate alongside male counterparts. This was a sort of empowering women, and it was also proposed for the women inside the shelter because we wanted the residents of the shelter to get engaged with other women in the society, and we wanted the development centre to house intensive training courses, lectures, workshops and any cultural activity that strengthens the intellectual capacities of women.

Interviewer: so you decided to form a proposal for building a new shelter?

Participant 31: that is true

Interviewer: how the process started?

Participant 31: we set up a meeting with other members at Slemani government headquarter, and discussed the details of the report. We realised that there are some difficulties in terms of describing the shelter I mean how it should look like and how many rooms ...etc. Because this project was

unprecedented in Slemani, the task of preparing a design brief was difficult. We began searching on the internet and looking for designs of women's shelters in Europe and the USA you know they are developed countries and people are on a different level of thinking, in terms of women situation in these societies, and also because we assumed that they had constructed many shelters and development centres. Also I have to mention that some of us had already visited a shelter in Germany and other countries, and we benefited from the experience of these members as they provided details about the spaces and the design of the buildings

Interviewer: as you know, the project saw many changes, how you view these changes?

Participant 31: we expected this to happen to be fair when we started this project we asked the governor many times not to change the use of the project and hand it to other institutions. he promised to not hand the project to other organisation but our concerns did not diminish and thus when the project was under construction we went to the site and put a sign board saying that this building was created to be a development centre and shelter for only women

Interviewer: a sign board!

Participant 31: yes, by doing this we wanted to make sure that the use of the building would not change

Participant 33

Interviewer: when you raised the proposal of creating the project, were you challenged by your fellow chancellors?

Participant 33: Yes. Two groups challenged the projects and they did not want the project to be funded by the government. Islamic members derived their argument from Islamic Sharia (Islamic Law). If you rethink about Sharia

you see many things. Sharia often enshrines patriarchy and justifies brutal domestic violence. Always men are prioritised over women. You can see that sharia allows polygyny and beating women and there are verses in the Quran that obviously and brutally command husbands to beat their wives.

These principles are the basis of our colleagues' arguments, and they believed that our project would encourage women to rebel against the authority of husbands and male relatives.

Interviewer: how about other members from other factions?

Participant 33: some other member had the same mentality, for example the secular members tried to convince the council that our project was a waste of money so, you know, they said that constructing roads is much better than constructing our project

Participant 35

Interviewer: so ED staff set up a meeting to discuss the design?

Participant 35: yes I was there and remember most of the issues which were discussed at the meeting

Interviewer: could you tell us me the main decision which were taken by the staff?

Participant 35: the main issue was the levels of the buildings, you know the both buildings were on the same level. We agreed that keeping the two buildings on the same level would compromise the isolation of the shelter

Interview: why?

Participant 35: This because we thought that the people using the centre would be more comfortable if they were away from the shelter

Interviewer: more comfortable?!

Participant 35: Yes, because, you know, the shelter is a problematic space

Interviewer: in what sense?

Participant 35: You know, usually women in the shelter are pursued by their relatives so the architects wanted to get the women isolated

Participant 36

Interviewer: could you tell us why you changed the level of the building?

Participant 36: we had our reasons we did not want the rear outdoor space of the shelter to overlook the development centre

Interviewer: but the space was supposed to gather women from both buildings!

Participant 36: we viewed the space differently, we expected that this space to be full of women and this could be uncomfortable for the women inside the development centre. Also there was another reason, as you know when we rotate the building this affected the position of the main entrance so we did not want the main entrance of the shelter to face the houses on the opposite site so it was a good idea to turn around the entrance to the opposite side and provide it with a proper security space and we thought this would provide privacy

Interviewer: why you link the position of the entrance with security and privacy?

Participant 36: because this weakens the security side and could be annoying to the neighbours

Participant 30

Interviewer: you told me that the project is build based on ignorance, could you explain this please?

Participant 30: The project initiators (the CW members) should have consulted us during the preparation of the design. Any project should be based on the users' needs, you know, architects make surveys and ask studies before they design. We are the ones who know the requirements of the project. We are the ones who know how to design this project. This building was created with utter ignorance they design the project based on their imagination some people at the Governorate (SGH) sat together and set up the design program based on their imaginations

Interviewer: how about the architect?

Participant 30: the architect as well never consulted us we never see during the design process. The design of the shelter is completely wrong, I can say it is a failure

Participant 39

Interviewer: as a person who is seeing the shelter every day, what are the positives and negatives in your perspective?

Participant 39: I would say the shelter has many issues. The people who generated the design brief did not pay attention to vital facilities. They missed many elements in the design, and there are many missing rooms in the shelter. Take for example the security room this room is really important for the women inside the shelter, and solitary confinement for women who make problems we want these rooms for those who repeatedly cause trouble with their mates. Another thing is the sizes of some rooms are inappropriate the rooms are large now each bedroom can accommodate more than two, or three individuals and this is wrong because we want the rooms to accommodate one person we don't want women to interact we want to reduce frequent every day fights between inmates

Participant 37

Interviewer: I learned that you were in the shelter for some time, am I right?

Participant 37: yes that is true, go on what are you questions?

Interviewer: Thanks, I just wanted to know what are the positive and negatives of this building?

Participant 37: Actually the management of the shelter was really bad. We were not allowed to use some rooms for example, the cafeteria, the garden, and the balcony we felt that we were in a prison. There was a strict schedule for meals and for other activities inside the shelter when some individuals made mistakes the manager punished all the others

Interviewer: but the administrators say that some of you were making troubles!

Participant 37: They were blaming us for quarrelling a lot but some of us were doing this because they were under psychological pressure you know we spent most of the time in these rooms without breathing fresh air. We liked to go to the garden and to the open spaces

Interviewer: What would you do if you were the designer of the shelter?

Participant 37: I wish it was designed as a park-like place gardens are really important for women who are inside shelters so we could grow flowers as a way for reducing the pressure we faced in our lives we can enjoy the scene of gardens

Participant 38

Interviewer: I learned that you were in the shelter for some time, am I right?

Participant 38: yes I was inside the shelter for two months.

Interviewer: In your opinion, what are the positive and negatives of this building?

Participant 38: There were no places for our kids I lived there and had no place for my 4 years old son

Interviewer: like what place?

Participant 38: like nursery and playground you know the other thing is the location of the shelter is very far from the centre of the city. We are humans we have the right to visit places in the city. We like going to markets and leisure places

Interviewer: But going outside might be dangerous for your life?

Participant 38: I know, but this can be sorted in many ways. This should not be an excuse for preventing us from going outside. They can do many things like increasing the number of guards or maybe choosing the time for going out they can use technological things cameras can be used for surveillance

Participant 40

Interviewer: as a shop owner, you are experiencing the project on everyday-life basis, can you tell me what the negative and positive aspects of the building are?

Participant 40: there are many things to be honest. We have not been able to go near the building

Interviewer: why?

Participant 40: Because the women shout at us through the windows and call us with bad names they agrees us I and my family have been avoiding the building

Interviewer: what solution for this problem you suggest?

Participant 40: the fences of the building should be higher than that so they can stop the women insulting us

Participant 41

Interviewer: you are experiencing the project on everyday-life basis, can you tell me what the negative and positive aspects of the building are?

Participant 41: I avoid this building

Interviewer: why?

Participant 41: Neither I nor my mum could go close to that building because women in it would stare at us through the windows they do that intentionally they are really scary especially in the evening

Interviewer: what solution for this problem you suggest?

Participant 41: the shelter's owners can erect high walls around the building. See I do not want them into a prison I mean these women can be provided with leisure facilities so they focus inside and do not think about annoying people outside the shelter

Participant 43

Interviewer: you are experiencing the project on everyday-life basis, can you tell me what the negative and positive aspects of the building are?

Participant 43: This shelter stands against Islamic Sharia (law)

Interviewer: why?

Participant 43: this is because it encourages women to disobey their husbands. Listen! Allah said in Quran that men have the authority upon women you know the good women must be obedient and not escaping their homes this is not right. This building should be away from our families and stay outside their homes even if family disputes women can stay with their relatives and parents but not in the shelter

Interviewer: why?

Participant 43: many women inside the shelter are sinful and they have escaped from their families many makes mistakes and runaway. I do not like my daughters to see these disobedient women

Participant 46

Interviewer: what were the main things came to your mind when you decided to build your house?

Participant 46: we wanted something different from other people.

Interviewer: in what sense different?

Participant 46: We wanted large rooms for the kitchen and the guest room in the front of the house. Because we have many visitors

Interviewer: But this would affect other spaces inside and outside your house

Participant 46: what do you mean?

Interviewer: I mean if you specify large spaces for the rooms you have mentioned this will reduce the spaces of other rooms, am I right?

Participant 46: Yes you are right. We did not care about the garden and other rooms if the guest room and the kitchen are large we will be comfortable because this is our need. We do not need too much spaces because sooner or later our son will get married and we decided to get the first floor separated because we wanted our son to get married and live with us upstairs. We told him we will make you feel free in your house.

Interviewer: while you were in construction period did you changed anything?

Participant 46: My wife changed somethings. She came to the house and saw that the size of the kitchen was small and she thought there was a chance to enlarge it you know our culture we like large kitchen so I removed the storage and reduced the space of the opening

Participant 47

Interviewer: what were the main things came to your mind when you decided to build your house?

Participant 47: From the very beginning I decided to build a house in different way in comparison to the common houses in Slemani. I do not like traditional houses. I wanted something modern and European. Houses in our country are like a prison, you know each room is separate from the other, people put too many walls

Interviewer: But people here isolate guest rooms because they do not like visitors to meet or see the women of the household.

Participant 47: listen! I do not care about this culture. I will tell you something, I used to live in a flat with Zhoory Krawa ژوری کراوه. I had a large open space and used it as a living and guest room. We welcomed our guests and we chatted and watched TV. The kitchen was exposed to the living room, you know you lived in Britain and know these things so I wanted to repeat the design of that flat here in my house in Slemani. My flat in Radebeul [a German city where Owner B lived] was surrounded by trees and plants. So I liked to create indoor and outdoor gardens. I want to see green things around me.

Participant 48

Interviewer: what were the main things came to your mind when you decided to build your house?

Participant 48: in the beginning I wanted to build a house similar to others in this area. But some of relatives suggested to use the house for generating money.

Interviewer: what did they mean?

Participant 48: this means that I dedicate spaces of my future house for renting. I liked the idea of my relatives and I proposed it to my wife and she liked it too

she said this will lift burdens from our shoulders people owed us too much money, you understand?

Interviewer: yes of course, what happened next?

Participant 48: We saw the idea of turning the ground floor to a mini market was a good thing to do

Interviewer: but were you would live?

Participant 48: we can live upstairs separately.

Interviewer: Did you think that the idea of residing at a separate floor and having a mini-market below was a good thing or making you comfortable?

Participant 48: Why not?! Do not forget that I had loans to repay and in the meantime this idea benefited me I mean if I pay my loans I will save the rest I mean the idea is useful financially

Participant 49

Interviewer: what were the main things came to your mind when you decided to build your house?

Participant 49: From the beginning, I set up an idea of dedicating most of my house to rent the area where I live now has been desired by many people

Interviewer: in what sense?

Participant 49: I mean there are many Arab families looking for accommodations. Part of the ground floor could be a storage for renting and the rest [the remaining space of the ground floor] could be for living. I put the first floor for renting so any family who come to rent the first floor they will see the first floor is completely separate but there was a problem to be fair. I mean, my wife did not like this idea but I insisted on executing my plan because we there were many financial burdens on our shoulders

Interviewer: Why did your wife not like the idea?

Participant 49: She thought this would kill the house. She said if we rent spaces on the ground floor and the first we will lose most of the house, and she said the idea will also constrain our movements and our liberty and will ruin the house's façade

Interviewer: her comment seem to be reasonable!

Participant 49: I ignored her comments

Participant 50

Interviewer: how did you managed to create drawings which matched the building regulations and the needs of the owner in the same time?

Participant 50: I wanted him to escape the regulations and submit plans with a degree of flexibility so once he obtained the permission he could execute his concept when it goes to the execution we were asked by the union to make changes to the design because we had reached the minimum requirement of the ratio of open areas and they wanted us to increase the areas of the windows to let more sunshine and air come inside the house

Participant 51

Interviewer: how did the procedure of construction permission go?

Participant 51: There were no problems in getting the permission. The staff at the Union and the municipality happily approved the drawings and the procedure finished quickly because when the staff saw the drawing they were happy with the standards so the regulations have always been in favour of houses with green open spaces.

Participant 52

Interviewer: how did the procedure of construction permission go?

Participant 52: There was no solution but to make adjustable plans for the permission.

I dealt with many design but the houses were difficult. The owners wanted me to find solutions to get the permission, you know, they wanted something which was very difficult to achieve they turned parts of their houses into rentable spaces. Nobody at the Union or the municipality would accept the idea of turning an entire floor into a business place or renting most of a house to rentable spaces

Appendix D: The questionnaire design:

The questionnaire sheets of GMSH, for Group A and B.

بهريز : من ناوم بهحيا تاهير على خونديكاري دكتورام له زانكوي شهفيلد له بریتانیا نهم راپرسینامهيه نهنجام ددهم لهسهر پرورژهی شاری جوان (وینهکهی لهخوارهوهیه) له سلیمانی راپرسینامهکهمش تهنها یق مهبهستی زانستییه . نهگهر نارهزوی بهشداربوونت ههیه تکایه به ههچ شیوهیک ناوی خوت مه نووسه ههروهها واژوش مهکه . بهشداریبوننتان جیگهی ریز و پیزانینه.



تکایه هیمای (✓) دابنی له ناو بازنهکان

زانیاری لهسهر بهشداربوو

1. نایا تو دانیشتوی شاری سلیمانیت ؟

- من خملکی شارمه نیم بهلام بههمیشهی له سلیمانی نهزیم بملنی من خملکی شاری سلیمانیم
- من میوانم له سلیمانی من بو خویندن هاتووم بو سلیمانی
- من بو مهبستیکی تر له سلیمانی نهزیم بو ماوهیهکی دیاریکراو

2. رمگهر : نیر من پیم باش نییه وهلام بدمهوه

3. تمسن : 25-18 35-25 45-35 55-45 65-55 سهروو 65

4. فرمانیه: بملنی نهخیر

5. نهگهر فرمانیهی داهاتی مانگانهت چهنده به دولار (نهگهر فرمانیهی نیت ، تکایه داهاتی مانگانهی خیزانت بنوسه):

- 1000-600 600-400 خوار 400
- سهروو 2000 2000-1500 1500-1000

6. بیشهت چیه ؟

7. به شيوه يکي گشتي ، دؤخی دارايی نيسنا خوت و خيزانت چون هملئسهنگيني :

- همزار مامانوند باش زور باش

8. نايات تو لايئنگري هيچ حزيك دمكيت:

- بهلى نهخيز بئ لايئم پيم باش نييه وه لام بدمهوه

9. نهگس پيشتوانى حزيبيكى دياريكراو نهكيت ، كام لهم پينج حزيبانه سرهكيانه پيشتوانى دمكيت:

- پارتى يهكگرتوو كؤمهل گؤران يهكيتى حزيبيكى تر بئ لايئم پيم باش نييه وه لام بدمهوه

بؤچوونى بهشداربوو لهسهه وتهكانى نمو كسانهه كه پروژهه شارى جوانيدا دروست كرد

1. نمو كسانهه كه پروژهه شارى جوانيدا دروست كرد دهلين پروژههكيان چيروكى سرهكوتته له بوارى مؤديركردنى تهلاسازى له سلئمانى ههروهه كوردستان ، نايه تو رات چييه؟:

- زور هاورام هاورام هاورا نيم زور دؤى نمو بؤچوونم نهگري ههيه جارئ رام نييه هيچ رام نييه

2. نمو كسانهه كه پروژهه شارى جوانيدا دروست كرد دهلين پروژههكيان داهائى سلئمانى زياد دهكات لهبر نموهه پروژههكه كهرتى كهشتياري باشتو دهكات ، نايه تو رات چييه؟:

- زور هاورام هاورام هاورا نيم زور دؤى نمو بؤچوونم نهگري ههيه جارئ رام نييه هيچ رام نييه

بۆچۈنى بەشداربوو لەسەر پروژەى شارى جوان

1. بەراى تو ، لايىنە باشىكانى شارى جوان چىن ؟

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2. بەراى تو ، لايىنە خراپىكانى شارى جوان چىن ؟

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3. ھاز دىكىت كۆمىتتىك يان سەرنجىك بنوسىت ؟

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The English version of the questionnaire sheets of GMSH, for Group A and B.

Dear Sir /Madam: My name is Yahia Tahir Ali and I am a PhD student at Sheffield University. I conduct this questionnaire on the project of Shary Jwan (pictured below) and the questionnaire is for academic purposes only. If you like to take part please do not write your name or signature. Your participation is highly valued.



Please write (✓) in the circles

Information about the participant

1. Are you a resident in Slemani?

- Yes, I am a native of Slemani I am not a native of the city, but I live in Slemani permanently
 I am a visitor I came here for studying
 I came to Slemani for another purpose and live here temporarily

2. Gender: Male Female I prefer not to answer

3. Age: 18-25 25-35 35-45 45-55 55-65 over 65

4. Are you employed: Yes No

5. If you are an employee, what is your monthly income in US Dollar
(if you are not employed, please write the income of your family)

- Belwo 400 400-600 600-1000
 1000-1500 1500-2000 over 2000

6. What is your occupation?

7. Generally, how would you describe your current financial situation?

- Poor Fair Good Very good

8. Do you support a political party ?

- Yes No Non-partisan I prefer not to answer

9. If you support a political party, which one of the five main parties you support:

- KDP KIU KIG Change PUK Another party
Non-partisan I prefer not to answer

Participant's veiw on the argument of the producers of Shary Jwan

1. Those who created Shary Jwan argue that it is a success story in the process of modernising the architecture of Slemani and Kurdistan.

- Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree
 Depends Undecided No opinion

2. Those who created Shary Jwan argue that it will improve the revenue of Slemani because the project contributes to the tourist industry.

- Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree
 Depends Undecided No opinion

Participant's view on the project of Shary Jwan

1. In your opinion, what are the positive aspects of Shary Jwan?

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2. In your opinion, what are the negative aspects of Shary Jwan?

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3. Would you like to add a comment?

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The questionnaire sheets of GC, for Group A.

بهریز : من ناوم بهحیا تاهیر عملی خویندکاری دکتورام له زانکوی شهفیلد له بریتانیا نهم راپرسینامهیه نهجام ددهم لهسهه پرۆزه ی نیشتهجیونی گاردن سیتی (وینهکهی لهخوارهوهیه) له سلیمانی راپرسینامهکەش تهنها بۆ مهیهستی زانستیه . نهگەر نارەزوی بهشداربوونت ههیه تکایه به هیچ شیوهیک ناوی خۆت مه نووسه ههروهها واژووش مهکه. بهشداریبوونتان جیگهی ریز و پیزانینه.



تکایه هیمای (✓) دابنن له ناو بازنهکان
زانباری لهسهه بهشداربوو

1. نایا تو دانیشتوی شاری سلیمانیته ؟
 بلن من خهلی شاری سلیمانیته من میوانم له سلیمانیته
 من بۆ خویندن هاتووم بۆ سلیمانیته من بۆ مهیهستیکه تر له سلیمانیته نهژیم بۆ ماوهیهکی دیاریکراو
2. رهگهز : نیر من پیم باش نییه وهلام بدهمهوه
3. تهمن : 25-18 35-25 45-35 55-45 65-55 سهروو 65
4. فهرمانیه : بلن نهخیز
5. نهگهز فهرمانیهی داهاتی مانگانهته چهنده به دۆلار (نهگهز فهرمانیه نیت ، تکایه داهاتی مانگانهته خیزانت بنوسه):
 1000-600 600-400 خوار 400
 سهروو 2000 2000-1500 1500-1000
6. پیشته جیهه ؟

Group A

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7. به شیویمهکی گشتی ، دۇخی دارایی نېستا خوت و خیزانت چۆن هملنسانگینی :

- همزار مامناوند باش زور باش

8. نایا تو لاینگری هیچ حزینک دمکیت:

- بهلمی نمخیز بی لاینم پیم باش نییه وه لام بدمسوه

9. نهگمر پیشتوانی حیزینکی دیاریکراو نهکیت ، کام لم پینج حیزبانه سر مکپانه پیشتوانی دمکیت:

- یارنی یهکرتوو کومل گوران یهکیتی
 حیزینکی تر بی لاینم پیم باش نییه وه لام بدمسوه

بۆچوونی بهشداربوو لهسەر وتهکانی نهو کسانهی که پرۆژهی گاردن سیتی دروست کرد

1. نهو کسانهی که پرۆژهی گاردن سیتیان دروست کرد دهلین نیمه مۆدیلک همروه ها شیویمهکی مۆدیرنمان دروست کرد له بواری

نیشتهجیبوون ، نایا تو رات چیه؟:

- زور هاویرام هاویرام هاویرا نیم زور دژی نهو بۆچوونم
 نهگمری همیه جارئ رام نییه هیچ رام نییه

2. نهو کسانهی که پرۆژهی گاردن سیتیان دروست کرد دهلین پرۆژهکیان بهشینکه له چارصهر کردنی کیشهی نیشتهجیبوون

نایا تو رات چیه؟:

- زور هاویرام هاویرام هاویرا نیم زور دژی نهو بۆچوونم
 نهگمری همیه جارئ رام نییه هیچ رام نییه

بۇچونى بەشدارىوو لەسەر پرۆژەى گاردن سىتى

1. بەراى تۆ ، لايەنە باشەكانى گاردن سىتى چىن ؟

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2. بەراى تۆ ، لايەنە خراپەكانى گاردن سىتى چىن ؟

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3. ھاز دەھكەيت كۆمىنتىك يان سەرنجىك بىنوسىت ؟

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Group B

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The English version of the questionnaire sheets of GC, for Group A.

Dear Sir /Madam: My name is Yahia Tahir Ali and I am a PhD student at Sheffield University. I conduct this questionnaire on the housing project of Garden City (pictured below) and the questionnaire is for academic purposes only. If you like to take part please do not write your name or signature. Your participation is highly valued.



Please write (✓) in the circles

Information about the participant

1. Are you a resident in Slemani?

- Yes, I am a native of Slemani I am not a native of the city, but I live in Slemani permanently
 I am a visitor I came here for studying
 I came to Slemani for another purpose and live here temporarily

2. Gender: Male Female I prefer not to answer

3. Age: 18-25 25-35 35-45 45-55 55-65 over 65

4. Are you employed: Yes No

5. If you are an employee, what is your monthly income in US Dollar
(if you are not employed, please write the income of your family)

- Belwo 400 400-600 600-1000
 1000-1500 1500-2000 over 2000

6. What is your occupation?

7. Generally, how would you describe your current financial situation?

- Poor Fair Good Very good

8. Do you support a political party ?

- Yes No Non-partisan I prefer not to answer

9. If you support a political party, which one of the five main parties you support:

- KDP KIU KIG Change PUK Another party
Non-partisan I prefer not to answer

Participant's view on the argument of the producers of Garden City

1. The investors of Garden City argue that they have created a modernised version of housing architecture.

- Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree
 Depends Undecided No opinion

2. The investors of Garden City argue that their project has the best quality in terms of services, materials, furniture ... etc.

- Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree
 Depends Undecided No opinion

Participant's view on the project of Garden City

1. In your opinion, what are the positive aspects of Garden City?

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2. In your opinion, what are the negative aspects of Garden City?

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3. Would you like to add a comment?

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The questionnaire sheets of GC, for Group B.

7. به شیوه‌یکی گشتی، دۆخی دارایی نیستا خۆت و خیزانت چۆن هه‌ئاسنگینی :

به‌رێز : من ناوم یه‌حیا تاهیر عه‌لی خۆیندکاری دکتۆرام له زانکۆی شه‌فیلد له بریتانیا نهم راپرسینامه‌یه نه‌نجام ده‌دهم له‌سه‌ر پرۆژه‌ی نیشه‌جیپوونی گاردن سیتی (وینه‌که‌ی له‌خواره‌ودیه) له سلیمانی راپرسینامه‌که‌ش ته‌نها بۆ مه‌به‌ستی زانستیه . نه‌گه‌ر ناره‌زوی به‌شداربوونت هه‌یه تکایه به هیچ شیوه‌تیک ناوی خۆت مه‌نوسه هه‌روه‌ها واژووش مه‌که . به‌شداربوونتان جیگه‌ی ریز و پیزانینه .



تکایه هیمای (✓) داینی له ناو بازنه‌کان

زانیاری له‌سه‌ر به‌شداربوو

1. نایا تۆ دانیشتوی شاری سلیمانیت ؟
 - بلن من خه‌لکی شاری سلیمانیم
 - من میوانم له سلیمانی
 - من بۆ خۆیندن هاتووم بۆ سلیمانی
 - من بۆ مه‌به‌ستتکی تر له سلیمانی نه‌ژیم بۆ ماوه‌یه‌کی دیاریکراو
2. رنگه‌ز : نیر می پیم باش نییه وه‌لام بده‌موه
3. ته‌سه‌ن : 25-18 35-25 45-35 55-45 65-55 سه‌روو 65
4. فرمانیه‌ر : به‌لن نه‌خیز
5. نه‌گه‌ر فرمانیه‌ری داها‌تی مانگانه‌ت چهنده به‌ دۆلار (نه‌گه‌ر فرمانیه‌ر نیت ، تکایه داها‌تی مانگانه‌ی خیزانت بنووسه):
 - خوار 400 600-400 1000-600
 - 1500-1000 2000-1500 سه‌روو 2000
6. پيشه‌ت چیه ؟

Group A

1

7. به شیو میکی گشتی ، دۆخی دارایی نیستا خۆت و خیزانت چون ههلهسهنگینی :

- ههژار مامناوهند باش زۆر باش

8. نایا تو لاینگری هیچ حزینیک دمکیت:

- بهلی نهخیز بی لایم پیم باش نییه وه لام بدهمهوه

9. نهگس پيشتوانی حیزبکی دیاریکراو نهکیت ، کام لهم پینج حیزبانه سهرمکیانه پيشتوانی دمکیت:

- پارتی بهکرتوو کومهل گۆران بهکیتی
- حیزبکی تر بی لایم پیم باش نییه وه لام بدهمهوه

بۆچوونی بهشداربوو لهسهه وتهکانی نهو کهسانه ی که پرۆزه ی گاردن سیتی دروست کرد

1. نهو کهسانه ی که پرۆزه ی گاردن سیتیان دروست کرد دهلین نیمه مۆدیلنیک ههروهه شینو میکی مۆدیرنمان دروست کرد له بواری

نیشتهجیبوون ، نایا تو رات چیبیه؟:

- زۆر هاورام هاورام هاورا نیم زۆر دزی نهو پۆچونهه
- نهگسری ههیه جارئ رام نییه هیچ رام نییه

2. نهو کهسانه ی که پرۆزه ی گاردن سیتیان دروست کرد دهلین پرۆزمکیان نایابه له رووی خزمهتگوزاری ، کهسهته،

کهلوپهل ، نامیز ... هتد ، نایا تو رات چیبیه؟:

- زۆر هاورام هاورام هاورا نیم زۆر دزی نهو پۆچونهه
- نهگسری ههیه جارئ رام نییه هیچ رام نییه

بۆچۈنى بەشداربوو لەسەر پروژەى گاردن سیتی

1. بەرای تو ، لایەنە باشەکانی گاردن سیتی چین ؟

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2. بەرای تو ، لایەنە خراپەکانی گاردن سیتی چین ؟

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3. ھاز دەکەیت کۆمىنتىك يان سەرنجىك بنوسىت ؟

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.....

Group B

3

The English version of the questionnaire sheets of GC, for Group B.

Dear Sir /Madam: My name is Yahia Tahir Ali and I am a PhD student at Sheffield University. I conduct this questionnaire on the housing project of Garden City (pictured below) and the questionnaire is for academic purposes only. If you like to take part please do not write your name or signature. Your participation is highly valued.



Please write (✓) in the circles

Information about the participant

1. Are you a resident in Slemani?

- Yes, I am a native of Slemani I am not a native of the city, but I live in Slemani permanently
 I am a visitor I came here for studying
 I came to Slemani for another purpose and live here temporarily

2. Gender: Male Female I prefer not to answer

3. Age: 18-25 25-35 35-45 45-55 55-65 over 65

4. Are you employed: Yes No

5. If you are an employee, what is your monthly income in US Dollar
(if you are not employed, please write the income of your family)

- Belwo 400 400-600 600-1000
 1000-1500 1500-2000 over 2000

6. What is your occupation?

Participant's view on the project of Garden City

1. In your opinion, what are the positive aspects of Garden City?

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2. In your opinion, what are the negative aspects of Garden City?

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3. Would you like to add a comment?

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Appendix E: The documents of Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives

 **Giota Pavlidou** <pavlidou@doxiadis.org>
to me ▾

 7 Mar   ▾

Dear Yahia,

You don't need a permission for your PhD thesis, you only have to give the correct reference to the material and the **Doxiadis Archives**.

Regarding your article you have to contact us again when you are about to publish it, and after you will send to us all information about it (title, journal, issue, etc.), we will provide a permission for publication document, granting permission to you or to the Journal/Publisher and digital images of high resolution (if needed).

Best regards,

Giota Pavlidou

Giota Pavlidou
Archivist
Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives
email: pavlidou@doxiadis.org
tel.: +30 210 3453111 (extension 1145)
fax: +30 211 1821700

Γιότα Παυλίδου
Αρχειονόμος
Αρχειό Κωνσταντίνου Α. Δοξιάδη
email: pavlidou@doxiadis.org
τηλ.: +30 210 3453111 (εσώτ. 1145)
fax: +30 211 1821700

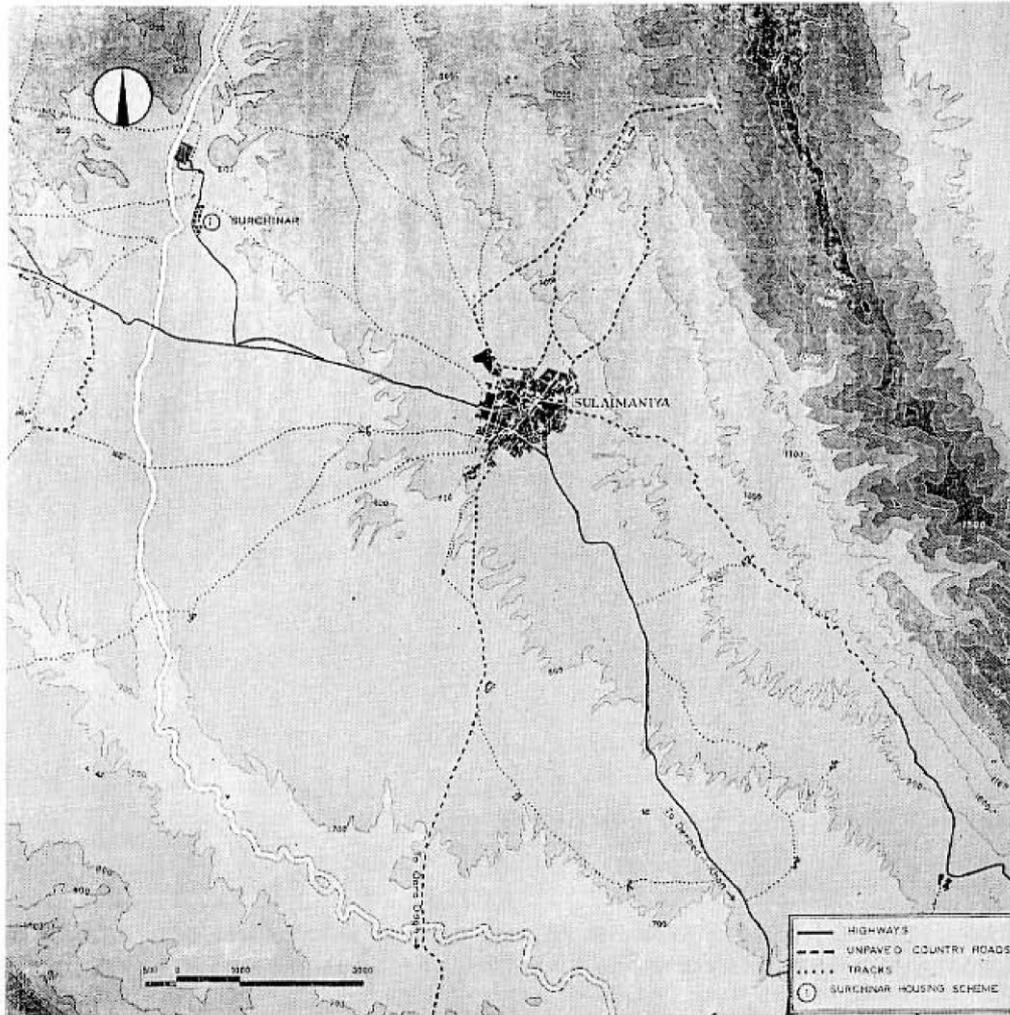
2. THE AREA OF THE CITY

a. The city and its surrounding area

27. Sulaimaniya city dominates a plateau lying between two mountain ranges, one to the East of the city, at a distance of approximately 3 km., and the other to its SW at a distance of about 12 km. The plateau is crossed by a small tributary of the Diyala river, which passes 5 km. West of the town, and is mostly cultivated.

28. The most significant settlement near the city is the new housing scheme of Surchinar which has been just completed to house the personnel of a new cement factory there.

SULAIMANIYA AND ITS SURROUNDING AREA



DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTING ENGINEERS

C. POLICIES

1. NEED FOR A MASTER PROGRAM

200. To solve the problems of a town and to regulate its future development, a long-term program should be prepared.

201. Such a long-term program, to be called the Master Program, is most important for the achievement of the proper development of the city.

202. The preparation of a Master Plan only is not adequate, as Master Plans are regulatory elements, controlling by negative measures, such as by-laws etc., the expansion of the town and its land use. Master Plans cannot and are not creative, unless they express the physical implementation of an overall long-term program.

203. Programs should consider the present and future functions of the town, on a regional, national and, occasionally, international basis, its anticipated population growth and physical expansion, as well as the needs for the solution of existing and future problems.

204. The estimate of the future population of a city together with its present and future needs, determine, more than anything else, the problems for which policies should be set. For these policies to be realistic, the present and future economy of the city should be considered as well as the extent and the possibilities for the mobilization of all resources, whether public or private.

205. It is only after such a procedure, that is, after the preparation of an integrated Master Program, based on present and future needs and financial considerations, that the Master Plan may be shaped in such a way as to ensure its realization.

206. The Master Program should aim at giving all the directives necessary for the future development of the town over a long-term period of at least one generation.

207. While the Master Program will set the eventual targets, detailed programs for immediate action are also necessary to permit the commencement of the implementation of the long-term program and the solution of urgent problems.

215. It is therefore anticipated that Sulaimaniya will soon become a center for tourist activities, a matter which, if properly handled, may significantly influence its economy.

216. Recapitulating, the main present and future functions of the city, by order of importance, are:

- a. Commercial center, serving the whole liwa.
- b. Administrative center of higher order.
- c. Industrial center with great potentialities.
- d. Tourist center.

3. THE POPULATION OF SULLIMANIYA

217. The present population of the city is about 50,000 people. In accordance with the official figures of the 1947 and 1957 censuses, the rate of annual increase of the population over the last decade was 3.80%. This means that, should this rate remain constant, doubling of the population can be anticipated within one generation, or, to be precise, in 18 years.

218. Iraq's population, on the other hand, increased between 1947 and 1957 at an annual rate of 3%.

219. Both these rates are quite high. An explanation may be that the census of 1947 was the first to be conducted in Iraq. It is natural, therefore, to believe that it did not cover all the population and all areas with the same accuracy as that of 1957.

220. If 5% of the total population of Iraq was not enumerated in 1947, then the average national rate of increase per year drops to about 2.5%, a figure much more realistic. This rate means that after thirty years Iraq will have twice as many inhabitants as it has today, that is, its population will then be of the order of 13,000,000 people.

221. On the assumption that the 1947 census for the major urban centers was more accurate than for the whole country, one may safely accept that the annual rate of increase in Sulaimaniya city between 1947 and 1957 was of the order of 3.3%.

222. Following this rate, doubling of the city's population may be anticipated to occur within 22 years. This, of course, will take place

208. The long-term program, together with the first and second five-year programs of detailed action, are therefore the necessary prerequisites for the success of planning and implementation.

2. THE FUNCTIONS OF SULAIMANIYA

209. The main function of Sulaimaniya, in fact the reason for its development, is that it constitutes the main commercial center of a large agricultural area of 11,841 sq.km., with a population of 300,000 people. It further constitutes the key point in this region in regard to communications.

210. The second basic function of the city is that it is an administrative center of higher order administering all the above mentioned region.

211. During recent years the city has started developing industrially. The new cement factory of Surchinar and the programmed sugar, cigarette and wool spinning industries will employ about 1500 people. This will double the present work force engaged in industrial establishments.

212. It is foreseen that further industrialization of the area will take place. Indeed, the mineral resources of the liwa are considerable, and several agricultural products needing industrial processing are grown, e.g., tobacco, cotton, linseed etc; woollen textile factories may be established.

213. It is therefore safe to conclude that one of the main future functions of Sulaimaniya will be its industrial development.

214. Sulaimaniya liwa presents many possibilities for the development of tourism. Mountainous as it is, with many natural beauty spots and with mild summers, it may become the center of many summer resorts in its area. The artificial lakes of Derbendi Khan and Dokan which are surrounded with mountains will attract, if properly developed, thousands of tourists each year. Furthermore, the areas of Qaradagh, 30 km., South of Sulaimaniya, Hawaren Zhuru, 25 km., NNW of it, Bowra, 60 km., NE of the city, and many other places have considerable potentialities for tourism. All these places will depend upon Sulaimaniya commercially and will be reached through this city.

- b. Centrifugal forces resulting because of external factors, such as other major urban centers, main communication lines and higher order administrative or commercial links.

228. Most of the suitable lands, which may become available for the city's expansion, are those lying to its West and Northwest. The steep lands to the North and East of the present city limit its expansion towards these directions to very few areas only. On the other hand, the chain of hills which surround the South and Southwest districts of Sulaimaniya and which are covered by cemeteries, form a natural boundary of the city in these directions. Besides, any land which may become available there, cannot be considered as suitable because of its low elevation.

229. Thus, from the point of view of availability and suitability of lands, it should be expected that the town will expand mainly towards the West and Northwest.

230. The highway to Kirkuk will definitely influence the future expansions of Sulaimaniya and will attract them towards its direction. On the other hand, Westward centrifugal forces will also be applied because of the industrial development going on along the left bank of the small tributary flowing 5 km., West of the present city. Indeed, both the cement factory of Surchinar and the sugar factory along the road to Kirkuk will attract the city also towards the West.

231. The new highway to Baghdad, via Derbondi Khan, cannot affect considerably the expansion of the town along its direction because, as already mentioned, hills, cemeteries and low elevations render the lands there unsuitable for development. Very limited areas may be used, and, because of the low elevations, should be allocated to uses other than residential.

232. The opposite map shows the obstacles limiting the development of the city towards certain directions and schematically the trends which will influence its future physical expansion.

233. As is shown from the above analysis, the town will expand towards East and North. Expansions towards the South will be very limited in area.

D. THE PROGRAMS

1. THE MASTER PLAN

269. In accordance with the policies set out, the Master Plan has been prepared in an effort to solve the existing and anticipated problems. It aims at serving an eventual population of 100,000 people, that is, the needs of the city for a period of about 25 years.

270. The total area covered by the plan is approximately 1450 hectares, broken down, as follows:

a. Residential areas	725	hectares
b. Central civic, commercial and business area	150	"
c. Industrial zones	175	"
d. Parks, cemeteries and major roads	400	"

Total 1,450 hectares

271. As shown on the plan, expansions of the town have been made mainly towards the W and NW and minor ones towards the N and E. Lesser expansions have been made towards the South.

272. Provision has been made for considerable expansions of the presently congested central area so as to allow for the proper and rational development of the civic, commercial, business and other higher order activities, which should be located in the center of the city.

273. Certain higher order buildings, such as special schools, cultural establishments, hotels etc., may be also accommodated in the green area along the Northern side of the highway to Kirkuk, shown hatched on the Master Plan.

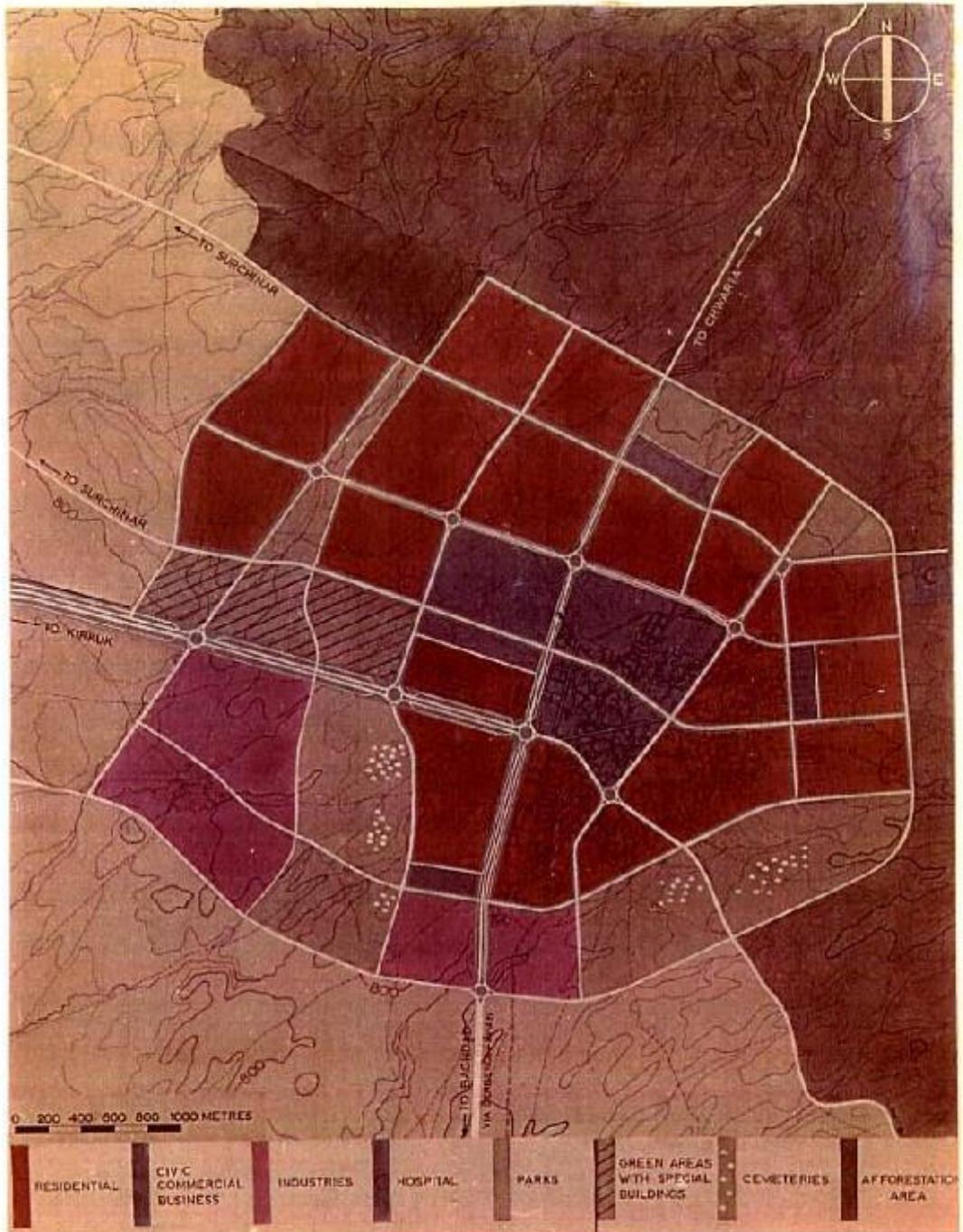
274. Two industrial zones have been provided. One behind the cemeteries, which lie SW of the present city, for major industries and the second in the Southernmost part of the city next to the new highway to Baghdad, via Derbendi Khan. This latter zone is provided for minor industrial establishments, such as handicrafts and workshops.

275. It is worth mentioned here that the site of the proposed cigarette factory is located in an area which according to the Master Plan, will develop as residential. The relocation, consequently, of this factory in the proposed industrial zone is advisable and it should be considered by the competent authorities.

276. To increase the open green spaces, considerable expansions of the cemeteries in the S and SW of the city and its plantations are proposed. To the same end parks have been provided in the new expansions, mostly located in areas in which because of ground formation, building is not indicated. The afforestation of all the steep areas to the N and W of the city is also proposed.

277. It is anticipated that the present site of the military installations and barracks of Sulaimaniya will soon be inadequate to cover the needs of the army and their relocation will be needed. Furthermore, the expansion of the city will soon bypass the present site and will interfere with the proper functioning of the military installations and of the city itself. It has been considered that the most suitable sites for the future installations of the army are those lying to the North of the Master Plan. Nevertheless, as the matter concerns the Ministry of Defence no relative indication in the Master Plan has been made. The future military zone should be decided upon by this Ministry in accordance with the needs of the army and the general lines of the Master Plan.

THE PROPOSED MASTER PLAN OF SULAIMANIYA



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278. All new developments have been designed in a way permitting further expansions of the city beyond those provided for by the 25-year Master Plan. Such additional expansions which will be needed during a second big phase of Sulaimaniya's development, or which may be required earlier, should any unforeseen factors demand more land for expansion than that provided for by the Master Plan, have been also designed in a way ensuring the proper functioning of the city.

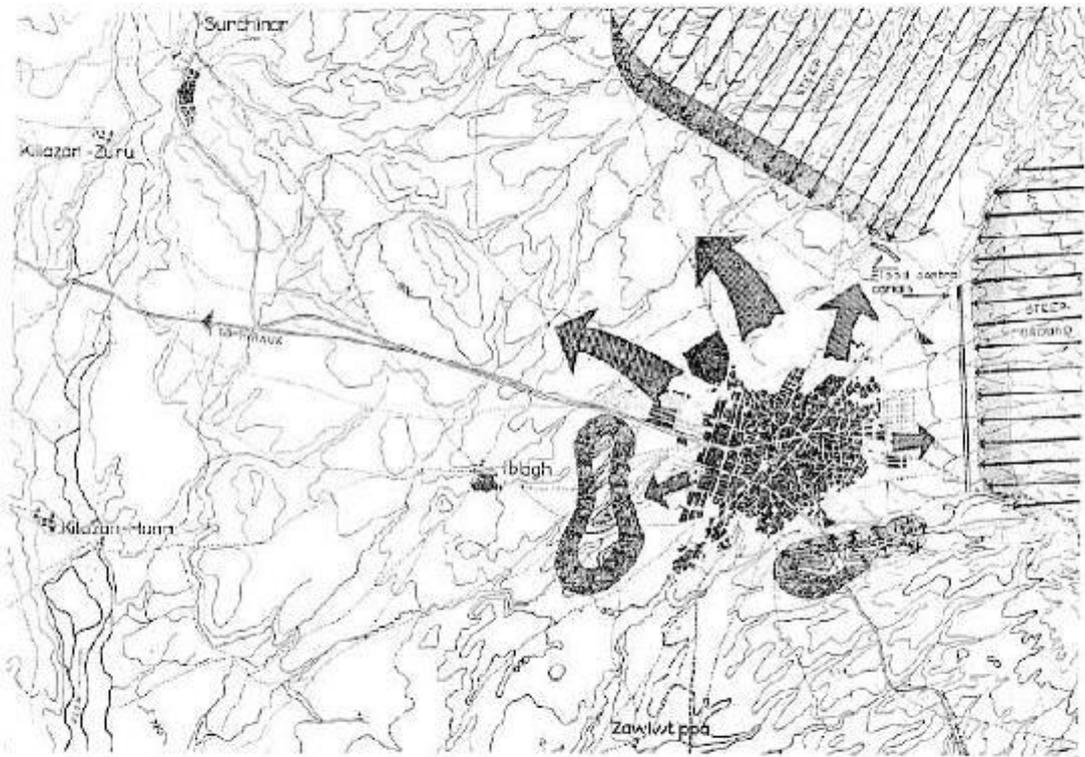
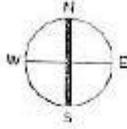
279. The plan on the opposite page shows the 25-year Master Plan, the possibilities for further expansions of same in accordance with the considerations of the previous paragraph, and the anticipated future development of the wider area of Sulaimaniya.

280. Six additional residential communities have been provided for the second big phase of development of the city and a considerable expansion of the industrial zone. Provision has also been made for the expansion of the green area along the highway in which several large higher order installations such as a stadium, special higher education buildings, etc., may be accommodated, even from now. The area occupied at present by the houses recently built by the Mortgage Bank represents the natural expansion of the central area of the city. It is anticipated that this area will change use during the second big phase of the city's development.

281. The cement factory of Surchinar, and the proposed sugar factory, will definitely influence the development along the river flowing West of Sulaimaniya. These two factories, the river itself and the latter's vicinity to the city may very well attract more industries to the area. Industrial workers housing schemes will then be needed as has already happened with the cement factory, as well as other facilities. Furthermore, several spots along the river banks present an interest because of their pleasant landscape and may be developed accordingly for the recreation of the citizens of Sulaimaniya.

282. Following these thoughts the whole area along the left river bank, shown grey on the map, should be from now considered as part of the planning area of Sulaimaniya. It should be programmed, planned and controlled and any development within it should be in line with the provisions of its detailed plan in order to avoid unpleasant results.

OBSTACLES AND TRENDS TO DEVELOPMENT



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6. LAND USE

a. Description of the city

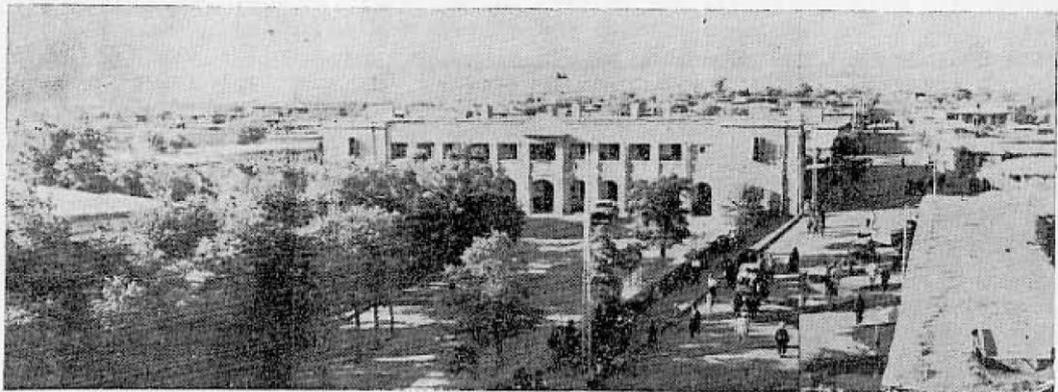
88. The present city consists of two distinctive parts. The first, and bigger one, is the old town and the second, the new development, which extend mostly towards the West.

89. Most of the civic and commercial establishments are located in the heart of the old town. A trapezoid ring road serves the central area and all other main roads radiate from it. Residential areas surround this central core in all directions.

90. The old town which is mostly built of mud and mudbricks includes several neighbourhoods. Streets in it are narrow and crooked. Its plan looks like a piece of dried and cracked mud, and this is accentuated by the building material that dominates.

91. The new districts of the city have a gridiron plan and most of their buildings are built of stone and bricks.

GENERAL VIEWS OF SULAIMANIYA



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b. Areas covered by each land use

92. The total built-up area of the city covers 216 hectares, cemeteries excluded, and is divided as follows:

- a. Mainly residential areas : 175 hectares or 81% of total
- b. Central area : 13 " " 6% " "
- c. Large establishments
(parks, large schools,
hospitals, tobacco
warehouses, military
installations) : 28 " " 13% " "

The above areas are gross, i.e., include the streets, squares etc.

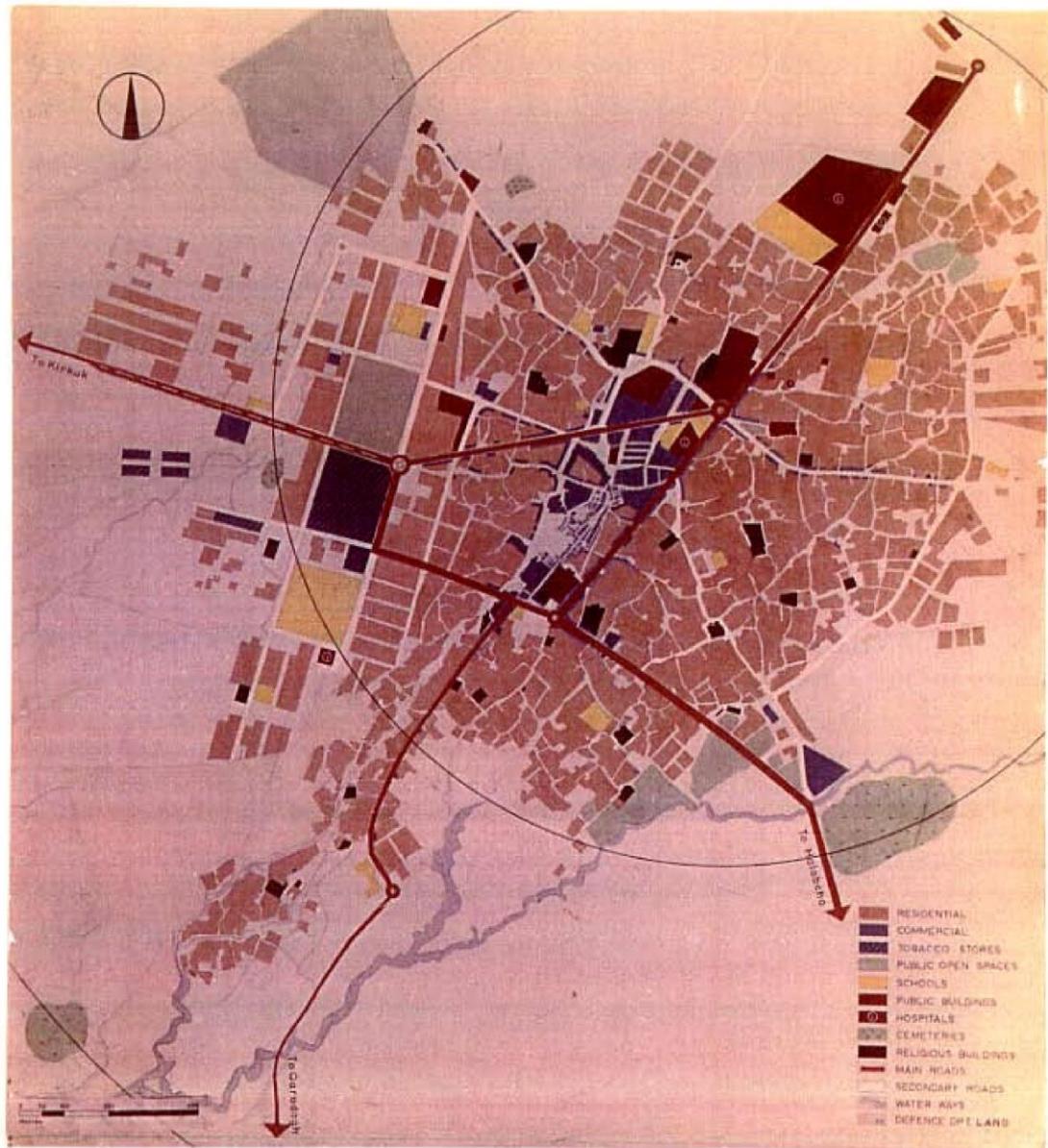
c. Residential areas

93. Four main residential areas are recognized. The first includes the Southern neighbourhoods, the poorest in the city. It includes several houses for farming families, and quite a number of its houses at its Southernmost end have been abandoned and ruined.

94. The second district lies in the Eastern and Northeastern parts of the city. The third covers the Northern areas and those lying between the central area and the new developments in the West. Both these areas are of more or less similar standards, which, though better than those of the Southern districts, are far from satisfactory.

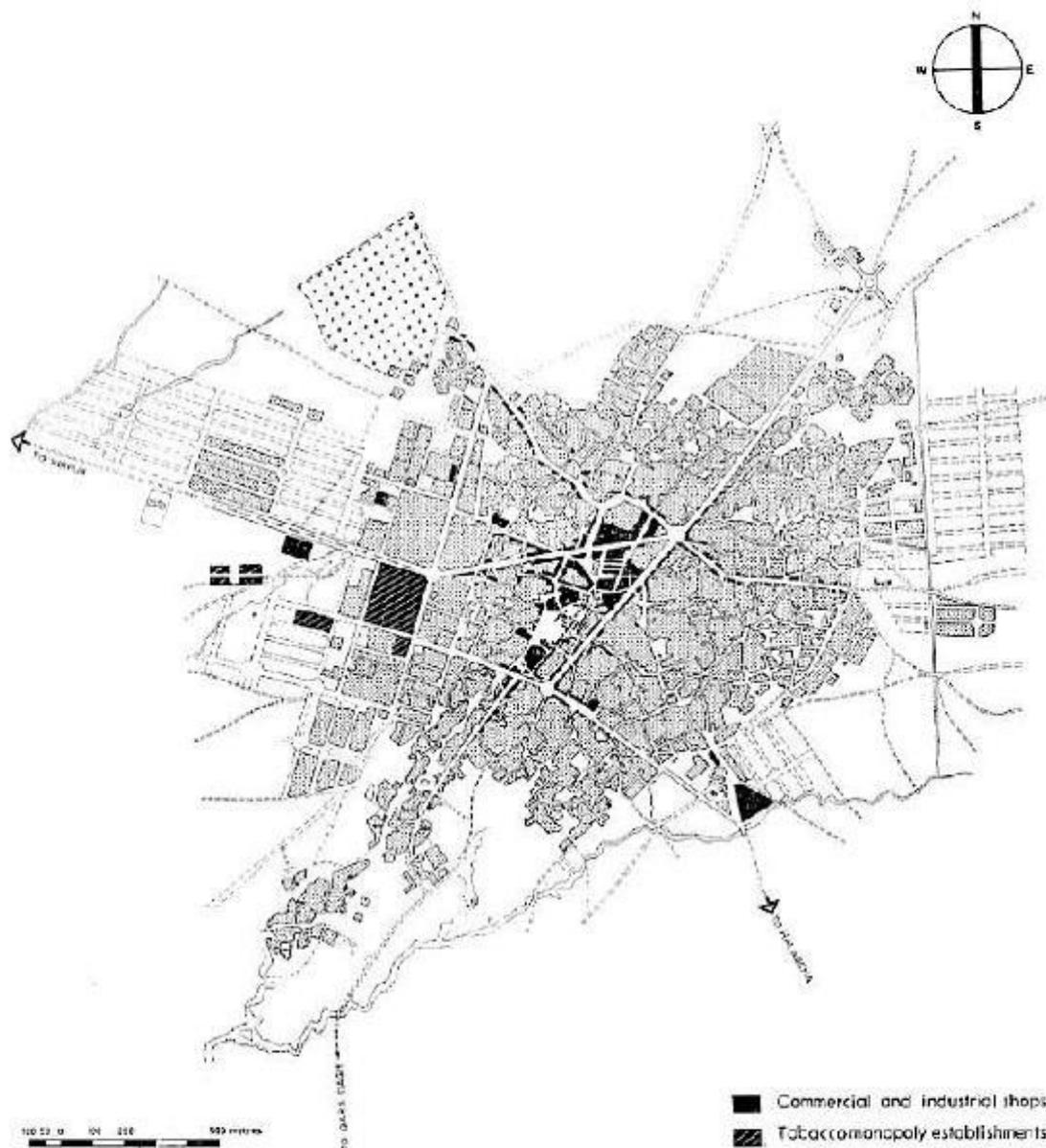
95. Finally, the fourth district covers all the new residential areas of the West.

LAND USE IN SULAIMANIYA



DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTING ENGINEERS

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SHOPS IN SULAIMANIYA



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d. Commercial and industrial establishments

96. Most of these establishments, as already mentioned, are located in the central area of the city. About thirty years ago almost all shops, whether commercial or industrial, were within this central area. Today, numerous shops have been established along the sides of the main streets and namely along the Northern and Eastern roads of the central ring, along the road leading to the military installations and along the road to the Eastern districts.

97. The large tobacco warehouses are all located in the new part of the town and a big garage was erected in the SE corner of it.

98. In accordance with locally collected information there is a big demand for new shops in the city.

Appendix F: Documents related to the pilot study

From: [Removed for confidentiality reasons]
To: "figer2004@yahoo.com" <figer2004@yahoo.com>; "ar [Removed for confidentiality reasons].com">
Sent: Monday, December 24, 2012 1:10 PM
Subject: AW: Fw: RE: Questions regarding the Buffer Zone .. from Yahia
Dear Yahia,

Regarding question one: how you can get the Guidelines. You can find more information about ARS Progetti Spa online <http://www.arsprogetti.it/>. Look the first and second contract of ARS Progetti for the project was with UNESCO (UNESCO had a Memorandum of Understanding with the Erbil Governorate). The third contract was directly with Erbil Governorate without UNESCO.

The first contract was to prepare the Guidelines, the second was to give Technical Assistant to the License Committee who is working on these Guidelines at Municipality one in Erbil, further the third contract was a combination of Technical Assistance and further development of the Guidelines.

The owner of the Guidelines is the Erbil Governorate, which means just this body is in the position to give you more information. I wish to ask you what exactly you need of the guidelines. I can send you some few brochures we prepared for the public. But I need from you what kind of information you need.

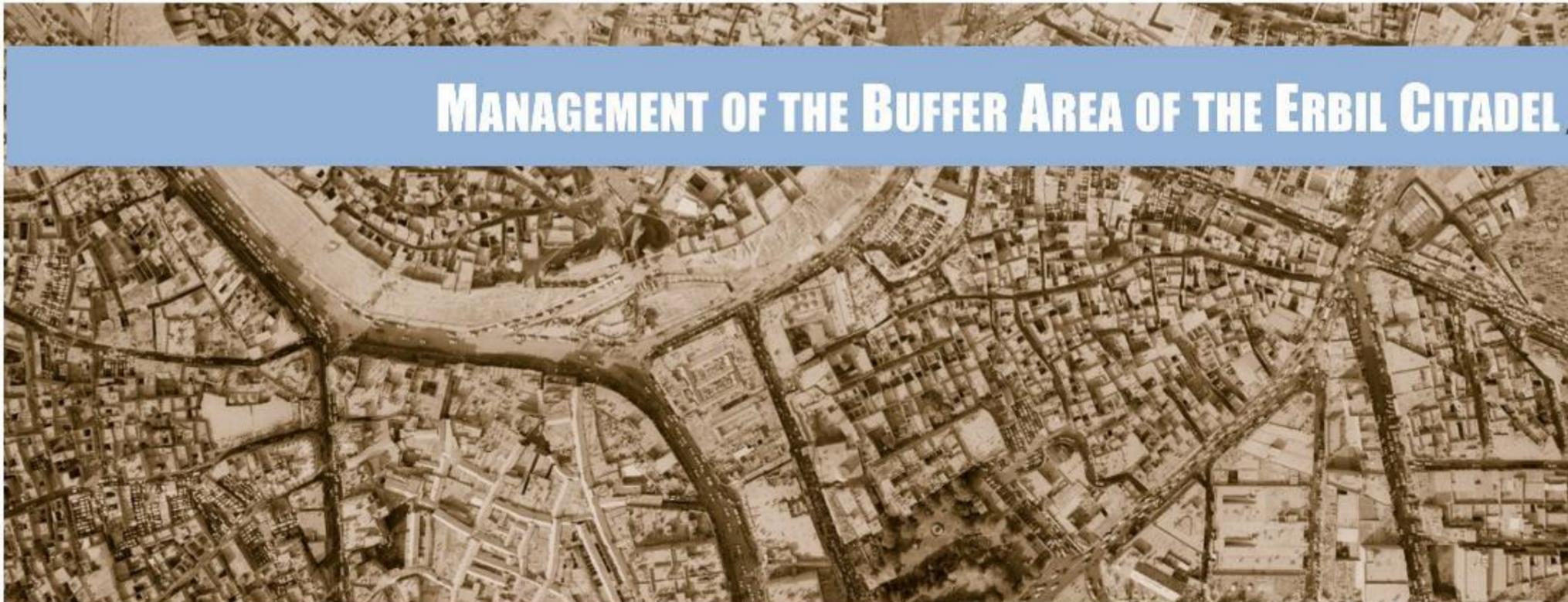
Regarding question two we did our surveys, but to have building by building a land-use map we didn't need it for our study. This is even not done exactly by dar al handsah, who did the first city center Master Plan of Erbil in 2006 or 2007 (refused from UNESCO redone by ARS Progetti). I think you have to do by yourself a land-use map.

What I can is sending you the refused Dar Al Handasah Landuse which is not very correct.

I wish to ask you to give us an overview what is your study about and it should be then clearer for us to help you.

[Removed for confidentiality reasons]

MANAGEMENT OF THE BUFFER AREA OF THE ERBIL CITADEL



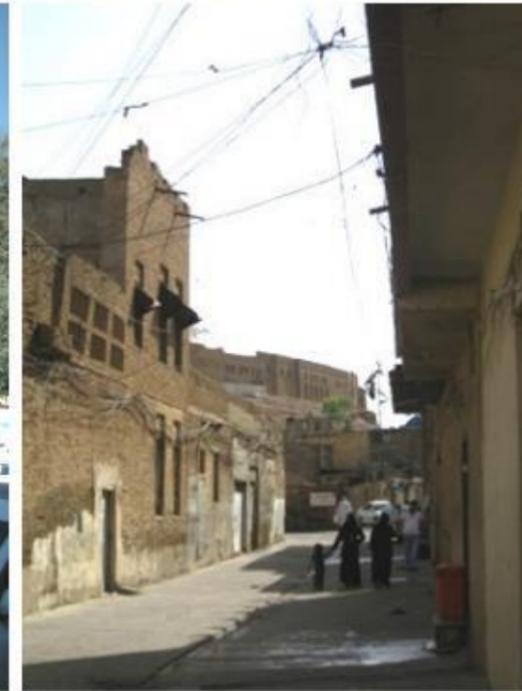
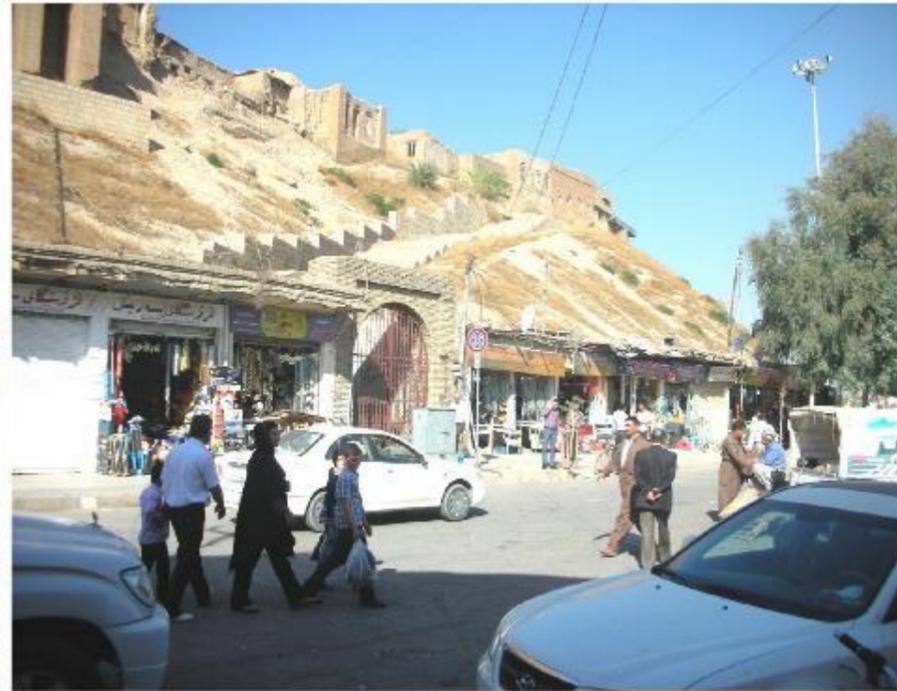
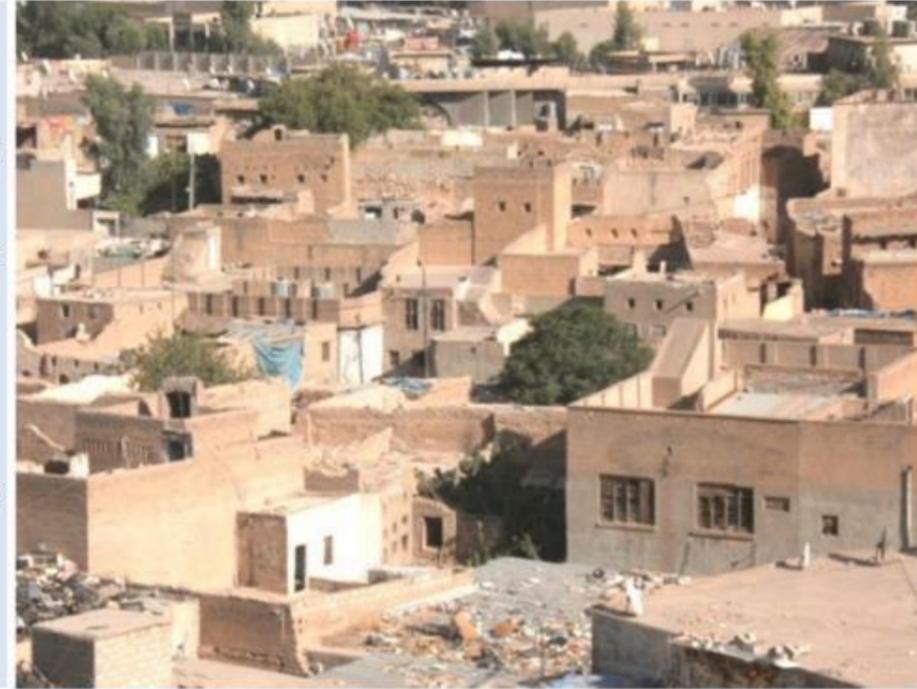
The Citadel town of Erbil is a fortified elliptical settlement located at the centre of the great city of Erbil on the top of a mound which rises 28-32 m above the surrounding city. The Citadel of Erbil evidences many millennia of habitation, making it one of the longest continuously inhabited sites in the world with successive layers of settlements: Assyrian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Persian and Greek. Over 500 structures are still standing, only a few of which are in an acceptable state of conservation.

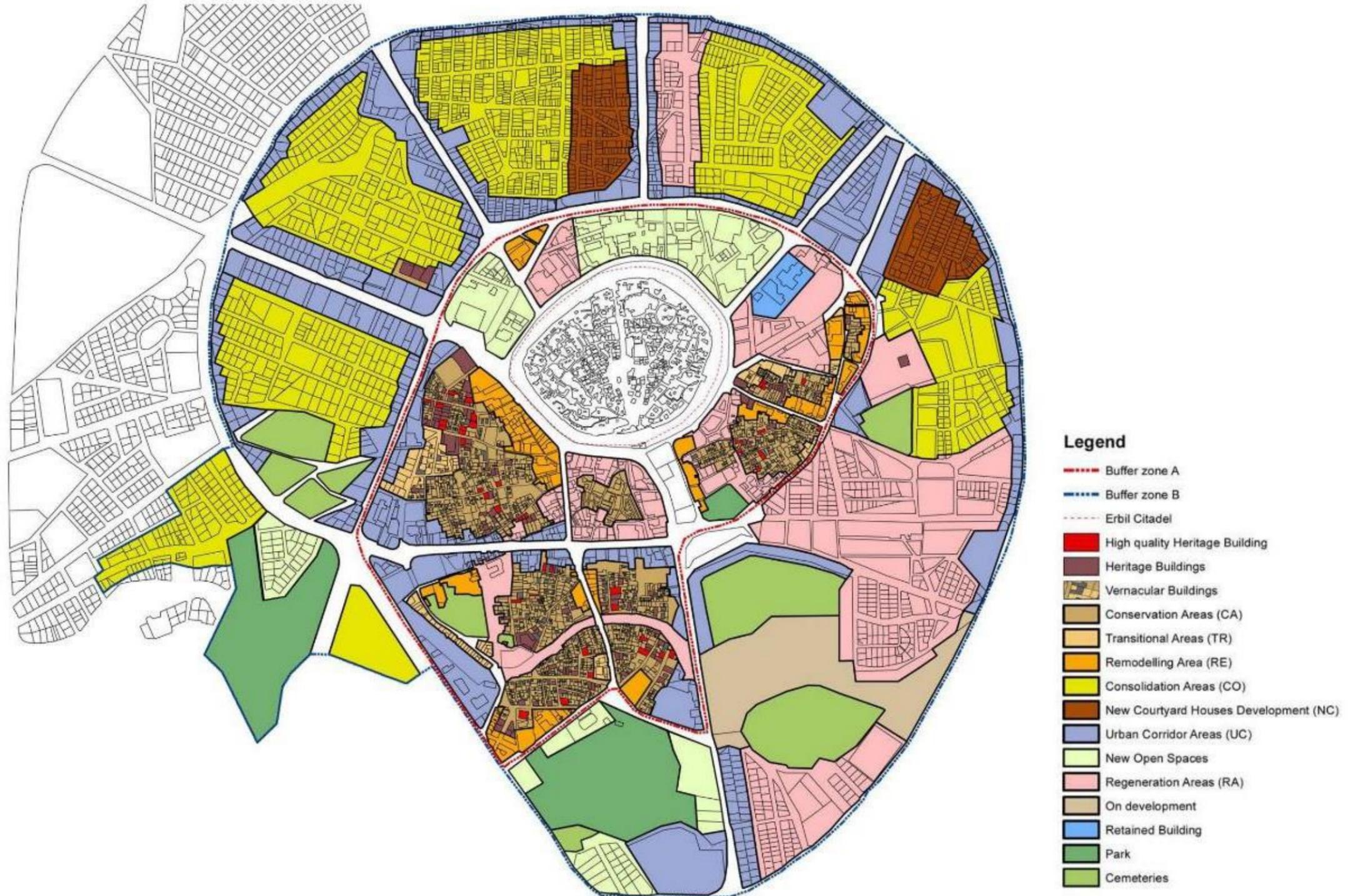




The main project activities are:

1. Technical support and assistance of the licensing committee:
 - Assistance in establishing the terms of reference of the committee.
 - Assistance in establishing the procedures of work of the committee.
 - Guidance in the implementation of the "Urban Design Guidelines of the Buffer Zone of the Erbil Citadel.
2. Review of the "Urban Design Guidelines of the Buffer Zone of the Erbil Citadel":
 - Assessment of the established guidelines in order to provide for further clarification and further detailing that would be required.
 - Preparation of further detailed instructions .
 - Extracting all regulation/instructions needed in a "user friendly" format.
 - Preparing the regulation in the form that could be legally formalized.
 - Translation of regulation/instructions/procedures in the Arabic language.
3. Assistance in establishing a public information office:
 - Establish the procedures for dealing with the public requesting permits within the buffer area.
 - Preparation of information package to be provided to the public.
 - Preparation of information panels to be displayed to the public.
4. Follow up and monitoring of the implementation





T.A. FOR THE URBAN GUIDELINES FOR THE ERBIL CITADEL BUFFER ZONE



The *Technical Assistance for the Implementation and Monitoring of the Urban Design Guidelines of the Erbil Citadel Buffer Area* aims to ensure the correct implementation of the regulations set on the *Urban Design Guidelines for the Buffer Zone of Erbil Citadel*, draft by ARS Progetti SPA in May 2011, to prevent that future development will not impact negatively on the Erbil Citadel and its relationship with surrounding built.

Specific Objectives of this commitment are:

- To train key governmental officials involved in the management of the Buffer Zone in the application of the *Urban Design Guidelines for the Buffer Zone of the Erbil Citadel*, through a TA in Erbil and a study tour in Italy.
- To train key technical staff involved in the management of the Buffer Zone in the use of the Geodatabase to identify the characteristics of heritage buildings within the Buffer zone.
- To revise the applications for building licenses submitted in the Buffer Zone and advise on procedural and design issues.
- To monitor that development within the Buffer Zone develops according to the *Urban Design Guidelines for the Buffer Zone of the Erbil Citadel*.

The expected result is that technical officials involved in the development control function within the Buffer Zone acquire full familiarity with and implement the guidelines and procedures set in the *Urban Design Guidelines for the Buffer Zone of the Erbil Citadel*.



TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNORATE OF ERBIL IN THE FURTHER DETAILING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN DESIGN GUIDELINES FOR THE BUFFER AREA OF THE CITADEL



The overall objective of the contract is to provide Technical Assistance to the Governorate of Erbil in the further detailing and implementation of Urban Design Guidelines for the Buffer Area of the Citadel. The project activities will be carried out mainly with the License Committee of Erbil Governorate. Other stakeholders will be involved as deemed necessary, in order to have an effective outcome of the recommended solutions that can be implemented relatively easily.





The Technical Assistance was given by means of a workshop training in Erbil, site visits, an assistance to the licence process and a study tour in Italy

The subjects addressed during **the workshop** included:

- Intervention in heritage and high quality heritage buildings, the possibility of adaptive reuse;
- The regulations for the different elements and components of each of the planning areas set in the Urban Design Guidelines;
- The documentation and procedures to apply for a building license within the buffer zone;
- The use of the GIS to monitor interventions in heritage buildings.

Here below are the main meetings held during **the study tour**:

Municipality of Rome, Office of the Rome Masterplan (arch Ricci, Consultant for Rome Masterplan since 1994, Mr Adib Fateh Ali)

Visit to ISCR: meeting with dott. Alessandro Bianchi and visit to the Institute

Board of Architects of Rome (arch. Aldo Olivo, head of Secretariat, Mr Adib Fateh Ali): lecture on planning permissions in Italy

Visit to The Iraqi Ambassador in Italy and to Iraqi Ambassador to the Holy See

visit at ICCROM (with Director-General, Mounir Bouchenaki, Director of the library, Mr Paul Arenson, arch. L. Nicosia)

Municipality of Ferrara, Office of the Masterplan: presentation of the masterplan and its implementation and key management issues (with arch. Roberta Fusari, Head of Urban Planning Department in Ferrara Municipality)

Municipality of Ferrara: meeting with coordinator of Italian sites listed in WHL of UNESCO and the committee who developed the Management Plan of UNESCO site of Ferrara (with dott.ssa Arianna Zanelli, head of the secretariat for UNESCO sites in Italy, arch. Rajiha Ibrahim)



The study tour encompassed visits to Italian historical centers, as:

- Rome;
- Florence;
- Ferrara;
- Venice







Appendix G: Documents related to the case of GMSH

شەڕنمی کوردستان-عێراق
دیوانی چاودێری دارایی شەڕنم
شەرمانگهی وردبیینی پارێزگای سلێمانی

بۆ/ سەرۆکایهتی نه نجویهتی وزیران
ب/ نه نجامدانی لیکۆلینهوه

له (بهڕێوهبهرایهتی گشتی وهبهرهینانی سلێمانی) له ماوهی کاری (دهزگای هاندانی وهبهرهینان) و (دهستهی وهبهرهینان) دا له ساڵی/ 2004 تا کۆتایی ساڵی / 2010 تهتهنا (146) پرۆژه مۆلتهتی وهبهرهینانیان پێ دراوه، لهو ژمارهیه و به شیوهی (عینه) (63) پرۆژه له لایهن دهستهکهمانهوه وردبیینی کراون که له خشتهی ژماره (10) ی هاوپیچدا خراوته پوو، وه له نه نجامی وردبیینی کاره ژمیریاری وکارگێری و یاساییهکانی (بهڕێوهبهرایهتی گشتی وهبهرهینانی سلێمانی) بۆ ساڵی دارایی/ 2010 دهركهوت لهم بهڕێوهبهرایهتییه گشتیه سهڕپنجی کراوه له یاسا و بڕیارو پێنماییه داراییه پهیره و کراوهکان و عورقه ژمیریارییهکان وهك لهم چهند برگهیهی خوارهوه دهیخهینه پوو :

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due to privacy reasons

۲۹/۸/۲۰۰۳ ی (نوسینگەى دارايى و ئىدارەى گىشى- يەككىتى نىشتمانى كوردستان) جياكراوۋەتەوۋە بە مەبەستى دروستكردنى بىناى مەكتەبى سىياسى.

ج- لە كۆى ئەو پووبەرى تەرخانكراوۋە بۇ پىرۆژەكە (۹۷) دۆنمى درەختى جۆراو جۆر و تەمەن جىاواز بوو و بۇ ئەنجامدانى پىرۆژەكە وەبەرەين ھەستاوۋە بە پىنەوۋەى (۹۳۸۰) درەخت لەپىنگەى پىرۆژەكەدا، بە فەرمانى كارگىرى (بەرىۋەبەرەىتەى رەزگەرى و دارستان و لەوۋرگاكەن) ژمارە (۶۲۰) لە ۲۰۰۹/۲/۳ بە مەبەستى كۆپىنى رەگەزى زەوى پىرۆژەكە لىژنەىك پىك ھىنراوۋە بۇ دىارىكردنى بەھامى سەرچەم ئەو درەختانەى بىردراوۋەتەوۋە، پاشتر بەبرى ۰۰۰ ۴۵۰ ۵۲۶ ۱ دىنار (تەنھا يەك مىنار و پىنچ سەد و بىست وشەش مىيۇن و چوار سەد و پەنجا ھەزار دىنار) بەھاكەى دىارى كراوۋە و داواكراوۋە ەك قەرەبوو لە وەبەرەين وەبىگىرىت، بەلام ئەوۋەى جىگەى سەرنجە (پارىزگەى سلىمانى) بە نوسراوى ژمارە (۲۹۶۴) لە ۲۰۰۹/۳/۱۶ كە ئاراستەى (بەرىۋەبەرەىتەى گىشى كىشتوكائى سلىمانى) كراوۋە، داواى لىخۆشبوونى ئەو قەرەبوۋەى كىردوۋە، ەك لە خىشتەى ژمارە (۶)ى ھاوپىچدا پونكراوۋەتەوۋە .

د- لەبرى بەخشىنى ئەو قەرەبوۋە، (بەرىۋەبەرەىتەى دارستان و پاوانى سلىمانى) ھەستاوۋە بەنامادەكردنى پىرۆپۆزەلى دروستكردنى دارستانىك لەسەر پارچە زەوى ژمارە (۱/۶۵ و ۲/۶۵) كەرتى ۳ى ھۆمەرەكۆپىر) بەپروپوۋەرى (۵۰۰ دۆنم) زەوى و بە بەھامى ۰۰۰ ۳۴۴ ۶۴۴ دىنار (تەنھا شەش سەد و چل و چوار مىيۇن و سى سەد و چل ھەزار دىنار) ، (وۋزارەتى كىشتوكال) نوسراوى ژمارە (۷۳۷۶) لە ۲۰۰۹/۷/۲۱ ى ئاراستەى (پارىزگەى سلىمانى) كىردوۋە بۇ ئەوۋەى لەلەين وەبەرەينەوۋە جى بەجى بىگىرىت، بەلام لە وەلامى ياداىشتمان ژمارە (۴۲) لە بەروارى ۲۰۱۱/۹/۶ (بەرىۋەبەرەىتەى دارستان و پاوانى سلىمانى) بەنوسراوى ژمارە (۴۵۷۱) لە ۲۰۱۱/۹/۱۵ پىيان راگەياندىن وەبەرەين نامادە نەبوۋە ھىچ كارىكى سەوز كىردن لەو زەوىەدا ئەنجام بدات كە بۇى تەرخانكراوۋە لەبرى قەرەبوۋى بىنەوۋە و لەناو بىردنى (۹۳۸۰) درەختى جۆراو جۆر ، بەراى دەستەكەمان ھۆكارى نامادە نەبوونى وەبەرەين بە قەرەبوو كىردنەوۋەى (بەرىۋەبەرەىتەى دارستان و پاوانى سلىمانى) بىرتىيە لە گىرىبەستىكى پىش وەختى نىوان ئەم بەرىۋەبەرەىتەى و وەبەرەين لە بەروارى ۲۰۰۹/۳/۲۶ ، كە داپشتنى خال و بىرگەكانى ئەم گىرىبەستە لە ئاستىكى زۆر لاوازدايە و جگە لەدەستەبەركىردنى بەرژەوۋەندىەكانى وەبەرەين رەچاوى گىرىگەى پىنگەى پىرۆژەكە و بەرژەوۋەندى گىشى نەكراوۋە و ئەم تىبىنەمان ھەيە لەسەر ناوۋەروكى گىرىبەستەكە :-

- خانى دووم كە تىيدا ھاتورە " لايەنى دووم نامادىيە ئەدۋاي تەواۋ بوونى پىرۇژەى شارى جوان ھەئىسەت بە رۋاندىنى چەندىن ئەمامى جۇراۋ جۇر بۇ پىشاندىنى لايەننىكى جوانكارى لە پىرۇژەكە " ئەم خانە ۋەك بىرگەيەكى گىرئەستى قەرەبوۋى دارستانەكە تەواۋ پىچەۋانەى پىرۇپۇزەل ۋ سايت پىلانى پىرۇژەكەيە كە لەسەر ۋەبەرھىن پىۋىستە تەواۋى ئەو بەشانەى بەپىنى سايت پىلان بۇ سەوزايى دىيارى كراۋە بە ئەنجام بگەيەنئەت بە بى ھەبوونى گىرئەستىكى لەو جۇرە، بۇيە سەوز كىردنى بەشەكانى پىرۇژەكە بەھىچ جۇرئەك گوزارشت لەقەرەبوۋى ئەو درەختانە ناكەنەرە كەۋەبەرھىن ھەستارە بەبىرئەۋەيان .

- لە خانى سىنى گىرئەستەكەدا ھاتورە " لايەنى دووم نامادىيە لەھەر جۇرئەك لەئەمام بىرى (۵۰) ئەمام پىدات بەلايەنى يەكەم بەمەبەستى سوود ۋەرگرتن ئىبيان لەئەمامگەكانى سەر بەلايەنى يەكەم" بەپىنى ئەم بىرگەيەكى گىرئەستەكە نامازە بە جۇرى درەختەكان ئەكراۋە كە ھەوت جۇرن ۋ لايەنى يەكەم تەنھا بە (۲۵۰) ئەمام قەرەبوۋ دەكرئەتەرە لەكاتئەكدا ۋەبەرھىن ھەستارە بەبىرئەۋەى (۹۲۸۰) درەختى جۇراۋ جۇر لەئىۋان تەمەنى (۶ سال بۇ ۲۵ سال)، كەبەراى دەستەكەمان ئەم بىرگەيە ۋەك خانئەكى گىرئەست ۋ لەبرى قەرەبوۋى دارستانئەك تەواۋ بى ۋوانايى ۋ ئەشارەزايى (بەرئىۋەبەرئايەتى دارستان ۋ پاۋانى سلىمانى) دەرەدخات كەنامادەبن لەبرى لەدەستدانى دارستانئەكى تەمەن (۲۵ سال) ۋ بەرۋوبەرى (۱۱۶ دۇنم ۋ ۵ نۇلك ۳۲۲،۳۰ م) زەۋى ۋ (۹۲۸۰) درەختى جۇراۋ جۇر، گىرئەستىكى لەو شىۋە ۋارژۇ بكن !

ۋ- بەمەبەستى گەيشت بۇ پىنگەى پىرۇژەكە كۇمپانىيائى (شارى جوان) ھەستارە بەدروستكىردنى پردئەك بە بەھائى ۱۸۸ ۰۰۹ ۵۹۶ ۱ دىنار (تەنھا يەك مىليارو پىنچ سەدو ئەۋەد ۋ شەش مىليۇن ۋ نۇ ھەزارو سەدو ھەشتا ۋ ھەشت دىنار) لە كاتئەكدا پىشتەر ئەم پردە لەلايەن (دەزگائى پىرۇژەكانى ئاۋەدانكىردنەۋەى ھەرىنى كوردستان) ئىحالە كراۋە بۇ كۇمپانىيائى (ئۇرامان) ۋ لەبەرۋارى ۲۹/۱/۲۰۰۶ گىرئەستى بۇ ئەنجامدراۋە بەھەمان بىرى دىيارى كراۋ، بەلام (سەرۋۇكايەتى شارەۋانى سلىمانى) نوسراۋى ژمارە (۱۰۲۰۱) لە ۷/۵/۲۰۰۶ ئاراستەى ۋەزارەتى دارايى ۋ ئابۋورى كىردۋە بە مەبەستى تەمويل كىردنى پىرۇژەكە دواتر (سەرۋۇكايەتى ئەنجومەنى ۋەزىران) نوسراۋى ژمارە (۲۷۲۹) لە ۱۳/۳/۲۰۰۷ ئاراستەى (ۋەزارەتى شارەۋانى) كىردەۋ تىيدا ھاتورە بەمۇى نەبوونى بودجە ۋ سەنگى بارى دارايىۋە جىئەجىكىردنى پردەكە دۋادەخىرئەت، بۇيە كۇمپانىيائى (ئۇرامان) داۋاي ھەلۋەشاندىنەرەى گىرئەستى پىرۇژەكەى كىردۋە، ۋەپاشتر كۇمپانىيائى (شارى جوان) لەسەر بودجەى (سەرۋۇكايەتى شارەۋانى سلىمانى) ھەمان پىرۇژەى ئەنجام داۋە ۋ بىرى ۱۸۸ ۰۰۹ ۵۹۶ ۱ دىنار (تەنھا يەك مىليارو پىنچ سەدو ئەۋەد ۋ شەش مىليۇن ۋ نۇ ھەزار ۋ سەدو ھەشتا ۋ ھەشت دىنار) بە مستند صرفى (۸۴) لە ۱۶/۵/۲۰۱۰ پارەكەى بۇ خەرچكراۋە ، لەكاتئەكدا ئەم پردە تەنھا خزمەتى پىرۇژەى شارى جوان دەكات ۋ ھىچ پەيوەندىەكى بە شەقامەكانى دەۋرۋوبەرىۋە نىە .

ز- له لايەن ئەو ليزنەيەي پيکهينراوه بۇ خەمڵاندن و تيجووني دروستکردني ئەم پرده نەتوانراوه چيکي ئەو بەشانه بکريتهوه که داپوشراون و بۇ ئەم مەبەستە تەنھا پشتگيري ئەندازياري سەرپەرشتياري شارەواني (لوقمان تەها) وەرگيراوه.

ح- له دواي سەرداني دەستەکەمان بۇ پرۆژەکە دەرکەوت هەلکەوتەي جوگرافيای پيگەي پرۆژەکە زياتر له دەروازيەکي هەيه و ئەتوانرا بە تيجوونينکي کەمتر ريگەي پيويست بگەيه نزيقە شويني پرۆژەکە بۆيه دروست کردني ئەم پرده تەنھا کاريکي جوانکاري بووه بۇ پرۆژەکە ئەک پيويستی ، بۆيه دەبوو تيجووهکەي لەئەستۆي و بەرهين بوايه، سەرەنجام لەم پرۆژەيەدا بە بەرپنەوهي درختەکان و دروستکردني ئەو پرده بە بېري ٣ ١٢٢ ٤٥٩ ٠٠٠ دينار (تەنھا سئمليار و سەد و بيست و دوو مليون و چوارسەد و پەنجاو نۆ هەزار دينار) زياني له بودجەي حکومەت داوه .

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خشتهی ژماره (٦)

ژماره و بهای درختی له ناویراو بۇ پروژدی شاری جوان

کۆی گشتی / دینار	نرخ / دینار	ژمارهی درخت/ دانه	ته مەن / سان	جۆری درخت
١ ٢٧٦ ٠٠٠ ٠٠٠	٢٠٠ ٠٠٠	٦٣٨٠	٢٥	سنهویەر
١٨٧ ٥٠٠ ٠٠٠	٧٥ ٠٠٠	٢٥٠٠	٦	سنهویەر
٢٧ ٥٠٠ ٠٠٠	١٥٠ ٠٠٠	٢٥٠	١٦	زەیتون
٤ ٧٥٠ ٠٠٠	٩٥ ٠٠٠	٥٠	١٥	هەنار
٧ ٥٠٠ ٠٠٠	١٥٠ ٠٠٠	٥٠	١٣	چواله
٧ ٥٠٠ ٠٠٠	١٥٠ ٠٠٠	٥٠	١٣	بسته
٢ ٧٠٠ ٠٠٠	٤٥ ٠٠٠	٦٠	٩	میو
٣ ٠٠٠ ٠٠٠	٧٥ ٠٠٠	٤٠	٩	چەقاله
١ ٥٢٦ ٤٥٠ ٠٠٠		٩٣٨٠		کۆی گشتی

Appendix H: Documents related to the case of GC

Sha

دینمایین دروست کردنی باله خانہی نیشته جی بیی له ناو پروژه نیشته جی کانددا

گه ردهکی نیشته جی بیی (Neighborhood) بیک دیت له (۵۰۰) یه که ی نیشته جی بیی پیویسته بۆ هه ر (۵۰۰) یه که ی نیشته جی بیی نه م خزمه تگوزاریانه ی له خۆ بگرتیت :-

۷۰۰۰ m ^۲	• خونیندنگای بنه رته ی
۲۰۰۰ m ^۲	• دابه تگا
۲۰۰۰ m ^۲	• باخچه ی ساوایان
۲۰۰۰ m ^۲	• <u>بنکه ی ته ندروستی</u>
۲۰۰۰ m ^۲ که متر نه بییت	• مزگوت
۲۰۰۰ m ^۲	• ناوچه ی بازرگانی
۲,۲ m ^۲ بۆ هه ر که سێک	• باخچه و سه وزایی
(۱.۲) × یه که ی نیشته جی بیی	• <u>بارکینکی ته او بۆ پروژه که</u>
۲۰۰۰ m ^۲	• بازاری گه ره ک
۵۰۰۰ m ^۲	• یاریگا و کراوه

• له پروژه نیشته جی کانددا به شیوازی ستونی (۳) نهۆم بۆ هه ر هیکناریک (۴۵ - ۵۰) یه که ی نیشته جی بیی تیا دروست ده کرتیت.

- دابین کردنی شوین بۆ خۆل و خاشاک فیری دان.
- ره چاوکردنی ناوه رۆی سه ره کی و سه رچاوه ی ناوو کاره با.
- دابه ش کردنی ناوچه نیشته جی کان به شیوه یه ک بییت که تابه ت مه ندیشی ناوچه که ی پیوه دیار بییت به شیوه ی (Loop) یان (Col-De-Sac) بییت.
- نه خشه ی تفصیلی (Detail Plan) بۆ باله خانه و خانووه کان وه ک نمونه پیشکه ش بکرتیت هوای په سه ندکردنی نه خشه ی (Site Plan) له لایه ن نه خشه ی ماسه ریلانه وه .
- یه کترپینی شه قامه کان له ناوچه ی نیشته جی دا ده بییت به شیوه ی پیتی (T) بییت به مه به ستی که مکردنه وه ی (Through Traffic) .
- دووری نه پارت مانه کان له یه کتره وه نه بییت له به رزی نه پارت مانه کان که متر نه بییت.

دینمای دروست کردن باالخانهی نیشته جینی له ناو پروژہ نیشته جینکاندا

۱- گهرهکی نیشته جینی (Neighborhood) بیټک دیت له (۵۰۰) په کهی نیشته جینی وات (۲,۵۰۰) کهس

پنویسته بؤ هر (۵۰۰) په کهی نیشته جینی هم خزمه تگوزاریانهی له حق بگریټ:-

- خویندنکای بنه رهنی ۷۰۰۰ م
- دایه نگا ۲۰۰۰ م
- باخچهی ساواپان ۳۰۰۰ م
- بنکهای نه دروستی ۳۰۰۰ م
- مزگهوت ۲۰۰۰ م که متر نه بیټ
- باخچهو سهوزایی ۲,۲ م بؤ هر که سټیک
- پارکینسی نه و او بؤ پروژہ که (۱,۵) × په کهی نیشته جینی
- بازاری گهره که ۲۰۰۰ م
- یاریگا و گراوه ۵۰۰۰ م

له پروژہ نیشته جینکاندا به شیوازی ستونی (۲) نهوم بؤ هر هیکتاریک (۴۵ - ۵۰) په کهی نیشته جینی تیا دروست ده کریټ له گهل سرجه م خزمه تگوزاریه کان.

له پروژہ نیشته جینکاندا به شیوازی ستونی (۷-۱۰) نهوم بؤ هر هیکتاریک (۶۰ - ۷۰) په کهی نیشته جینی تیا دروست ده کریټ له گهل سرجه م خزمه تگوزاریه کان.

له پروژہ نیشته جینکاندا به شیوازی ستونی (۱۰ - ۱۵) نهوم بؤ هر هیکتاریک (۷۰ - ۸۰) په کهی نیشته جینی تیا دروست ده کریټ له گهل سرجه م خزمه تگوزاریه کان.

که مترین شه قام بریټی به له (۱۲) م .

داین کریټی شوین بؤ کؤکرده روهی خؤل و خاشاک .

دایهش کریټی ناوچه نیشته جینکان به شیوه په که بیټ که تاییهت مه ندیټی ناوچه کهی پیوه دیاریټ به شیوهی (Loop) یان (Col-De-Sac) بیټ.

په کتبرپینی شه قامه کان له گهرهکی نیشته جیندا باشتر وایه به شیوهی پیټی (T) بیټ به مه بهستی که مکرونه وهی (

Through Traffic) و دوورکه وننه وه له په کتبری چواری .

دووری نه پارت مانه کان له په کتروه له بهزی نه پارت مانه کان که متر نه بیټ.

چیا کرونه وهی پروژہ که له گهل دوه رویه ری به پشتینی سهوز .

ره چاو کرونهی نوری پیاده ره وه له ناوچه که دا و پانی ریره وهی پیاده ره وهی (pedestrian) له (۲) م که متر نه بیټ .

که مترین پانی شه قامه کان (۱۲) م بیټ

تبیټی / له نه خشمهی پروژہی نیشته جینی دا ده بیټ هم خالانه هه بیټ .

۱. دیاری کریټی هیلی (north) له نه خشمه که دا.

۲. دیاری کریټی ریژهی سهوی (نیسه مټوبه) بوه ریه که که له (بیا ، خزمهت گوزاری open , green area

space) .

۳. له خشمهی (Site Plane) تاییهت به دیاری کریټی (Topography) ناوچه که ده بیټ ،

شیمی ماسته ریلان

۲۰۱۲ / ۱۱ / ۲۹

NO: _____ ژماره: ٦٤٤٨

DATE: _____ په رۆژاو: ٢ / ٢ بهرامبهه: ٢٧٠٩ / ٤ / ١٥

فه رمان

دوايه دواي فه رمانی دهسته مان ژماره (٣٦٩٠ له ٢٠١٠/١٢/٥) سه يارعت به مۆله تی وه بهر هینانی ژماره (٣١٤ له ٢٠١٠/١١/٨) بۆ په رۆژه ی نيشته جتی (گاردن سیتی) كه پێكهاتوو له (٧٢٠) شووقه له (١٨) باله خانه ی (١٠) نهۆمی جوار شووقه یی له گه لێ خرمه ت گوزاری يه كانی (دايهنگا، باخچه ی ساوايان، خویندگای بته رته ی، بته كی ته ندروستی، یاریگا، مزگه وت، بازار، ناوچه ی سه وزیایی) كه لایهن وه بهر هینه ر (كۆمپانیای به یان) جتی به جتی ده كرت به سه رمایه ی (٥٧٦,٣٨٥,٣٧١) ملیۆن دۆلاری ئه مریكی له سه ر به شیک له پارچه زه ی ژماره (٢/١٧) كه رشی ای مه لكه ندی ده باشان به رووبه ری (٤٨) دۆنم له پارێزگای سلیمانی .

وه بهر هینه ر گۆرانکاری كرده وه له سایت پلانی پرۆژه كه و زیاد كردنی ژماره ی نهۆمه كانی باله خانه نيشته جتیكان و پاش په سه نه كردنی سایت پلان دواي گۆرانکاری به هه ماهه شی فه رمانگه مان و

به شی حاسنه ریلانی سه رۆكایه تی شه ره وانی سلیمانی به پێ ی نوسه ر وایان ژماره (٤٤٨٣٩ له ٢٧ / ٨ / ٢٠١٢) .

په زامه ندی درایۆ گۆرانکاریه كان و زیاد كردنی ژماره ی شووقه كان به م شیوه ی خواره وه :-

١. باله خانه ی تاییبی (A): كه له شهش باله خانه ی (١٢) نهۆمی (پارکین+١١ نهۆم) پێك هاتوون . هه ریه له خاته یه ك (٣٦) شووقه به رووبه ری (٢م٢٢٠) و (٤) شووقه به رووبه ری (٢م٤٢٠) له خۆده گرت كۆی شووقه كان *٦-٤٠=٢٤ شووقه .
٢. باله خانه كانی تاییبی (B) كه له حه وت باله خانه ی (١٤) نهۆمی (پارکین+١٢ نهۆم) پێك هاتوون هه ریه له خاته یه ك (٤٤) شووقه به رووبه ری (٢م٢٢٢) و (٤) شووقه (٢م٤٢٦) له خۆده گرت كۆی شووقه كانی *٧-٤٨=٣٣٦ شووقه .
٣. باله خانه كانی تاییبی (C) كه له (٥) باله خانه ی (١٤) نهۆمی (پارکین+١٢ نهۆم) پێك هاتوون . هه ر باله خانه یه ك (٥٢) شووقه ی رووبه ری (٢م٢٢٢) له خۆده گرت كۆی شووقه كان *٥-٥٢=٣٦ شووقه .
٤. كۆی شووقه كانی پرۆژه كه (٢٤٠+٢٦٠+٢٦٠+٢٢٦-٢٣٦) شووقه) واته (١١٦) شووقه زیادي كرده وه .
٥. خرمه تگوزاری (دايهنگا) (٢م٢٥٨٧) + باخچه ی ساوايان (٢م٢٠٠٠) + خویندگای بته رته ی (٢م٥٦٠٠) + بیهانی بازرگانی (٢م٨٥٠) + (٢م٢٤٤٠+٢م٢٠٠٠) بته كی ته ندروستی (٢م١٠٢٠) - یاریگا (٢م٤٣٨٠) + خرمه تگوزاری شتی ئوتۆمبیل (٢م٧٧١) + وێسنگه ی گاره ی (٢م٢٧٠٠) + (SHOW ROOM) (٢م٢٠٠) + ناوچه ی سه وزیایی ٢٤% + شه قام و پارکین و پیا ده ره و .
٦. چالاکی مزگه وت له م به شه ی پرۆژه كه دا لا به وه به پێ ی به لێن نامه ی وه بهر هینه ر ژماره (٦٥٨٥٥) له (٢٠١٢/١١/١٢) وه بهر هینه ر به لێنی دا وه له جتی به جیکردنی به شی نووه ی پرۆژه كه جتی به جتی بکات .
٧. شوینی خرمه تگوزاری گشتی (١٢٠٠,٩٢٠) م بۆ ته رخانگرا وه ده بیته ره زامه ندی فه رمانگه كه مان وه رگرت بۆ جتی به جتی رده ی دواي ده ست نيشانگردنی چالاکیه كانی .

No:

Date : 5 / 12 / 2010

دەستەوی و بەرهێنان
بەریکردن و هەڵسەنگاندن و مۆلەتدان
بۆ
بۆ
بۆ

ژمارە : ۳۶۹

ڕێکەوت : ۲۸ / ۱ / ۱۴

پشت بەو دەستەڵاتی کە پێمان دراوە و ئەبەر هەبوونی مەرجەکانی پێشانی مۆلەتی و بەرهێنان بە پێی یاسای ژمارە (۴) ی سالی (۲۰۰۶) ئە پەرلەمانی کوردستان دەرچوووە بڕیارماندا :
بە پێشانی مۆلەتی و بەرهێنان ژمارە (۳۶) لە ۲۰۱۰/۱۱/۸ بۆ پرۆژەی (گاردن سیتی) ، بریتی یە لە پرۆژەی (نیشته جێ بوون) بێک دیت (۲۲۰) شوڤە کە بێکھاتوووە لە (۱۸) پانەخانەی (۱۰) تەنۆسی هەر تەنۆسیک چوار شوڤە (۲x۴x۹x۷) ئەخۆ دەگرت ئەگەل خزمەتگوزارییە کە (دایەنگ) باخچەیی ساوايان، خوێندنگەیی بێرەتی، بێکەیی تەندروستی، یاریگا، مێگەوت، بازار، ناوچەیی سەوزایی، ئەلایەن و بەرهێنەر (کۆمپانی بەیان) ئە نجام دەدرێت بە سەرمايەیی (S(۷۶,۲۸۵,۲۷۱) هەشتاو شەش مینۆن و سێ سەدو هەشتاو پێنج هەزارو سێ سەدو هەشتاو یەك دۆلار، سەسر بەشێک ئە پارچەزوی ژمارە (۱۷/۶) کەرتی (۱) ی مەنکەندی/ دەباشان) بەروویەری (۲۸) دۆنم ئە یاریزگای (سلیمانی) بە پێی ئە مەرجەکانی خواروووە :
۱- پابەندبوونی خاوەن پرۆژە بە گشت بەندەکانی یاسای سەرئوو.
۲- تاقیئەتی هێج گۆراتکاریەك بکرت ئە بێکھاتەیی پرۆژەیی پێشکەش کراو پێش وەرگرتنی بەزامەندی دەستەکەمان .
۳- پابەندبوونی خاوەن پرۆژە بە گشت یاسا و پێشمانیەکانی و مزارەتی پەيوەندیدارەکان بەم پرۆژەییە ، بە مەرجێک ئەو یاسا و پێشمانیەکان ئە روشتن یاسای و بەرهێنان پێت .
۴- پابەندبوونی خاوەن پرۆژە بە داوین کردنی گشت ناسانکاریەك بۆ کارمەندانی دەستەکەمان و مزارەتی پەيوەندیدارەکان ، بە مەبەستی چاودێز بە سەرکردەوو سەرپەرشتی کردنی قۆناغەکانی جێ بە جێ کردنی پرۆژەکە .
۵- ئە کاتی جێ بە جێ ئە کردنی قۆناغێک ئە قۆناغەکانی پرۆژەکە لە ماوی (۲) مانگ بە جێ هێج پاساوێکی یاسایی بە پێی بڕگە و ماددەکانی یاسا سەرئوو مامەت ئە گەل خاوەن پرۆژە دەگرت .
۶- ئە سەرخواوەنی پرۆژە یە (تاقیئەتی ئە دەروازەیی پرۆژەکە داوین تاقیئەتی دیاری کراوینت ، بری تێچوووی پرۆژەکە ، ماوی جێ بە جێ کردنی پرۆژەکە بەروازی دەست پیکردن و تەواو بوونی پرۆژەکە ، وە ئە لایەن دەستەوی و بەرهێنان مۆلەتی پێ دراوە .
۷- بە پێی بڕگە (۴) ئە مادە چوارەم نیشانی گەلەنەو ئە سەر زوویە کە دادەنرێت و هەڵسەنگاری تاسکو و بەرهێنەر هەموو ئەرکەکان بە جێ گەییەنیت وە پا بەندینت بە بڕگە کە ئەو ئینجا پاش بەزامەندی دەستە دەتوانرێت نیشانی کە هەڵبکرت .

هێرش محرم محمدامین
سەرۆکی دەستە

کۆمەڵگەی
کۆمەڵگەی
کۆمەڵگەی

هەوینج/ وێنەیک ئە مۆلەتی و بەرهێنان

<p>۱۰ کتایب که مستحقه نه سو پرزده که ۱۲ نه سو که مستحقه نه سو پرزده که ۱۲ سو که مستحقه نه سو پرزده که</p>	<p>کتابخانه موزه گوزانبه گان در سودی پوزده که</p>
<p>۵۰۹۶/۵۱۵۶</p>	<p>ماری حبه منی گزنی پوزده که بازی ای جوانی سوز گزنی ماری ماره</p>
<p>به ت</p>	<p>تابا پوزده که گوزانکاری تیا تا گروه</p>
<p>۱۰ سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که (۱۲۱۵) سو که ۱۲ سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که</p>	<p>ماری گوزانکاری نه پوزده که</p>
<p>۸۲۶ سو که</p>	<p>زماره ای به که گان ماری گوزانکاری</p>
<p>به ت</p>	<p>تابا گوزانکاری به گان نه لایه لایه نه به سو که تیا تا به گان به سو که گروه</p>
<p>به ت</p>	<p>تابا موله منی پوزده که سو که گروه</p>
<p>نه سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که</p>	<p>موزه ای موزه گزنی به که گان به ماری ماره لایه نه سو که</p>
<p>۱۱ سو که (۸۱) سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که ماری پرزده که به سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که نه سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که (۸۱) سو که ماری (تیا تا نه سو پرزده که) سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که</p>	<p>ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که</p>
<p>ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که</p>	<p>ماری تیا تا نه سو پرزده که سو که تیا تا نه سو پرزده که</p>

در این کتاب بیان شده است که در این کتاب
همه نکات باه و کثیری آورده شده است

۱۳ در این کتاب بیان شده است که در این کتاب
نکات بسیار مهمی در این کتاب
به نارسایی خود در این کتاب
در این کتاب بیان شده است

۱۴ در این کتاب بیان شده است که در این کتاب
در این کتاب بیان شده است
در این کتاب بیان شده است

۱۵ در این کتاب بیان شده است که در این کتاب
در این کتاب بیان شده است

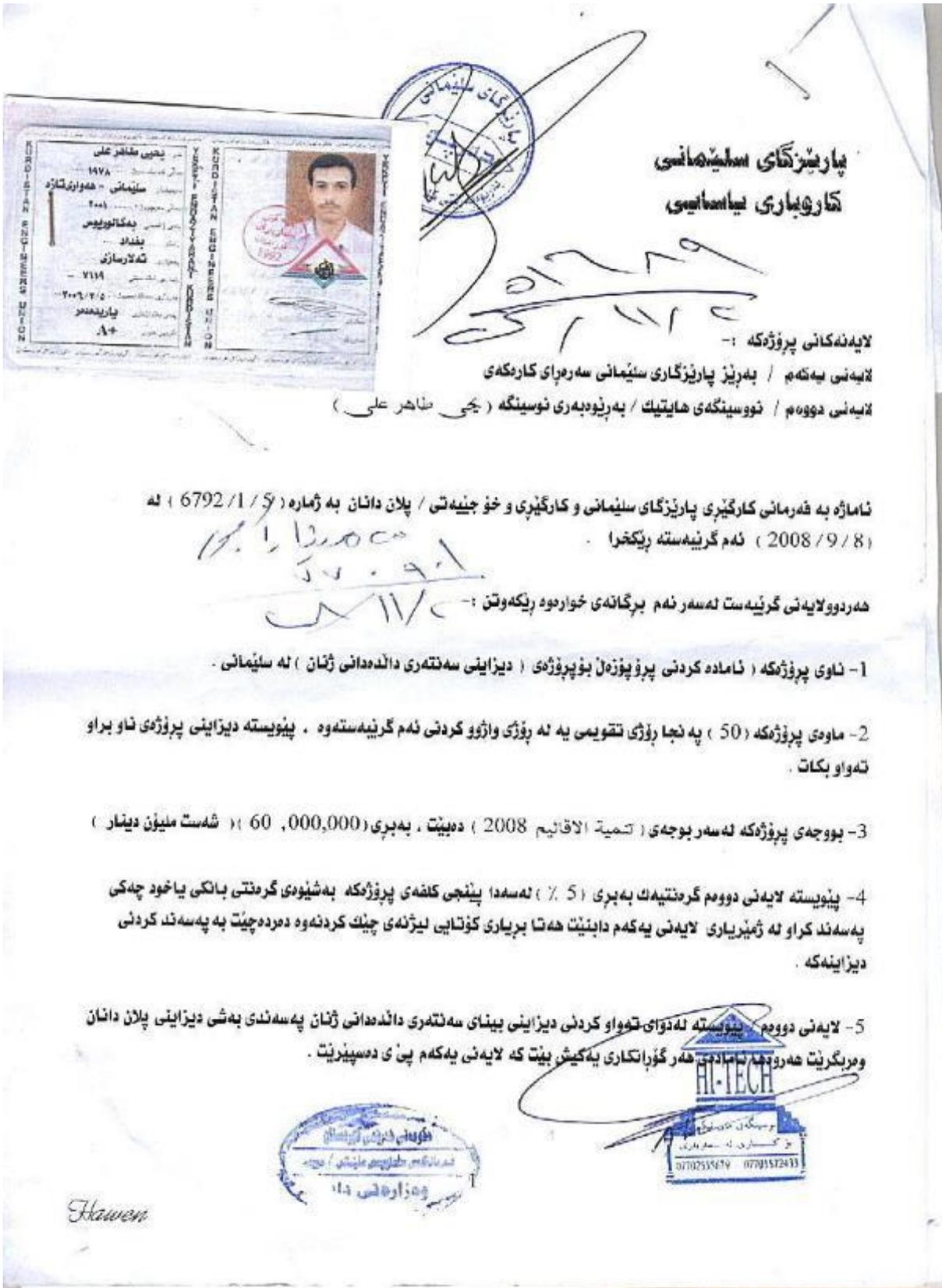
فهرست زائچاری گشتی پرورده نيشته جنيه كان

پاريزگا	سايگاني
ناوي پرورده	مارون پي
ناوي و به به مېنهر	كوتياياي به بيان
ژماره و به واري مولات	۲۱۴ اي صفتي و به به (صبيان ليه روير ۸/۱۱/۱۰۰۰
ژماره ي زهوي و پويو به گهي	۱۷۰ كه رت اي مگدلي و به شان به پرورده ۷۰ ۸۰ ۹۰
ماوه ي پرورده	۲ جان
ژماره ي به كه كان پرورده كه به پي ي مولات	۷۰ شورده
جوري به كه كان	شورده
تايا پرورده كه سندوقي نيشته جين بوونه بيان دهره و ي سندوقه	دورده كه لدره و ي سندردي نيشته جين شورده
قونامي جين به جين كردني به كه كان	۷۰٪
قونامي جين به جين كردني خزبه تگوزار ييه گشتيه كان	۷۰٪
قونامي جين به جين كردني خزبه تگوزار ييه حكوميه كان	۱٪
قونامي جين به جين كردني چالاكيه بازرگاني و به رفقيه كان تو	به شيليان جين به جين كردون

۱۶۱۱ ۰۱۲

به روك ته پروردي
۷ شين به كم

Appendix I: Documents related to the case of WSDC



به نزل به سنی دینا سینه
باید کرد الله و سینه بندی نان له سینه شی

پاس جیلے کو رہا رہی سینی بنی ناریدار لہ کا بون کپتہ وہ وہ آہ دن کہ خوشنگلہ
سم ست و بہ کم سرکاره کانی و سینی کہ (بہ سینی تہا سازسی) رتہ دار بوریہ .

لہ لہ لہ نزل دا



مہندزانی تہا سازسی
کامران اکہ
20/11/2009



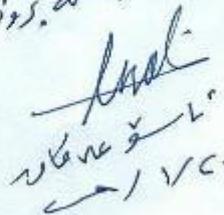
مہندزانی تہا سازسی
مشافہ سلا آغندہ
20.01.2009



مہندزانی تہا سازسی
شادک شیدہ سلا آغندہ
20/11/09

بہ نزل / لہ پلا 0

شکایہ شادک شیدہ سلا آغندہ
کہ کار، سازسی تہا سلا آغندہ



شادک شیدہ سلا آغندہ
20/11/09

Appendix J: Documents related to the case of SSHs

يەكەم : مۇلتەسى بىناى نىشتە جى :-

۱- دەرەۋى ئاۋەندى شار :

۱- يىۋىستە داۋاكار تەخسەۋىلگە تۆمۈرى مۇلككە (سۈرەت قەيد وتەسبىت حدود) يىشكەش بەشارەۋى بىكات بەمەرجى بەرۋارى تازەى ئەو سالە بىت ئەپەزۋەپەرەپەتە تۆمۈرگە خانۋوبەردى سىمانى .

۲- ئۆزى تايىدات بەداۋاكرلى مۇلتەسى بىنا كە ئەشارەۋى سىمانى ئامادە كراۋە پىر بىكاتەۋە يىشكەش بەپەش مۇلتەسى بىكات بۇ ۋەرگرتى مۇلتە .

۳- ئەخسەى گونچاۋ بەو بىناى كەدەپەۋىت دروستى بىكات بەپىۋانەى (۱ : ۱۰۰) بۇ پىلانى ھەموو ئەۋمەگان ۋە پىراۋىنك (section) كە ئىزى زىۋىپەكە دەرىخات ۋە ۋاجەى يىشەۋى بىناكە يىشكەش بىكات ۋەدەپەۋىت ئەخسەكە مەرچەگانى مۇلتەسى بىناى تىنا بىت كە بەپىنى بىرگەگانى خوارەۋى ئەم رىئەمابە دىارى كراۋە . ۋەدەخسەگانى ئامادە كراپىت ئەلاپەن ئوسىنگەپەكى ئەندازىارى رى پىئراۋەۋە . ۋەپەسەندە كراپىت ئەلاپەن بەكىتى ئەندازىاران - ئىسى سىمانى .

۴- ھەموو مۇلكىكى نىشتە جى ئەتۋانپتە (۲ نەۋم + ۲۳ زەمىن + ھەۋرەپان) دروست بىكات .

۵- رىزەى كراۋە

۵-۱. ئەسەقنى ئەۋمى زەمىنى رىزەى كراۋە ئەزمار ئەكرىت ، يىۋىستە بەپىنى ئەم رىزەپە كارىكرىت بۇ دىارى كودى رىزەى كراۋە كەمۇلتەسى پى پىرپىت . بۇ ھەر بەك مەتر دوۋجا زەۋى رۋوبەرى (۲۴۰، ۲۰) ئەپىت كراۋە بىت شا رۋوبەرى (۲۴۰۰) بۇ ھەر بەك مەتر دوۋجا زەۋى رۋوبەرى (۲۴۰، ۲۵) ئەپىت كراۋە بىت ئە رۋوبەرى (۲۴۰۱) و زىاتو ، واتا ئەم رىزەپە كەپەتى رۋوبەرى زەۋى بەكە دىكرىت بۇ دەرىخاتى رۋوبەرى كراۋە ئەۋمى زەمىنى . يىۋىستە رىزەى بىنا بەئوسىن ئەسەرنەخسەگان بىنوسىت ئەلاپەن ئوسىنگەى ئەندازىارى پەۋە . ۋە پىنگە دەرىت بەھاتتەدەرەۋى پىلكۇن و دىكۇرات ئەپەۋمەگانى تىرە لە رۋوبەرى يىشەۋى بىناكە بە رىزەى (۲۰) اى سەرچەمى رىزەى كراۋە ئەۋمى زەمىنى بۇ ھەر ئەۋمىك . بەمەرجىك ھەر رۋوبەرىكى كراۋەى ئاۋ بىناكە ئە (۲۴۰) كەمتر ئەپىت و پائىپەكەى ئە (۱، ۲۰) كەمتر ئەپىت .

۵-۲. يىۋىستە ۵٪ رۋوبەرى زەۋى پىكرىت بە سوزاىى كە بە رۋوبەرى كراۋە ئەزمار دەكرى .

۵-۳. رۋوبەرى ھەۋرەپان يىۋىستە (۲۴۰ - ۲۰۰) ۲۴۰ بىت .

6- چوئە دواوہ (ارتداد)

كەمترین چوئە دواوہ تەرووی شەقامدوہ بە پینی ئەم خشتە یە دەبیت بۆ ئهۆمی ژێر زەمین و زەمینی و یەكەم و دووہ ،
وہ ساتنە دەروە تەنھا وەك بڕگەي رژێهێ كراوہ دەبیت كە بیشتەر ناماژەي پیندراوہ بە رژێهێ (۲۰٪) و بەشیوہی دیکۆرات و بانكۆن

ژ	پانی شەقام	كەمترین چوئە دواوہ بۆ ئهۆمی زەمینی+ژێر زەمین
ا	(۸ م بۆ ۲۰)	چوئە دواوہ (۲) بێت - بۆ ئهۆمی زەمینی
ب	(۲۱ م بۆ ۳۰)	چوئە دواوہ (۲,۵) بێت - بۆ ئهۆمی زەمینی
ج	(۳۱ م بۆ سەروتر)	چوئە دواوہ (۳) بێت - بۆ ئهۆمی زەمینی

1-6 بۆ ئەو زەویانەي كە دوو بوویان هەبە! پشە و پشەوہ (چوئە دواوہ بە پینی خشتەي نامادە كراو دەبیت بۆ هەر دوو شەقامەكە

2-6 ئەسەر پارەوی پیاوہ كە لە (۸) م كەمتر بێت پێویستە هەموو مۆلكێك (۱) م چوئە دواوہ بكات بۆ هەموو ئهۆمەكان .

3-6 ئەساوہی چوئە دواوہ دارێگە بەدروست كردنی پایە نەدریت. تەنھا ئەگەر كەراجی دفتی هەبوو ئەكریت پایەي انشانی بكات
لە ناو دیواری كەراجە دفتەكەدا بەشیوہی دفت بێت.

4-6 بۆ ئەو مۆلكانەي كە روكنێ یان سێ لای ئەسەر شەقامە ، لای شەقامی لاوێكی تەنھا نیوہی ارتدادی شەقامی سەرەكی بكات .
بۆ دیاری كردنی شەقامی لاوێكی :-

ا. ئەگەر جیاوازی هەبیت لە پانی هەردوو شەقامەكەدا ئەو شەقامەي كە پانیەكەي كەمترە هەژمار ئەكریت بە شەقامی
لاوێكی.

ب. ئەگەر هەردوو پانی شەقامەكە وەك یەك بوو ، هاوالاتی سەریشك نەبیت لە هەلبژاردنی ارتدادی شەقامی سەرەكی و
لاوێكی..

ت. بۆ حالەتی تاییەت پێویستە ئیپسراوی بەشی مۆلتە برباری لێنات.

7- بەرزى ئهۆم

1-7 بەرزى ئهۆمەكان ئەبیت ئەنیوان (۲ - ۳,۵) م بێت .

2-7 ئاستی سەفتی ئهۆمی نیوہی ئەبیت ئەنیوان (۱,۵ - ۲) م بێت ئەئاستی شەقام (قیر) بەلام بەرزى ئهۆمی نیوہی كە لە
ناوہە لە نیوان (۲-۳) م بێت .

3-7 ئهۆمی نیوہی بەئهۆمی سەرەكی ئەژمار ئەكریت وە هەمان رژێهێ كراوہی ئهۆمی زەمینی دەبیت.

4-7 ئەگەر ناوهرۆی ئهۆمی نیوہی دەریچیت بۆ ناوهرۆی شەقامی سەرەكی ئەوا دەتوانریت تەواڵیت و حەمام دروست بكات بەلام
ئەگەر ناوهرۆی ئهۆمی نیوہی دەرنەچیت ئەوا ئەبیت لە لایەن ئەندازەياری میكانیكی یەوہ چارەسەری بكات وە شارەوانی بەر پەرس
نیە ئە دەركردنی ناوهرۆكەي .

5-7 بەرزى سەفتی ژێر زەمین لە ئاستی شەقام (قیر) بوە لە (۸۰) سم زیاتر ئەبیت لە تیکرای بەرزى كە لە ناوهراستی زویدەكەدا
وەرێگریت .

۱۱- يېۋىستە بەلايەش كەمەۋە شەرمۇلكىك ۲ نەمەم ئەسەر شۇستەي بەردەم مائەكەي يېرۋىنى ۋە ئەكەتسى يېدانى مۇلتەسى اسلى بۇ شەرماتكەي كارەبا يېۋىستە جېنەجى كرايىت بە پېچەۋانەۋە مۇلتەسى ئادىنىش بۇ يېدانى كارەبا

۱۲- شۇناسەكانى يېدانى مۇلتە

۱۲-۱. كەششى بۇ يېكرىت كاتىك كەزەۋى بىت ۋە ئەگەر ئەۋۋى يېۋانەۋە كىشەي ئەبۋو ئەۋا خاۋمىن مۇلك ئەخشە يېشكەش يىكات ۋ رېگەي پىن بىرېت كە تا بادلۇ دوست يىكات ئەگەر ژۇرەمىنى تىبا بوو ئەبىت يىكاتە بەرۋى ياساينى ۋ سەقىنى ژۇرەمىن ۋ ئەنھا دارو تەختەي بەستېت .

۱۲-۲. كەششى بادلۇ يان سەقىنى ژۇرەمىنى بۇ يېكرىت ۋە ئەگەر بە يېنى رېنمەينى كارى كرى بوو مۇلتەسى بۇ پېركرىتەۋە ۋ پىشتىگىرى بۇ يېكرىت بۇ جېمەتتۇ ۋ باتكى خاتۇبەرە بەلام نوسخەي ئەسلى ئادىتەۋە .

۱۲-۳. كەششى سەقىنى ئەۋمى ژەمىنى يېكرىت پاش يەستى دارو تەختە (قالبا) ۋ ئەگەر سەرىنچى ئەبۋو پىشتىگىرى بۇ يېكرىت بۇ يېناسازى ۋ يەرلۈبەرەيەتى ئاۋ ، بەلام نوسخەي ئەسلى ئادىتەۋە

۱۲-۴. بۇنەۋەكانى تىر ئەنھا ئە سەقى دا كەششى بۇ دەكرىت .

۱۲-۵. دۋاى تەۋاۋ بوۋنى بېنەكە (Finishing) كەششى تەۋاۋ بوۋنى بېنەكەي بۇ يېكرىت ۋ ۋە مۇلتە ئەسلىيەكەي بىرېتەۋەۋە پىشتىگىرى بۇ يېكرىت بۇ بەخشىنى كارەبا پاش ئاشتىنى دۋو ئەمەكە

ب- ئاۋەندى شار :

ئەم بەشە تايىمەتە بە گەرىكە كۈنەكانى ئاۋەندى شار كە ئەكەۋىت سۈرى شارۋانى ئاۋەند بە پىنى رېنمەيىە تايىە تەكانى ئاۋەندى شار كارى بۇ ئەكرىت

ج- ھەموو ئەۋ مامەلەي مۇكەئەي كە ئەم رېنمەيىانە نايمان كرىتەۋە يېۋىستە مامەلەكەيان بەرۋى يېكرىتەۋە بۇ سەرۋكى شارۋانى بۇ پىرپاردان ئەسەر باينى كرىتى مامەلەكە .

۶-۷. بۇ ئەمىر زەبىيەنى كە ئىزىگە كەي زۆرە ئە واجهە كەدا ئەتوانرئىت ئەمى لايەنى كە چالە بېكەت بە گەراجى دىن بە مەبەستى راست كىرەمەدى زەبىيە كە ئەمى حالەتەدا رىئەى كىراۋى بۇ ئەمىر ئاكرئىت و ھەروەھا بە ئەمىر ئەمىر ئاكرئىت بە لام ئەگەر ھەممۇ زەبىيە كەى كىر بە بېنا ئەمى كات وەك و ئەمىر رىئەى كىراۋى بۇ ئەمىر دىكرئىت بە ئەمىر ئەمىر دىكرئىت .

۸- گەراجى دىن

۸-۱ ھەممۇ مۆلكىك رىگە بىندراۋە بە دروست كىردى گەراج پان ئەكردى بە ھەردوۋ جۇرەگە يەۋە گەراجى سەركىراۋ پان كىراۋە بە لام ئەمى زەبىيە روكن دا ئەگەر وىستى گەراجى دىن دروست بىكەت تەنھا ئەيەك زەبىيە مۆلكە كەدا دروستى بىكەت بە لام ئەمى روكن كەدا ئەبىت تەنھا گەراجى كىراۋە رىگە بىندراۋە ئەمى روكن دا بىت پانى گەراجى دىن ئەبىت بە رىئەى (۰.۲۰) ي پانى واجهە كە بىت ئەگەر روكن بوۋ بىنويستە يەك لا ھەئىزىرئىت بۇ دانانى گەراج وە بە بىنى پانى ئەمى لايە پانى گەراج كە ئەمىر دىكرئىت .
۸-۲ دىبىزىن بۇ گەراجى دا خراۋ ئەنھۇمى نىۋەى يا ژىرئەمىن دا دەبىت رەمىي چوئە ناۋدوۋ ئەسئورى مۆلكە كەدا بىت
۸-۳ ئەكەتى دروست كىردى ژىرئەمىن پان گەراجى دا خراۋ ئابىت بە ھىچ جۇرئىك بە مەبەستى بازارگانى پان ھەر مەبەستىكى تر جگە ئەنئىتە جى بەكار بېئىرئىت .

۹- قارىمە

۹-۱ ھەممۇ مۆلكىك رىگە بىندراۋە بە دروست كىردى تەنھا يەك قارىمەى دەرەكى ئەمى چوئە دواۋدا كە تەنھا ئەمى ئەمى زەمىنى يا ئەمى نىۋەى (دەبىت بۇ ئەمى يەكەم وە قارىمەى دەرەۋە بە (open) ئەمىر دىكرئىت .
۹-۲ سەبارەت بە قارىمەى ئاۋدوۋ ئەمى ھەممۇ ئەمى كەندا ئەتدازىيارى دىزىيەر سەرىست دەبىت بە دانانى ئەھەر شۇنئىكى بىنويستدا ئەمى چوئە دواۋدوۋى ياساينى
۹-۳ بە ھىچ جۇرئىك رىگە ئاكرئىت بە دروست كىردى قارىمە ئەسەر شۇستە و شەقام .

۱۰. شىۋەى مۆلتدان

۱۰-۱ بۇ زەبىيەى دوۋ روۋ ئەگەر ھەردوۋ شەقامەكە ئاۋدوۋى سەرىبەخۇى ھەبىت كە دەرىجىت بە دوۋ خەتى سەرىبەخۇ ئەمى كات مۆلتەى دوۋ مەشتەمەلى بىندەدرئىت بە مەرجىك ئەمى (۲۸۲۰۰) كەمىر ئەبىت .
۱۰-۲ روۋبەرى رىگە بىندراۋ بە مەبەستى بىدانى مۆلتەى نىشتە جى بى كەمىر ئەبىت ئەمى روۋبەرى ياساينى اھراۋكراۋ كە (۱۴۲.۵) م كەمىر ئەبىت واجهە كەى ئەمى (۶) م كەمىر ئەبىت بە لام ئەمى كىرئىت مۆلتەى دوۋ مەشتەمەل پان زىاتر بىرئىت كە روۋبەرى ھەرىكەى پان ئەمى (۱۰۰) م كەمىر ئەبىت واجهە كەى ئەمى (۶) م كەمىر ئەبىت .
۱۰-۳ ئەتوانرئىت بىنابى نىشتە جى بى بە جىر و يايە دروست بىكرئىت بە مەرجىك بەكارھىنانە كەى نىشتە جى بىت وە بە ئىن نامەى دانوۋس بېئىت بۇ ئەمى مەبەستە وە ئەمى مۆلتەكەيدا ئامازە بە بە ئىن نامەكە بىكرئىت كە ئەداھاتوۋدا بەكارھىنانە كەى ئەمى بىكرئىت .
۱۰-۴ ژىر زەمىن ئەتوانرئىت بە شىۋەى يەك ھۇن دروست بىكرئىت بە مەرجىك قارىمەى ئەمى ناۋدوۋ بىۋى بىكرئىت وە كىراۋەى كوئىساۋى ھەبىت كە ئەمى (۲۸۲) كەمىر ئەبىت بۇ مەبەستى روۋنكى و ھەۋاگۇركى .
۱۰-۵ خانوۋى تەملىك كىراۋ مۆلتەى بى دەدرئىت بە بىنى وئەى تۇمارو تىبىت جىۋدى كەبۇى تەملىك كىراۋ بە دەر ئەمى روۋبەرى و واجهەى ياساينى وە ئەگەر سەھم بوۋ ھەرىكە كە ئەمى سەھمەكان بە بىنى روۋبەرى تەملىك كىراۋ بۇيان مۆلتەى پان دەدرئىتى .

Appendix K: Documents related to the methodology:

Part of the projects which were nominated to be case studies

Who Initiated	Who Mediated	Who Formed	
Global Corporation	Political Elite	Western Architecture Foreign Architects Foreign Company Political Elite	 <p>Jaff Tower - Sulaimaniyah 2009 - 2013</p>
Political Elite	Rulling Party	The Image of White House Building in Washington Local Architect Local Company Political Elite Symbols of PUK Party	 <p>Erbil White House 2007 - 2010</p>

Who Initiated	Who Mediated	Who Formed	
Local Architects	Local Government	Foreign Companies Local Architects The Citadel Urban Legacy	 <p>Citadel Park - Erbil 2008 - 2011</p>
Political Elite	Fake Machine	Foreign Architects Fake Machine Local Artist Political History	 <p>Mother Park - Erbil 2007 - 2010</p>

Projects were nominated to be case studies

Who Initiated	Who Mediated	Who Formed	
Local Businessman	Local Businessman	Local Architect (Me) Local Designers Local People Foreign Company Political Elite Local Businessman	 <p>Sarraf Mosque - Sulaimaniyah 2009 - 2013</p>
Local Feminists	Local Government	Local Architect (Me) Local Designers Local Company Female Politicians Topography	 <p>Mother Park - Erbil 2007 - 2010</p>

Who Initiated	Who Mediated	Who Formed	German Village 2007 - 2010	Kurd City 2006 - 2011
Political Elite	Fake Machine	Fake Machine Designers Technical abilities Topography Public Demands Economic limits Profit accounts	 <p>Bowling 2006 -2008</p>	 <p>Baharan Complex 2006 - 2011</p>
			 <p>City Star 2005 -2009</p>	 <p>Pak City 2006 - 2011</p>
			 <p>Asia Cell Office 2006 -2009</p>	 <p>Cardiac Hosipital 2006 - 2013</p>

Projects were nominated to be case studies

Who Initiated	Who Mediated	Who Formed	
Interest Regime	Political Elite	Western Cultural Machine Political Elites City Image Fake Machine Architect/Site/Law Local Government Technology	 <p>The Empire Business Complex 2004 - to be finished in 2020</p>
			 <p>Erbil Downtown 2013 - to be finished in 2019</p>

Erbil Citadel 2010 - till now



What are the forces which have formed the urban architectural landscape of the main Kurdish cities, Erbil and Sulaymaniyah, in the last ten years?
 What are the mechanisms of restructuring the urban architectural landscape of the two main Kurdish cities?
 How the forces have influenced the architectural landscape?, and what are the mechanisms that formed the urban landscape?
 What is or are the alternative(s) for the processes of the urban development of the main Kurdish cities?

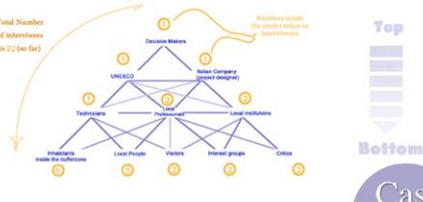
UNESCO
Kurdish Cultural Heritage

The main question of my PhD

1. Who initiated the project? Who facilitated the construction?
 2. Why this project emerged?
 3. Who designed the project and why?
 4. What is the relationship between the urban power and other forces that created the project?
 5. Why local officials invite other forces to create this type of project?
 6. Who would benefit from this project? and What would this project deliver to local people?
 7. What are the impact of the project on the architectural landscape, economic, social and spatial arrangement?
 8. How local people view this type of projects?
 9. How to address the impact of the project on the environment?
 10. How to encourage affected people to participate in this sort of development?
 11. What are the possible mechanisms to strengthen the interactions among the public, professionals and decision makers?

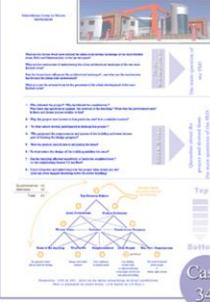
Question about the project and derived from the main questions of the PhD

Total Number of submissions is 22 (see list)



Requires (10 to 30) days to be done according to local conditions
 This process is done from (15 June to 15 July)

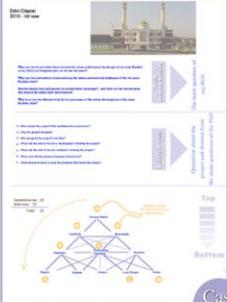
Case 33



Case 34



Case 35

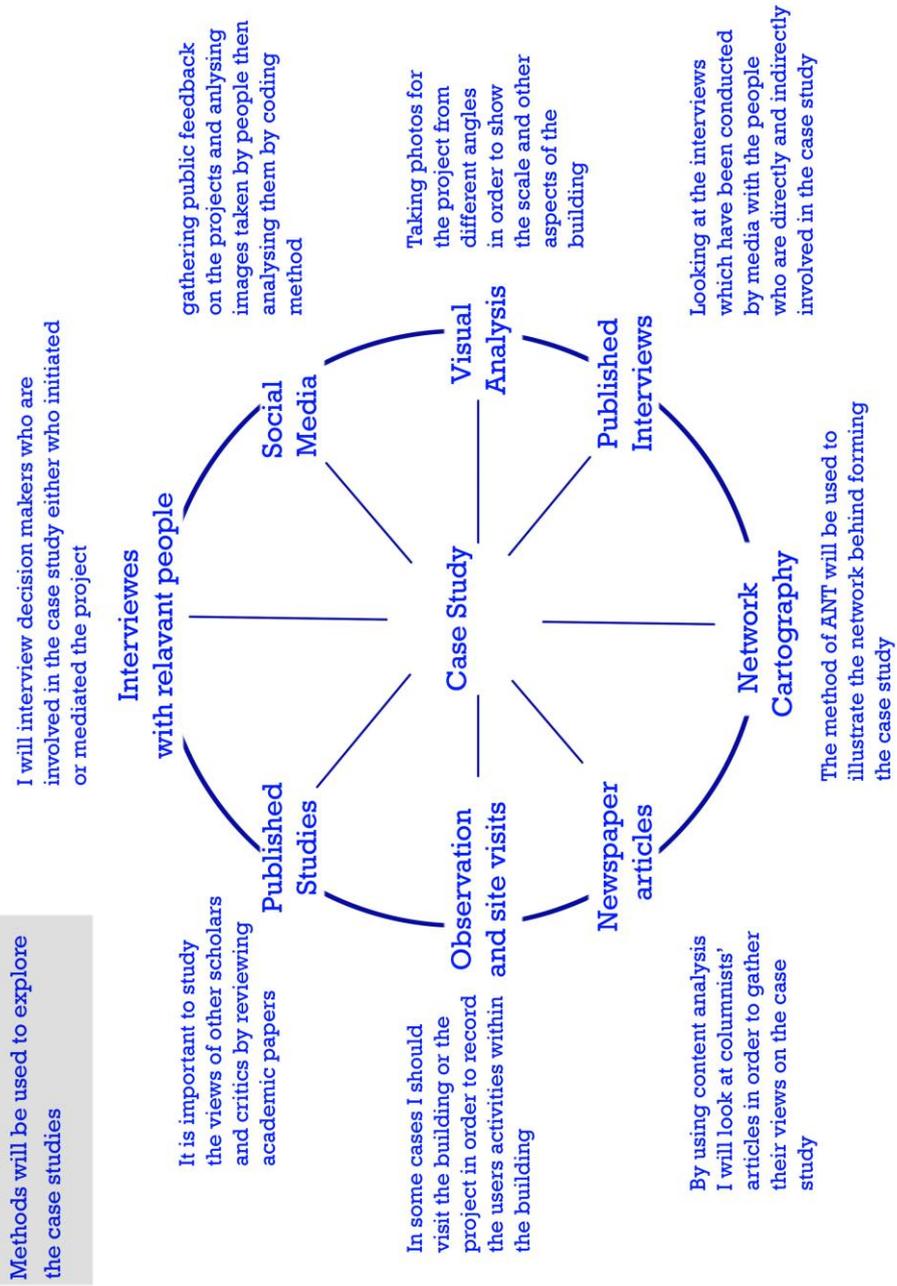


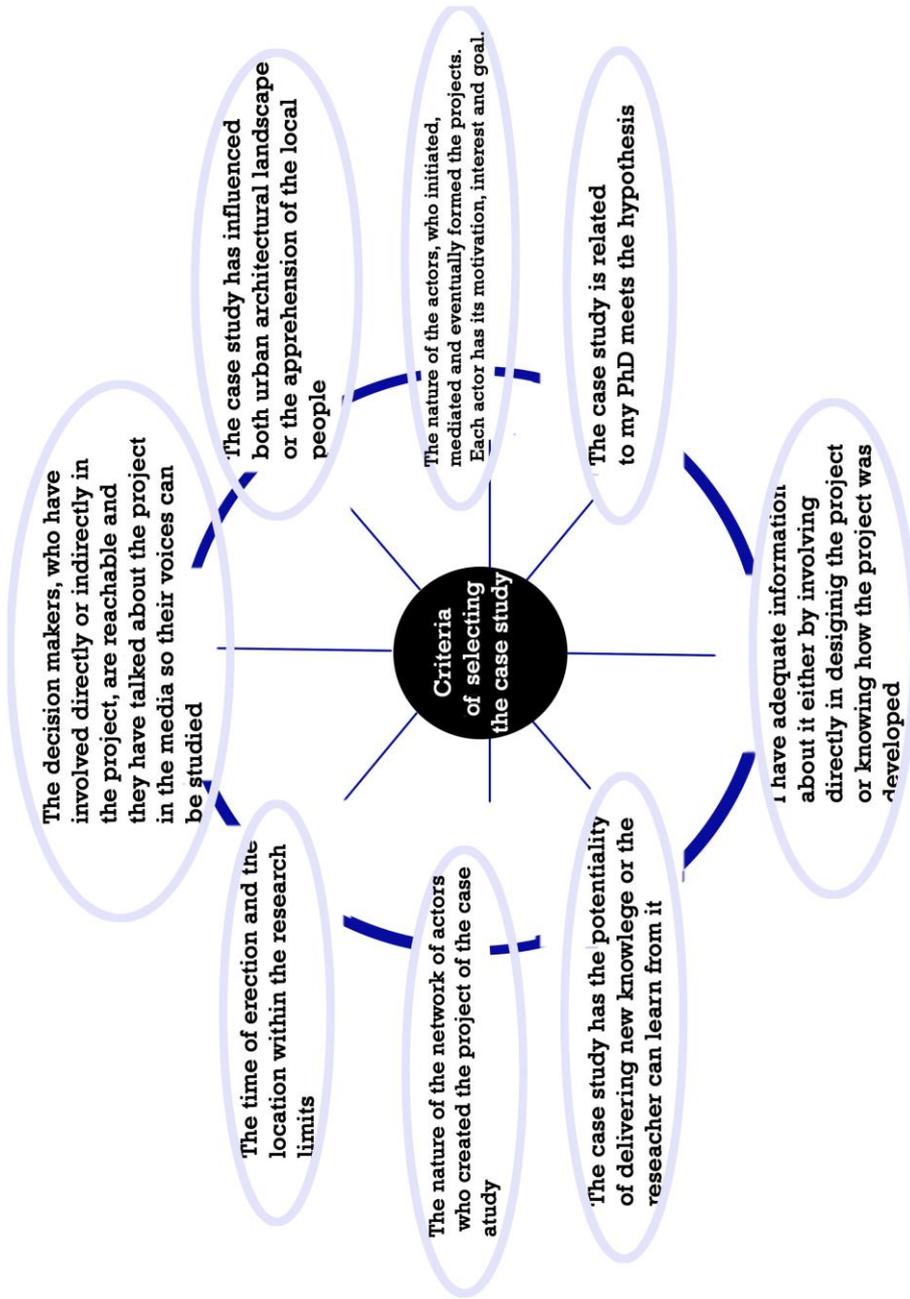
Case 36

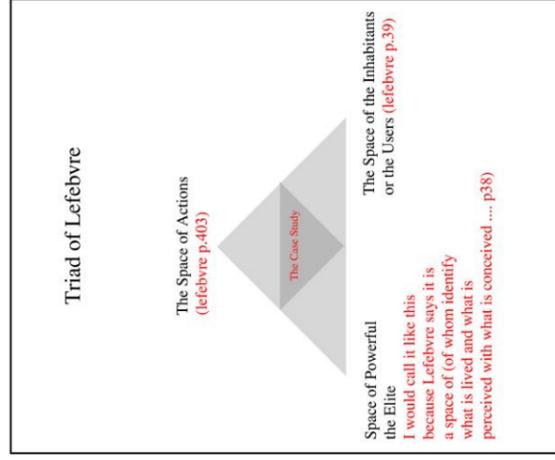
Case 37

Projects were nominated to be case studies

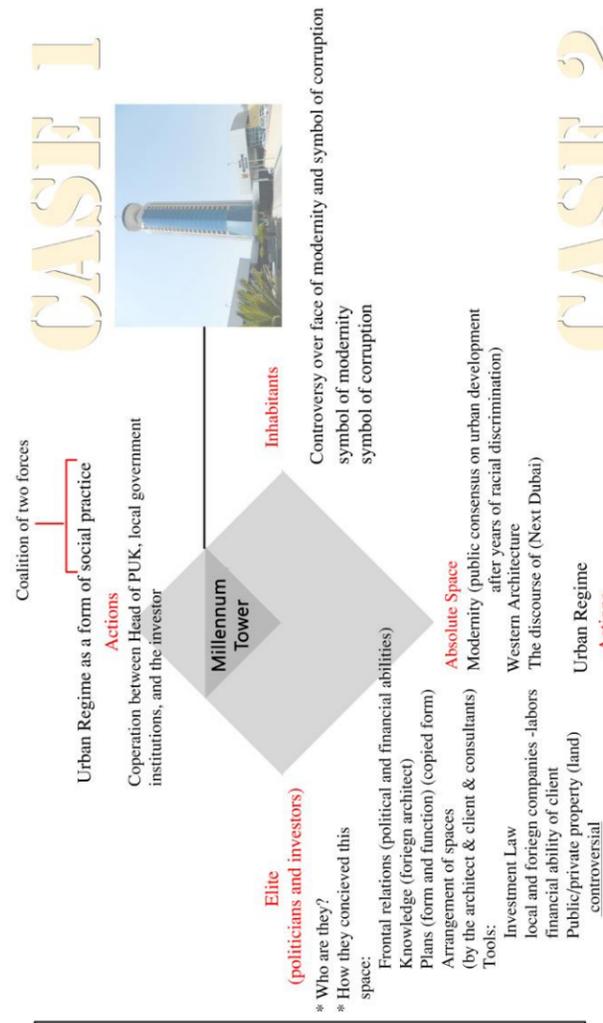
Preliminary approach to explore the case studies



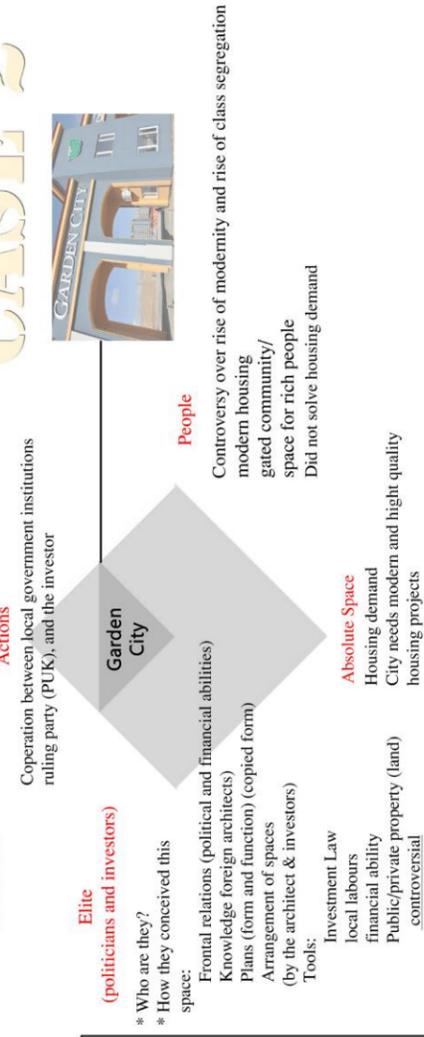




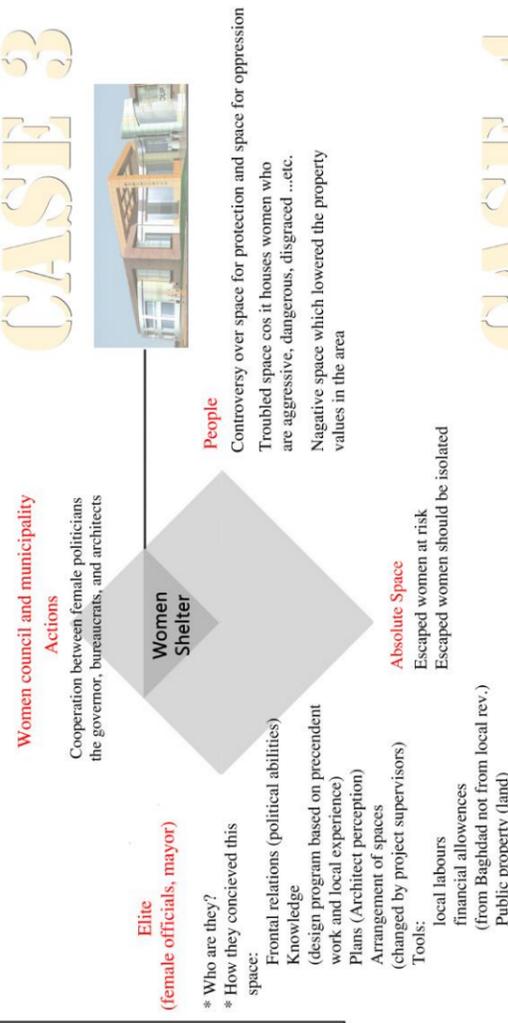
CASE 1



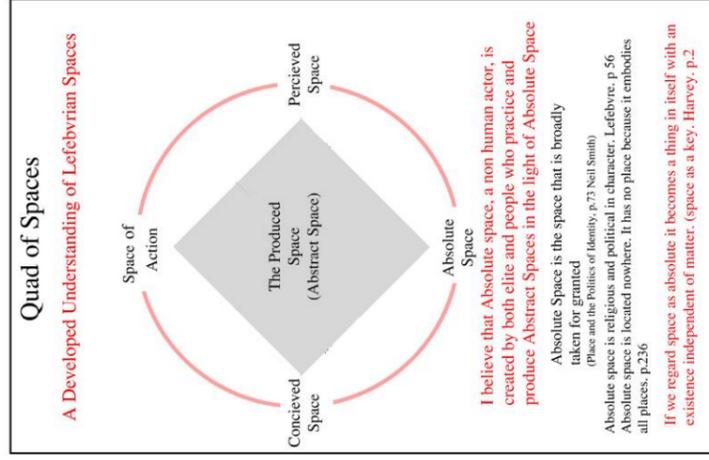
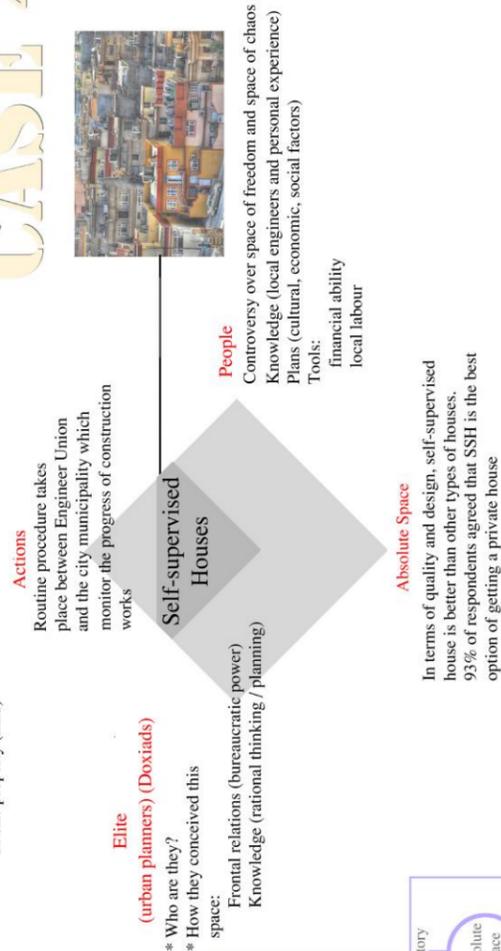
CASE 2



CASE 3



CASE 4

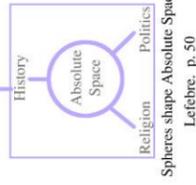


Space of Actions: By narrating the chronological development of spatial practices and the locations/organisations in which the practices took place

Space of Elite: By describing their identities, power, perspectives and knowledge

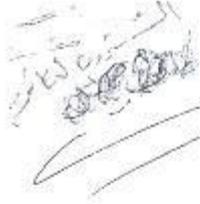
Space of Inhabitants (non-elite): By views and how they perceive the case if their role were passive in the creation of the case

Absolute Space: This is a dialectical space between elite and inhabitants. Although Lefebvre thinks it is shaped Partially by elite, it would not sustain without the wide support of the non-elite it is a mutual agreement between two forces for example: the case of Millennium Tower was shaped and it is accepted by the city inhabitants given the umbrella of Modernity 76 % of respondents still see that it is the modern face of the city



Frontal relations codify power relations:
Friedrichsmeyer, at. The imperialist imagination p.128

Appendix L: The Iraqi-law No.165 of 1964 on municipal management



قانون رقم (٦) لسنة ١٩٦٤م وتعديلاته
قانون إدارة بلديات كوردستان العراق

المادة الأولى:

- يقصد بالتعابير والمصطلحات التالية المعاني المبينة ازاءها لاخرها في هذا القانون
- ١- الاقليم : اقليم كوردستان العراق
 - ٢- الوزير :وزير البلديات والسياحة في الاقليم
 - ٣- المجلس : المجلس البلدي
 - ٤- المؤسسة البلدية : بلديات اقليم كوردستان كافة
 - ٥- البلدية : مؤسسة محلية لها شخصية معنوية مهمتها تقديم الخدمات العامة المنصوص عليها في هذا القانون او أي قانون اخر للمواطنين ضمن حدود البلدية المشخصة .
 - ٦- رئيس الدائرة : رئيس دائرة البلدية
 - ٧- واردات البلدية : ما يدخل في خزينة البلدية من المبالغ التي تحوّل جبايتها وفقا لاحكام القانون وبيع مشاريعها و إيرادات امواضا المنقولة وغير المنقولة .
 - ٨- المرافق العامة : كالمستشفيات والمستوصفات ومراكز الشرطة والمدارس والكتبات العامة واقسام البلدية ومشاريعها وغيرها .
 - ٩- الشوارع : الشوارع و الطرق العامة الرئيسية والثوية والطرق الخاصة والارصنة والساحات والمساحين ضمن حدود البلديات .
 - ١٠- السلطة الادارية : المحافظ ، القائمقام ، مدير الناحية .

المادة الثانية :

تتولى مؤسسة البلدية تقديم الخدمات العامة في منطقة معينة محددة .

المادة الثالثة :

- للبلدية باعتبارها شخصية معنوية ان
- ١- تتمتع بحقوقها بموجب احكام القوانين النافذة .
 - ٢- تستوفي الضرائب والرسوم والاجور وفقا لاحكام القوانين النافذة .
 - ٣- تمارس الصلاحيات التي تقتلكها من القيام بالخدمات والوظائف حسب احكام هذا القانون والقوانين الاخرى .
 - ٤- تتبرم العقود على اختلاف انواعها بمقتضى احكام هذا القانون .

٥- حق التصويت في جميع الدعاوي التي تقيمها او التي تقام عليها.
٦- جميع بذمة مالية مستقلة.

المادة الرابعة

تتكون البلدية

- ١- مجلس لا يقل عدد أعضائه عن خمسة ولا يزيد على واحد وعشرون عضواً من ضمنهم رئيس البلدية
- ٢- إدارة ووصلة مصادقتان من قبل الوزير تتضمنان اسم البلدية وحدودها بصورة مفصلة

الفصل الثاني استحداث البلديات

المادة الخامسة

تستحدث البلدية في

- ١- مركز المحافظة والقضاء والناحية مهما كان عدد نفوسها
- ٢- القرى التي لا يقل عدد نفوسها عن ثلاثة الاف نسمة بناء على اقتراح السلطة الادارية وموافقة الوزير
- ٣- بقى البلديات المستحدثة قبل نفاذ هذا القانون في القرى التي لا يقل عدد نفوسها عن احد المئتين الف شخص
- ٤- القوم القرب بلدية بتقديم الخدمات الى الاماكن التي لا تقضي استحداث البلديات فيها

المادة السادسة

لغرض استحداث بلدية تقوم الوزارة بتهيئة خارطة ووصف حدود للقبضة ويعلن ذلك في الجريدة الرسمية ويعلق الاعلان لمدة ثلاثين يوما في الاماكن العامة يقبل خلالها الاعتراضات والملاحظات من الدوائر والمواطنين وعلى ضوء الاعتراضات الواردة يقرر الوزير ما يراه مناسباً ويكون قراره نهائياً للاعتراض لدى مجلس الوزراء خلال عشرة ايام من تاريخ صدوره ويكون قرار الوزير في حالة الاعتراض عليه خلال المدة المذكورة وقسراً لمجلس الوزراء عند وقوع الاعتراض بهذا الشكل نهائياً

المادة السابعة

تستحدث البلدية بيان يصدره الوزير وينشر في الجريدة الرسمية

المادة الثامنة

تعديل حدود البلدية بقرار من المجلس البلدي ومصادقة السلطة الادارية تتضمنها الاسباب الموجبة لتعديل و موافقة الوزير

المادة التاسعة

تقسم منطقة البلدية الى قطاعات بموجب موشرات مركزية توضع من قبل المديرية العامة للبلديات و المديرية العامة للمخطيط العمراني و يكون لكل قطاع او اكثر (قسم بلدي) يعنى الاشراف على اعمال البلدية و

1- القرارات التي توديعها و تنفيذ الاوامر التي تصدرها و يجرى استحداث القطاعات و الغائها و ترخيصها و تعيين اسمائها و حدودها ضمن منطقة بلدية واحدة بقرار من المجلس البلدي و موافقة المدير العام للبلديات

المادة الخامسة

1- تصنف البلديات على اساس عدد النفوس وفق اخر احصاء رسمي عام على الوجهة الاتية:

- بلدية مركز عاصمة الاقليم من الصنف الخاص (أصيل)
 - بلديات مراكز محافظات الاقليم من الصنف الممتاز
 - البلديات التي لا يقل عدد نفوسها عن خمسة وسبعين الفا من الصنف الاول
 - البلديات التي لا يقل عدد نفوسها عن خمسة عشر الفا من الصنف الثاني و للوزير استثناء الاقضية التي لها طابع تاريخي و لا يستحق موقعها الجغرافي بتوسيعها القبا
 - البلديات التي لا يقل عدد نفوسها عن خمسة الاف من الصنف الثالث
 - البلديات التي يقل عدد نفوسها عن خمسة الاف من الصنف الرابع
- 2- تعدل اصناف البلديات بعد صدور نتائج كل احصاء رسمي عام ببيان يصدره الوزير و ينشر في الجريدة الرسمية.

المادة السادسة

يجوز توحيد بلديتين بلدية واحدة في حالة توسيع حدودها واتصافهما ببعضهما بقرار من مجلسها وتأييد السلطة الادارية وموافقة الوزير وبتكليف من تاريخ نشر القرار في الجريدة الرسمية.

الفصل الثالث
الغاء البلديات

المادة الثانية عشرة :

على الوزير ان يلغي البلدية بناءً على اقتراح السلطة الادارية او مدير البلديات العام في الحالات التالية :-

١- زوال شروط احداثها

٢- توحيدها ببلدية تالية .

المادة الثالثة عشرة :

تطبق في حالة الغاء البلدية فيما يخص باعلان قرار الالغاء وطريقة الاعتراض عليه ما ورد في المادة السادسة من هذا القانون .

المادة الرابعة عشرة :

يصم الغاء البلدية ببيان يصدره الوزير وينشر في الجريدة الرسمية .

المادة الخامسة عشرة :

تضفي بناءً على طلب الوزير اموال البلدية التي يقرر الغاءها وتسلم اموالها المنقولة وعقاراتها وتنقل ديونها بعد التصفية كالتالي :

١- الى بلدية المركز : اذا كانت الالغاء وفقاً للفقرة (١) من المادة (١٢) .

٢- الى البلدية الوحيدة : اذا كانت الالغاء وفقاً للفقرة (٢) من المادة المذكورة .

الفصل الرابع
صلاحيات البلدية

المادة السادسة عشرة :

للبلدية في ممارسة أعمالها صلاحياتها : صلاحية تقرير ومراقبة وبتولائها المجلس وفقاً لإحكام هذا القانون وصلاحية تنفيذ مجازاتها رئيس البلدية .

القسم الأول - صلاحية التقرير والمراقبة
أولاً/تكوين المجلس

المادة السابعة عشرة :

ينتخب رئيس واعضاء المجلس من بين سكان منطقة البلدية بالانتخاب غير المباشر وبالاقتراع السري العام وفق نظام خاص .

المادة الثامنة عشرة :

١- يكون عدد أعضاء المجلس على النحو التالي :

- (أ)
- أ- بلدية الصنف الخامس ستة عشرة عضواً
 - ب- بلدية الصنف السادس عشرة عضواً
 - ج- بلدية الصنف الأول أحد عشرة عضواً
 - د- بلدية الصنف الثاني تسعة أعضاء
 - هـ- بلدية الصنف الثالث سبعة أعضاء
 - و- بلدية الصنف الرابع خمسة أعضاء

المادة التاسعة عشرة :

تكون مدة العضوية في المجلس (٤) سنوات تبدأ من تاريخ الاجتماع الأول

المادة العشرون :

١- يكافأ رئيس واعضاء مجلس البلدية من غير الموظفين شهرياً حسب التفصيل المبين أدناه :

العضو	الرئيس	الصف
١٠٠٠ دينار	٤٠٠٠ دينار	الخاص
٨٠٠ دينار	٣٠٠٠ دينار	المتناز
٧٠٠ دينار	٢٠٠٠ دينار	الأول
٦٠٠ دينار	١٧٥٠ دينار	الثاني

٥٠٠ دينار

٥٠٠ دينار

الثالث

٤٠٠ دينار

١٠٠٠ دينار

الرابع

- ٢- للموظف العضو او المنتخب للرئاسة اختيار الراتب الشهري او المكافأة الواردة في الفقرة (١) اعلاه .
- ٣- يجوز ان يتفرغ بعض اعضاء المجلس البلدى بناء على اقتراح من المجلس وصادقة الوزير المهام المجلس و يفضل ان لا تزيد نسبة المتفرغين عن ثلث اعضاء المجلس البلدى.
- ٤- تعتبر خدمة رئيس و اعضاء المجلس مجزية لكافة اغراض التقاعد و التقاعد.

المادة الحادية والعشرون:

ينتخب المجلس من بين اعضائه المنتخبين في اول اجتماع يعقده بالاقتراح السري نائبا للرئيس .

المادة الثانية والعشرون: شروط الانتخاب لرئيس و نائبا للرئيس

- ١- يشترط في المرشح لرئاسة البلدية ان يكون قد اكمل الثلاثين من عمره و حالوا على الشهادة الاعدادية او ما يعادلها.
- ٢- يشترط في الاعضاء المنتخبين ان يكونوا قد اكملوا الثلاثين من عمرهم و متمتعين بالاهلية القانونية الكاملة .
- ٣- يشترط ان لا يكون محكوما عليه في اجرام المصلحة بالشرف او بالنسج في جريمة القتل العمد او السرقة ولم يشارك في احدى الجرائم التي منعت لها السانطة الدكاتورية في كورستان العراق .

المادة الثالثة والعشرون:

لا يجوز الجمع بين عضوية المجلس البلدي وعضوية اى من المجالس المنتخبة قانونا .

المادة الرابعة والعشرون:

- ١- تجرى انتخابات تكيلية لسد الشواغر في المجلس في حالة عدم كفاية الاحتياط لسد هذه الشواغر.
- ٢- تكون مدة العضوية للاعضاء الجدد مكتملة لمدة الاعضاء السابقين.

المادة الخامسة والعشرون:

- ١- /على المجلس ان يعلن بالطرق المتسرة التصاميم الاساسية المعدة من قبل التخطيط العمراني لاضلاع المواطنين وذوى العلاقة والدوائر وغيرها عليها خلال مدة سبعين يوما من تاريخ الاعلان وتقبل الاعتراضات والاقتراحات التي تقدم بشأنها خلال المدة المذكورة الى المجلس

ب/ اما بالنسبة للتصاميم التفصيلية والمعدلة ولاقرارات فتعمل لمدة (٣٠) ثلاثين يوما وبانهاج اساس الطسوق الواردة في الفقرة (أ) اعلاه.

٢- على المجلس دراسة الاعتراضات والاقتراحات المقدمة ان وجدت وفي حالة رفضها او قبولها بحسب ان يعزى القرار بأسباب مقبولة وفي كل الاحوال يرفع المجلس هذه التصاميم مع الاعتراضات والاقتراحات المقبولة والمرفوضة الى مديرية التخطيط العمراني خلال اسبوع من انتهاء الاعلان لتعديل التصميم على ضوءها وقراره

٣- تكون قرارات المجلس التي تتعلق باعداد التصاميم الاساسية والتفصيلية وتعديلها والاعلان وتقسيم المدينة الى مناطق عمرانية (سكنية وتجارية وصناعية) خاضعة للاعتراض من قبل السلطة الادارية خلال خمسة عشرة يوما من تاريخ وصولها اليها وترفع الاعتراضات الى الوزارة لئلا تلت فيها

٤- تكون التصاميم نافذة المفعول من تاريخ مصادقة الوزير عليها

المادة السادسة والعشرون :

١- للمجلس ان يطلب تعديل التصميم الاساسي او التفصيلي عند الضرورة على ان يتبع في ذلك احكام المادة

المادة

٢- على المجلس في حالة اكتساب تعديل التصميم الاساسي او التفصيلي الدرجة النهائية ان يهيء قائمة بجميع الابنية المتخالفة كليا او جزئيا لتطلبات التصميم الجديد المصدق وان يباشر باستملاكها حسب الامكانيات المتاحة

لها خلال عشرين سنة من تاريخ تصديق التصميم

٣- للمجلس ان يقرر بناء على طلب من ذوي العلاقة منح اجازة احداث جديدة للسكن او استعمال العقارات لاجلها لتطبيقات تنفيذ التصميم الاساسي او التصاميم التفصيلية مدة موفقة على ان لا تتسبب اية التزامات مالية (تعبئة مالية) عن المنشآت القائمة على البلدية عند تنفيذ التصميم وقيام الاستملاك و بموجب تعليمات تصدرها

الوزارة. في الحسب مما اذن تسخ اجازة للسكن لشبكة حزامية المياه غير مستوردة حسب
المواصفات السليمة مما اذن للتصميم الجديد من المواصفات العمرانية التي
تتضمنها المواصفات السليمة

المادة السابعة والعشرون :

١- يقرر المجلس بالتنسيق مع الجهات ذات الاختصاص القيام بالوظائف والخدمات التالية :

- تنظيف الشوارع والمخلات العامة ورفع الاوساخ والازبال
- ردم المستنقعات والبرك ومخلات تجمع المياه الناتجة عن الرشح والمخلات المنخفضة وغير الصحية
- انشاء وصيانة المراحيض والمباول العامة والفران حرق القمامة
- تنظيف خزانات واحواض المياه القذرة وتأمين الوسائل لنقلها وصرفها بصورة لا تؤثر على راحة المواطنين واتلاف الفضلات او حرقها
- تسوية الشوارع وتبليطها
- رش وغسل الشوارع بالماء لمنع البعثات الغبار منها

القبض على الحيوانات المسائية والنهوض من الضارة منها بالتعاون مع الجهات ذات الاختصاص

تحية وتعيين اماكن لوزايب المواشي
انشاء المجازر الصحية ومنع الذبح خارجها وتأمين سلامة اللحوم من الناحية الصحية وحوثها ونقلها مسن
المجازر الى الاسواق

تحية وتعيين محلات واسواق لبيع اللحوم والاسماك والمخضرات بالحملة والمفرق

تنظيم ومراقبة الموازين والمكاييل والمقاييس

تحية وتعيين مواقع لمقابر عصرية بنسبها اماكن لغسل الموتى وتكفينهم ونقل ودفن الموتى الفقراء

تحية وتعيين محلات لخرن وبيع اشرفيات

ترقيم الدور والشوارع والقطاعات وتسميتها بالتعاون مع الجهات المختصة الاخرى

بناء وانشاء ساحات وقوف للسيارات

٢- على البلدية اعتماد المبالغ اللازمة للقيام بالواجبات المشار اليها في الفقرة السابقة في ميزانيتها كل سنة

المادة الثامنة والعشرون مهمات الهيئة للكمبل المتكامل

للتجلس ان يقرر القيام بالوظائف والاعمال التالية في حالة تحقق المصلحة العامة وتوفر المبالغ اللازمة لها في ميزانية البلدية:

١- فتح وتوسيع الشوارع بموجب الخرائط المصدقة لها وتقاطعها ومنعطفاتها وتقسيماتها

استلزام الشوارع وتوسيتها ورصفها وتشييدها ورشها بالماء

٢- تعيين كيفية اشغال ارضية الشوارع والفضائلا والارضيات الحالية المعتمدة للبلدية وتنظيم كيفية مزاولتها

المساعدة المتواجدين واصحاب احوالهم المؤقتة (الاكشاك) لمهندم بشكل لا يتعارض مع المصلحة العامة بالتنسيق مع

مديرية التخطيط العمراني.

٤- انشاء الحدائق والحدائق العامة وتوسيعها وتصنيفها. بذكري مشاريع مشاريع مشاريع

٥- تعيين مواقع بالتنسيق مع الهيئة العامة للسياحة لانشاء مدن العباب عصرية في المواقع المخصصة لها بموجب

الخرائط المصدقة وتاجيرها الى القطاع الخاص او المخطط او الشركات العاملة بالاجارة الطويلة.

٦- تنفيذ التصميم الاساسي والتصاميم التفصيلية المصدقة وتنفيذ الشوارع والخدمات والاستعمالات الاخرى

على طونها.

٧- انشاء القناطر والعتابر وصيانتها عمدا التي تعود الى الجهات الاخرى.

٨- هدم المباني الالية للسقوط والتسوعات التي تعيق المرور.

٩- تحديد مواقع لبيع الدواجن والطيور والحيوانات الاليفة.

١٠- انشاء اسواق عامة في المواقع المخصصة لها بموجب الخرائط المصدقة.

- ١٦- تعيين اسواق لبيع الاسماك و النحوم و المحسرات و كافة المنتجات الحيوانية و الزراعية و منع بيع هذه المواد في غير الاماكن المعدة لها
- ١٧- انشاء القاعات و المسايح و المسارح و السينمات و الملاعب و الفنادق و دور الاستراحة و الترفيهية و الحمامات و الكازينوهات و الناحف و المطاعم و تشجيع انشاء النوادي و المكتبات.

المادة التاسعة عشر:

للمجلس ان يقرر:-

- ١- اجازة اغلالت العامة و تفتيشها و مراقبتها و الزام اصحابها بالتخاذ مايلزم لتأمين راحة و سلامة روادها.
- ٢-ترحيل جميع الصناعات و الحرف و البين الضارة بالبيئة الى الاماكن المخصصة لها في المناطق السياحية و وضع الشروط اللازمة بالتنسيق مع الجهات الصحية لكيفية تشغيلها
- ٣- إيقاف و هدم اى بناء يوشبه مخالفا لاجازة البناء او القانون او الانظمة و التعليمات الصادرة بصددها.
- ٤- منع تشيد المباني التي تؤدي الى الاضرار بالانحرفين او تشوة جمالية الشوارع و المتزهات العامة بجوارها.

المادة الثلاثون

- للمجلس ان يقرر القيام بمشاريع سكنية و توزيع الاراضى على المواطنين عن طريق اقتزاز الاراضى داخل التصميم الاساسى و توزيعها بموجب التعليمات.

المادة الحادية والثلاثون

- ١- للمجلس وضع الصوابط التي من شأنها تسهيل تنفيذ وغاثة المنصوص عليها في هذا القانون و الانظمة و التعليمات الصادرة بموجبها.
- ٢- القيام بخدمات ذات عسفة تجارية از اناجية تعود على المواطنين بالقائدة و على اموال البلدية بالربح.

المادة الثانية والثلاثون

- للمؤسسات المختصة ان تطلب من البلدية القيام بصورة موقفة او دائمة باى عمل يمكن ان يكون القيام به من قبل البلدية اجدى و انفع للجمهور على الاتصحتل البلدية اية نفقات.

المادة الثالثة والثلاثون

- على المجلس عند اقراره اى مشروع ان يحدد الكلفة استنادا على الكشوفات و المواصفات بعد دراستها و مناقشتها و التاكيد من توفر الاعتماد في الميزانية المصادقة.

المادة الرابعة والثلاثون

- ١- تكون قرارات المجلس في أداء وظائفه المخصوص عليها في هذا القانون و التي لا تتطلب صرف مبالغ من البلدية قابلة للاعتراض خلال خمسة عشر يوما من قبل السلطة الادارية اعتبارا من وصول القرار اليها و للوزير حرق إيقاف تنفيذ هذه القرارات لمدة لا تتجاوز خمسة عشر يوما لغرض دراستها و تقرير مايلوم بشأنها.
- ٢- على المجلس ان يعيد النظر في القرارات التي وقع عليها الاعتراض او التي تقدر توقيفها على ضوء الاعتراضات و البيانات التي اصدرتها الجهة المختصة و تصبح قرارات المجلس في مدة الحالة غير قابلة للتنفيذ الا بعد مصادقة الجهة المعترضة عليها.
- ٣- ان قرارات المجلس التي لم يعترض عليها خلال مدة الاعتراض او مدة التوقيف تعتبر نهائية و قابلة للتنفيذ.
- ٤- للوزير استثناء بعض القرارات الواردة في الفقرة (١) من الاعتراض او التوقيف و ذلك بتعليمات يصدرها لهذا الغرض.

المادة الخامسة والثلاثون

- ١- تكون قرارات المجلس المتعلقة بتسليم العقارات خاضعة لمصادقة الوزير او من يخوله و لسة استثناء بعض المعاملات من هذه المصادقة في الحدود التي يقررها.
- ٢- تكون قرارات المجلس تصرف المبالغ الموحدة في ميزانية البلدية المصادقة بما في ذلك الدخول بالتعهدات و العقود و الشراء خاضعة للمصادقة و وفقا لابي :-
 - وزارة المالية و الاقتصاد للاقليم لما يزيد عن (١) مليون دينار للمبالغ المخصصة ضمن الميزانية الاعتيادية.
 - مجلس الوزراء بالنسبة لما يزيد (١) مليون دينار للمبالغ المخصصة ضمن خطة التنمية.
 - الوزير للمبالغ التي لا تزيد عن (١) مليون دينار سواء على حساب الميزانية الاعتيادية او المخصصة ضمن خطة التنمية.
 - المجلس البلدي للمبالغ التي لا تزيد مبالغها بما مبين ازاء صنف كل واحد منها:
 - ١) الصنف الخامس (١٥٠٠٠٠) مائة وخمسون الف دينار في كل حالة
 - ٢) الصنف السادس (٣٠٠٠٠) مائة وعشرون الف دينار في كل حالة
 - ٣) الصنف الاول (١٠٠٠٠) عشرة الاف دينار في كل حالة
 - ٤) الصنف الثاني (٥٠٠٠) خمسة الاف دينار في كل حالة
 - ٥) الصنف الثالث (٣٠٠٠) ثلاثة الاف دينار في كل حالة
 - ٦) الصنف الرابع (١٥٠٠) الف وخمسة مائة دينار في كل حالة

المادة الثانية والأربعون

١- تبدأ السنة المالية للبلدية في (١) كانون الثاني و تنتهي في (٣١) كانون الأول و على رئيس البلدية تسليم تقصينات الميزانية السنوية قبل اليوم الأول من تشرين الأول من كل سنة متضمنة مايلي:

- الواردات المختمنة
- المصروفات المختمنة
- الموجودات التقديرية و الاموال المتقولة
- السلف و الامانات

٢- تنظم الميزانية وفق تعليمات وزارة المالية والاقتصاد.

٣- على المجلس البلدي مناقشة الميزانية و اقرارها و رفعها الى الوزير للمصادقة عليها.

٤- تقدم ميزانيات البلديات المقترحة من قبل المدير العام للتخطيط و المتابعة الى الوزير للمصادقة عليها.

٥- اذا كانت البلدية مدينة الى خزينة الدولة تخضع ميزانيتها لمصادقة وزير المالية و الاقتصاد للاقليم.

٦- اذا لم تصدق ميزانية البلدية لسبب من الاسباب قبل السنة الجديدة يجرى الصرف شهريا بنسبة (١٢/١) من الاعتماد المصدق للسنة السابقة الى ان تتم المصادقة النهائية على الميزانية الجديدة.

المادة الثالثة والخمسون

١- المجلس بشراف على تنفيذ الميزانية الصادرة و هو الامر بالصرف وفق مواد و فصول عملة الميزانية و لانه ان يكون رئيس البلدية صلاحية الصرف بمجرد تعيينه.

٢- لا يجوز للمجلس اجراء المناقشة بين فصول و مواد الميزانية المصادقة خلال السنة المالية الا بموافقة الوزير.

٣- لا يجوز اجراء مناقشة من الاعتمادات المصادقة لتسديد الديون المترتبة على البلدية لوزارة المالية والاقتصاد او بضمها الا بموافقة الوزير.

٤- يجرى الصرف الذي يحول به المجلس وفق الاصول المتبعة من قانون اصول المحاسبات العامة على ان يحل وزيرو البلديات و السياحة محل وزير المالية والاقتصاد و لة اصدار التعليمات التي تنظم تنفيذ ذلك.

المادة الرابعة والأربعون

يودع الحساب اختتامى للميزانية المالية المصروفة خلال شهر شباط الى وزارة المالية والاقتصاد للاقليم.

المادة الخامسة والأربعون

١- يقيد ايرادا ثانيا لخزينة الاقليم جميع الديون و الامانات التي لم يراجع اصحابها لقبضها خلال خمس سنوات من تاريخ انتهاء السنة المالية التي استلمت فيها عدد امانات المتزمنين و المتعهدين و لوزير المالية والاقتصاد ان يامر باعادة الديون و الامانات التي يراجع خلال المدة المذكور اذا ثبت لدية بان عدم المراجعة كان لتعذر مشروع و لتقليل اية مواجهة بعد مرور عشر سنوات.

٢- تستفي من احكام هذه المادة الديون التي على البلدية المربوطة بسندات او اتفاقيات او مساعدات قائما تخضع لمرور الزمن القانوني الخاص بها.

المادة السادسة والأربعون

يشرف الوزير على اعمال البلديات و مراقبة تنفيذ ميزانيتها و تدقيق حساباتها و لة ان يوفد المفتشين و المدققين لهذا الغرض و على المؤسسات البلدية ان تقدم التسهيلات اللازمة لهم.

المادة السابعة والأربعون

اذا اقتضت المصلحة العامة الغاء شارع قديم و احداث شارع جديد عوضا عنه بموجب اخارطة المصدقة جاز للمجلس التصرف بالشارع المذكور بيعا و اجارا حسب اخارطة المصدقة.

المادة الثامنة والأربعون

١- على المجلس ان يقرر لغرض تنفيذ التصميم الاساسي و النصاميم التفصيلية و القيام بالخدمات و المنافع العامة ما يقتضى من الاملاك المشيدة او المقسمة سابقا وفقا للتصميم المصدق على ان لا تتجاوز على ريع المساحة العامة لكل ملك مجانا و ذلك اذا كان المملك ارضا و عند اعادة بناء اذا كان ملكا مشيدا و في حالة ما اذا اقتضى اخذ اكثر من الريع فعلى المجلس ان يستثنك ما يزيد على الريع وفقا لقانون الاستملاك النافذ.

٢- على المجلس ان يقرر تعيين استقامات وسعة الشوارع التي هي ضمن العقارات التي يروم اصحابها تقسيمها و تستقطع البلدية في هذه الحالة مجانا من العقار مساحة الشوارع و الموافق العامة بالنسب التالية:

• ما لا يزيد عن (٢٥%) من مساحة العقار الذي لا تتجاوز مساحته الكلية خمسة الاف متر مربع بصرف النظر عن المنطقة العمرانية التي يقع فيها.

• (٢٥%) من مساحة العقار الذي تتجاوز مساحته الكلية خمسة الاف متر مربع ولا يزيد عن عشرة الاف متر مربع بصرف النظر عن المنطقة العمرانية التي يقع فيها.

• اذا كانت مساحة العقار تزيد على عشرة الاف متر مربع فتكون النسب كمايلي:

١/ (٤٠%) من مساحته الكلية اذا كان واقعا ضمن المنطقة العمرانية الاولى و الثانية

٢/ (٢٥%) من مساحته الكلية اذا كان واقعا ضمن المنطقة الثالثة.

١٢/٣٠٪ من مساحته الكلية اذا كان واقفا ضمن المنطقة العمرانية الرابعة والمنطقة

٤/٢٥٪ من مساحته الكلية اذا كان واقفا ضمن المنطقة العمرانية الخاصة.

اذا نظم صاحب العقار خاظرطة التقسيم و كان مجموع مساحة الشوارع و المرافق العامة تزيد على النسب المبينة بالفقرة السابقة و كانت هذه الزيادة لمصلحته الفعلية ان يسجل هذه المساحة باسم البلدية مجاناً بمحضه بلغت و ان كانت الزيادة في المساحة من مقتضيات التصميم الاساسي او التفصيلي للمنطقة العمرانية التي يقع ضمنها العقار فعلي البلدية ان تستملك هذه الزيادة وفق قانون الاستملاك على ان تعين البلدية مقدماً على الخاظرطة المساحة التي تؤخذ مجاناً وفق احكام الفقرات السابقة و المساحة التي يجب ان تستملك قبل المصادقة على الخاظرطة.

المادة التاسعة والاربعون

١- اذا اتهم المجلس البلدي اكثرية اعضائه . على مجلس الوزراء بناء على اقتراح الوزير حل المجلس البلدي و لسه تشكيل لجنة مؤقتة تناط بها اعمال المجلس البلدي المنحل لحين اجراء انتخاب المجلس البلدي ولا يجوز لهذه اللجنة ان تتخذ أي قرار في معالجة أية قضية يقتضي الصرف عليها من صندوق البلدية و لم يسبق للمجلس ان اتخذ قراراً بما عدا المصاريف الدائمة الاعتيادية المرصدة في الميزانية المصدقة الا في حالة الضرورة بناء على اقتراح الوزير و موافقة مجلس الوزراء

٢- على الوزير ان يعلن الانتخابات في المنطقة التي يقرر حل المجلس فيها بموجب الفقرة السابقة اعلاه خلال مدة شهر من تاريخ حل المجلس لانتخاب مجلس يحل محل المجلس السابق و تكون مدته مكتملة له اذا كانت المدة الحقيقية من ستة شهور

المادة الثانية والخمسون :

١- للوزير منح بعض الصلاحيات المنصوص عليها في هذا القانون الى السلطة الادارية لتقليص الروتين وتسهيل سير الامور.

٢- للوزير ان يقول رئيس البلدية ما يراه ضروريا من الصلاحيات المقررة لة بموجب القوانين المرعية لتسهيل

اموره.

المادة الثالثة والخمسون :

تعتبر البلدية من السلطات العامة المؤسسة قانونا ولها ان تطلب من كل فرد الاذعان لوامرها الصادرة منها و
الميلفة ان العلنة بصورة منتظمة و اطاعة موظفيها القائمين باعمالهم المخولين بالصلاحيات و من يخالف ذلك يعاقب
وفق القوانين النافذة

المادة الرابعة والخمسون

١- يعاقب شاغل المقار كامل الاهلية بالحبس لمدة لا تتجاوز عشرة ايام او بغرامة لا تزيد على مائة دينار او كليهما
اذا فتيح مبرمى للماية القلرة او الفائضة عن عقارة الى الشارع او انشا حوضا لها في الشارع و قرر رفع الجسرى
وردم الحوض من قبل شاغل الدار خلال ثلاثة ايام و بعكسه تقوم البلدية بذلك و يتحمل شاغل السدار كافسة
البلقات.

٢- يعاقب شاغل الدار كامل الاهلية بغرامة لا تتجاوز خمسين دينارا اذا قبت انه القيت عمن طاره قساكورات او
ازبال او مياة قلرة الى الشارع.

الفصل السابع

احكام متفرقة

المادة الخامسة والخمسون

١- التسجيل باسم البلدية بدون حق كافة الشوارع الواقعة داخل حدودها و التروك استعمالها لينفع العلم الموجودة عند نفاذ هذا القانون او التي تحدث بعد ذلك وفق القوانين المرعية مالم تكن مساحة الارض التي استعملت عليها الشارع مسجلة في سجلات التسجيل العقاري باسم شخص طبيعي

ب/تبقى كافة القرارات و الاجراءات الصادرة و المتخذة بعد ١٩٩٨/٤/٥ خلافا لماورد في

المقرة (١) اعلاه
٢- لا يجوز المراز الاراضي الواقعة خارج حدود البلديات للاغراض السكنية او الصناعية الا بموافقة الوزارة و كمايلي:-

ا/الاراضي الواقعة خارج حدود البلدية من الصنف الخاص بمسافة (١٠) عشرة كم.

ب/الاراضي الواقعة خارج حدود البلدية من الصنف الممتاز بمسافة (٧) سبعة كم

ج/الاراضي الواقعة خارج حدود البلدية من الصنف الاول بمسافة (٥) خمسة كم

د/الاراضي الواقعة خارج حدود البلدية من الصنف الثاني والثالث والرابع بمسافة (٣) ثلاثة كم

٣- على التخطيط العمراني وضع ضوابط و تخصيصات مالية بالتنسيق مع البلدية توضح كيفية المراز هذه الاراضي.

المادة السادسة والخمسون

لايمل باى نص يتعارض و احكام هذا القانون.

المادة السابعة والخمسون

لوزير اصدار التعليمات اللازمة لتسهيل تنفيذ احكام هذه القانون

المادة الثامنة والخمسون

على مجلس الوزراء تنفيذ احكام هذا القانون

المادة التاسعة والخمسون

ينفذ هذا القانون اعتبارا من تاريخ نشره في الجريدة الرسمية.

Appendix M: The investment law of 2006

In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

In the Name of the People

President's Office - Kurdistan Region - Iraq

Pursuant to legislation by the Kurdistan National Assembly - Iraq, and by virtue of Article 10 of Law no. (1) of 2005, the President of Kurdistan Region - Iraq hereby issues the following Law:

Law no. (4) of 2006 Law of Investment in Kurdistan Region – Iraq

Chapter I General Provisions

Section I Definitions

Article (1):

The following words and phrases shall have the meanings explained hereunder:

1. **Region:** Kurdistan Region – Iraq
2. **Government:** Government of the Region
3. **Council:** Supreme Council for Investment
4. **President:** President of the Supreme Council for Investment
5. **Board:** Investment Board in the Region
6. **Chairman of the Board:** Chairman of the Investment Board
7. **Project:** Any economic activity or investment project set up by a natural or artificial person on an allocated plot of land, and with a national or foreign capital to which the provisions of this Law and relevant regulations and directives apply.
8. **Taxes and Duties:** These include all types of taxes and duties set under the applicable legislation.
9. **Investor:** Natural or artificial person, whether a local or a foreigner, who invests his funds in the Region in accordance with the provisions of this Law.
10. **Competent Authorities:** These include all government authorities responsible for the industry which the Project is related to.
11. **Invested Funds:** Value of the funds invested in the Project and estimated in national or foreign currency.
12. **Foreign Capital:** Amount of investments, whether in cash, in kind or in rights and interests, which have a cash value in the Region.

Section II
Areas of Investment

Article (2):

The provisions of this Law shall apply to the Projects approved by the Board in one of the following sectors:

1. Manufacturing industries, electric power and related services
2. Agriculture, whether crop growing farms or animal farms, forestry and related services
3. Hotels, tourist and recreational projects, funfairs, and amusement parks
4. Health and environment
5. Science and technology research, and information technology
6. Modern communication and transport
7. Banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions
8. Infrastructure projects, including construction, reconstruction and housing projects, roads and bridges, railways, airports, irrigation and dams
9. Free zones, modern commercial markets, and relevant advisory services
10. Education at all levels, within the framework of the educational policy of the Region
11. Any project in any other industry which the Council agrees that it is covered by the provisions of this Law.

Section III
Treatment of Foreign Investors

Article (3):

Foreign Investors and Foreign Capitals shall be treated the same way as national Investors and national Capitals. A foreign Investor shall be entitled to own all the capital of any project that he sets up in the Region under this Law.

Section IV
Allocation of Plots of Land

Article (4):

1. The Board shall liaise with the ministries and departments involved in determining the locations of investment Projects which will be set up in every governorate under this Law, and shall put a note of caution on the titles that such locations are used for the purposes of the Board.
2. The departments concerned shall coordinate with the Board to specify and allocate the plots of land needed by the Project within the initial layout inside and outside the cities, either by lease or by land usufruct, at a promotional price, and in accordance with regulations to be set by the Board as an exemption from the "Law of Sale and Lease of Properties of the State", which is applicable in the Region.
3. Upon receiving a proposal by the Board, the Council may transfer the ownership of plots of land that are allocated to strategic Projects, at a promotional price or free of charge, provided that the nature and importance of the Project and the public interest will be taken into consideration when

transferring the ownership as an exemption from the Law of Sale and Lease of Properties of the State, which is applicable in the Region.

4. A note of caution shall be entered at the relevant Departments of Land Registry regarding the plots of land allocated to investment Projects. Such notes of caution shall be lifted only under the Board's written consent, after complete fulfillment of the Investor's obligations.
5. To ensure achievement of its purposes, the Board may possess, free of charge, freehold titles over plots of land that are already property of the State and have a burden of disposal rights, after charging off such rights by paying fair and appropriate compensation in accordance with the applicable laws, regulations and directives.
6. An Investor may buy or lease plots of land and real properties needed to set up, expand, develop and diversify the Project in accordance with the provisions of this Law, within the surface area and time scale estimated according to the Project's objects and actual needs, without prejudice to the provisions of Paragraph (3) of this Article.
7. Plots of land needed for investment Projects under this Law shall be partitioned into surface areas estimated as per the Project's objects and actual needs, in accordance with special controls and regulations set by the Board in exemption from applicable laws and regulations.
8. Alteration of the Project's location shall be governed by the same standards and regulations as those of specifying the Project's location for the first time.
9. Competent Authorities shall liaise with the Board to provide public services such as water supply, electric power, sewage pipes, public roads and communications etc. within the Project's precinct. For this purpose, the necessary funds shall be allocated in the Budget.
10. In addition to the entitlement of a foreign Investor for the possession and lease of real properties and productive vehicles under this Law, he shall be entitled to buy or lease residential properties and non-productive vehicles needed for his Project, after obtaining the Board's approval, and in compliance with controls and regulations set by the Board for this purpose.

Chapter II Exemptions and Obligations

Section I Tax and Customs Exemptions

Article (5):

1. A Project shall be exempt from all non-custom taxes and duties for 10 years starting from the date of providing services by the Project, or the date of actual production.
2. Equipment and machinery that are imported for the Project shall be exempt from taxes, duties and the condition to obtain an Import Licence, provided that they cross the Region's borders within two years from the approval of their lists by the Chairman of the Board, and that they are used exclusively for the purposes of the Project, failing which the exemptions will not apply to them and the Investor will be compelled to pay tax and will be penalised with a fine which is twice as much as the amount of tax due.

3. Spare parts that are imported for the Project shall be exempt from taxes and duties, provided that their value does not exceed 15% of the price of equipment and machinery, and with the prior approval of their lists and quantities by the Chairman of the Board.
4. Equipment, machines and tools needed to expand, develop or upgrade/modernise the Project shall be exempt from taxes and duties.
5. Raw materials imported for production shall be exempt from customs duties for 5 years, provided that the types and quantities of such materials are specified by the Board, with the priority given to using the locally available raw materials which are suitable in quality and quantity for the investment Project.
6. An Investor may, under the provisions of this Law, import all his Project's needs, including the equipment and machinery. Such imports shall be exempt from all customs duties as they cross the Region's borders, provided that they are used exclusively for the Project's purposes.

Section II Additional Exemptions

Article (6):

1. In accordance with the public interest of the Region, the Board may give additional facilities and incentives to investment Projects licensed under this Law to which either of the following features applies, and in compliance with controls and regulations set by the Board for this purpose:
 - (i) Projects set up in under-developed areas in the Region.
 - (ii) Joint Ventures set up by national and foreign Investors.
2. Depending on the nature of Service Projects which are set up under the provisions of this Law, and in particular Projects of hotels, hospitals, tourist resorts, universities and schools, the Board may offer additional exemptions from charges and duties on their purchases of furniture and supplies for upgrading and modernization once every 3 years, provided that these should enter into the Region and be used solely for the Project within one year from the date of approval of the purchase lists and quantities by the Chairman of the Board.

Section III Legal Guarantees

Article (7):

1. An Investor may obtain insurance cover for his investment Project from any foreign or national insurance company that he sees fit, such that all aspects of operations that he carries out will be insured.
2. An Investor may employ local and foreign staff needed for the Project, with the priority given to recruiting local manpower in accordance with the laws and regulations applicable in the Region.
3. A foreign Investor shall be entitled to transfer the profits and interests of his capital abroad, in accordance with the provisions of this Law.

4. The Project's non-Iraqi members of staff, and their agents outside the Region, shall be entitled to transfer their dues and wages abroad in accordance with the applicable laws.
5. A foreign Investor shall be entitled to send his capital back abroad upon winding up or disposal of the Project, without prejudice to applicable laws and regulations regarding taxes and customs.
6. An Investor may transfer his investment totally or partly to another foreign Investor or to a national Investor, or may assign the Project to his partner with the approval of the Board. The new Investor then replaces the previous Investor with regard to rights and obligations arising from the Project.
7. An Investor may, for his Project which is licensed under this Law, open bank accounts in national currency, in foreign currency, or in both, with banks located inside or outside the Region.
8. Without prejudice to applicable laws regarding the boards of directors of joint-stock companies, the Projects registered under this Law shall be deemed as private sector Projects, regardless of the legal form and nature of their shareholding funds.
9. An Investor may under this Law maintain confidentiality of technical and economic know-how of the Project, and may uphold the investment initiatives in accordance with the provisions of laws, regulations and directives applicable in the Region. Any person will be punished by law if he discloses any information in his possession by virtue of his post, or information related with the investment initiative and with technical, economic or financial aspects of the Project.

Section IV Investor's Obligations

Article (8):

An Investor shall comply with the following:

1. To specify the area of his investment regarding the Projects implemented by him, and to reveal his financial statements/balance sheets and the contracts that he implemented.
2. To inform the Board about the completion of the Project, and when it starts in providing services or in actual production.
3. To provide the facilities needed by the Board's personnel enabling them to collect and acquire the necessary information about various aspects of the Project, for the purposes of the Board.
4. To keep special records of the Project's imported materials which are exempt from customs duties under the provisions of this Law.
5. To safeguard the environment, maintain public health and safety, and comply with standardization and quality control systems, in accordance with international standards.
6. To offer training and qualification to the Project's local members of staff.

(iv) Department of Industrial Cities and Zones

3. The Board shall be located in Erbil, the Capital of the Region. It may open branches in the governorates of Kurdistan Region such that each branch will be run by an employee who has the rank of a Director General.
4. The Board may set up, merge or cancel Divisions and Sub-divisions whenever necessary.
5. The structure of the Board's Departments and Branches, and their tasks and powers, shall be specified in a bylaw set by the Board and endorsed by the Council.
6. The Board shall set up the suitable environment for investments so as to achieve economic development of the Region. The Board shall lay down the investment strategies, plans and policies and shall present them to the Council for approval. Moreover the Board shall coordinate activities of its Branches in the Region's governorates.

Article (11):

The Board's Chairman and any of its Directors General should satisfy the following:

1. He should have at least a university degree related to his post.
2. He should have at least a 7-year experience of work in his field of specialism.

Article (12):

For the purposes of this Law, the resolutions passed by the Council regarding the investment Projects shall be binding to all relevant Ministries, Agencies and Departments in the Region.

Article (13):

The Chairman of the Board may make contracts with natural or artificial persons, inside or outside the Region, to perform the tasks and duties assigned to them in order to fulfill the purposes of the Board. Their rights and obligations shall be specified by the Chairman of the Board.

Section II
Supreme Council for Investment

Article (14):

1. The Supreme Council for Investment in the Region shall consist of a President who is the Region's Prime Minister, a Vice President who is the Region's Deputy Prime Minister, and the other Council's members who are the Minister for Finance and the Economy, Minister for Trade, Minister for Municipalities, Minister for Planning, Minister for Agriculture, Minister for Industry and the Chairman of the Investment Board.
2.
 - (i) The President of the Council may call any other Minister to join in the meetings of the Council regarding any Project which is related to his Ministry.
 - (ii) The President of the Council may call representatives of the private sector involved in the Project.
 - (iii) The Council shall set its own bylaw specifying how it holds its meetings and how it passes its resolutions.

3. The Council shall exercise the following powers:
- (i) Setting up the investment policies and strategies proposed by the Board within the framework of the general policy of the Region.
 - (ii) Approval of the Board's plans and programs of activity within the framework of the general plan for the Region.
 - (iii) Discussion of the regular reports submitted by the Chairman of the Board regarding the Board's progress and matters related to the investment circumstances in the Region, and taking the necessary measures on that regard.
 - (iv) Discussion of the Board's financial position (Balance Sheet), and approval of its annual draft budget.
 - (v) Approval of the contract of loans and credit facilities given to the Board with the guarantee of the Government, or from banks or special finance institutions in accordance with the set rules and regulations, provided that their purposes are solely to finance the Board's activities within its scope of work.
 - (vi) Setting up a system of monitoring, following up and assessing the performance of foreign investments, in order to identify and overcome any obstacles or hurdles.
 - (vii) Approval of the bylaw of the Board.

**Section III
Budget of the Board**

Article (15):

The Board shall have a budget included in the general budget of the Government of the Region.

**Chapter IV
Licensing and Arbitration**

**Section I
Procedures of Project Licensing**

Article (16):

1. In order to benefit from the exemptions and privileges mentioned in this Law, an Investor should obtain a Licence issued by the Board for setting up the Project.
2. The Board shall give the Licence for setting up the Project pursuant to an application submitted by the Investor in accordance with the conditions set by the Board. The Board will have to decide on the application within 30 days from the date of fulfillment of the technical, legal and economic conditions and requirements, in accordance with the provisions of this Law, and without prejudice to the standards and controls set by the Board.
3. The Board shall consult Competent Authorities on the advantages of issuing the Licence, and such authorities will have to give their viewpoint for the acceptance, rejection or amendment request, within thirty days from the date of the Board's referral of the application to them. Failure to reply shall

be considered as an acceptance, and in the event of rejection, the decision will have to be justified.

4. When an application is rejected, the applicant may raise an objection to the President of the Council within 15 days from the date of notification of the rejection decision. The President of the Council will have to decide on the objection within 30 days, and his decision on this matter shall be conclusive.

Section II Arbitration

Article (17):

Investment disputes shall be settled in accordance with the contract concluded between both parties, and if there is no clause in the contract on this regard, the disputes shall be settled amicably between both parties. If they fail to reach an amicable settlement, they may refer the matter to arbitration whose regulations are stated in the laws applicable in the Region, or in accordance with the rules of dispute settlement mentioned in any of the mutual or international conventions of which Iraq is a member.

Section III Final Provisions

Article (18):

1. The Prime Minister's Decree (Suleimaniah Administration) no. 89 of 2004 regarding the promotion of investment in Kurdistan Region is hereby nullified. The Investment Promotion Board and its structure under Article 16 of the aforementioned Decree shall be dissolved, and its rights, obligations, and all its movable and immovable properties shall revert to the Investment Board formed under the provisions of this Law.
2. All investment Projects licensed by the Investment Promotion Board formed under the nullified Decree mentioned in paragraph (1) above, and the investment projects licensed by the Erbil Administration in accordance with applicable laws, shall be considered as legal investment Projects, and shall continue to enjoy the advantages and incentives granted to them.
3. All other Projects that are being studied and assessed, and on which no final decision has been made by the dissolved Board, shall be referred as investment Projects to the Investment Board formed under the provisions of this Law, and the Competent Authorities within the Board shall carry on with the procedures taken by the dissolved Board.

Article (19):

An Investor shall not be allowed to own plots of land that contain oil, gas, or any expensive or heavy mineral resources.

Article (20):

An Investor who implements joint-stock investment Projects shall offer the necessary security to protect the funds of the shareholders. The Board shall take the insurance and banking measures necessary to guarantee their rights.

Article (21):

The Board's accounts shall be subject to auditing by the Board of Supreme Audit.

Article (22):

The cases for which there are no provisions in this Law shall be governed by the general rules mentioned in other relevant laws, provided that their provisions do not contradict the provisions of this law. If there is any contradiction, the provisions of this Law shall apply.

Article (23):

The President of the Council shall issue the necessary instructions to facilitate the implementation of this Law.

Article (24):

The Council of Ministers and the Competent Authorities shall implement the provisions of this Law.

Article (25):

This Law shall take effect as of the date of its issuance, and it will be published in the official gazette "Kurdistan Gazette."

(Signed)

Masoud Barzani

President of Kurdistan Region - Iraq

Issued in Erbil, July 2006

Necessitating Reasons

This Law has been issued in order to create a climate for promoting investment in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, to remove any legal obstacles, to allow the investment of national and foreign capitals jointly or separately in investment projects in a manner that contributes effectively to the economic development process, to offer promotional incentives, facilities and tax exemptions to invested capitals, and to establish an investment Board involved in organising various aspects of investment activities in the Region.