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Civic pedagogy and performative spatial practice to
critique, reclaim, and produce public space in Amman

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Abstract

Public space in Amman, Jordan is in transition. A combination of pressures (commodification, neoliberal economics, authoritarian forms of political control, and social and spatial inequalities) have led to the emergence of 'pseudo-public space': space that appears to be public, but to which access is restricted. This research aims to explore and to challenge this situation. It uses an innovative combination of participative action research, civic pedagogy, and performative spatial practice to question the ways in which existing public spaces are being inhabited, and to suggest a series of resistant alternatives

The thesis explores different definitions of 'public space' and their relation to political, social and economic theory, paying particular attention to the Marxist critical literature around right to the city (Lefebvre, Harvey), and to feminist theories of identity and embodiment in the city (Butler's notions of the 'right to appear'). Methodologically, it develops a series of tactics that aim to provoke a critical attitude to existing public spaces, and to suggest alternative and more inclusive forms of publicness, drawing particular attention to the emancipatory role that contemporary universities can play.

The research methodology proceeded in three phases. Firstly, testing forms of performative intervention and constructed situations to reveal the invisible rules and power inequalities that permeate public space in Amman. Secondly, formulating a response to these findings, using a process of mediation to explore courses of action that can actively engage with the status quo and intervene to effect change. Thirdly, developing a set of local, civic pedagogical tactics with the intention of sustaining activism towards the production of a raised form of civic awareness, leading to new and more democratic forms of public space.

The research found that performative interventions could reveal alternative modes of knowledge, developed in everyday experience. This epistemology was sensitive to the significance of gender, class, and ethnicity, recognizing that different groups had very different experiences of public space. It also recognised the significance of academic institutions as mediators, uncovering their capacity to deploy resources and to act as a link between civil society institutions and the state. By the end of the research, I was able to suggest ideas for future design activism, to expand the resistant forms of practice that had emerged.

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Introduction



Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Chapter overview

This research focuses on public space in Amman, Jordan. It proposes the use of a civic pedagogic performative spatial practice to critique existing public spaces, and tests a methodology designed to reclaim and critically produce radical alternatives.

This chapter outlines the trajectory of the research, introduces some key contextual information, and justifies the need for intervention. The research questions, aims, and objectives are explained, and the methodological framework outlined. The chapter concludes with some reflections on my personal motivation and my positionality as a researcher, which have influenced the work.

1.2. Introduction

“The very design of neoliberal principles is a direct attack on democracy.”

— Chomsky (2010, p.89), *Hopes and Prospects*

“Neoliberalization has not been very effective in revitalizing global capital accumulation, but it has succeeded remarkably well in restoring, or in some cases (as in Russian and China) creating, the power of an economic elite. The theoretical utopianism of neoliberal argument has, I conclude, primarily worked as a system of justification and legitimation for whatever needed to be done to achieve this goal.”

— Harvey (2007, p. 19), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*

Though many of the world’s cities are becoming more diverse, they are also places of significant inequality, injustice, and democratic deficit amongst residents. The intensification of this since the 1970s is often described in terms of a growth of ‘neoliberalism’, a term that is notoriously slippery to define (Davies, 2014; Thorsen and Lie, 2006). One aspect on which many authors agree is that neoliberalism aims at freeing up capitalist markets, in a manner that redefines the role of the state and the public as citizens (ibid). What has often gone unnoticed is the fact that these changes also have implications for the public spatial realm, producing commodified, exclusive, de-politized, and socially polarised ‘public’ spaces, access to which is often restricted to certain demographics.

This thesis explores the way that neoliberal practice has altered the meaning of public space in the Middle Eastern context of Amman. Like almost all other major cities in the Arab region, many of which have taken Qatar and Dubai, United Emirate as role models, Amman has experienced a variety of neoliberal projects as surplus capital has flooded into the city from the Gulf. This has been accompanied by a national political agenda that has dramatically transformed more active and inclusive public spaces. The consequence is that Amman has become a socially divided city, with exclusive spaces for the upper class next to shanty neighbourhoods for the poor. This has impacted directly on everyday lived experience within the city.

This research project was necessary because there is an urgent need for more just, inclusive, and democratic public spaces worldwide. In Amman in particular, so-called 'public' space is being altered by various neoliberal policies and practices. In this thesis I argue that economic changes, combined with an authoritarian political culture that is only partially open to participation and democracy, are leading to the emergence of 'pseudo-public' spaces, i.e. spaces that appear to be open and inclusive to all, but that are really exclusive in a variety of different ways. My personal unease at this situation led me to explore the ways in which civic pedagogic performative spatial practice could function to resist the creation of pseudo-public space and instead to reclaim the city for a wider public, in a way that was more open, democratic, and accessible. My arguments about making places 'otherwise', and creating 'alternatives' to existing social, economic, and political relations, are borrowed from Escobar's (2007) article, "Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise". This piece explains how hybrid and interdisciplinary knowledge and practice can be used to produce alternative spaces of knowledge, which are capable of fostering new understandings and breeding new forms of resistance. This article formed a very strong source of inspiration for the research, and encouraged me to adopt an interdisciplinary methodology towards an 'otherwise practice'.

The research was also inspired by theory and practice that rethinks the roles of the architect, spatial practitioner, and pedagogue in a manner that draws attention to the civic responsibility of all three to develop a practice that fosters the citizens' right to the city and its spaces. This research therefore proposes the use of a hybrid civic performative pedagogical practice that can effect change in space via a three-stage process of performative intervention, mediation, and sustaining of civic practice. This aims to reveal the invisible power structures at work within the existing spatial, social and political fabric of Amman City, and to develop an alternative practice that challenges these. Such practice operates within what Lefebvre (1991) called 'lived space'; the everyday experience of the city from the perspective of its inhabitants, an experience that is structured by dialectic interactions between physical urban spaces and the social practices that produce them.

1.3. Defining the problem: 'Public' space in Amman

The Greater Amman Municipality defines 'public space' in a manner that ignores various critical issues that determine public accessibility, including social, spatial, and economic inequalities. In particular, the role of neoliberal economics in creating the conditions for severe inequalities in terms of access to space tends to be neglected. Behind this lies a further problem: the Jordanian legal system grants different degrees of citizenship and political involvement to different groups within the society, leading to a situation in which some demographics are far more socially, economically, and politically disenfranchised than others. The result of these combined pressures, I shall argue, is that 'public' spaces in the city are gradually being replaced by 'pseudo-public' ones that operationalise a distinctive set of exclusions based on gender, class, and ethnicity. Typical examples include gated, privately-owned boulevards, and malls, entered on payment of a fee, where behaviour is surveyed by cameras and policed by security guards. These commodified, highly controlled pseudo-public spaces are exclusive, securitised, and heavily policed, in ways that restrict 'public' access.

Furthermore, the remaining spaces that are notionally 'free to access' and outside of a neoliberal economic logic have been negatively impacted by the creation of wealthy and popular pseudo-public areas elsewhere. Neglect and a lack of management has turned many such areas into sites of dereliction and anti-social behaviour. Groups that are excluded from the new pseudo-public spaces elsewhere, especially the poor and single men, disproportionately frequent such spaces, leading to a more spatially divided city. 'Bad' behaviour (Al Asad, 2011) tends to dominate, including male verbal harassment of women, and class-based conflict. In some cases, the city has responded by restricting access (e.g. installing metal fencing and guards around a sports complex); in others, it has simply removed public space altogether, for example transforming it into parking lots.

This research aims to understand the impacts of pseudo-public space and to suggest a route towards an alternative, resistant practice that aims to critique neoliberal spaces and to reclaim a more authentically 'public' space. Following Rendell's (2006) call to explore possibilities that go beyond physical and architectural interventions, including art and live performance, this thesis constitutes a provocation to an alternative form of critical spatial production (Yaghi et al., 2019). Such resistant practice and transformative research require hybridity and interdisciplinarity, crossing the borders of conventional research to amalgamate varied methods and tools into an innovative and creative new approach (Rendell, 2006). The project therefore draws on a variety of sources in order to question existing spatial relations, from the Situationist International to MUF (Yaghi et al., 2019). It brings together participative action research, performative methodologies, and civic pedagogy to construct situations that draw to light previously hidden socio-spatial relations. At the base of such an endeavour is a concern for the right to the city, and a desire to intervene in a transformative way to support a more inclusive form of publicness.

1.4. Research context

The reasons for selecting Amman as the test site for this research are numerous. Bordered by Syria to the north, Iraq to the North-East, Saudi Arabia to the south and east, and Palestine to the west, Jordan has been a safe haven for refugees from many Arab countries since 1948. The World Bank estimated the 2017 population in Jordan to be 9,912,583. In 1948, the population of Amman suddenly doubled after an influx wave of Palestinian refugees throughout the 1947-49 Israeli-Palestinian War. The refugee population further increased after the 1967 Israeli-Palestinian war, and the 1990 Gulf war (Potter et al., 2009). The 2003 war on Iraq and ongoing turmoil subsequent led to the displacement of large numbers of Iraqis to Jordan, while the prolonged Syrian crisis since 2011 has displaced thousands of Syrians to Jordan. Very large populations of Jordanian-Palestinians, Iraqis, and Syrians now reside in Amman, making the city very culturally diverse, but leading to problems of overcrowding and a consequent collapse in infrastructure, which have fomented social divisions. The situation is made considerably worse by the fact that a series of political decisions have been taken that restrict access to the public realm and political sphere for refugee groups, intensifying existing both social and spatial inequality. These overt social and spatial divisions, combined with a type of local and national governance

that does not allow a great deal of space for democratic questioning, made Amman an interesting locus for research on challenges to power relations in public space.

As previously discussed, parts of Amman have also undergone significant neoliberalisation, which has created 'pseudo-public' spaces that appear to be freely accessible, but are actually exclusive and quite heavily policed. These spaces are often highly commodified sites for shopping and leisure by the city's wealthier groups. The pull that they exert on the social fabric has affected less commodified and exclusive spaces, changing their composition and use. Amman thus offers a range of very different types of public space that sharply contrast with one another, allowing performative interventions to be tested in a variety of different, but interlinked contexts.

Finally, the education system in Jordan is often used not to produce critical citizens, but to extend governmental control. Critical practice therefore carries a particular charge in such an atmosphere, by virtue of its absence from conventional classrooms. Part of the objective of the research was to produce institutional links that were capable of challenging this, encouraging university staff in particular to develop a more critical and practice civic pedagogic approach. Ideas of the 'civic university' became particularly important in the second phase of the research (focused on mediation), raising questions about the role of architecture educators as agents for liberation and change.

As previously mentioned, the research fell into three phases. Firstly, performative **interventions** were used to reveal invisible power relations at work in the production of public space in the city. This allowed the collection of residents' narratives about the problems and advantages of existing public and pseudo-public spaces. These were analysed in the light of contemporary social, political, and spatial theory, to develop a framework for understanding the ways in which public space operated, and the factors that affected access and use. Secondly, this data became the foundation of a process of **mediation**, working with spatial experts and activists with local knowledge and influence, to group individual problems into threads, and to discuss potential solutions to these. At this stage, I not only explored the relative success or failure of the performative interventions used in the first stage, but placed the findings in the light of wider, theoretically-informed understandings of inequality in the city, with a view to analysing the challenges and potentials in the existing situation. Out of those findings, the research suggested further actions for the future, with the aim of **sustaining** and supporting the early practices of questioning and reclaiming that the performative interventions had produced. The framework thus aimed to investigate existing power relations, and to suggest productive ways to challenge these, all via the lens of a performative pedagogy aligned to civic objectives. As such, it brought together a range of different actors, including academics, activists, NGO representatives, and artists, to establish a platform for future questioning practice. As a whole, the three stages of the research address a series of gaps: between social groups that are spatially segregated, between the realms of architectural education and the socially unequal spaces of the city; between the citizenry of the city and the political and structural forms of governance that rule Amman.

1.5. Research question, aims and scope

As Jane Rendell (2006) has argued, it is necessary to deploy a range of mixed methodologies to critique and to question current spatial practice, very much including those associated with art. The research therefore deliberately cultivated interdisciplinarity, drawing inspiration from art and architectural practice, as well as democratic and spatial theory in order to investigate the central research question: **“How can civic pedagogical and performative spatial practices critique, re-claim existing public spaces, and critically produce resistant alternatives, in Amman?”**

Five subsequent questions were explored in this research to achieve this overarching aim:

- What are the key theories that define the notion of public space with its social, political and urban rights relations?
- What are the key problems and issues within Amman’s existing public spaces?
- How can theory and practice from performative intervention and civic pedagogy be used to redefine, reclaim, and critically produce alternative publicness in Amman?
- Can mediation between different actors in the city be used to understand public space in Amman, and can institutional partnerships in particular be used to build resistance to pseudo-public space?
- Can pedagogic tactics play a role in sustaining Amman’s public spaces, critically producing an alternative publicness?

The main aim of this study is to develop and test an alternative practice that is capable of rethinking and reclaiming authentic public space in Amman. This key research aim will be addressed through the following objectives:

1. To identify the key theories that inform notions of public space, with particular attention to social, political and economic relations
2. To explore, at an empirical level, different levels of access to public spaces in Amman
3. To test forms of performative intervention that question, reclaim, and critically produce public spaces in Amman.
4. To foster mediation processes between different experts and social institutions, in order to build capacity and plan actions and interventions with the wider community to remedy the problems that currently exist within Amman’s public spaces.
5. To explore and envision the role of pedagogy in sustaining or changing public space dynamics.

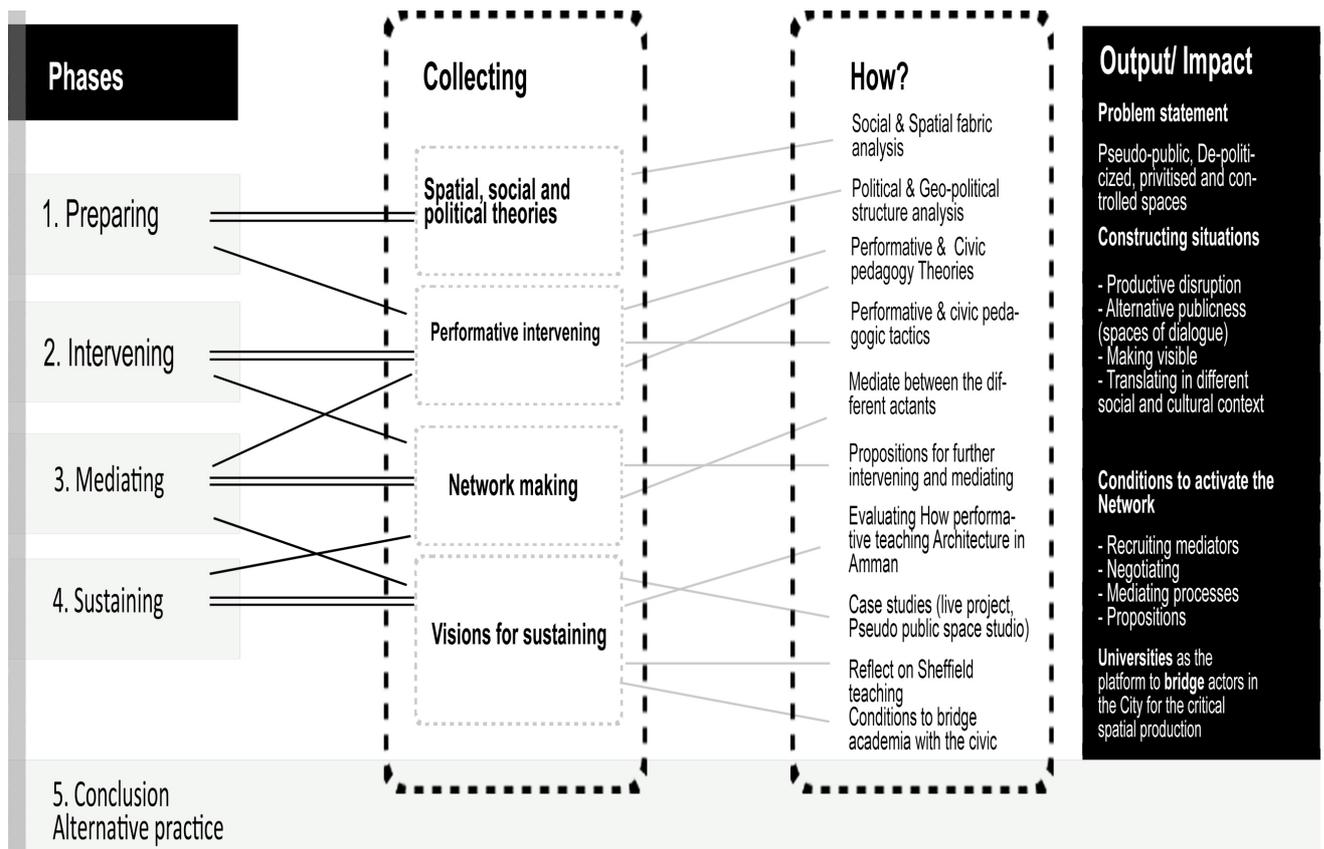


Figure 1.0. The conceptual framework for this research, showing the three phases and their outcomes and impact

As shown in Figure 1.0 this research engages extensively with social, political, and spatial theories to understand the empirical factors at work in Amman’s public spaces. This broad and interdisciplinary understanding is necessary to ground an alternative mode of practice based on civic pedagogy and performative interventions. It is only by understanding the particular dynamics at work in the public spaces of the city that it is possible to trace the challenges and potentialities within its processes. As the research developed, the potential of mediation as a type of intervention became clearer, and in the latter phases of the project, the research sought to build a network and work collectively with different actors, such as academic, activists, NGO representatives, and others, establishing a platform for civic intervention to promote the right to the city and to public space in particular. The research envisions to sustain these initiatives in my future career, deepening my engagement and developing new practices that can highlight the need for a truly inclusive form of public space.

1.6. The conceptual framing terminologies

It is necessary here to clarify exactly what is meant by intervening, mediating, and sustaining

Intervening: to intervene is usually defined as to “take part in something so as to prevent or alter a result or course of events” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019). Intervention within urban practice refers to endeavours to change the various social, political, and cultural

determinants of space. Influential examples include the Situationist movement (1957) in France, and the Fluxus movement (1963) in the United States. The Situationist International group in particular uses interventions as a critical tool in the investigation of everyday experiences, with a view to questioning, challenging, and resisting capitalist society. Their interventions aimed to provoke residents to engage in exploring their city: "...let the citizens themselves decide what spaces and architecture they want to live in and how they wish to live in them" (Sadler, 1999, p. 1). Their revolutionary approach thus challenged the perceived, top-down power structures of the state, empowering ordinary citizens to act, armed with nothing more than their everyday experience.

Inspired by and rooted in the ideology and practice of the Situationist International, this research aims to construct situations that provoke the ordinary inhabitants of Amman to question existing socio-spatial relations with a view to promoting their right to the city. The aim is therefore to empower and engage people to assert their urban rights. Various types of intervention were investigated, and placed into a taxonomy of four categories: performative, social, political, and spatial interventions. Of particular interest was a class of **performative and spatial** types of intervention, which engaged in site-specific types of participatory performance. Notable examples are Allan Kaprow's 'happenings' events and Leipzig's Radio Ballet project. Other examples that influenced this project are Maurizio Cattelan's Stadium in Italy; the Atelier d'architecture autogérée practice by Petrescu and Petcou in Paris; and Raumlabor Berlin with their construction of the Floating University and the Balloon Pavilion project.

'Intervention' also refers to artistic and poetic practice and to social and political forms of protest. These types of resistance reveal the invisible phenomena that exist within public spaces and their imbrication in power relations. One notable and very interesting example of this is the Surveillance Camera Players group led by Bill Brown in the United States, which opposes and resists the use of surveillance cameras in public spaces. Furthermore, performative interventions of this type aim to be socially transformative, constructing and reperforming situations to catalyse social change. By provoking the public to question relations that they do not ordinarily reflect upon, their aim to produce a heightened engagement with public space, raising awareness of urban rights and the need to recognise bodies and identities excluded by existing socio-political and spatial relations.

Mediating: According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2019), a mediator can be defined as "a person who attempts to make people involved in a conflict come to an agreement; a go-between". Leading on from this, Latour (2005, p.128) describes a network as a "string of actions where each participant is treated as a full-blown mediator". Latour's (2005) notion of mediators as actors who constantly construct relations in a way that can activate other actors, opening up new possibilities, usefully deconstructs the boundary between the object and subject because things as well as people can exercise a mediating function. This research terms the 'forms of performative interventions' as actors and mediators that are constantly constructing relations. Several competing definitions of mediation exist within urban studies, but Pearce and Stubbs (2000, p. 1338) emphasise a "voluntary and confidential dispute-resolution process which relies on an independent facilitator/neutral evaluator (the mediator) who assists the disputing parties in reaching their own negotiated outcome". In this dissertation, the term 'mediation' is used in a broad sense that covers the

tools, processes, and tactics used to negotiate a series of different attitudes and issues emerging from the first phase of the research. The aim was to take specific urban disputes and analyse them with a group of experts, with a view not only to producing workable solutions, but to developing a network of actors who could continue and negotiate to contribute to the production of change in future. In other words, the mediation produced not only analysis of the findings, but a number of channels for advocacy of change. This was strengthened by the fact that several of the expert mediators held powerful institutional positions, and were thus well-positioned to effect change within the city.

Sustaining: this term has been differently used across various disciplines and contexts, though all are rooted in a broad and generally accepted definition of the term which means the provision of 'physical or mental strength or support' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019). In the context of this research, that which is sustained are the various processes and tactics that maintain alternative practices, envisioning and opening up new possibilities for the urban future. The aim is therefore to propose an innovative set of civic pedagogical tools, tactics, and strategies that can be used in future to support and expand the process of critically producing alternative public space in a manner that draws the public's attention towards urban rights while responding to the specific conditions pertaining within the context of Amman (socially, culturally, and politically). As the third phase of research, it synthesises findings from the intervening and the mediating processes with a view to the future.

1.7. Positionality

This PhD proposes the use of pedagogical performative spatial practice to rethink, reclaim, and produce resistant public spaces in Amman, Jordan. As a Jordanian, who defines himself as Ammani, I am familiar with the social and cultural context of my home city, and have been motivated by the inequalities I have directly witnessed to become a catalyst for positive change. Although I tested my research methods over several contexts during my research, my primary focus remained the achievement of change in Amman. The aim of this research is to open up debates and discussions about so called 'public' spaces, proposing an alternative performative practice that provokes people to become involved in the coproduction of an alternative sense of publicness. I am therefore against the belief that architectural research/practice functions as a method of physical 'problem solving', instead defining it as an ongoing form of negotiation that opens new possibilities. The decision to achieve this within an academic context emerged from my personal belief that pedagogy can be a significant instrument for change. I intend to pursue the findings of this research in my future career as an architecture academic within a Jordanian university.

My theoretical approach combines insights from a variety of disciplines, which include social, spatial, and political theory, as well as inspiration from performative spatial practice conducted by artists and architects. As a qualified architect and urban designer, my work experience in both Jordan and Dubai prepared me to integrate practical and conceptual approaches to public space, and gave me a valuable insight into the ways that commercial interests have been able to colonize formerly 'public' spaces, making them less equal and more exclusive. This, in turn, led me to 'right to the city' theories, which are the bedrock of this research. I have always thought of cities more as places of unfolding life, rather than as

static containers filled with high-rise buildings, asphalt streets, and traffic, and this naturally drew me to the work of Lefebvre and the role of lived experience in the production of space.

The theoretical framework used to conduct this research responds to two main challenges: the spatial practices implemented by contemporary cities and the political policies surrounding this. The research focuses on how spaces are produced through performance: it uses performative spatial practice to **intervene** and uncover the diverse factors leading to inequality and social exclusion in Amman (unfair citizenship policies, uneven distribution of resources, successive influxes of impoverished refugees). These factors can result in class- and ethnically-based inequality by income, which affect the accessibility of high quality education, health care, leisure spaces, and services to large groups within the population. For instance, refugees with lower incomes, have less access to the public realm of healthcare and education, as well as to the political sphere.

Gender-based inequality is also a significant factor in public spaces' dynamic, as Jordanian women are often prevented from participating in political or social activities in certain contexts. This emerged during the **mediation** phase of the research, as female experts spoke out about the ways in which gender restricted their access to certain spaces. Feminist theory became an important lens to understand the intersectional concerns in play: the economically deprived status of certain groups contributed to street harassment in some public spaces. Feminist theory became an important lens through which to understand these relations, contributing also to the final phase of **sustaining** the research methodology into the future.

1.8. Research potential significance

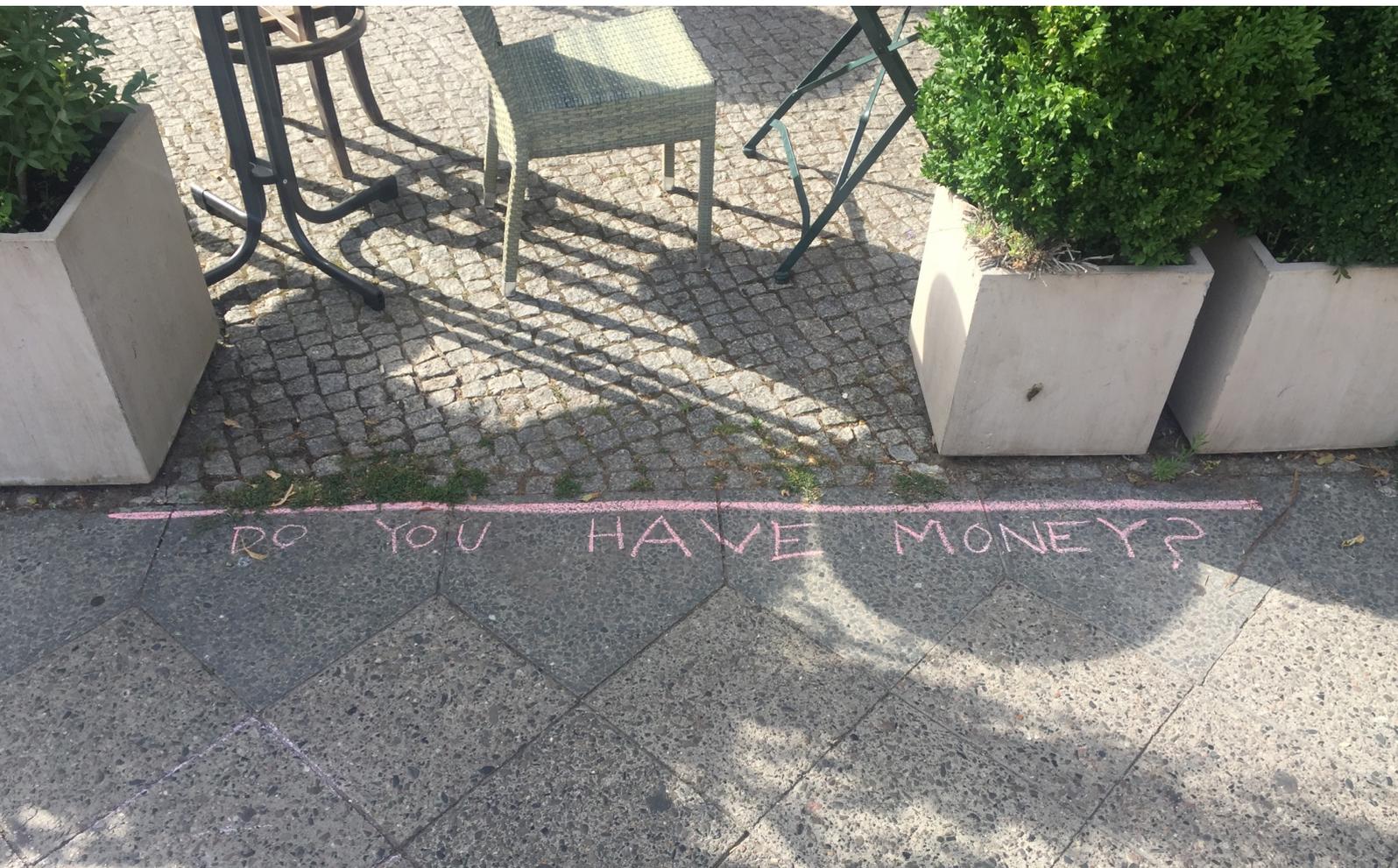
Conducting a piece of practice-led research, which aimed to empower residents to critique existing spaces and to produce alternatives in Amman, turned participants of this project into co-producers of knowledge, which was then tested in the very different contexts of Sheffield, UK and Berlin, Germany. The study's objective is to produce a direct and positive impact on these participants, enhancing the capacity for resistance in the city and developing a platform of resistant performative practice which can continue into the future. Findings have also been disseminated in workshops, conferences, and my own pedagogic practice, encouraging new activists to emerge and to deploy similar interventions to campaign for the right to the city spaces. It has also instigated a sharp critique of existing public space, particularly the ways in which it is performed through our everyday practices, controlled and regulated by the state and the private realm. Much existing architectural practice has failed to engage with these issues, or with the life experience of poorer residents more generally.

In intellectual terms, the study adds to a growing body of literature on spatial practices and education within the Arab region. However, it is innovative in the methodology it deploys, which is very different to the technocratic and crudely physical lens adopted in much other work. Lived space, and its relationship to political context especially, tend to be overlooked, perhaps a consequence of the fact that architectural educational practice within Jordanian

universities tends not to focus on socio-spatial or socio-political relations. My aim was therefore to provide a Jordanian example of a global trend away from an emphasis on architecture as a spatially static and design-led discipline, towards a view of it as a powerful performative engine that can be used to critique existing spatial practices. In a way, making spatial practice more critical means shifting attention away from space as something that can be isolated from other socio-political factors.

One clear challenge of this work was initiating such practice within the relatively authoritarian political context of Jordan. Emerging neoliberal practices in the country have neither diluted its controlling form of governance, nor led to a spread of more democratic and tolerant ideas. Resisting within such a context requires extensive research in order to produce poetic tactics that can deal with the existing challenges safely, which sometimes means slightly obliquely. As Rojas explains, such an approach allows different narratives to be brought into contact: it “allows the marginalized to reveal their own interpretation, and opens space for accommodation, contradiction, and resistance” (Rojas, 2007, p.585). As I explain in subsequent chapters, merely hearing these voices allows power structures, and concealed inequalities, to be seen. In other words, this practice-led research presents a potential approach towards an alternative practice that resists and challenges the status quo using civic and performative tactics together informing and forging insights for pedagogical curricula programme, while engaging directly with the experience of lived spaces. In other words, it provides a democratic space for the coproduction of knowledge.

Defining and re-defining the so called
'public' space



Chapter Two: Defining and re-defining the so called ‘public’ space

2.1. Chapter overview

This chapter aims to illustrate the complexity of defining ‘public’ space. It traces the literature surrounding ‘public’ space, and offers a critical discussion of the political ways in which such spaces are performed. It then moves on to survey theories of alternative spatial practice, notably performance, performativity, and the city, before outlining how spaces are performed. Finally, it sets an innovative framework to redefine and critically produce ‘public spaces’ for the future. This chapter proposes a theoretical framework to analyse how Amman’s city spaces are performed, in order to begin to grapple with the question of how they can be redefined.

2.2. Introduction to the theoretical framework

This thesis aims to promote alternative modes of practice and engagement with different actors and agencies. As mentioned in the overview, this chapter focuses on the core theoretical framework which supports the enquiry within this study. The chapter starts by tracing the key theories and debates around the complex concept of public space, and its relationship to the social and political right to the city. It investigates key issues in order to identify how spaces in the city are currently inhabited and performed, and suggests routes to create alternative forms of public space via performative interventions and civic pedagogy.

The theoretical framework, that this research deploys, is a hybrid one. It draws on the work of postcolonial scholars such as Homi Bhabha (2006) and Edward Said (2003), to understand the ways in which public spaces have changed, and to suggest alternative, bottom-up approaches to redefine it. Hybridity here involves a mixing of both concepts and cultures, as Aas (2013, p. 235). notes: “hybridity refers principally to the process of creation of mixed phenomena, such as hybrid cultures and identities”. As such, it is always produced and reproduced, constructed and reconstructed (Bhabha, 2006). In particular, I seek to unite three strands of thought: a Marxist literature revolving around the twin notions of the “right to the city” and the idea that space is produced; a series of ideas about performativity and the right to appear within public space; and a critical pedagogy that focuses on the emancipatory role that universities can play in the redefinition of spaces. The hybridity of this approach means that I am able to deal with the highly contested, controlled, and complex concept of public space on one hand, but also to suggest lines of flight in the shape of revolutionary moments and trends within the Arab region on the other hand. Since the Arab Spring, there has been a renewed intensity of focus on publicness amongst members of the public and spatial scholars alike, who are seeking to pursue initiatives and practices to reclaim the city. This work forms part of this wider emergence of new interventions and pedagogies that explore and investigate alternatives forms of public space.

Building on the research of Soja (1980), I see the production of space occurring in a socio-spatial dialectic, where spaces play an active rather than a passive role (see section 2.5). Public space, as a notion, can be redefined as the medium for contestations and negotiations. Within the Arabic region, the context of the public sphere has been changing rapidly in the past decade, with city spaces in flux. Since the beginning of the Arab Spring, challenges to current, top-down structures have become more visible in something amounting to an urban political revolution. Cities like Cairo, for instance, have experienced an extraordinary degree of flux, and a breakdown of conventional forms of structural control, including that of the police (Nagati and Stryker, 2013). The community and social bodies have begun to reappropriate actions and spaces, in order to promote their rights (ibid). Acts that reclaim space and reengage citizens in the city have been manifested in many different forms, such as graffiti, street vending, and the building of structures outside of state control (ibid). Most notably, in Tahrir Square, Cairo, during the '25th of January' revolution, public spaces were contested, renegotiated, and redefined. New frameworks of reference emerged that challenged religious, cultural, and social mores (Stadnicki, 2014). Furthermore, art became the core manifestation of the visibility of the revolution, with artists, activists, and even members of the public performing freely in public space, without the need for permits. While some argue that these new spaces lacked regulation and systematic practices to organize them (Julier, 2013), it is also possible to argue that these new activities had their own internal norms, regulations, and forms of governance. Though these performative freedoms were not long-lasting, they illustrate an emancipatory potential for art in the Arab city (Nagati and Stryker, 2013).

Many Arab cities are characterized by a divide between the state's vision of place, and the reality. In official, governmental terms, cities across the Arabic region are taking Dubai and Qatar as their future models, rather than focusing on the realities of more specific social needs and practices, and the accommodation of urban informality. A clear manifestation is the definition of public space according to the state version in Amman as: "both active and passive open space' including "'Green Areas" that contain canopy trees and seating areas rather than physical development. Open space includes parks, sports fields, buffer strips, public gardens/landscaping, and cultural heritage sites and corridors." (GAM cited in Aljafari, 2014). This struggle is manifested in conflicts over public space: between state and capital-driven forms of control on the one hand and a desire to reconstitute, reclaim, and re-appropriate space in the name of a wider publicness on the other (See section 3.5). Therefore, my theoretical framework focuses on defining different types of public space in terms of their social, political, and cultural relations, paying particular attention to exclusion, visibility, and the right to the city. In so doing, I seek to move beyond a physical conceptualisation of space, towards a power-laden and relational concept in which architecture functions as a space for redefinition and challenge.

2.3. The production of our spaces, citizenship and politics

"Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody." — Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1994)

Public spaces have always a significant political, economic, and social role, from Ancient Egypt to Greek and Roman Italian piazzas of the Renaissance, to the Paris boulevards of Haussmann, to Tahrir Square in Egypt. Nowadays, public spaces can enhance a sense of attachment towards place, develop civic identity, and become loci for the celebration of cultural diversity (Thompson, 2002).

It is important briefly to trace public space back to its origins in Ancient Greece. ‘Polis’, the politicised ancient Greek city model, is arguably the most innovative concept that western culture ever created (Dillon, 2013). It refers not merely to a place but to a form of citizenship, a ‘city-state’ (Benhabib, 1992). Government was by a select group of citizens, who had sufficient power and authority to rule (by comparison, the later Roman ‘Urbs’ model was more inclusive, as the process of planning and building of the city was more open for public participation) (ibid). Figure 2.0 compares Greek and Roman models of city planning, drawing attention to the relationship between politics, architecture and power in the production of public space in the city.

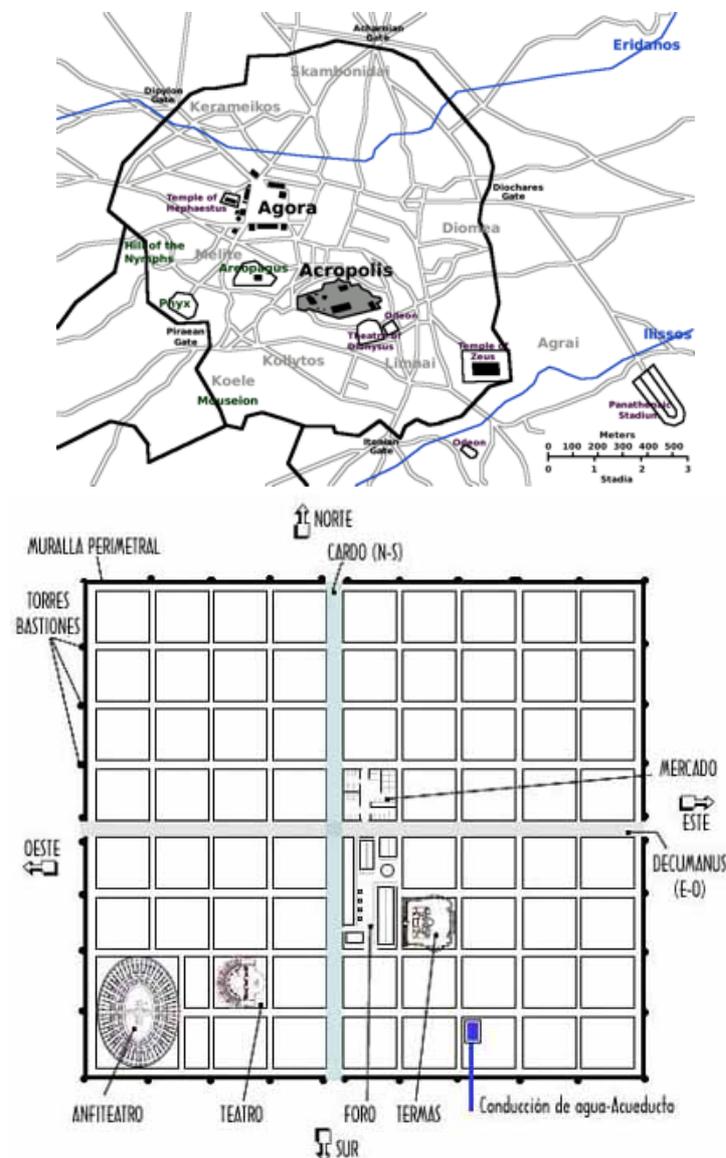


Figure 2.0. Top: the Greek model Polis (Benjamin, 2015). Bottom: the Roman model Urbs (Urban Roman Architecture: Cities, n.d.).

Defining 'public space' is complex and difficult, and there are several schools of thought with slightly different approaches. The first set of definitions focus on openness, arguing that public space comprises a plot of land and water that is not completely covered by built blocks (Gold, 1980), and which includes open spaces, parks, streets, and squares designed to shape the city's character and offer a better quality of life (Lynch, 1960). Tankel (1963) argues for the qualitative importance of openness, light, and space in defining a public space, but Cranz (1982) takes a narrower view, considering only the wide-open areas within a city as public spaces. Lynch (1981) identifies certain forms of hard and soft landscaping as a key element, pointing to the construction of squares, plazas, local and regional parks, and playgrounds.

Gehl (1987) adds to these definitions by focusing on the social aspects of public space, and particularly the sensory richness of such places as they appeal to senses of smell, hearing, and touch as well as sight. He describes the public space as an area that allows various essential and optional activities to occur, from the daily routine of waiting for a bus to work or walking to school, to more informal activities like sunbathing, sitting, standing, and walking for leisure. Gehl's contribution is valuable because it draws attention to the sensory-vision and kinaesthetic aspects of space, as well as to qualitatively different forms of use. His work is supplemented by that of Madanipour (2003), who defines public space as the locus of 'intense social interaction'. Collins and Shantz (2009) suggest a more political dimension: public space, in their view, provides a location where people can express their political opinions to the whole society.

However, it is essential to consider how terms connected with public space relate to a wider set of concepts about other forms of publicness. The term 'public realm' is used to refer to both public space and, more widely, to the state's sphere of public authority, including government, state institutions, and workers (Hoskyns, 2014). The 'public realm', on the one hand, tends to have stronger spatial connotations. On the other hand, one of the most theoretically developed conceptualisations of the public sphere is that of German philosopher, Jürgen Habermas (1962). He defined it in opposition to both the private sphere of the individual, family and daily life, and the realm of the state, as the space in which "private people come together as a public". The development of the public sphere is closely identified by Habermas with the rise in the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries of an increasingly powerful European bourgeoisie, who were excluded from the oligarchical elite who ran the state. Importantly, this bourgeois public sphere engaged in critical discussion and debate on political matters, stimulated by the new need to regulate the private (but publicly significant) realm of commerce. Speaking about the 'bourgeois public sphere', Habermas clearly asserts that it is a class-related and ideological construct. However, it allowed the emergence of a form of politicised public opinion, with the confidence to criticise the functioning of the state and to articulate a new series of rights.

Habermas's work points to the need to consider aspects of publicness that extend beyond the spatial realm, drawing attention to the cultural features that enable a new public to form and to begin to articulate its demands for political expression, and an active form of citizenship that included the right to participate in civic life (Németh, 2012). Its archetypal spatial form, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was that of the London coffee house, where the bourgeoisie (mostly male) would gather to discuss the latest news and

controversies, their discussions stimulated by the development of the print media and the wider circulation of newspapers. These private spaces for public and political discussion allowed a new sense of belonging to a more democratic political public to emerge, and I shall return to this notion in my discussions and analysis of Amman in the 1960s and 1970s, as investigated further in Chapter three, where political salons played a pivotal role in developing a sense of belonging to a public that had the right to discuss political issues (Daher, 2011).

Following Habermas's lead, Miles (2006) refers to the public sphere as "the realm where members of a democratic society determine the shape and values of that society" (Hoskyns, 2014, p.4). Hoskyns (2014) agrees that it constitutes the "political realm of social life". However, there is considerable disagreement on the question of how public spheres are actually produced, raising the question of the role of space within these. For Habermas, they form when private individuals come together, as part of civil society outside the state. The role of these private individuals is to mediate between the state and society (Habermas, 1992). More socialist interpretations, however, see the public sphere emerging from a collective and democratic polity (Hoskyns, 2014). Interestingly, both notions recommend and suggest a separation between the democratic world of the public sphere and a wider public realm (ibid). Carmona (2010) endeavours to bridge this gap with the concept of 'democratic public realm ideology', where the public realm is pictured as having a spatial foundation that allows citizens to engage in socio-political activities, effectively spatializing more discursive ideas of the public sphere. Others also highlight the need to connect the democratic sphere of public discussion to public spaces that can give it physical and spatial form: Johnson and Miles (2014, p.1894) argue the need for "static spaces that are accessible to all, and other publicly owned and managed outdoor areas".

This need to link different types of publicness in space raises questions of accessibility. This can be quite literal: if public spaces are to embody and promote social equality, they need to be easily reachable from a user's/resident's home or workplace (Talen, 2002). Carmona et al. (2010, p.137) points out that the UK government prefers to define public space not in terms of its equality, but in terms of accessibility:

"all those parts of the built and natural environment where the public have free access. It encompasses: all the streets, squares and other rights of way, whether predominantly in residential, commercial or community/civic uses; the open spaces and parks; and the "public/private" spaces where public access is unrestricted (at least during daylight hours). It includes the interfaces with key internal and private spaces to which the public normally has free access."

However, such definitions are significantly complicated by the fact that privately owned or managed spaces can also allow public access. Are these also 'public spaces', in the same sense as a publicly-owned town square? Low and Smith argue (2006) that privatisation shifts the definition of public space, potentially leading to confusion over what is public space and what is not, with a negative impact on citizens' access to the 'public realm'. Gieseeking et al. (2014) disagree, arguing that public and private spaces have different and complex layers of access that overlap and intersect.

As this might suggest, definitions of public space have shifted with the onset of neoliberalism. Hoskyns (2014) emphasised how neoliberal practices and policies have tended to replace more democratic methods of controlling and managing the public realm with rules and regulations similar to those of the private realm (Yaghi et al., 2019). The emphasis on openness and accessibility has shifted commensurately, towards forms of power and control (from surveillance to legislation) over the way that citizens behave and perform in public. It could therefore be argued that, in many of the world's leading neoliberal cities, true or ideal 'public' space no longer exists and that a combination of representative democracy and neoliberal regulation is simply producing depoliticised spaces, instead of places where citizenship and political engagement can be performed (ibid). The potential of private space systematically to exclude certain groups is high: there is evidence that surveillance and securitization are used, for example, to exclude the homeless, and to control other users' access and behaviour (Németh and Schmidt, 2011; Koskela, 2000).

From a Marxist perspective, the development of pseudo-public space represents an act of enclosure: a formerly public realm has been taken over by capital, to promote its own ends. Such measures enable the intensification of consumer activity in such a space, adding significant degrees of control and exploitation in a 'leisure' space to those already experienced by the working classes at the site of production. This control is, paradoxically, the outworking of neoliberalism with its focus on freedom of the market and the deregulation of trade in the name of efficiency (Nawratek, 2015): the spatial outworkings of this ideology appear to involve the contraction of free access for all citizens (with entry predicated on a certain kind of spending power that is more likely to belong to dominant cultural groups), and the passage of spaces that would formerly have functioned as a kind of commons into private ownership (Carmona et al., 2010, p.137). As this thesis will argue, these processes have altered the meaning of public space in Amman, Jordan, dropping democratic participation in public space, increasing segregation along lines of income, and bolstering the power of private corporations (See Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1. The features of neoliberalism in Amman, Jordan (Al-Abdali Project Website, 2015).

Questions of accessibility can also refer to wider and less obvious influences on space, such as social relations and modes of production. Lefebvre is a key theorist in this area, with his influential formulation of space not as a static place for human activity, but as a dynamic force that reflects modes of production and enables people to produce, reproduce, and shape their environment: “Every society- and hence every mode of production with its subvariants [...] -produces a space, its own space” (Lefebvre, 1991, p.31). Lefebvre proposed that space be treated as a ‘conceptual triad’, comprising the physical, mental, and social ways in which it is perceived, conceived, and lived (Lefebvre, 1991). Firstly, perceived space refers to the way that a physical space is produced and reproduced (or appropriated) through social practices and relations that are shared, and that help to ensure a cohesive sense of community (Elden, 2006). Secondly, conceived space refers to the representation of space, and the ways that it is imagined and produced by experts (architects, urban planners, artists, etc.), usually in a way that deracinates and depopulates it. Mechanisms of spatial control, even manipulation, are used to influence those who will use the space in everyday life. Thirdly, lived space refers to space as it is experienced and reproduced in a quotidian fashion, in a dialectic of physical relations and social practices (Lefebvre, 1991). The framework allows Lefebvre to describe the powerful force of capitalist practices in producing and re-producing inequalities in space and society, but also to suggest that the top-down methods of conceived space could be replaced by community-led practices (the perceived or lived) that empower ordinary people to participate.

Another important concept in Lefebvre’s work is that of ‘third space’, which can be seen as a spatial hybrid. As Bhabha (2006) has argued, hybridity allows a space for thinking

otherwise, in opposition to dominant ideas. Lefebvre's third space is a space in-between two cultures, that is simultaneously spatial and social in nature. Spatial practitioners often define spaces in terms of cultural presuppositions, rather than engaging with the notion of hybridity, advocating an international, multicultural and diverse type of space in a manner that prioritises a Western epistemology, rather than one which truly respects types of difference. As Bhabha explains: "Cultural diversity is an epistemological object—culture as an object of empirical knowledge—whereas cultural difference is the process of the enunciation of culture as "knowledgeable," authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification" (Bhabha, 2004, p.34). Such ideas are bound up with ideas of the nation, and the state's definition of who 'belongs' to a particular country: "People are not representative of the nation but represented by the national narratives in ways that are beneficial for the cohesion, prosperity and governance of the nation" (Bhabha, 2004, p.140). In architecture, this distinction is recognised by the work of Rahul Mehrotra, who differentiates between the kinetic and the static city: "The processions, festivals, street vendors and dwellers, all result in an ever transforming streetscape – a city in constant motion whose very physical fabric is characterised by this kinetic quality." (Hernández et al., 2012, p. xi).

Carmona et al. (2010) describe the public realm as a multi-layered entity, with intertwined physical, governmental, and social aspects, which can encompass both publicly- and privately-owned spaces. The authors point to the role such spaces play in generating interaction between the people who live and move within them, describing them as a "socio-cultural public realm", and arguing that they play an important role in facilitating interaction and fostering social cohesion (ibid., p. 137). Similarly, in their discussion of Newman's defensible space theory (1972), Marcus and Francis (1998) point to the complexity of public space as a concept. They describe four categories of space: public, semi-public, semi-private, and private, but also argue that there can be significant confusion over what qualifies as public space and what does not, potentially affecting a citizens' access to the public realm, which can result in social polarisation and inequalities. As Yaghi (2017) points out, there is significant geographical variation in access to the public realm from one city to the next.

Another important concept, when defining 'public space' is that of the 'right to the city', first formulated by French philosopher, Henri Lefebvre, as a way of capturing the moral claim that citizens possess over the right to inhabit, access, and re-appropriate urban space, as opposed to it becoming the exclusive preserve of the owners of capital (Marcuse, 2009). David Harvey (2003) has used Lefebvre's concept to argue further that "the right to the city is about claiming collective community power to shape and reshape our cities as a form of commons" that exists above beyond any individual's personal resources (Yaghi et al, 2019). Importantly, this right extends beyond a collective ownership of public space, information, and services to express the right of each inhabitants, regardless of background, to participate entirely in everyday urban life (Marcuse, 2009, p.193). It could be argued, therefore, that "'right to the city' arguments constitute a social justice platform around a moral claim to participate in urban life, and a stance against economic, social or political agendas that estrange or alienate particular groups" (Yaghi et al, 2019).

David Harvey (2003) argues that social exclusion from aspects of urban life tends to occur as a result of capitalism, particularly the way in which urbanisation tends to be linked to precarious waged labour, which tends to have little control over the economic system of the city. In his lecture, "The right to the city and urban resistance" (2015), Harvey traces the spatial form of this exclusion back at least as far as nineteenth century Paris, where the crisis of 1848 precipitated a new form of urban planning which made resistance more difficult and which removed the working class to a position outside of the city centre. This was the first of several successive waves of economic displacement, whereby those on lower incomes gradually lost their foothold on the city centres, as mortgage and rental values rose to an exclusionary point (Harvey, 2015) (Smith, 1996, p12). For Harvey, this is the spatial out-workings of a system of social polarisation that starts with the exploitation of labour, reinforcing a pattern of inequality, whereby the wealthy become richer and the poor poorer (Tasan-Kok et al, 2015), which can ultimately hollow out the middle classes in society altogether (ibid.). Other identity groups who tend to experience systemic economic disadvantage (for example on the grounds of race or gender) also lose out.

'Right to the city' scholarship draws valuable attention to the economically inflected struggle for space in our contemporary cities, pointing to the influence of power differentials over access to this spatial commons. For this reason, Van Deusen (2002, p. 150) describes public space as a 'space of conflict', where people negotiate the control and reproduction of space, as well as access to political and spatial representation, and the rectification of injustices. There are two main schools of response to this idea that conflict is a constitutive feature of the urban, as Nawratek has outlined in 'Radical Inclusivity, Architecture and Urbanism' (2015). The first is associated with neoliberal or post-political technocracy, where ideology dictates that conflict is seen in a negative light, because such societies consider inequalities to be 'natural' and therefore something that people should accept (Nawratek, 2015, p. 9). The second approach celebrates conflict as an equally natural outworking of political and spatial pluralism, drawing on Schmitt to tease out the connections between spatially fragmented cities (gated communities, private streets) and political disagreements over the role of society, economics, and urban space. For Nawratek, both approaches are misguided, tending to naturalise and essentialise about society, rather than empowering communities to have control over the spaces they inhabit. The solution, he argues, is to develop a radically inclusive architecture as 'a programme of revolutionary change aiming to free the architecture form the clutches of the neoliberal paradigm and the logic of short-term profit' (Nawratek, 2015, p.22).

Nawratek and Harvey agree that the right to the city makes a claim for a right to life with minimum dignity. For many poorer residents, this means a claim over property, such that they are not evicted from areas of rising land and property value. In recent years, the additional factor of national citizenship has been added to the economic basis of Lefebvre's argument, as the rights of refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants have come into sharper focus. Straightforward definitions of citizenship, which assumed a straightforward, Aristotelian link between those who govern and those who grasp that which is essential to a 'life of virtue' (Aristotle, 1943b, cited in Cunningham (2011)) have been shattered by a growing awareness of the plurality of demographics that make up a modern state, and the incommensurability of their interests (Young, 1989; De Carli, 2016). Yet the granting of citizenship is an increasingly contested, contingent and unstable practice (De Carli, 2016), an

'achievement' (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2011) that is increasingly imperilled by "processes of post-modernization and globalization" (Isin and Turner, 2002 cited in Yaghi et al, 2019), and by a rise of populist nationalism that often opposes freedom of movement as a threat to culture.

How is citizenship constructed, experienced and performed in spatial terms? Holston and Appadurai (1999) make a distinction between 'formal citizenship and substantive citizenship', with the former referring to a form of membership in the nation-state that confers full rights only notionally, in a manner that conceals the very different levels of access to space and political representation between different groups. By contrast, substantive citizenship refers to a situation where a full 'array of civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural rights' can be claimed (Holston and Appadurai, 1996, p.190). However, it is also important to recognise that, in conceptual terms, citizenship is conferred against an 'other', the non-citizen, who can be legally or illegally present within a society, or a denied other outside of it. Non-citizens are not only at a disadvantage when it comes to rights, but can experience a range of other detriments associated with socio-cultural discrimination (for example, forms of nationalist racism or xenophobia). This can lead to a situation where there is a radical difference between the sense of 'belonging' and 'ownership' felt by different groups over public spaces, an idea that will be explored in future chapters of this thesis in relation to Amman.

The complexity over the definition of public space, and the delimitation of rights of access, ownership, and belonging within it, is deepened by the cultural and geographical specificity of ideas about 'public space'. Cultural factors, political agendas, state policies, and social structures, all influence the way that public space is perceived and experienced. Gieseeking et al. (2014) note that public space is fluid, produced and reproduced through the meanings that people create via their everyday actions, and these meanings and movements can vary from place to place. For example, '*Al-fina*, the middle space or inbetween spaces in the Arabic traditional cities, are considered as both public and private (Nooraddin, 1998). Similarly, in India and Iran, spaces that are public at one time of day become semi-private at another: streets and markets that are public during the evening can become exclusively for the use of women during the day (Mazamdar & Mazamdar, 2001). Even inside the home, the quintessential private sphere for many European families, Indian and Iranian families may have some rooms for hosting guests and visitors that are considered to be semi-public (ibid). Therefore, when investigating spaces, one should take into account the cultural and political specificities of the context which impact the meaning of public spaces. There can also be significant variability in the way that individuals experience public and private spaces, depending on their social position and their relationship to power. As Massey has argued, public space is "experienced differently, and variously interpreted by those holding different positions as part of it" (Massey, 1994, p.3). Someone's level of comfort in a public space can be conditioned by their identity (race, gender, sexuality) as well as their level of physical ability (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2016). In other words, as Németh (2012) argues, publicness 'is always subjective'.: what is defined or deemed as public, accessible and open to a white, middle class man could be perceived very differently by a black woman. Therefore, it is important to study the politics of differences and identity and their interaction with ideas of the public sphere (see Section 2.4.1).

The previous discussion manifests the clear relations between the notion of the production of space, citizenship and politics, which can be translated in spatial terms as the complex and changing relations between public space, public realm, and public sphere. This raises questions about the ways in which spaces are regulated and performed. The role of architects and planners in opening up debates and questioning the ways in which space is produced is highlighted. The next section will explore these issues in more depth, investigating the ways in which spatial practice can be inflected with a more democratic ethos.

2.4. Performance, performativity and spatial practices

The blurred line between performance and everyday practice

"The city fosters art and is art; the city creates the theatre and is the theatre. It is in the city, the city as theatre, that man's more purposive activities are focused ... The physical organization of the city may ... through the deliberate efforts of art, politics, and education, make the drama more richly significant, as a stage-set, well-designed, intensifies and underlines the gestures of the actors and the action of the play."

– Lewis Mumford, *What Is A City?*, 1937, p. 29

"The theatre is in the street. The street belongs to the people. Free the theatre. Free the street. Begin!"

- Bradford, *The Theatre is in the Street*, 2004, p. 69

Mumford's statement draws attention to the links between the city and performance, asking us to question how the idea of urban theatre can be used to re-shape the city as a stage to express and co-produce (Yaghi, 2017). The word 'performance' is usually associated with theatre and performing arts, but has a secondary meaning in architecture research, where it is used to refer to the thermal, structural, and technical 'performance' of materials, or to describe digital or interactive design, as a kind of synonym for 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' (Rufford, 2015). The term 'performed', has been translated from an architectural humanities lens, and refers to the ways in which space is occupied, inhabited and appropriated. As Makeham (2005) has argued, good city planning should allow all citizens to co-perform in the urban drama, as both actors and audience, an idea that is gaining increased attention in the worlds of urban design, as practitioners refer to cities as providing an 'urban scene' or even an 'urban drama', and referring to urban spaces in terms of 'stages' or 'sets'. Such descriptions blur the lines between theatre and performance as cultural and political activities associated with contemporary cities, and other types of urban activity, such as demonstrations, festivals, events, site-specific works and so on.

The relationship between theatrical performance and architecture can be traced back to Ancient Greece (Rehm, 2003), where the theatre constituted a 'place of viewing', often for ritualistic performances. Ancient theatre was never just about drama, but aired political, linguistic, and philosophical issues, with the site of the performances acting as a cultural and democratic hub. Much later, in the twentieth century, the potential for theatre not just to

reflect but to change society was recognised by dramatists, including Augusto Boal, founder of the 'Theatre of the Oppressed': "Theatre is a form of knowledge: it should and can also be a means of transforming society. Theatre can help us build our future, rather than just waiting for it" (Boal, 1992, p. 31). For Boal, theatre had traditionally been used by the powerful to inculcate approved ideas and morals into a largely passive audience, but could be transformed via a range of activist techniques into a vehicle for social revolution. Boal's method placed the audience at the heart of the performance, in a position that forced them to 'act, react, interact and shape the dramatic event, rather than being spectators' (Yaghi, 2017). Theatre thus became 'the art of looking at ourselves' (Boal, 1992, p. 30), a form that could raise and challenge issues like inequality, poverty, and racism. It involved the audience in real, honest issues, and allowed them to influence outcomes, fostering discussion and promoting social engagement.

Many social movements have been trying to use Boal's methods and techniques, as Bradford has documented (2004). The idea, explored in the quotation that begins this section, that street theatre belongs to the people, and is in need of freeing from control, makes powerful connections between participation, democracy, public space, and an engaged audience. In this formulation, freeing the street means freeing the theatre means freeing the people, with performance leading naturally to a claim to urban rights in the domain of everyday life. Such a vision is very different from the enclosed world of the arts complex, where performances are restricted to specific spatial venues, and where culture plays a role in 'regeneration' and rising retail and residential property values (see, for example, the Lincoln Centre in New York or Sage Gateshead in Newcastle).

However, awareness of performance as an approach for understanding human behaviours has grown in architectural research over recent years. The publication of the volume *Architecture as a Performing Art* (2013) highlighted the significant role of the performance of our everyday practices involved in producing cities, while the work of Tschumi has asserted the dynamic relationship between the built environment and quotidian events: 'Architecture is as much about the events that take place inside buildings as it is about the building themselves' (Tschumi, cited in Rufford, 2015). This provides an alternative and revolutionary way of rethinking architecture practice in terms of processes instead of a finished product, with the space functioning as a stage where users interact (Rufford, 2015). Similarly, Mouffe (2007, p.1) defined critical art practices in terms of a pluralist politics that acknowledges multiplicity and difference: "According to the agonistic approach, critical art is art that foments dissensus, that makes visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate". Leach (2006) argues convincingly that the performance of our everyday practices allows us to become part of the environment in ways that construct our identity. Similarly, Borden (2001) explained how performing our everyday practices (such as walking, sitting, walking upstairs etc.) in spaces can transform and construct the space.

Such notions deconstruct the boundaries between the theatre and the world, the gallery space and the street, and place architecture at the heart of performance instead of figuring it as simply a container. As Rufford puts it: 'Architecture is thus one of the daily activities of the art centre and is no longer bracketed as distinct from the performance work that goes on inside it' (Rufford, 2015, p.45). It also redefines ideas of the theatre, so that performance is no longer restricted to the area behind the proscenium arch, but can happen

literally anywhere: “I can take an empty space and call it a bare stage. A man walks across this empty space whilst someone else is watching him, and this is all that is needed for an act of theatre to be engaged” (Brook, 1972, p.3). The urban, the everyday, and the performative blur into one another, with no easily definable line between reality and theatre. The politics of such practice can be socially transformative, leading participant-observers to question social rules: ‘Considering the dialectic relations between space and people actions or performances, performative interventions can help in molding spaces bringing social change’ (Yaghi, 2017).

Performativity and spatial practices

The concept of performativity can be traced back to J L Austin’s, *‘How To Do Things With Words’* (1962). Austin argued that language philosophy had focused too heavily on constative or declarative statements (utterances about the world that could be described as true or false), to the neglect of performative statements that do not have the structure or truth-value of propositional knowledge but are still meaningful, and indeed can cause things to happen or bring about a state of affairs.

There are two significant views that can enhance and support Austin’s notion. Firstly, Goffman’s concept of dramaturgical analysis, which outlines the ways in which people perform their everyday experiences as they encounter one another in face-to-face situations (Goffman, 1959). Secondly, speech act theory, John Searle’s more psychological version of Austin’s thesis, which emphasised the way that illocutionary acts do something as we speak, a classic example being pronouncing a couple man and wife in the context of a wedding (Searle, 1969). However, such approaches are heavily focused on linguistic actions, but performativity also has a strong physical and bodily dimension.

In the field of architecture, the words ‘performative’, ‘unfolding processes’, ‘operative’ and ‘events’ have become part of the vocabulary, but they have rarely been used to develop a critical spatial practice capable of questioning power relations. Mainstream contemporary architectural practice remains relatively apolitical in many cases. Prost (2011) has shown that the majority of the architectural agencies still emphasize the way buildings look in photographs and magazines, instead of the ways in which they encourage users to adapt to the spaces around them. There is even a defeatism in the field, with the notion that virtual public spaces now provide more of a viable political public space than is possible for architectural practice.

In the world of art, the situation is rather different. Visual artists have been challenging and critiquing control and power relations, land ownership and wealth using performative spatial practices since the late 1960s, in particular the Situationists. Allan Kaprow, Carolee Schneeman, and others critiqued capitalist environments by challenging cultural habits and embracing new forms of collaborative practice (Wigley, 1998, cited in McGaw, 2010). Cities were to be re-thought; while performativity and ‘psychogeography’ provided new ways such as playing to explore them (Wigley, 1998). The Situationists co-produced scenarios and constructed situations “to incite and provoke active participation as a form of resistance to typical, passive consumerist life” (Debord, 2012 cited in Yaghi et al., 2019), actively

recapturing and transforming everyday lived experiences and gestures, and highlighting the depoliticization of experience. Performative critical practice was used to reclaim the city, using techniques like street graffiti to produce a sense of ownership and access.

A significant architectural instance of the Situationist practice in the 1960s is the work of Constant Nieuwenhuys, most notably his project 'The New Babylon', which envisions a city where people are capable of playing, producing and interacting in a fluid way. Nieuwenhuys critiques modernist architecture (in a tradition following Foucault, Bourdieu, and Jacobs) and instead redefines architecture in a way that is transformative, reassembled, and spontaneous (Sadler, 1999). Bernard Tschumi's 'Fireworks: An Architectural Performance' is another example of the effective use of performative spatial practice in architecture, encouraging people to consider the ways in which space is social constructed by re-appropriating particular places (Tschumi et al., 1986). Koolhaas seems to agree and support Tschumi as he suggests that spaces should be constructed and produced through re-appropriations processes of users and that spatial practitioners should only create spaces where multiple activities and events can occur (Koolhaas, 1995). It can be inferred from the above arguments and discussions that performative spatial practices appear to deprioritise spatial forms for a focus on process, that can be collaborative or hybrid. What these projects share and this research follows the same position, is the fact that they can critique, make visible, and unfold how social relations and power are constituted in space, opening opportunities rethinking its spaces to address the right to the city.

The other theoretical standpoint on performative practices comes from identity theory, particularly the work of theorist Judith Butler. Butler argues that identities are "persistently reproduced or performed through the presentation of the self in everyday social interactions; identities are shaped and constructed by both societal expectations and bodily practices" (Yaghi, 2017). Her most explicitly architectural work is *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (2015), which reflects on social and political movements such as Occupy Wall Street, the Arab Spring protests, Black Lives Matter, and others. Butler's work engages with various political theorists including Agamben, Arendt, and Adorno to forge a new theory which addresses global assembly through performative embodied actions, interventions, and constructed situations which are performed as forms of resistance (Yaghi et al., 2019). Once bodies come together in the streets, they are visibly 'here', and they assert and declare the 'right to appear', for example, Black Lives Matter movement in the United States, or in the case of Muslim women opposing and resisting the ban on the veil in France (ibid).

Furthermore, Butler's work contains a valuable critique of the way in which other types of political philosophy (most notably those associated with Agamben) tend to ignore the problem of who 'shows up' as belonging to a citizenry: "if we seek to take account of exclusion itself as a political problem, as part of politics itself, then it will not do to say that once excluded, those beings lack appearance or "reality" in political terms, that they have no social or political standing or are cast out and reduced to mere being" (Butler, 2010, p. 79). Recognising bodily agency can be a way of reconceptualising public space away from predefined notions of citizenship and rights, towards a recognition of bodily agencies that are not captured by other models, particularly those associated with forms of vulnerability and precarity. Political space emerges as something dynamic, which has the power to

create social movements, acknowledge pluralities, and foment resistances by building supportive relations between those who want to live freely in the city: “only through a concept of interdependency that affirms the bodily dependency, conditions of precarity, and potentials for performativity can we think a social and political world that seeks to overcome precarity in the name of livable lives” (Butler, 2010, p. 211). A good life, in other words, is one that acknowledges a collective of difference, and is tolerant and unthreatened by otherness: “If I am to lead a good life, it will be a life lived with others, a life that is no life without those others; I will not lose this I that I am; whoever I am will be transformed by my connections with others, since my dependency on another, and my dependability, are necessary in order to live and to live well”. (ibid. p. 218).

In the wake of Butler’s work, there has been an upsurge of attention to the performative: for example, Rendell notes that the previous two decades have witnessed architects utilising architecture for public participation and engagement as an artistic practice, critiquing social and political relations (Rendell, 2006 cited in Yaghi et al, 2019). Colomina (2002) has proposed ‘the use of architecture as an interpretive and critical act’, whereas Schneider and Till (2008) have asked how alternative models could ‘contribute to the development of contemporary and future architectural practice’, including those that tackle social and political concerns, redefining the role of architects in civic society (Yaghi et al., 2019). The socialist work of Santiago Cirugeda, Jeanne van Heeswijk, and Jonathan Charley has embraced different alternatives to capitalism, while Stratford, Petrescu, and Petcou (2008) re-called to remind us of the Romanian architects’ resistant practice in the 1980s, in developing new pedagogic and practical approaches to space which questioned orthodoxies and challenged the Ceausescu Regime. Performative spatial practices, which intervene, mediate and sustain, appear to be on the increase, as theorists and practitioners explore the ways in which space can critique, provoke, open up debate, and raise ordinary citizens’ awareness about their urban rights (Yaghi et al., 2019). Space is finally taking centre stage, as architects “mediate between the different actants and sustain long term citizen involvement” in the city (ibid). As Rufford has argued, this involves a comprehensive redefinition of architecture’s objectives and purpose, away from the architect as the controller of behaviour, towards space as the sphere of alternative possibilities, doing away with the idea that ‘architecture disciplines us and dictates strict spatial and social cues’ (Rufford, 2015, p. 33).

Smitheram (2011) has drawn attention to the way that performative actions can challenge embodied social and traditional norms the level of everyday actions and behaviours. Such works follows the lead of Soja (1980) and Harvey (2009), who both argue that place is constructed and reproduced through the dialectic relations between the social relations between the space and social relations. Schechner (2002), however, wants to recapture some sense of theatricality, and therefore distinguishes between everyday practice (which she calls ‘as-performance’) and theatre (‘is-performance’), in the hope that this will provide a more nuanced way of understanding and theorising individual agencies within hybrid and interdisciplinary research. There are also a series of temporal questions about when performativity is introduced into architectural practice. The London-based collective MUF have emphasised the need to include critical performance throughout the design process, rather than simply emphasizing it in the final architectural output: this is performance as methodology (Rendell, 2006). Other practices also question the role of the architect,

suggesting instead a series of participatory and community-based initiatives designed to generate knowledge by including wider publics in the design process, thus building and empowering local communities. Examples include the work of Mieke Schalk and Raoul Bunchoten; the Atelier d'architecture Autogéré, project in Paris (running since 2006 in Paris) and the theoretical work of the Urban-Act (2007), Awan et al. (2011); Stratford et al. (2008); and Bell and Wakeford (2008). These examples challenge and resist existing spatial practices and its imbrication in the neoliberal state with the use of a range of tools from Actor Network Theory (especially Bruno Latour) to re-conceptualisations of the Structure-Agency debate (Giddens); and the inclusion of different types of public engagement and participation.

2.5. How spaces are performed?

The politics of differences and identity

As discussed in sections 2.3-2.5, there is a relationship between politics, spatial practice, and the everyday experience of citizens. Given the strong history of European colonialism in Arab countries, it is important to highlight the contribution made to the study of difference by postcolonial theorists such as Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha, all of whom investigate the politics of identity. As Bhabha argues, there has been a tendency to erase the history and experiences of colonised people, and the continuance of relations of domination into the present:

“Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order... [it intervenes] in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give hegemonic ‘normality’ to the uneven development and the differential often disadvantaged, histories, races, communities, peoples” (Bhabha, 2004, p. 171-173)

Importantly, the colonial division is spatial: global north and global south confront one another across a line of historical division. Therefore, it is important to consider and understand the implications of colonisation for spatial practice, as well as for the construction and production of knowledges. Bhabha uses the term ‘ambivalence’, which usually refers to a state of having mixed feelings or contradictory ideas about something or someone. Psychoanalysts such as Freud and Lacan gave the term an interpersonal register, using it to define the binary of the self and the other, and to suggest their co-constitution (Althusser, 1996). Bhabha (2004) suggests that a similar dynamic defines the relation of coloniser/colonised, particularly in situations of diaspora. This idea draws on the earlier writings of Fanon, whose influential *Black Skin, White Masks* (2008) discusses the brutalising effects of colonialism on subjectivity, and the internal conflicts that it establishes as individuals attempt and fail to adapt to the dominant cultural norms of the coloniser, internalising a sense of their own inferiority in the process.

Architecturally, this idea has spatial outworkings. Historically, architectural and spatial practices in Arab countries are constructed and produced through a system which always references European architecture as exemplary. This means that architecture is operating

in a colonial space, and tending to neglect nearer references to more culturally specific social, economic, and political issues.

The discourse of the politics of differences and identities illustrates how difference between groups on the grounds of race, gender, ethnicity, culture or political identity can impact how spaces are performed. It is therefore crucial to take it into account when rethinking spaces and cities.

“Plurality is basic to the human condition... Although individual identities differ from person to person, similarities that exist between people can produce collective, cultural identities. Identity construction discourse seeks to challenge homogenized ideas identity by considering differences rather than similarities”

Calhoun, 1994, p. 1

Identity is a term used across multiple disciplines and, as such, has a range of different definitions. The two main schools of thought to note here are those that focus on an individualist conceptualisation, versus those that take a more social view. In the former camp, for Bosma, the concept of identity refers to the ‘individual’s unconscious processes, emotions, thoughts, fantasies, conflict, defensive mechanisms and the lively background of all external behaviour’ (Bosma, 1994, p. 27), as well as the more conscious ways in which we describe and understand ourselves (Bosma, 1994; Rose, 1993). Such an approach tends to stress the unique and individual aspects of identity, and the way that it varies from person to person. Similarly, but with a more philosophical angle, Calhoun (1994) cites Aristotle’s definition of ‘identity’ as that which emerges out of the relationship between ‘appearance’ and ‘essence’: things appear as something in the world, but also have an internal identity, which makes them what they are. In more individualist views of identity, the concept can be considered an ‘encompassing phenomenon’, in that a person can adopt or deny identity, consciously or unconsciously at a site between emotions and reality (Bosma, 1994, p. 41). On the other hand, the social constructionist approach to identity minimizes the personal and sees social relationships as the most important factor in identity formation. While both groups might agree that there are race, language, ethnicity, cultural and religious identities, for the former these are individually and psychologically defined, whereas for the latter they emerge out of structured and social ways of understanding the world (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Capozza et al, 2000; Erikson, 1968).

It is important while exploring the ways in which these identity categories are socially constructed and spatialized to trace the major forms of identity on which scholars currently agree fall into the following categories.

1) Gender identity: differences between men and women constitute a major way in which we identify and represent ourselves in relation to roles in wider society and cultural assumptions (Domosh, 2001). Gender identities tend to be closely connected to ideas of labour, but can take variant forms in different societies: in some places, women and children are involved in heavy manual labour; in others, it is predominantly men who undertake such tasks. It is also expressed spatially differently within various contexts, for instance there are gendered spaces; such as the mosque, shisha cafes. Mazamdar and

Mazamdar (2001) work illustrated how the market and the street spaces become exclusive for women during the day in India and Iran.

2) Racial identity: race can be defined as the categorization of human beings based upon skin colour and other physical characteristics. Forest (2001) states that racial distinctions are strongly related to cultural history, including the social, economic and political influences of the region. The relationship between race and economics is complicated and geographically specific: the term “black” in the United Kingdom refers to black and minority ethnic citizens, whereas “black” in Brazil tends to have stronger class resonances, referring to lower-class people. However, economics can play a significant role in racial tensions in many places across the world (Anderson, 2006).

3) Ethnic identity: “Ethnicity” generally refers to a person’s culture and practices (Brown et al, 2014), a shared history that has developed over time. It can lead to ‘ethnocentrism’, where one group is assumed to be of a superior ethnic origin than others (Verkuyten, 1990). For example, during Nazi Germany, Hitler decided that Jews and some certain groups did not belong in Germany. Feeling strong ties to a particular ethnic identity can also affect the way a person perceives the world (Brown et al, 2014).

4) Cultural identity: cultural identity transcends ethnic identity. For Hall (1990), the term ‘cultural identity’ refers to a shared culture, a people with a common history or ethnic origins. This unity can be problematic, since it can involve exclusions of the other as ‘fake’ or ‘lacking’ in critical similarities, in a manner that neglects the necessarily unbalanced and unstable nature of such constructed groups. Hall also argues that the production of cultural identity is further complicated by the fact that a person has a relationship not only with their cultural history but also with the transformations their culture has undergone over time (for example, the multiculturalism of the Caribbean as a result of the oppressive history of that region).

5) Social identity: social identity can encompass one or more types of identity. For Tajfel, it is “that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value or emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, p.63). The way we consider ourselves as individuals, the decisions we make about which groups we join or leave, can redefine who we are. The definition of social identity includes three components; cognition of the group; assessment and evaluation of the group; and emotional response towards the group. Groups are not always entirely cohesive, but can contain inter-group discrimination in which differences are maximised, which affects an individual’s sense of belonging (or lack thereof) (Rabbie et al, 1969). Personal characteristics like sense of self-esteem can also affect standing (Rubin and Hewstone, 1998). However, it is important to distinguish between conflicts over social identity, and those over actual world resources, for example land and money (Sherif, 1966) and to remember that social identities can be quite flexible, allowing individuals to change their self-presentation depending upon the groups they are with (Calhoun, 1994).

6) Political identity: The concept of ‘identity politics’ is a collective concept that encompasses social identities that are politically related. It recognises that recognition is

not a private matter, and tends to be involved in power struggles for acknowledgement of refused or displaced identities (Calhoun, 1994). It can be described as a form of resistance to negative imposed identities, as a way of reclaiming a positive form of personhood and group identity, and drawing attention to structural disempowerment. For Calhoun (1994), 'identity positions' thus contain reflexivity: they begin with self-recognition and the recognition of others, drawing attention to the ways in which the personal becomes political in a terrain of uneven power relations.

The discourse from personal to political identities illustrates how difference between groups can lead to social or cultural norms producing inclusion or exclusion within the space. It is therefore crucial that accounts of the origins of these norms are considered when rethinking spaces in a more participative and performative way. Such a critical lens has been used to further analyse and discuss, throughout the research, how spaces are performed in the context of Amman (Chapter three), as well as the different narratives and positions of residents' (Chapter 5), and the various positions of actors during mediating and sustaining processes (Chapter 6 and 7).

Lynch's (1981, p. 132) statement, 'I am here support I am', illustrates the strong relationship between place identity and personal identity. Place identity is generally understood in terms of the meanings, feelings, memories, and emotions that a place evokes (Rose, 1993). From the viewpoint of psychological geography, it therefore refers to a set of place meanings and attachments. For Montgomery (1998), these include images, physical settings, and activities. Whereas Lynch (1981) defines place identity as the descriptions and recognitions people ascribe to a certain place through its unique characteristics, for Piaget (1968), place plays a more fundamental role in the construction of the subject, becoming a part of personal identity, as experiences inflect a person's feeling towards a particular location. Place identity thus overlaps with other forms of identity, including those listed above, to establish a relationship between the way a group defines, represent and performs itself, and the places with which they identify.

There are two approaches to identifying the relationship between place and identity. The first is place identification, where a person or social group uses a place to build identity. An example is local, regional or national identity (Londoners, Yorkshire people, or Jordanians), which intersects in complex and sometimes discriminatory ways with issues of race (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). This approach is supported by social theories such as Tajfel and Turner (1979) and Brown et al. (2000). The second approach is through the term 'place identity' where this is considered as part of social identity: for example, Proshansky describes the relationship between the person and the physical environment as similar to that which defines the persons' relationship to the group in social identity (Proshansky et al., 1968; Proshansky et al., 1970). In other words, in this second approach, the individual is treating the place as another person.

There are four sets of reasons that explain why individuals develop place identity: self-esteem, self-efficacy, distinctiveness and continuity (Breakwell, 1993; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Korpela, 1989):

1. Distinctiveness is the desire to use place to preserve personal uniqueness (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). Here, originating in a particular country, city, or town brings with it a set of particular characteristics (Feldman, 1990; Hummon, 1990; Nettleton, 1991). Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) define this as a unique relationship between a person and their home environment, which is thereby differentiated from any other place. It can also identify a unique lifestyle that relates more closely to one city or place than others (ibid).

Distinctiveness can support an ideological conception of place identification, which distinguishes certain social groups above others.

2. Continuity refers to the sense of an unbroken line stretching from the past to the present, and the way that this grounds an individual's self-concept (Breakwell, 1993). There are two subtypes of this self-environment relationship: 'place-referent continuity' (where specific features of the place act to link an individual's present to their past) and 'place-congruent continuity' (where the values or other non-physical aspects of a place represent its importance) (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). Thus, relocating people may play a significant role in creating new identities for that community in terms of place-referent continuity, but may not destroy the symbolic significance of a past place for the group in place-congruent terms (ibid). Disruption of continuity can cause deep psychological issues and distress, as revealed by a study by Nanis'tova, cited in Droseltis and Vignoles (2010).

3. Self-esteem refers to positive self-evaluation performed by individuals and people within social groups, and can be supported in significant ways by a person's surrounding environment (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Hogg and Abrams, 1988).

4. Self-efficacy: This refers to a person's capacity to achieve challenges and goals (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), something that is significantly enhanced by their occupation of a manageable environment. Self-efficacy in daily activities can be promoted, or significantly hindered, by spatial factors.

In his psychosocial theory, psychoanalyst Erik Erikson (1968), emphasises the role of culture and society in developing psychological identity. He highlights the changes that occur during the growth of personality throughout life, arguing that identity crises can occur at any stage of development (ibid). His findings have particular pertinence to the situation of immigrants and refugees, some of whom may have personal pasts that involve significant conflicts or crises, with a strong spatial component. Since development involves culture and society in at every stage, social identity theory helps us to understand individual as well as group dynamics and societies (ibid).

As McGrew suggests, the experience of diaspora is one of hybridity which challenges ideas of originary or authentic belonging: "Everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed, but poised, in transition, between different positions; which draw on different cultural traditions at the same time; and which are the product of those complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes which are increasingly common in a globalized world. [...] People belonging to such cultures of hybridity have had to renounce the dream of ambition of rediscovering any kind of 'lost' cultural purity. Or ethnic absolutism" (McGrew et al., 1992). In other words, moving from one place to another involves a change to identity, which

disrupts ideas of an unproblematic, easy relationship between individuals and cultures. In such a view, identities are always in conflict and unsettled, especially for immigrants, refugees, or people settling in the diaspora. As Ang (2003) explains, this creates a state of being 'Together-in-difference beyond diaspora, into hybridity'. This challenges the modernist assumption that language and ethnicity are two separate entities, instead proposing a transcultural exchange between social, political, cultural, and religious determinants of identity.

Social constructionism calls into question a host of identity concepts that are often considered to be 'given naturally' (Calhoun, 1994). Social constructionism argues that collective identities are not based on an inherent 'essence', but on group identities that are shared (Calhoun, 1994). The role of place in this identity is complex, but the above findings suggest that it can be pivotal to sustaining identity, but that shifts of residence can also lead to the development of new, sometimes hybrid, forms of identity. Place can also provide a tool for resisting the imposition of new identities, as illustrated by the work of Nasser (2015), who explores the Middle Eastern community of Edward Road in London as they deliberately create a space to perform escaping British culture, building a different sense of place identity rather than assimilating into a new culture. In a more negative light, place can also be a powerful part of a dynamic that constructs a particular group by the exclusion of those considered to be 'other' or outsiders, which can become particularly impressive when used as a tactic by a dominant group.

The socio-spatial dialectic, inequality and spatial segregation

This section will focus particularly on the socio-spatial dialectic of inequality, since a central aim of this research is to explore how spaces are performed. It is necessary first to clarify exactly the meaning of inequality. Despite being a feature of urban life in all cities (Kempen and OezuÈekren, 1999), inequality is surprisingly difficult to define. This is in part because it is a multifaceted concept: the spatial division of rich and poor areas sometimes reinforces other types of division on the base of race, culture, or ethnicity, with immigrants in particular often facing a combination of social and spatial discrimination. Chris Hamnett (2003) defines inequality simply as the process that makes the rich become richer and the poor become poorer, a formulation which focuses largely on the economic, arguably to the neglect of cultural rights and other factors that play a role in wellbeing (Parekh, 2006). Yet it is difficult to deny the obvious link between inequality and socio-economic policies that led to social polarization, and the role of capital in promulgating these dynamics (Marx, 1981).

More spatial definitions tend to assume this economic base, but focus attention on variations of character, function, architecture and style between neighbourhoods (see Fainstein et al., 1992; Van Kempen, 2007; Mollenkopf et al, 1992; Sassen, 1990). According to Massey and Denton (1993), residential segregation refers to the degree to which a group of individual dwellings within an urban environment are separated from another group, a phenomenon that can exist at multiple scales, from that of the city to the neighbourhood to the street. Several quantitative tools exist to measure the degree of segregation within a city, including the Index of Dissimilarity, the Index of Segregation, the Index of Isolation, and the Exposure Index.

Kempen and OezuÈekren (1999), however, focus on the segregation and concentration of different ethnic groups within a range of Western European cities, and define the term 'spatial segregation' as the "residential separation of groups within a broader population" (ibid). If social concentration can be defined as "an overrepresentation of a certain group" within one area (Kempen and OezuÈekren, 1999), they argue, then clusters of a particular group can act as important markers of segregation. However, it is worth noting the alternative viewpoint of Amin (2002), who argues that many negotiations occur between different ethnic groups within the everyday life of a city, and that studies of segregation tend to ignore these to focus too emphatically on the geography of residence. Multicultural policies stressing the importance of having positive ethnic group relations and fighting segregated communities can neglect the ways in which ethnic groups, such as new immigrant, may gravitate towards an area where others from their community are already living. As Massey and Denton point out, it is important to embrace the way that areas can change over time, with different communities succeeding one another in residency (Massey and Denton, 1993).

Such work speaks to a theoretical tendency in geography since the 1980s which has stressed the dynamic and active qualities of space, in contradistinction to a perception that space is often perceived as static and passive. Soja's socio-spatial dialectic (1980), for example, offers an important method for exploring the two-way dialectic interaction between the social and the spatial, offering a powerful lens through which to explore the way that spaces and cities can be used to reproduce or to resist inequality. Equally, Massey's *For Space* (2008) has emphasised the need to see spatial relations as an active and dynamic part of social life, and not as a static container for events.

Much research on segregation has emanated from a European context, where such issues have been particularly controversial for over a century. Comparatively few scholars have probed into the issue of segregation within Arab countries like Jordan. Notable exceptions include Ababsa, (2013); Potter et al, (2009); Daher, (2011); and Khalil (2007). These examples are further investigated in Chapter 3.

Social exclusion

Originally the term 'social exclusion' was used to refer to people who were administratively excluded by the state in France because they were not involved in the social insurance system (Burchardt et. al., 1999). In contemporary discourse, the term 'social exclusion' tends to be used to refer to a range of discriminations, from social segregation to marginalisation to poverty. For instance, Madanipour et al. (2000, p. 280) identified the three spheres from which people can be excluded in urban daily life: the economic, the political, and the cultural. In the economic sphere, citizens may lack employment opportunities or be trapped in relations that keep them trapped in low-paid waged work, or unable to accumulate capital; in the political sphere, citizens may be disenfranchised from participation in formal voting or informal events. Social exclusion refers to exclusion from the cultural sphere on the grounds of difference in values, religion, ethnicity, language, behaviour and tradition (ibid). By contrast, Burchardt et al. (1999) identify five dimensions of social exclusion: political, social, consumption, savings, and production, noting that what

these have in common is that they inculcate a situation whereby individuals who are geographical residents in a society are not able to fully participate in activities that other citizens in the society enjoy.

It is particularly important to acknowledge the role of gender in social exclusion, particularly in relation to the ability to use public space, which is a central concern of this thesis. Unequal access to public space is by no means exclusively a problem of Arab countries, but affects women in many Western nations also. However, that women in Arab countries face exclusion from public space has been shown by a number of studies (see Johnson et al, 2014; Saleem, 2015). Young (2002) argues convincingly that female engagement in public space is influenced, in part, by whether the female body is likely to be perceived solely as an object of the male gaze in that space, or whether there is room for women to become subjects with some claim to frame and constitute that space in their own right. Foster (2009) also notes objectification as a particular problem for women. This raises a number of questions: how can public space be altered to ensure that it is inclusive of, and comfortable for, women? How can objectification be challenged and questioned?

The exclusion of refugees and immigrants (particularly illegal immigrants) from urban spaces is another area of concern (Agamben, 1998). For example, Parisian authorities enacted regulations in 2003 preventing new arrivals from being able to access the core of the city. The result, however, was to create a problem of suburban violence at the periphery of the city (See Figure 2.2.). It is clear then that social exclusion, unemployment, poverty, lack of access to public services such as healthcare and an inability to participate in political activities are all linked. In order to address and question how spaces are performed, scholarly research around segregation and concentration supports the idea of abolishing this phenomenon and suggests that studying its causes is the first step in moving to eradicate it altogether.

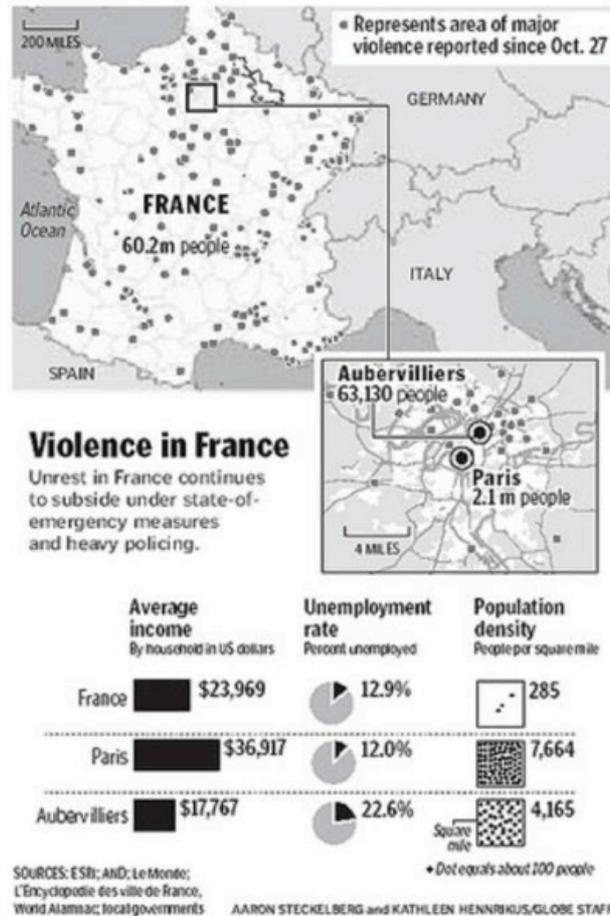


Figure 2.2. The location of repeated violence in France (BBC, 2003 cited in Nawratek PowerPoint slides, 2015).

2.4.4. Social inclusion and social cohesion

It is clear that public equity, where all those within a city participate in civic activities, can only be achieved if access to public spaces is provided. Moreover, access to public space has a significant role in easing the use of places (Miles et al., 2010), where a walkable public space promotes social equality, especially for citizens who do not have access to an automobile in their daily activities (Talen, 2002). Furthermore, social cohesion can be brought about by encouraging a 'neighbourly feeling' within a particular area. For Young (1990), this 'neighbourly feeling' can be experienced by citizens if they are able to locate cafes, parks, houses, stores, and restaurants in their area. Akkar (2004) goes further, suggesting that in order to create a successful inclusive public space, citizens should have both physical and social access to their surroundings, as well as being able to participate in activities and discussions, and to access information. Social access, in this cases, is defined broadly, in terms of the stereotypes and cultural mores that define whether a person feels welcomed, threatened, or comfortable in a place (see also Carr et al., 1992). In order to achieve physical, social and participative access, Akkar suggests that citizens should be involved in the design process and decisionmaking around space-making, in order to foster inclusivity and diversity. The importance of access to information here becomes clear, since

it is pivotally important in ensuring that citizens are informed about the city development process (ibid). A good example of a place that has worked hard to be inclusive in these four ways is Barcelona, where the grid structure provides equal access to public spaces for all, while planners work hard to embrace justice and equality of rights (Nawratek lecture, 2015) (see Figure 2.3). However, it is not accurate to associate a grid structure with equal access to public space. Manhattan, for instance, is gridded and yet one of the most unequal places in the world.

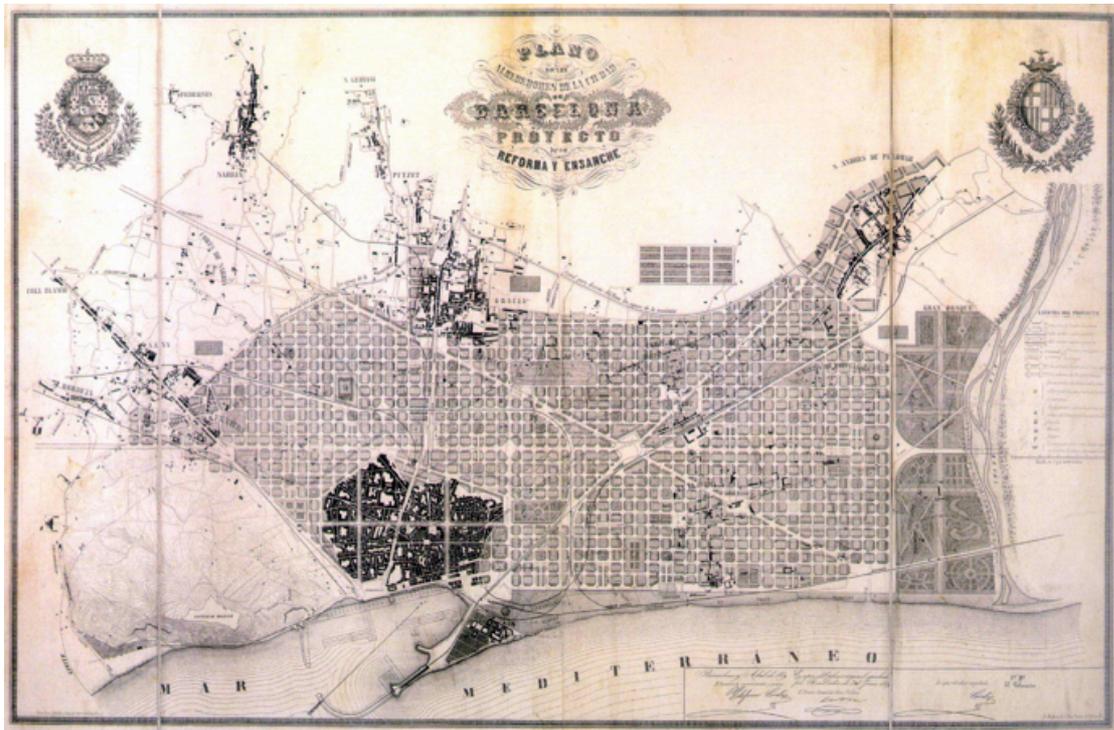


Figure 2.3. Barcelona's case has shown that this implemented grid structure as an ideological build can promote justice and equality for each citizen within walkable distances (Barcelonayellow.com, 2008).

Thus, in order to produce an inclusive public space, public engagement is essential, as the citizens themselves are then able to reinterpret and restructure the space to their diverse needs (Lefebvre, 1991; Saleem, 2015; Young, 2002). This means that they can also be part of a process of shaping an urban identity, bringing a sense of their everyday spatial practice (walking, taking public transit, driving) to the identity of shared collective spaces (Low, 1996). Participation can ensure that the spaces that result are democratic (Staheli and Thompson, 1997), and that they embrace the hopes, aspirations, needs, and desires of the many different groups who share the city (Young, 2002). It is also important that public spaces are perceived as being public, so that people are aware of their rights in such spaces, and of their difference from privately owned and managed pseudo-public spaces, where surveillance and securitization prevail (Németh and Schmidt, 2011).

Social cohesion is generally understood to refer to a kind of metaphorical glue that brings a society together into a unity (Maloutas and Malouta, 2004; Bolt and Kempen, 2009). Social

cohesion thus tends to imply a sense of shared identity, emotional investment, and values. However, the work of Bolt and Kempen (2009) on various income groups in mixed neighbourhoods in the United States has questioned whether policies to promote social cohesion really encourage greater numbers of social interactions between groups. Their research finds that social interactions do not depend solely on the spatial proximity of diverse groups of people, but on a host of other facts such as lifestyle and attitudes to inequality. Such findings may call into question some formulations of a related concept: multiculturalism, which has been promoted through policies designed to embed and sustain differences within communities, while setting tolerant terms for these interactions (Parekh, 2006). For Parekh, multiculturalism is intended to encompass different types of diversity:

- 1) Subcultural diversity: this revolves around members of society who broadly share a common culture but seek to express a divergent identity within that culture.
- 2) Perspectival diversity: refers to the way that different groups may have differing intellectual, emotional, and moral visions of the existing culture, often with a more critical view that is intended to change and reconstitute relations.
- 3) Communal diversity: refers to the way in groups identify self-consciously as different from the dominant culture (these groups may include refugees, newcomers or immigrants, or long-established communities such as indigenous peoples, specific religious communities, specific ethnic groups, and so on (Parekh, 2006).

Thus, a generally accepted principle of a multicultural place treats these three groups with respect and equality, respecting difference rather than attempting to control or erase it. There are advantages and disadvantages of social segregation and concentration. The concentration of poor people within a place can have a negative impact on both commercial and non-commercial activities (Massey and Denton, 1993), since the concentrated area, by definition, suffers in the labour market. The poor are here politically and economically isolated because their lifestyle is different to that of the larger society (Wilson et al, 2001; Hughes, 1989; Kasarda, 1990; Gallie, 1994). Where rich and poor areas become isolated territories, this can compound the problem since (for example) recent immigrants concentrated within one area may lack opportunities for learning the local language, as well as suffering from a lack of access to high quality education (Kempen and Oezuëkren, 1999). However, there can be advantages to segregation: its exclusivity allows the preservation of inhabitants' unique culture, and promotes the flourishing of their own religious institutions, cafes, and clubs (Kempen and Oezuëkren, 1997). Furthermore, immigrants living together can benefit from social network support, whether financial (temporary loans from friends) or practical (using the washing machine in a neighbour's house) (ibid). Thirdly, it can promote trust and neighbourliness between members of a community on the basis of a sense of shared culture and values.

Therefore, in order to encourage an inclusive, coherent, but multicultural society, real public spaces must be promoted. These should be accessible for all. Moreover, all residents should be able to participate in the design process for their public spaces and should have access to the various activities, including political activities, taking place there. Additionally, safety is crucial for inclusivity. However, securitised spaces that make use of guards, police, surveillance cameras and aggressive design techniques may not be the answer, since these

can end up excluding particularly vulnerable groups, such as the homeless, as well as opening the possibility that users' behaviour and access will be curtailed.

2.6. The potential to re-define and critically produce public space

Though many of the world's cities are becoming more diverse, social inequality amongst citizens and spaces remain a major problem. The roots of this inequality in the capitalist system make equality difficult to achieve. If anything, the trend is in the opposite direction, with the creation of neoliberal 'pseudo-public' spaces producing urban spaces that are under the control of private entities. Social identities and norms, and Neoliberal and the state policies promote inequality, determining what can and cannot be accessed by the public, whether physically, socially or politically. All those factors have changed the original notion of 'public' space.

However, the lines of flight offered by radical theorists, architects, and artists offer potential ways of escaping this situation. Much of this work is based on an intuition (conscious or unconscious) that space is not simply a passive reflection of social and economic relations, but an active force in shaping those relations and versa (Soja, 1980; Lefebvre, 1991). Performative practices that draw critical attention to the ways in which dominant power relations can be challenged in space have a radical charge that is capable of undermining political and social forms of control. In particular, the work of Judith Butler offers a new way of understanding the performative ways in which 'identities are persistently re-produced through performing the 'self' being always entangled in everyday social interactions and shaped by both societal and bodily practices' (Yaghi, 2017). The Butlerian framework illustrated how bodies 'appear' in space to seek political or cultural recognition, and the manner in which this can be used to challenge hegemonic power (Butler, 2010). For Butler, this is part and parcel of a recognition of the living diversity of the city, and the way that a "plurality of bodies...enact their convergent and divergent purposes in ways that fail to conform to a single kind of action, or reduce to a single kind of claim" (Butler, 2010, p. 157). In such an argument, public space becomes not a material object but a relational element in a fight for claims and negotiations to subjectivity and rights, which takes on an especially spatial force in relation to ideas of rights to the city. The actions of bodies thus construct and produce public space that enacts a network of resistance, performed by bodies.

Incorporating Butler's insights into critical spatial practice surely involve integrating actions 'constructed situations', in a manner that goes beyond design and aesthetics and into political practice. It is important that architects recognise the hegemonic power of both the state and capital in producing and controlling public space, particularly in an Arab context (Madanipour, 2009; Qian, 2014; Rabbat, 2012). The role of the architect and planner become that of opening debate and discourses towards the right to the city, and re-thinking and producing public spaces that are deliberately accessible. In other words, spatial practice needs supplementary practices to make manifest the clear relations between the production of space, citizenship, and a pluralist politics, creating a new type of 'public space' for the modern world.

Redefining 'public space' through commoning processes

Our contemporary neoliberal cities are suffering from capitalism, which produces and reproduces inequalities amongst inhabitants. Tracing back the roots of the notion of 'the commons', we find that it originally occurred in rural communities, and referred to shared resources. Contemporary definitions of the concept mostly revolve around three main components: users, practices, and resources (Dellenbaugh et al., 2015). Ostrom (2015) describes "the commons" as offering an alternative model to the state, a different way of managing and co-producing shared resources. Foster and Iaione (2015) see the commons as the engine that drives towards just and inclusive cities. Douzinas (2012, p. 43) agrees: "Turns the square into a public space where different singularities exist in common, discuss, decide and act together. [...] The square allows the coming together of the multitude [crowd], in a material co-existence of bodies with a common political desire. [...] Its strongest characteristic is the lack of a common ideological or political line, the absence of organised parties and political groupings, the banning of party banners, the wide nature of the slogans and the wide ranging nature of the popular assembly debates."

Recently, the Arab Spring protest has given an example of a political commons in action. Through the assembly of their bodies in particular places, citizens have created a new type of organization, with new uses of resources and sets of political demands. This type of questioning and demanding can potentially construct different relations and different power dynamics. It becomes visible when people from a variety of political, educational, and professional backgrounds come together to perform politics in a square, uniting themselves in the name of common political desires (Douzinas, 2012).

It is important within this research to highlight how the notion of the commons can be defined in a way that refers to collective processes occurring between the community and the city, and not merely to a rearrangement of materials and objects. Stavrides (2016, p.56) uses the term "threshold" to describe the establishment of "intermediary areas of crossing, by opening the inside to the outside". Stavrides considers these 'thresholds' as a resource and a tactic that can cross personal, social, and institutional boundaries, creating opportunities for communing in the city in ways that reflect multiplicity and complexity.

For Foster and Iaione (2015, p.288), the commons is a framework that "can provide a bridge between the normative claim to the city and its resources and the way in which those resources and the city itself is governed". Therefore, commoning processes require negotiation, not only with the existing structures of our contemporary cities but also with its borders. Foster and Iaione (2015, p.307) argue convincingly that the notion of the commons is a social product. Thus, it hybridises in interesting ways with our everyday experiences (Stavrides, 2016).

Within this research, and in particular at the level of mediating, I tried to discover existing resources for creating a commons between different bodies within the city. Zibechi (2010) famously records that "community does not merely exist, it is made" (Stavrides, 2016, p.45). In such a view, the community is defined as the bridge between people rather than as an

institution or organisation in its own right (Stavrides, 2016). Most importantly, the concept of the commons demands a shift in the roles of the researcher, academic, and spatial practitioner. It creates opportunities for them to become the enablers and facilitators of commoning processes and relations, bridging between contradictory resources in the city to launch transformative processes. Such ongoing processes constantly produce and re-produce the city, constructing and reconstructing social relations. Furthermore, “participation is a process that produces and educates at the same time” (Stavrides, 2016, p.107). Therefore, these processes can be termed ‘pedagogical tactics’ where the learning processes is ongoing for the whole community.

Redefining the engaged civic university

Knowledge production and the role of pedagogy is contested in our contemporary cities (May and Perry, 2011). However, universities (especially those in Europe) have begun to rethink their role in relation to civic society, to engage with wider social problems (Watson et al, 2011). Within this research project, the potential of higher educational institutions became apparent, with mediating processes emerging as a particularly important way in which universities could bridge the gap with wider society. This turn to civic engagement is rooted in the notion of hybridity and in going beyond inherited rigid disciplinary boundaries to discover what Barker (2004, p.124) called a “scholarship of engagement”. Furthermore, shifting towards an alternative pedagogical narrative responds directly to the needs and problems of civic society (Ostrander, 2004), advancing a situated form of engagement where “people teach each other, mediated by the world” (Freire, 2000, p. 53). Such a turn can potentially produce an alternative mode of knowledge and have an impact on its society. There are two pedagogical paradigms: one that focuses on redistributing economic capital, and one that focuses on building social capital in the community (Watson et al., 2011).

However, higher educational institutions are contested spaces, with relationships with both the state and neoliberal practice. Therefore, as Collini (2012) argues, the civic engagement of educational institutions is structured and limited by their economically position. In other words, it is a challenge for them to open up. However, this does not mean that their civic engagement is inevitably ineffective. Friere speaks about the ways in which pedagogy can become a critical tool to overcome these challenges and to fight oppression (Friere, 2000). This research builds upon this argument, exploring the idea that pedagogy can be a practice that moves towards liberation and freedom. I hope to show that a participatory action framework can be an effective tool for the civically engaged university, enabling the production of alternative modes of knowledge through participation and co-production.

Following Friere’s argument that pedagogy can be liberating, Ostrander (2004, p.84) states that “our aim is to change to world by transforming the university”. Opening up the university to civic society can construct social relations and democratic spaces for society and academia to work together (Ostrander, 2004). Conducting such research can therefore be a transformative catalyst for civic change. However, changing structurally rigid institutions and curricula and connecting them to our everyday experiences requires various tactics and processes of negotiation. Envisioning the potential of universities as activators

gives them a central role as a key actor and mediator in the city. Although there are different models for such engagements, for example live projects in the UK and Europe, these require translation and tailoring to each specific context, since the social, political and cultural fabric is unique to each place. Therefore, this research aims to investigate these civic pedagogic tactics within the specific context of Amman, learning from the Western European context, without situating it as superior.

To reflect on the notion of commons, I will reflect on participatory action research (Chapter 4) and the role of the civic university (Chapter 7) in empowering, mediating, participating, and provoking a critical production of space and real social change.

Re-defining through Design Activism:

According to Hollins and Pugh (1990), a generally accepted definition of design refers to the processes that transfer ideas into information, knowledge, and products. Other scholars such as Aubert (1985) and Akkach (2003) refers to design as a methodological framework that involves taking decisions, management, and control. The term 'design' translates as "tasmeem" in Arabic, which refers to actions and decision making (Akkach, 2003). All of these definitions include actions, supporting Imon's (1969) claim that design contains "courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones,...". These definitions support the view that designing is a transformative action and a process that can catalyse positive change.

However, in reality, the most common forms of design education and practice focus on producing objects that look good in magazines. Some researchers have noted this, proposing alternative models. Papanek (1970) is considered as one of the leading scholars emphasizing the notion of socially responsive design and critiquing the current practices that dismiss the social aspect of design. Whitely (1997) has followed such criticism, labelling the dominant practice as forms of market- and consumer-led design.

Community-led design was manifested clearly in the Arab world during the Arab Spring. The '25th of January' revolution in Egypt challenged restrictions on the right to appear in public and protest. Mass protests occurred against Hussni Mubarak in Tahrir Square which became a key symbolic site of the revolution. Motivated by political activism, the public shifted from being fragmented and multiple, to sharing a common goal. The reaprobation of the square not only created space for political activism and expression but created a neighbourhood space of intervention, complete with a fast food restaurant, a hospital and medical centres, a kindergarten, a newspaper reading space, etc. (Rezai and Khazaei, 2017). These services were open to any member of the public and were free of charge. Such interventions transformed the square into a new form of 'public' space, outside of government and state control and completely led by the public.

Social and activism design in Jordan

During the past two decades, terms such as ‘design activism’, ‘socially responsive design’, ‘humanitarian design’, ‘transformative design’ and ‘socially engaged design’ have become more visible within art, architectural practice, and education (Armstrong et al, 2014; Johnson, 2011). According to Willis and Elbana (2017), socially engaged practices in the Arab world often occur in collaboration with international NGOs, within a rationale of ‘development projects’. Johnson (2011) points out that the whole notion of social engagement emerges from NGOs in the global south, arguing that their rise has become “a principal means of social service delivery in the Global South”. However impactful this has been, however, it suggests that such efforts occur within a Western framing, with NGOs identifying problems, plans, and expected outcomes according to a European logic. There is a danger here that such efforts can become a curtailed and capitalist version of a more emancipative process: “In neglecting the role of productive relations and state policy in producing inequality, do-good design often performs the grassroots ideological work of neoliberalism by promoting market values and autoregulation among poor constituencies” (Johnson, 2011, p.448). However, such efforts are still more emancipative than much industrial design, which is completely embedded within a neoliberal economic structure, as Papanek notes: “there are professions more harmful than industrial design, but only a very few of them” (Papanek, 2011, p.ix). Socially responsive design, in such a view, must stand opposed to market-led processes. This is very much also a problem within the context of Jordan, where spatial practitioners and designers tend to be governed by a logic of Arab capitalism. Socially and spatially, they are reproducing inequalities within the Arabic region (Sharabi, 1988), and operating practices that are at one remove from the needs of communities. As Ericson notes, such practice can have deleterious consequences: good design and civic engagement “requires great knowledge plus massive and very long-term commitment. Otherwise, it is easy for this engagement to have an ‘us’ and a ‘them...” (Ericson, 2011a, p.54).

Armstrong et al., (2014, p.15) refer to social design as “a set of concepts and activities that exist across many fields of application including local and central government and policy areas ...Although all designing can be understood as social, the term ‘social design’ highlights the concepts and activities enacted within participatory approaches to researching, generating and realising new ways to make change happen towards collective and social ends, rather than predominantly commercial objectives. Social design ... encompasses a broad set of motivations, approaches audiences and impacts”. Julier (2013, p.219) refers to design activism as a process that begins with social design but contains an inherently political objective. Its “starting points are overtly social, environmental, and/or political issues” but it also intervenes functionally in these.

In the context of Jordan, many scholars have critiqued the ways in which Western social design has been assumed to be superior (Ansari, 2016; Tunstall, 2013). Throughout history, the global south has tried to follow European and American models and standards. However, such processes require translation to suit the context of the Arab world: simply copying and pasting practices or social designs is dangerous, since it is inattentive to social, cultural, and political difference. As Balaram has argued: “Design education must be geared to the cultural, social, economic and physical situation of the country where it is located.

Imported design education thus creates a situation” (Balaram, 2011, p.97). Good design should engaged with the real community, and nest within the contextual specificity of a place (Balaram, 2011). This also means that it must adopt a critical attitude to social relations, political objectives, and state agendas. As I shall argue in subsequent chapters, (Chapter 5,6 and 7), architectural practice and pedagogy can play a key role in designing and producing resistant forms of public space in the city, expressing alternative power relations and suggesting tactics for transformation and the reduction of inequality.

How spaces are 'performed' in Amman



Chapter Three: How spaces are ‘performed’ in Amman

3.1 Chapter overview

“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.”

—Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1994)

This chapter contains a critical discussion of the ways in which spaces in Amman are performed and regulated. It uses a rich literature drawn from spatial and political theory to analyze the political geography, social fabric, and economic status of the city. Particular attention is paid to the impacts of government policy and neoliberalism in transforming the metropolitan area, with consequences at a number of scales from everyday routines to official laws and policies. The chapter explores not only the widening inequality and social polarization that the city has witnessed, but their spatial ramifications, focusing particularly on exclusions from public space. It raises more questions about the role of architects, activists, artists, and ordinary citizens in intervening to produce more equal spaces. It then moves to present a rationale for the selection of the four main areas for research in this thesis.

3.2. The political geography of Amman city

The making of Amman city

This section investigates the development of Amman city, with an especial focus on tracing the development of political policy through recent history, and its influence on the production of the city and its spaces. Amman is the capital city of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, located in the hilly north-west of this country, which is itself at the heart of the Middle East (see Figure 3). Its population numbers of 4 million (Jordan Times, 2016).



Figure 3.0. Map of Jordan (Jordan country map, 2018)

Across history, many varied civilisations have inhabited the city: the Ammonites were followed by the Romans, then the Ottomans, and subsequently the Arabs. In the late eighteenth century, mobile Bedouin tribes moved into the city, which was then named 'Balqa' (Salt.gov.jo, 2010). During the early nineteenth century, an uneven pattern of settlement and land cultivation emerged, as different tribes colonised different areas (Hamarneh, 1996).

The city's modern history began in the 1870s, when Circassian immigrants settled around the Roman Amphitheatre and the water stream 'Sail Amman' (Potter et al., 2009). Their settlement was named Philadelphia, and was originally fairly small, housing some 2,000 to 3,000 individuals. At around the same time, the building of the Hejaz railroad line played a significant role in shaping the city, along with the introduction of stronger governmental rules to manage trade and formalise the system of land cultivation (Amawi, 1996; Mufti, 1972). Not only was the railroad an important infrastructural hub between the north of the country and Hejaz (Saudi Arabia), it also put Amman on the regional map. Partly as a consequence of this, inhabitants from neighbouring Arab Countries (especially Bilad Alsham) moved to the Circassian villages. At this point, two main public spaces emerged: a gathering space and a space for exchanging commodities (Hacker, 1960 cited in Hamarneh, 1996). The latter became a particularly important place for socialising, as people from different ethnicities could meet and mingle there, speaking a unified language (Razzaz, 1996). Around these, the diversity of the city was mirrored spatially, as each ethnic group built their own,

more separate neighbourhood and community (Hacker, 1960 cited in Hamarneh, 1996; Shami, 2007).

Up until 1918, Syria ruled the lands east of the River Jordan. However, its withdrawal from the Ottoman Empire saw this area (named 'Transjordan') move under the government of Faisal Ibn Al-Hussein, working under British supervision. Following the Franco-Syrian war, and particularly the Battle of Maysalun in 1920, much of Syria fell under the governance of France, with Transjordan remaining under British rule. The British choice of Amman as the official capital of Transjordan in 1928 may have been due to the location of the railway in the city, and led to the rapid expansion of the urban area into the surrounding hills. In 1938, the Amman city planning development was established under the British mandate, and a land use master plan proposed by the British mayor of the city (Malkawi and Abu Dayyeh, 2004; Potter, et al., 2008). This multi-layered document gave Amman a unique character as a peaceful place that could accommodate groups from various regions, and a range of socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds (Daher, 2012). For example, in 1930, downtown Amman became known as a place to see men wearing a diverse range of head covers, such as the Palestinian and Jordanian 'hatta' (scarf), the Circassian 'Kalbaq', and the Lebanese and Syrian 'Tarbooush'. Each group climbed Amman's stairs to reach different neighbourhoods on the seven mountains (ibid). By 1945, the city contained some 50,000-60,000 people (Findlay, 1986).

In 1948, the aftermath of the First Arab-Israeli war and the creation of Israel led to an exodus from Palestine's villages. The Red Cross states that 320,000 Palestine refugees settled in the West Bank, 210,000 moved to the Gaza strip, and 180,000 moved to other Arab countries. Some 100,000 of this last group moved to Jordan (Ababsa, 2010; Pilder, 2011; Zureik, 1996), with 21,000 residing in refugee camps because they could not afford any form of alternative accommodation (Zureik, 1996). Two official camps, the 'Al Hussein camp' and the 'Al-Wihdat camp', were set up, though informal settlements also emerged around their edges (ibid).

In 1967, a second influx wave of Palestinian refugees occurred in the wake of the Second Arab-Israeli war. Some three hundred thousand people were displaced to Jordan, over half of whom settled in Amman (Razzaz, 1996). Most lived in existing refugee camps, ten of which were now in operation, organised by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (henceforth UNRWA) and local authorities (Daher, 2011; UNRWA cited in Barham et al, 2009). Newcomers considered Amman to be a diverse city offering copious opportunities to work, progress, and resettle (Barham et al, 2009; Daher, 2011) and, as a result of the large number of new arrivals, the city witnessed both economic and urban growth (Razzaz, 1993). Spatially, 'although beautification projects and modernist influences from Western urban design had been employed since the 1950s, which resulted in the rejection of Islamic design principles for high-rise flats, rapid and disorganised development projects had a marked effect on the city, resulting in a lack of "green" spaces'. (Hanania (2014) cited in Yaghi, 2017). However, the city had a very active public agenda until the late 1960s, with the construction of schools, cinema houses, and political salons epitomising a movement towards social equality (Daher, 2012) (see Figure 3.1.).

Further waves of immigration to Jordan have followed in the wake of political unrest in the region: some 350,000 Palestinian workers deported from the Gulf arrived in 1991, and approximately 300,000 Iraqi refugees from 1991 to 2007 (ibid). More recently, economic migrants from the Gulf have increased the city's population, including many Arab and Asian workers who do not possess legal papers (in 2007, it was revealed that only 320,000 of these workers held work permits (ibid)). Most recently, since 2011, Jordan has welcomed 1.265 million displaced Syrians (Jordan Times, 2016). Jordan is thus a country that has been constructed and developed through hosting waves of refugees and migrants (see Figure 3.3.). A recent estimate suggested that the number of non-Jordanians who reside in the country is around 2.9 million, representing 30.6 per cent of overall population, of which 634,182 (6.65%) were Palestinians who do not have national ID numbers, and 130,911 were Iraqi nationals (1.3%) (Jordan Times, 2016).



Figure 3.1. Amman city had a very active public agenda until the late 1960s, with cinema houses (left) and political salons (right) (Daher, 2012).

These changes to the composition and number of the population in Amman from 1946 to date are important in grounding an understanding of the spatial changes that it has undergone. The total current population in the country, according to figures from the Department of Statistics in 2016, is 9,553,712, though this figure is controversial; the *Jordan Times* newspaper (2016) recently claimed that the population in Amman stands at something more like 4,000,000. Regardless of which of these more closely reflects the true number of people living in the city, it is indubitably the case that the city's urban area has increased over the last 70 years: Figure 3.4, below, shows an average horizontal expansion of over 4% per year from 1946 to 2005.

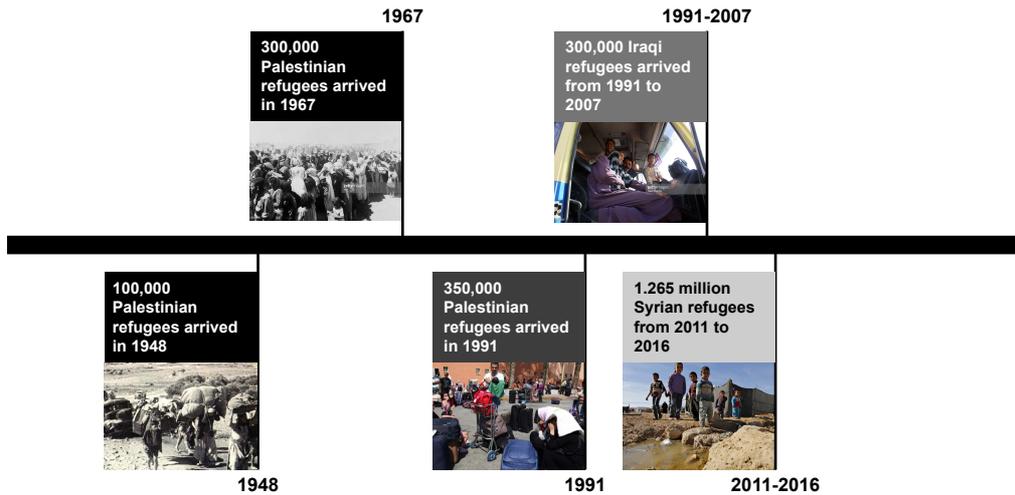


Figure 3.3. Timeline for the different waves of refugees that Jordan has hosted since 1948 (Author, 2018).

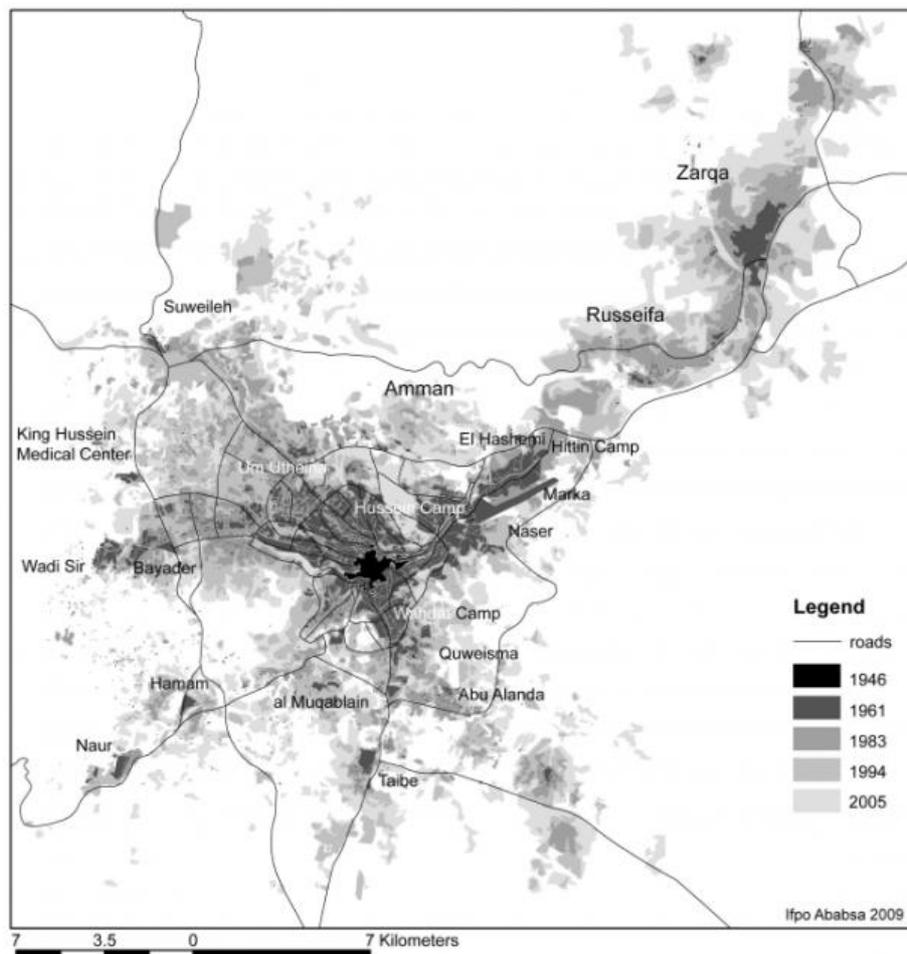


Figure 3.4. The expansion of the city from 1946 to 2005. Source: (Ababsa, IFPO, 2010).

Different degree of citizenship: the case of Jordan

“The best way to realize the inclusion and participation of everyone is in full citizenship.” (Young, 1989).

As the previous section has explained, Amman’s population is very diverse. While most of its citizens are Jordanian with a Palestinian origin, there are a variety of other ethnic groups and nationalities living in the city (Jordan Times, 2016). Unfortunately, official demographic statistics only differentiate Jordanians from ‘foreigners’, without specifying further (Ababsa, 2013). In 2002, a newspaper reported that Jordan’s prime minister, Ali Abu al-Ragheb, had stated that 43% of the population were Jordanian from Palestinian origins and only 37% were registered with UNRWA (ibid). However, the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan has national citizenship laws which discriminate between different groups of residents in the country. It could be argued that these laws are the main reason for the exclusion of certain groups of people in most Jordanian towns, a hypothesis supported by Iris Marion Young’s concept of ‘differentiated citizenship’. For Young, prevailing power relations ensure that certain groups are not treated equally in Western countries, in spite of a notional commitment to equality: for example, women, workers, and the poor are treated differently (Young, 1990, p. 251). As a result, social justice, civil society, inclusion, and democracy suffer (Young, 1989, p. 259).

According to Kassim (2011), an international law expert and Director of the Department of Statistics in Jordan, citizens who lack a national identification number experience significant difficulties in accessing the public realm. Residency permits or passports that do not contain this number do not allow an individual or his/her family the right to access public schools and public healthcare, or even to hold a driving license (ibid). A recent article in the *Jordan Times* (2016) indicated that only 50.2% of residents in Amman are covered by government health insurance, something that is likely to reflect the fact that a large proportion of residents are not nationals or native Jordanians (see Figure 3.5). It is also difficult to gain equal opportunities for employment without a national identification number, with the result that individuals have to offer extra skills and/or to accept a lower salary from the employer to gain employment. For some, simply persuading an employer to hire them is a struggle (ibid).

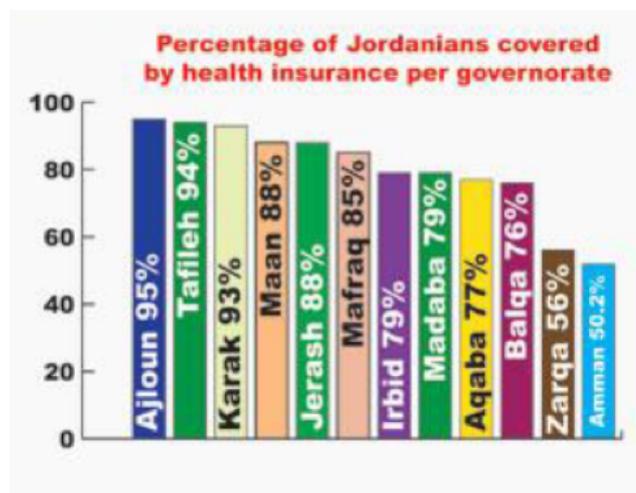


Figure 3.5 Percentage of Jordanians covered by health insurance by governorate. Source: (Jordan Times, 2016).

Moreover, according to Article 2(a) of the Election Law, it is only possible to vote if one has an identification card, issued by the government (Jordanian House of Representatives, 2016). Any residents in Jordan without an identification card are thus excluded from this important aspect of the public and political sphere, and unable to voice their views as voters, let alone to stand for parliament. The lack of any more precise differentiation than that between 'Jordanians' and 'foreigners' in the statistical data (see above) means that the scale and effects of this problem are largely unknown (Abbabsa, 2013; Kassim, 2011). Citizenship, however, is divided into a greater number of broad categories, as follows:

- Stateless Palestinians in Jordan: Palestinians who are originally from Gaza and who settled in Jordan have what is known as the 'blue card' (Kassim, 2011). They are stateless, and therefore do not possess a Jordanian passport or a national identification number. The Jordanian government justifies this by reference to the 'right to return' law, citing the need to recognise Palestine as Palestinian territory. However, most of these refugees have been settled in Jordan since the 1948 "Nakbah" or the 1967 "Nakseh".
- Palestinians who have become Jordanian Nationals: Palestinians who do not originate from Gaza and who arrived in 1948 were granted Jordanian nationality in 1949, formalized in 1954. They have equal citizenship with native Jordanian nationals (Ababsa, 2013). Additionally, the Jordanian government granted Palestinians arriving in 1992 following their eviction from Kuwait as a result from the Gulf war, with Jordanian citizenship and a national identification number (ibid).
- Palestinians who formerly possessed a Jordanian identification number, but who had this officially withdrawn in 1988 (Human Rights Watch, 2010). In 1983, the Jordanian government introduced a two-tier system of citizenship for Palestinian residents: a yellow card for Palestinians who had arrived in 1967 and who were settled in Jordan but who still had relatives in Palestine; and a green card for Palestinians who were settled in Palestine but who had relatives in Jordan (Human Rights Watch, 2010). The main justification at the time was the need to ease the process of crossing the border between Palestine and Jordan (Kassim, 2011). However, in 1988, after a period of increased hostility between Jordan and Palestine, culminating in the events of the 1970 Black September conflict, the Jordanian government decided to withdraw citizenship for green card holders (Human Rights Watch report, 2010).
- Palestinians from whom the government withdrew national identification numbers in 2009: in 2009, for reasons that remain unclear, the Jordanian government decided to withdraw citizenship from some yellow card holding Palestinians who had arrived in Jordan in 1967 (Human Rights Watch report, 2010).
- Jordanian women married to non-Jordanian men: The Jordanian nationality law discriminates against women by preventing non-Jordanian husbands from obtaining nationality. Article 3 of Jordan's nationality law offers nationality only to the following groups: "(3) Any person whose father holds Jordanian nationality; (4) Any person born in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan of a mother holding Jordanian nationality and of a father of unknown nationality or of a Stateless father or whose filiation is not established; (5) Any

person born in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan of unknown parents, as a foundling” (Law No. 6, 1954 on Nationality, last amended 1987). This is a clear example of unequal citizenship law in a nation where more than half of the population are of Palestinian origins. In addition, it is important to note that any resident without a national identification number is considered as a foreigner by the Jordanian authorities, even if they hold a Jordanian passport.

- Iraqis granted residency without a national identification number: Iraqi refugees who arrived in Jordan in 2003 following the US-led invasion of Iraq can obtain residency only if they have a secure and legal source of income and are able to freeze and deposit approximately US \$75,000 in a Jordanian bank account (Human Rights Watch, 2006). They are also excluded from the public realm, as they cannot receive or access public education or public state employment (ibid).

- Syrian refugees who are theoretically in temporary residence in Jordan: this group are considered as asylum seekers by the Jordanian government (UNHCR, 2015). They have permission to stay in the country only on a temporary basis and are not allowed to work (ibid). Because of their temporary status, these people can only receive aid, education, healthcare, and other benefits from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The involvement of NGOs draws attention to the mixed forms of governance that pertain in urban areas in Amman. In a recent lecture on critical spatial theory (2015), Nawratek questioned the Western assumption that local government has the main or sole responsibility for governing urban areas, drawing attention to the involvement of other agencies in these processes.

Therefore, the only purpose of the Jordanian passport without a national number is to ease travelling (Kassim, 2011). Given the country’s history of taking in refugees (see the previous section), these laws represent a significant discriminatory barrier that prevents a large proportion of the country’s population from accessing the public and political realm (see Figure 3.6), and a major cause of social polarisation and inequality in the city.

Access to:
Political sphere

Access to:
Public Realm
Private Sector
Civic Society

Jordan population
(2016): showing the
different origins and
degrees of citizenship.

Amman population:
the figures showed
that 49.7 per cent
of the non-Jordanians
residing in the King-
dom live in Amman,
while 38.6 per cent
of Jordanians live in
the capital.

Accessing the political sphere requires a "National Identification Number". Thus, it is only exclusive for Native Jordanians and Trans-Jordanian with NID.

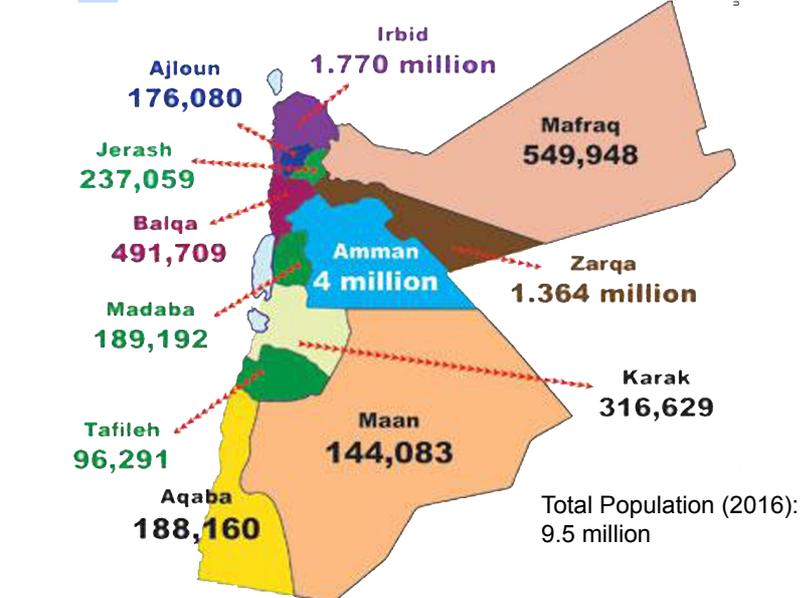
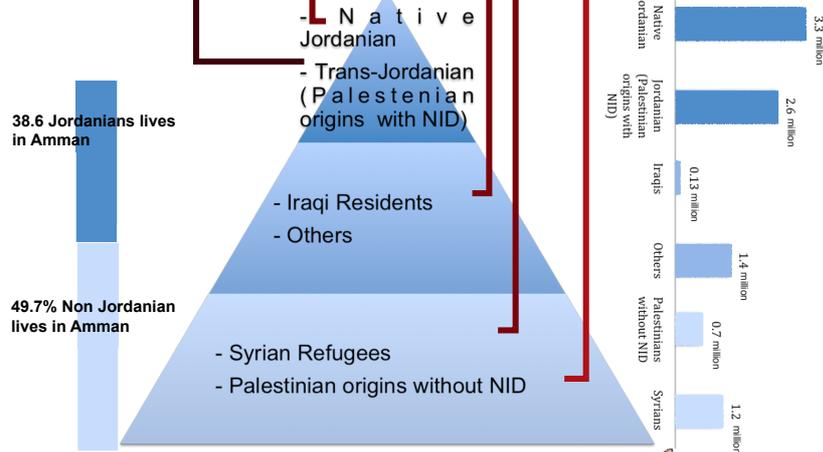
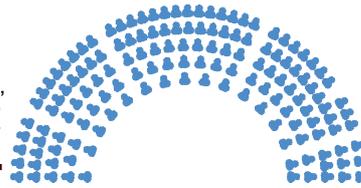


Figure 3.6. The different categories of citizenship in Jordan and their consequences for access to the public realm and political sphere (Author, 2017).

Access to the political sphere

It is important to understand the history of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, in order to address the reasons behind the lack of political participation within the nation. An important context is the fact that King Abdullah is currently attempting to intervene in the situation in the West Bank (Ababsa, 2013; Achilli, 2014). In accordance with pan-Arab agreements, he is promoting the idea that the West and East Banks should be reunited, with a 'right of return' for Palestinian refugees (ibid).

During the 1920s, Palestinians had more equal rights than they currently possess. For example, in 1928, the Law of Nationality stated that "All those who are habitual residents, at the time of the application of this law of Transjordan or the Western Territory administered by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and who hold Palestinian nationality, are considered as having already acquired Jordanian nationality and to enjoy all the rights and obligations that Jordanians have" (Article 2, cited in Massad, 2001, p. 39). In 1954, following the introduction of the Jordanian Nationality law, Palestinian refugees were also granted citizenship rights (Ababsa, 2013; Achilli, 2014) and enjoyed similar legal status to native Jordanians until 1967. In 1967 after Jordan, Egypt, and Syria lost the 'Six Day War' against Israel, a wave of new arrivals meant that Palestinian refugees now comprised around 60% of the total population (Achilli, 2014). Moreover, a number of refugees had already obtained Jordanian nationality as a result of the passing of the East and West Banks unity law in 1951 (Al-Hamarneh, 2002).

While the King of Jordan welcomed refugees throughout this turbulent period, there was increasing disquiet about the growing influence of a new political party which had formed in the West Bank after the end of the 'Six Day War'. Founded in 1967, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) would change the global attitude towards Palestinians in the years to come, with significant effects for policies affecting Palestinian refugees in Jordan (Achilli, 2014). Formed in large part by young men and women from the Palestinian refugee camps of Jordan and Lebanon, the PLO promoted Palestinian nationalism, and aimed to demonstrate the heroism and resilience of the Palestinian people (Khalili, 2007 cited in Achilli, 2014). This resulted in the establishment of the 'Fedayeen', guerrilla fighters, with their own political organisations, including their own army, media, and courts inside the Jordanian camps (ibid). The activities that were carried out from the 'Fedayeen' were not controllable by PLO or the Jordanian government, and soon led to 'Black September', a civil war between the Fedayeen and the Jordanian army, which lasted from 1970 to 1971 (ibid).

The conflict eventually resulted in the eviction of "Fedayeen" from Jordan (Massad, 2001; Sayigh, 1997 cited in Achilli, 2014), which also marked a dramatic turning point in Jordan's political ideology. Before the civil war, King Abdullah's vision was to share a national identity that included Palestinians and Transjordanians, but following Black September, Jordanian national identity started to become more and more exclusive (Abu-Odeh, 1999; Alon, 2007; Fruchter-Ronen, 2008; Massad, 2001; Mishal, 1978; Salibi, 1993 cited in Achilli, 2014). It was at this point that the Jordanian government started to withdraw citizenship from some Palestinians who had arrived in Jordan in 1967 (Human Rights Watch report, 2010).

Today, it is a widely held opinion amongst Jordanians that Palestinian refugees are anti-government in their attitude and sensibility. Jordanians of Palestinian origin are frequently described in terms that stress that they are not 'sons of the tribes' and therefore not 'true' Jordanians (Shryock, 1997 cited in Achilli, 2014). Black September and the events following it thus mark the beginning of both official and unofficial discrimination between native Jordanians and Jordanians with Palestinian origins (ibid). However, it is important to stress that the lack of political participation amongst Palestinian refugees is not a necessarily a demonstration of their allegiance to the values of Palestinian nationalism, but instead results from the Jordanian government's actions and restrictions following the events of Black September. These left Palestinian refugees with two choices: continue to live in the Arab diaspora of Jordan, under a discriminatory government which restricted or denied political rights, or submit to an unwelcoming Israeli occupation (Ababsa, 2013).

The role of civic society in Jordan

Before 1950, Jordanian refugee camps were managed by the government, but since that time, successive Jordanian governments have played a limited role in the development and management of these camps (Al-Hussieini, 2010). This may be largely due to the fact that the extent of the post-war crisis led to the involvement of many other national and international organisations, such as UNRWA, who stepped in to help Palestinian refugees, funding aid and constructing shelter, as well as providing medical services and education (Al-Hussieini, 2010; UNRWA, 1961). From 1961, UNRWA worked with the government to provide refugees with building materials that would enable them to turn their tents into more stable shelters. With this, however, came strict temporary regulations on building, which banned vertical expansion (UNRWA, 1961). The impact of these regulations was to shape the infrastructure of neighbourhoods, and to produce a series of contradictions around the concept of a 'temporary stay' in the country. The Amman camp was built on private land, which the authorities had rented for a period of 99 years (Ababsa, 2013), and a façade of temporariness was maintained by preventing buildings from developing further and by a refusal to connect residences there with the electricity, water, and sewage infrastructures until the mid-1960s (Al-Husseini, 2010; Ababsa, 2013). However, a number of illegal constructions were nonetheless erected by the camp's residents, including small shops (ibid), and an acknowledgement of the more permanent character of these settlements has arisen as they have become connected to municipality services, with inhabitants paying taxes to the municipality for the use of water, electricity, and telephone lines (ibid).

Due to the growth of the camp's population and the fact that the camps were not permitted to expand beyond their original boundaries, they quickly became overcrowded. Neither UNRWA nor the governmental authorities took responsibility for improving this situation with policy. Some improvements were made in 1988, when the Department of Palestinian Affairs (DPA), which functions under the umbrella of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, became involved in managing the camps (Al-Husseini, 2010). Taking a more lenient stance on the construction of illegal buildings in the camp, the DPA also started to manage and monitor a transition from shelters to a greater degree of commercial and vertical expansion (ibid).

In 1980, the Amman municipality established an Urban Development Department, (UDD) in cooperation with the World Bank. Its aim was to address the fact that informal housing for Palestinian refugees now formed a quarter of Amman City (Ababsa, 2013), focused largely in East Amman, in the heart of the old city centre. The UDD suggested and began an urban renewal project to solve the issues created by informal settlements, funding real estate ownership, boosting job opportunities for locals, fostering community participation, and providing incremental housing (ibid). In 1990, the UDD was merged with the Housing Corporation, creating a new organisation, the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (Ababsa, 2013). This new body was designed to oversee UNRWA's ten Palestinian refugee camps and three additional camps formerly managed by the Department of Palestinian affairs, and to provide policies focused on increasing access to services and social housing (Ababsa, 2013). The original vision was to involve residents in the process, in order to give them access to home ownership (ibid). However, since 1994 such engagement has been very limited, with the Corporation focusing largely on infrastructure services in poor areas instead, such as the 2006 launch of several projects to enhance service provision in informal areas (Ababsa, 2013). However, those projects were ultimately not implemented, due to launch of a separate social housing project in 2008, "Decent housing for decent living", after suggestions by the Royal family (ibid). From 2008 to 2013 the municipality created 100,000 housing units on deserted public land, evicting poor residents from the core of the city to the periphery.

NGOs in Jordan have arguably acted as a kind of government for people who do not possess a national identification number and who do not have access to the benefits of full citizenship. They were pivotal in transforming the urban structure of the city by facilitating the transformation of tents into houses in Amman. However, they have been unable to address the divide noted by planners between the Eastern and Western parts of the city: the eastern side, which includes the historical core, is highly populated but suffers from a lack of social housing, poor infrastructure, and lower levels of education and employment compared to the Western side of the city (see Figure 3.7). The 'Decent Housing' programme has only exacerbated this spatial inequality, evicting poor people from the city centre and relocating them to the desert on the outskirts.

WHAT WE DO

UNRWA human development and humanitarian services encompass primary and vocational education, primary health care, relief and social services, infrastructure and camp improvement, microfinance and emergency response, including in situations of armed conflict.



Figure 3.7. The role of UNRWA in offering education, health, and aid (UNRWA, 2018).

Political activities in 'public' space in Amman.

This section investigates the policies that regulate and control political activities in Amman, and the ways in which some of the population who lack official citizenship status perform politics in spite of these restrictions. In comparison to Western Europe, the Arab world in general, and Amman-Jordan in particular, lack a culture of spatialized political activity in the city. Tobin (2012), in 'Jordan's Arab Spring: The Middle Class and Anti-Revolution', argues convincingly that the need to secure governmental permission to perform politics or to

protest limits popular participation in political activities (see also Mitchell and Staeheli, 2005).

However, although political activities in Jordan are managed and regulated, they do still occur in Amman. The majority of protests happen in a small number of specific locations and at times that have symbolic meaning. For example, residents have organized many protests to support Palestinians after Friday prayers (a day of the weekend in Jordan). Protests against the Israeli embassy also occur after prayers at the Alkaloti mosque, which is located close by, and a range of other symbolic sites are also used, including King Hussein Bridge, the Professional Association car park, and the buildings housing the Prime Ministry and the Parliament, along with the University campuses and refugee camps themselves. These sites share a history of popular gathering, and a convenient location for protest, and their significance is such that protest that does not include them is regarded with suspicion. For example, Schwedler (2012) notes that the 2002 'The Palestinian Solidarity March', supported by Queen Rania, was considered a farce because it was routed away from the usual iconic spaces.

However, this rich heritage of spaces for public protest should not obscure the difficulties that activists face in organizing collective events. Jordanian government policies, such as the Penalty Act and the Public Assembly Law limit socio-political activities in the name of strengthening nationalism and solidarity between Jordanians from different background (Ababsa, 2011, p. 39-64). Such a project was manifested in the well-known "We are All Jordan" initiative, begun in 2006, which has effectively reduced access to public space. For example, after a recent sit-in by a group of orphans and other individuals born to unmarried parents, the government fenced off the roundabout used for the protest outside the Prime Ministry building, rendering it out of bounds. As an urban planner noted: "By fencing the roundabout, it [the city administration] resorted to a mentality of deprivation. The false notion of "public" has been overruled by a preference to civic non-representation. By closing down such a space, it narrows down its chances to allow citizens to voice their aspirations and grievances" (Hiari, 2019). Similar interventions occurred regularly during the Arab Spring period (2011-13), with an increased police presence and control of protests activities exacerbated by the fencing off of significant squares and roundabouts, including the Jamal Abd-Naser Roundabout (or 'Dakhaliyeh Circle') and the Fourth Circle Roundabout, as an attempt to limit the ability to organise mass demonstrations and protests.

However, the lack of designated spaces for protest in the Arab world "results in citizens themselves appropriating alternative spaces, either physical (political salons, cafés, roundabouts, etc.) or virtual (online fora)" (Yaghi et al, 2019). Importantly, these do not represent separate worlds, but overlap significantly: the internet played a very significant role in the organisation of protests during the Egyptian Arab Spring (again, often on roundabouts), and Ammanis have not been slow to use virtual spaces to 'express their disagreement with the government's policies' (Jordan Times, 2018), which sometimes spill over into the actual spaces of the city. For example, the recent 2018 protests opposing the government's economic measures and Income Tax Bill occurred on the Fourth roundabout (Aljazeera, 2018 cited in Yaghi et al, 2019). Therefore, while there might not be fixed spaces for gathering in protest in Amman, there is a constant re-performance and re-appropriation of existing spaces to render them political. Roundabouts thus symbolise the citizens' ability

to produce and re-perform any space public, in ways that far outstrip the planners' original intentions (Yaghi et al, 2019). This fluidity throws into question debates about access and opening up 'official' public spaces in the city: a performative methodology that rethinks and reclaims space, making quotidian places temporarily public in the event of gathering, has an ability to be light-footed, and to draw attention to social exclusion and inequality in a manner that would be more difficult in 'official' and designated public spaces (see Yaghi et al., 2019).

3.3 Neoliberalism

It is important to extend this analysis beyond state power, however, to explore the effects of neoliberal economic policy. As Schwedler states: "Protest activities in Jordan are affected not only by the non-democratic nature of the state, but also by the country's physical changes that are the direct result of rapidly expanding neoliberal economic reforms" (Schwedler, 2012, p 259). This section therefore focuses on the ways in which neoliberal practices in Amman have changed conceptualizations of 'public' space, exacerbating inequality (Ozuekren et al, 1999).

Across the globe, almost all our metropolitan and capitalist cities are witnessing privatisation. In the Arab region in particular, the idea of a free trading open market and globalisation have been introduced rapidly on a wave of surplus capital from the Gulf, often with cities like Dubai and Doha as role models. This has contributed in the transformation of 'public' space in these cities, as massive skyscrapers and blocks have been rapidly constructed. The narrative of neoliberalism's introduction is, however, slightly different in each location: for Jordan, the 1973 oil boom (Al Asad, 2008; Shami, 2007) and 1988 economic crisis were particularly significant. As Makhamreha and Almanasyeha (2011) have pointed out, planning has also played a role in this process. The master planning of Amman since 2000 has aimed to shift the city from mono-centric to a multi-centric metropolis, largely by providing vehicles for capital from the Gulf states to flow into the city (Aljafari, 2014). The role of the government has been that of a handmaiden to capital, smoothing the introduction of this privatisation into the public realm. A legal framework has developed in support, including the passage in 2000 of Law number 25, facilitating public-private partnerships (DOS and ICF Macro, 2010), and the creation of a variety of regulations to encourage the perception that the city is a safe ground for investment (Greater Amman Municipality, 2014). The result has been a real estate boom that has led to a dramatic rise in living costs in Amman city: in spite of being a poor country with high unemployment, it is one of the most expensive capital cities of any Arab country (DOS and ICF Macro, 2010; Daher, 2008).

Many scholars have discussed the impact of these neoliberal changes on the socio-spatial fabric of Amman. Daher (2012) sees the production of exclusive gated communities, shopping malls, high-rise business towers, and luxury apartments as the result of the city becoming a place to invest surplus capital from a wider region. Hourani (2014), however, draws attention to the unevenness of development, noting the way in which neoliberal projects have 'opened the way to a landscape of abandoned buildings, excavation and empty foundations, and the remains of speculative project structures went bankrupt'. Other

effects are more specific. For example, the Abdali Regeneration Project, which the owners have termed 'the new downtown', has displaced a transportation terminal and local markets (see Figures 3.8 and 3.9). The new space is no longer public, but regulated and managed by its owners for a local economic elite and wealthy tourists (Schwelder, 2012; Rajjal, 2007). Such neoliberal practices strengthen both inequality and spatial segregation between the eastern and the western parts of the city.



Figure 3.8. The new downtown in Amman, Abdali Boulevard (Author, 2016).

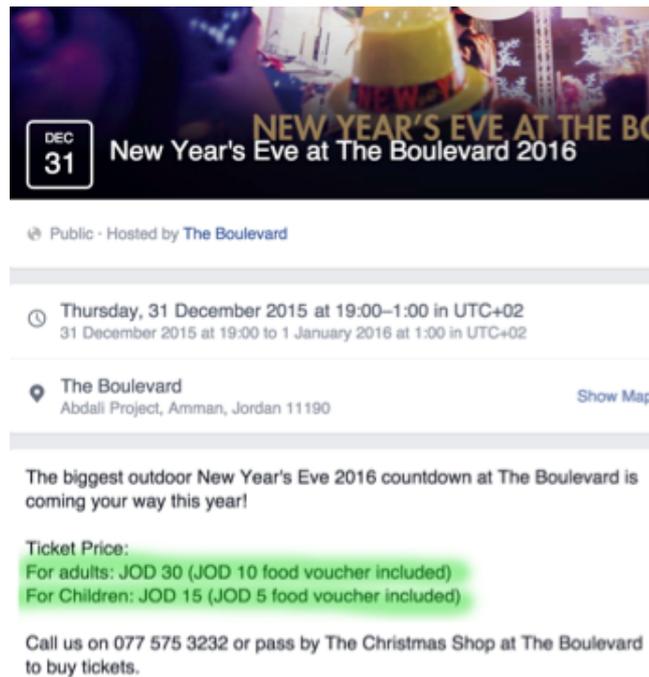


Figure 3.9. The official Facebook page for the Abdali Boulevard (2015). The advert is for tickets for a New Year event. The prices are around £30 per adult and £15 per child.

3.4. The divided publics- Amman

Until the late 1960s, Amman city had a very active public agenda, with schools, cinema houses, and political salons promoting social equality (Daher, 2012). However, the neoliberalisation of the city has tended to produce inequality and social polarisation, with some groups excluded from whole areas of the city (Low, 2011). The divide between the eastern and western sides of Amman may not take the form of a physical barrier, but its socio-cultural and economic roots run deep. As Ham and Greenaway have argued, the division actually simplifies a more complex pattern: “Residents talk openly of two Ammans, although in truth there are many. Eastern Amman (which includes downtown) is home to the urbanized poor: conservative, more Islamic in its sympathies, and has vast Palestinian refugee camps on its fringe. Western Amman is a world apart, with leafy residential districts, trendy cafes and bars, impressive art galleries, and young men and women walking openly arm in arm” (Ham and Greenway, 2003, cited in Potter et al., 2009, p.11). From being a diverse and intermingled ‘city of many hats’, then, the central image for Amman is now one of a two-way spatial and social division. This has been traced by Ababsa (2010), whose careful empirical cartographic research has mapped the contrast not only between informal self-built infrastructure near Palestinian refugee camps in the east, and villas, multi-storey buildings and offices blocks in the west, but also between population density and unemployment in each area (see Figure 3.10). Shami (2007, p. 208) has also highlighted the massive difference in infrastructure provision between the east and west, noting that major economic investments are distributed in the less densely populated part of the city (which includes Abdali, Shmesani, Swefiyeh and Abdoun).

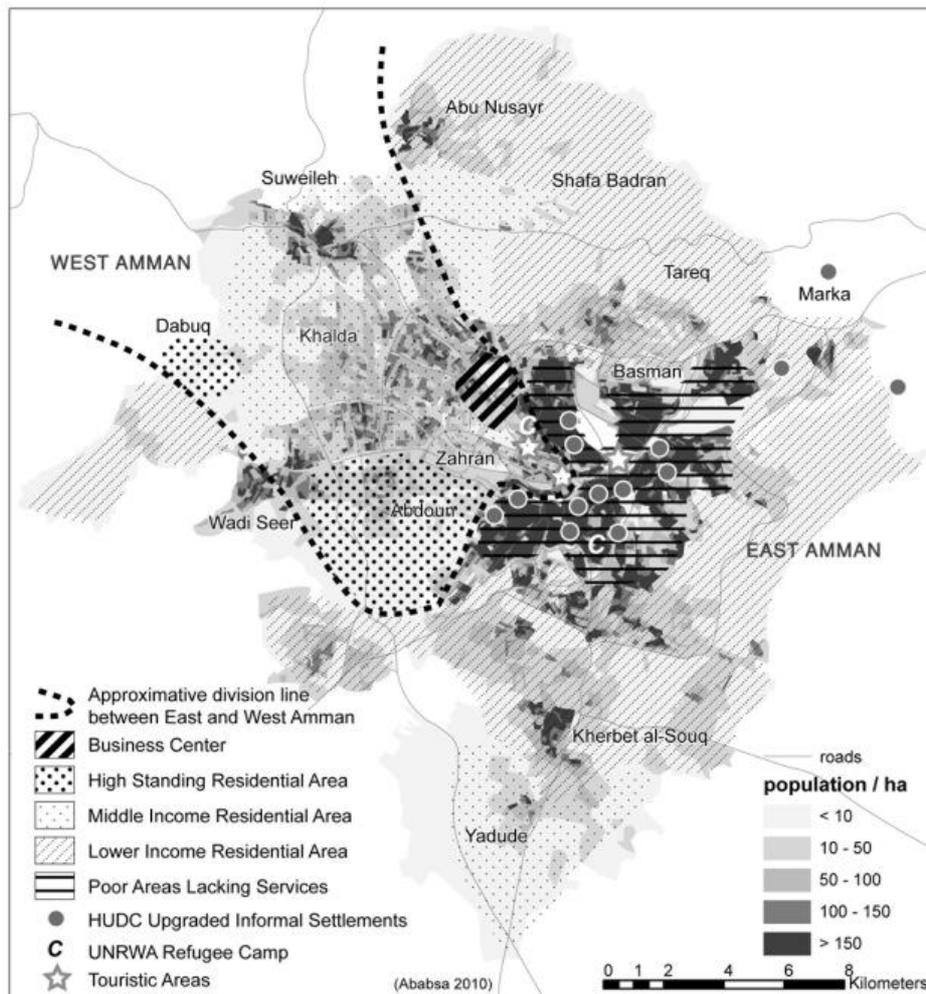


Figure 3.10. The contrasting morphology of the two Ammans (Ababsa, 2010).

Scholars have tended to view this division as a direct result of post-1948 waves of refugee influx (Hacker, 1960; Munif, 1994; Rifai, 1996). However, there are some neighbourhoods, for example, Jabal al Waibdah, which offer more inclusive urban settings and environments where families of different social, religious, and ethnic origin could live together (Daher, 2011 cited in Ababsa, 2013). Furthermore, the stairs of Amman have long provided communal spaces where a diverse range of people can congregate to socialize and interact with each other (ibid). This suggests that, while economic and social factors play a large role in the spatial organisation of the city, it is also possible to resist their influences. In another positive move, the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) has moved its location closer to the old downtown, to make it more accessible to all residents (Daher, 2008). Meanwhile, a number of projects have been started with the explicit objective of decreasing the gap between east and west. These include the opening of the Al-Husseini Cultural Centre, the National Museum, enhancements to Wakalat Street and Rainbow Street in Jabal, and regeneration and revitalization of the downtown “Wadi Amman” (Daher, 2008; Ababsa, 2011).

This thesis argues that the segregation between the east and west affects the meaning of public space in Amman, in three main ways. Firstly, and most importantly, it reflects a division in the ownership of space (Carmona et al, 2010, p. 137). Secondly, it has impacts on accessibility, including questions of whether spaces are open, accessible and available to all residents or whether there are rules, norms and conditions that have to be met in order to gain access (whether economic, for example entry fees; or social, for example, forms of exclusion that rely on the discomfort of certain groups in a space; or disciplinary, for example types of security and management by private corporations) (Yaghi et al, 2019). Thirdly, it affects diversity, reducing the groups of people who use a space in an active and vibrant way.

3.5. Defining ‘public’ space in Amman

‘Public’ space is sometimes defined as any location to which the public have access. The Greater Amman Municipality has refined this formulation, defining public space as “both active and passive open space’ including “‘Green Areas” that contain canopy trees and seating areas rather than physical development. Open space includes parks, sports fields, buffer strips, public gardens/landscaping, and cultural heritage sites and corridors.” (GAM cited in Aljafari, 2014). However, this neutral-sounding interpretation largely ignores the effect of social inequality, the different degrees of citizenship possessed by different groups, and the laws repressing protest and political activities, and also does not address neoliberal innovations that have reduced access to certain spaces. It could be argued that the notion of public space in Amman has now shifted to something more akin to ‘pseudo-public’ space, places that can only be accessed by certain groups, and that are highly sensitive to power relations, particularly socio-economic background, ethnicity, and gender.

Free-to-access public spaces do still exist, but many are in a run-down state that is the source of disquiet for residents. For example, the large parks provided by the city were seen as a focus for anti-social behaviour. One 37 year old male interviewee, living in the east of the city, complained that the park was used by ‘young people who use it badly’, while a 26 year old mother of two noted a ‘lack of maintenance and anti-social behaviour’ as a problem. A 23 year old Jordanian male articulated the nature of the problem more clearly: ‘some parks are used to find prostitutes’.

Recently emerging ‘public’ spaces almost all operate under varying conditions of exclusion. Abdali Boulevard, Galleria mall, Taj Lifestyle mall, Baraka mall, City mall, and Mecca mall are all privately owned spaces, with expensive stores, cafes, and restaurants that are beyond the reach of lower socio-economic residents. Entrance is via alarmed security gates with security guards who control who can access the space. Consumers experience the feeling of being watched via surveillance cameras, and certain groups are forbidden to enter (for example, single men). Lower-income groups also struggle to access parks because of the poor transport infrastructure and entrance fees: the Amphitheatre, Abdali Boulevard, and the Citadel all sometimes charge a fee, which places them beyond the reach of many eastern residents. Another main park has been existed is the ‘Sports City’, containing the stadium, swimming pool, sport fields, and some green space. However, the whole is surrounded by metal fence which an admission is due (enforced by guards), and access is dominated by a parking lot, which makes the space extremely car-dominated. Wakalat

street and Rainbow Street are more diverse, but unhappily so, since they have become regular sites for clashes between eastern and western residents. A frequent complaint in interviews was that such places were sites of 'bad behaviour', for example male harassment of women (Al Asad, 2011).

Therefore, the current status quo of commodification, authoritarian control and the various layers of publicness of spaces (all of which are specific to the norms often produced by the cultural and social construction of Amman) makes public spaces ideally pseudo-public. It could be argued that public space is perhaps present within the context but not where it is assigned to exist.

This research seeks to prepare and formulate an alternative practice as a way of critiquing and reclaiming 'public' spaces. It draws on the work of Rendell (2006) who has proposed a number of techniques for the creation of alternative public spaces, including art and various creative tools. Her aim is to produce critical spatial practices that function as interventional and transformative processes, critiquing social and economic relations. I therefore seek possibilities for spatial practice which go beyond the physical and engage with art, site-specific performance and practice, and provocations to increase public engagement (Yaghi et al, 2019). I draw on practices that have produced sharp critiques to conventional architectural practice, by drawing attention to invisible socio-spatial relations and processes at work in space, instead of market-oriented objects and outputs. Furthermore, I attempt to link such practice with institutions, by highlighting the civic pedagogic responsibilities of architectural educators in universities.

Civic pedagogy and performative spatial practice: methodological framework



Chapter Four: Civic pedagogy and performative spatial practice: methodological framework

4.1. Chapter overview

The previous chapters have highlighted the practical and theoretical urge to propose alternative spatial practices that can question and critically produce public space. This chapter illustrates how this research has translated these theories and notions into a practical framework, developing tactics and strategies in order to catalyse social change. These fall into three temporal phases, each of which informs the next: performative intervening, mediating, and sustaining the gains for the future. Each involves its own set of tactics and strategies, with different ethical considerations. This chapter will outline the methodology that emerges in its many hybrid and interdisciplinary facets, while also justifying the reasons for using these tools to achieve the research aims and objectives seeking social and cultural change.

This chapter also highlights the role of the researcher, and the many roles that the action-researcher must perform as s/he switches between the positions of citizen, artist, urban gatherer, mediator, civic educator etc. Gathering, interrogating, translating, transferring and disseminating knowledge means adopting a fleet-footed approach that can move between these functions. This chapter reflects on the practical, intellectual, and ethical demands that this places on the researcher and the implications of this for the methodological framework deployed.

4.2 Introduction to the conceptual methodological framework

Towards the Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Following the discussions outlined in Chapters Two and Three, this research aims to find possibilities for an alternative critical production of space, based on collaboration and participation. This means stepping outside of orthodox approaches to social science inquiry, which produce conventional forms of knowledge in a manner that excludes “human subjects from all the thinking and decision making that generates, designs, manages, and draws conclusions from the research” (Reason, 1998, p.264). Creswell (2009, p.9) argues the need for an “action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher’s life”. Such an approach gives the space for participants to be heard and engaged within transformative processes (ibid, Fals-Borda and Rahman, 1991).

Participatory action research (PAR) is a suggestive approach to such a model of inquiry. It treats participants as co-researchers, who are engaged with every stage of the process (Reason, 1998), and is responsive to intersectionality and difference, in the sense that it respects different perspectives, social roles, and agencies (Nasser-Eddin, 2011). Like Freire’s (2000) notion of critical pedagogy, PAR is inherently political and focuses on power

dynamics, producing “knowledge and action directly useful to a group of people—through research ... and sociopolitical action” (Reason, 1998, p.269). Gaventa and Cornwall (2008) have highlighted the ways in which the knowledge produced via traditional methods is constructed by elites: PAR can challenge this by acknowledging the role of power in epistemology, allowing and enabling marginalised groups to be involved. It is, in other words, a way of constructing commoning relations and collaborative processes for the coproduction of knowledge.

Although PAR borrows some methods and tools from orthodox research within its data collection and analysis phases, these tools are used in a more collaborative way, to empower and build a community (Tandon, 1989). In spatial terms, participatory approaches seeks transformative actions towards relational knowledge (Doucet and Janssens, 2011) rather than imposing a top-down approach, as Carroll notes: “the people who ultimately will use a designed artifact are entitled to have a voice in determining how the artifact is designed” (Carroll, 2006, p.3). Given the levels of difference that exist within any society, this may mean undertaking a process of negotiation, as different groups may have different views.

In terms of my own research, my methodology interweaves civic pedagogic and performative interventions to create a series of tactics and approaches (intervening, mediating, and sustaining). These aim to produce collaborative answers to the research questions, aims and objectives of this project. The methodology behind this is mixed: alongside the performative theory already noted (rooted in the work of the Situationists and Judith Butler, but also encompassing art-based interventions), a multiple/embodyed case study approach (Yin, 2003) has been utilised with a focus on civic responsibilities. Interviews, conversations, and workshops were embedded in an ethnographic approach, with a cumulative approach to data collection, so that the information collected from each fed into all of the others during the fieldwork process (Figure 4.1). The participatory and collaborative processes used in this research thus aimed to produce a “cyclical process of fact finding, action, reflection, leading to further inquiry and action for change” (Minkler, 2000, p.191). Within this process, each phase feeds into the next.

As Yin (2003) has stated, investigating phenomena and processes within everyday life experience requires the selection of a variety of different methods and case studies, in a range of settings. In addition to detailed work conducted in the context of Amman, this study therefore adds comparisons from the very different social, political and cultural contexts of Sheffield, UK and Berlin, Germany. While all three cities are experiencing gentrification processes and the development of pseudo-public spaces, the ways in which this has occurred in each are very different. The aim is not simply to develop analyses across a wide range of places, but to use this contrast as a foil, to show the specificity of the processes under scrutiny in Amman.

More specifically, the methodology of this research follows an epistemological approach which aims to develop a civic and performative urban rights platform within the context of Amman, by raising inhabitants’ awareness of their right to the city. As such, it falls under the umbrella of Participatory Action Research (PAR), in that it aims at the “systematic collection and analysis of data for the purpose of taking action and making change” (Gillis, 2002,

p.264). As MacDonald (2012) has argued, this is a democratic and liberated approach that seeks opportunities for active participation in order to produce transformative actions and impact. The ultimate desire for all such action research is to catalyse social change (ibid). The four stages of the research fell as follows, where each phase inform the next one:

- 1) Preparation** (before conducting the practice): this stage explored current literature on public spaces, with a particular emphasis on their dialectic socio-spatial and political dimensions. It also investigated existing interventions that aimed to find alternative ways of producing such public spaces. Amman was identified as a context for the research, and relevant histories and ethnographies of the city were consulted to provide an account of the ways in which its spaces are currently performed and the historical, political, economic, architectural, and cultural factors pertaining thereto. My position as a researcher was also scrutinised self-reflexively from the start (a process that continued throughout the research), to identify what Collins (2010) calls my 'personal motives' as a lens for reflection and arrangement within this research. As Pezalla et al. note (2012, p.166) "unique researcher attributes have the potential to influence the collection of empirical materials"; therefore it felt important to analyse my own viewpoint, as an Ammani and a Jordanian, and my lived experience of the spatial context, in order to reflect on the personal lens with which I view these issues.
- 2) Intervening:** this represents the first empirical stage of the research, and involves the testing of a number of different performative interventions that were tailored to specific spaces in the Ammani context. It involved the development of a set of criteria to select spaces for intervention, and a further consideration of the performative interventions that might be suitable and appropriate in each. Care was taken to ensure that spaces represented very variegated areas of the city, so that the widest possible range of challenges could be considered. This allows the findings of the research to move beyond these specific case studies, in order that the whole of the public space in the city can be considered in the study's conclusions. The interventions were designed to reveal the invisible phenomena at work in the construction of these spaces, deepening an understanding of how spaces are performed in Amman, while simultaneously drawing participants' attention to issues of urban rights over such spaces. The coproduction of knowledge amongst researcher and participants was a critical part of this stage of the research.
- 3) Mediating:** the second of the empirical stages was devoted to analysing the phenomena revealed by the interventions, via a process of expert mediation. Using a combination of interviews and workshops, a range of participants from a number of different disciplines helped to shape the analysis, negotiations and further action plans of the data, in a process that allowed a number of different viewpoints to be heard. Discussion was frequently agonistic rather than unanimous, revealing a plurality of perspectives on the right to the city, fractionated by factors like gender and class. Methodologically, this phase of the research required careful consideration of the tactics that could be employed to recruit mediators, including difficult questions about how representative of the wider city such a panel should be. In terms of activist-research objectives, the mediation aimed to construct civic bridges that could act as the basis for further interventions and negotiations.

4) Sustaining: This section looked to the future, drawing attention to visions and possibilities that emerged organically from the mediation process. The aim was to produce the beginnings of a strategy for the reclamation and reproduction of a more accessible, equal public space. The contribution made by this research to knowledge was also a subject for reflection, with the caveat that this type of research does not aim to present prescriptive and finished solutions, but to outline possible directions for travel that are open to further shaping by future participants. The emphasis remains firmly on possibility and flexibility, in keeping with a commitment to the idea that forms of civic action that can foster a more egalitarian future must be open to dialogue with future constituencies. This research therefore defines alternative spatial practice in a manner that emphasises on-going processes that are contingent and revisable. The outcome is more a set of potential conceptual tools towards the critical production of public spaces than a series of absolute demands.

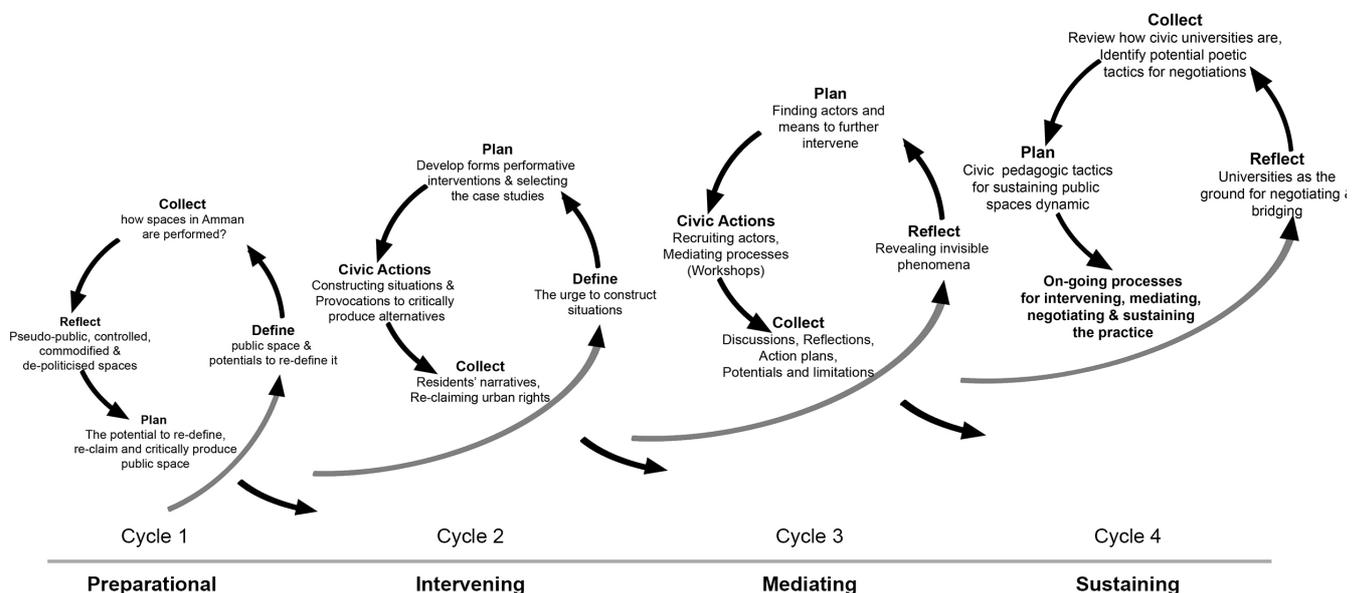


Figure 4.1. The cyclical and on-going processes within this research and how each cycle inform the next to catalyse social change (Author, 2019).

As Figure 4.1 suggests, the process within each phase of the research was cyclical, with the findings from each phase feeding into the next. This has ethical ramifications: while the study was signed off by an ethics committee in a standard review process, the organic emergence of the methodology meant that it was important to continue to consider the ethical implications of decisions in each successive phase, in order to retain a focus on the promotion of a more just and inclusive form of spatial practice, with the strength to challenge power inequalities.

This research within its three levels (intervening, mediating and sustaining) aims to explore possibilities for building a participatory platform that is facilitated by the different mediators, and that produces new possibilities to sustain and expand the production of

more equal forms of public space. The approach to epistemology appreciates plurality and difference, and the need to include often marginalised and unheard voices.

The co-production of knowledge, space and research

“We should fight for academia as a space in which co-produce. Not to preserve an ideal form that never existed, but to transform it such that the utopian potentials immanent to co-production might be realised.” (Bell and Pahl, 2017, p. 11)

Co-production is a concept that is central within this research for further critical reflections. It is embedded in the very idea of seeking to produce alternative spaces of dialogue that provoke participants to interrogate existing spaces and to perform and critically produce alternative spaces. It can be considered as the beginning of co-production processes. Originally, the term ‘co-production’ can be traced back to Ostrom, who uses it to refer to “the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not “in” the same organization” (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1073). Most importantly, there is a clear relationship here between the notion of co-production and that of a “commons”. More recently, co-production has been used to describe the processes by which users are engaged in the design and delivery of new economic models (Boyle and Harris, 2009). Petrescu et al. (2016, p. 719) suggest that the emergence of this idea of the commons is related to “the withdrawal of public services” and the goal of “shifting power relations between stakeholders involved with services and their production”. They connect this alternative, collective approach to Freire’s call for counter-hegemonic methods for the construction of knowledge that can confront domination and oppression. Such a view proposes that co-construction of knowledge can lead to more democratic and liberal outcomes that are also more inclusive of a range of diverse actors and agencies (Brock and McGee, 2002). Involving various actors, human and non-human, in the co-production of space and resilience develops capacity to act and to produce resistant practices (Petrescu et al., 2016).

As outlined in Chapters Two and Three, this research explores the use of performative interventions to reclaim public space and questions its current situation. The process is essentially collaborative, and centres on the need to develop an alternative to pseudo-public space in the shape of a deeper, more collaborative sense of publicness. The methodology aims to move beyond the confines of top-down approaches to spatial practice which characterise many architectural interventions. Instead, it is inspired by, and contributes towards, a wider movement of transformative research which aims to reveal the power inequalities at work in existing public space, and to find imaginative alternatives that can challenge and reduce these through a process of negotiation in a given context.

Ostrom (2015) emphasises the role of co-production in bridging the gap between public services and the citizens’ demands. In other words, its core importance is manifested in the way that it formalises negotiations processes. Significantly, Mitlin (2008) notes the ways in which co-production has influenced decisions on spatial matters and how citizen

involvement has shifted the balance of power from top-down, state-citizen models to more engaging models.

Mitlin (2008) adds that coproduction redefines the core structural relationship between society and the state, empowering political forms of participation and democratising decision-making by transferring responsibility from the state to the community (Foucault, 1979). The gentrification of land use, whether originating with state or neoliberal practices, has relocated many people in different countries (Patel and Bartlett, 2009).

However, the notion of co-production is contested and complex and requires trust and time to develop. It also necessitates definition of the actors who impact decision-making within the existing power structure (Mitlin, 2008). This research considers co-production as a form of participation, and focuses not on state-society relations, but on an alternative series of relationships between various communities, non-governmental organisations, and academic bodies within the city. As McGranahan notes, “successful co-production may require dialogic as well as practical collaboration” (McGranahan, 2015, p. 246).

In this research, I focus on the coproduction of spaces as an initial preparational phase for further reflections in which urban rights can be questioned and discussed, and on the problems created by existing power structures, available resources, and conventional practices. Prototyping and constructing small pockets of co-production for the creation of more equal types of public space can initiate long-term envisioning processes that can be sustained and expanded at a larger scale. What this research is aiming for, in other words, is to initiate spaces for critical co-production, using processes of intervening, mediating, and sustaining. I shall focus particularly on the inhabitants of informal settlements who “are rarely seen by governments and international agencies as providers of solutions” (Patel and Baptist, 2012, p. 9). Their inclusion within the co-production process is important because of their exclusion from state-led processes. Alternative practices can therefore draw attention to the need for changes to state-led practices that currently neglect such groups.

4.3. The civic pedagogic performative spatial practice

Civic pedagogic and performative research

Barret and Bolt have drawn attention to the “subjective and situated approach of artistic research... the tacit and intuitive processes, the experiential and emergent nature of its methodologies and the intrinsically interdisciplinary dimension of this mode of research that is derived from its material and social relationality” (2007, p.9). There is a clear cross-over between this type of approach and practice-led ‘performative’ research. Haseman (2006) is one of the key scholars who has crossed the interdisciplinary boundary between the social sciences and the arts to suggest the need for creative methods and practices. As Cole et al. point out, such practices strengthen the notion of the researcher as “instrument” within action research or cooperative inquiry (Cole et al, 2008).

Barret (2014) identifies several ways in which creative practices can support social science research. They can:

1. Contribute to knowledge through a cyclical process of practicing/making and reflecting.
2. Shift the focus from the aesthetic object to the investigation itself
3. Acknowledge the artist as an active participant, a co-producer of emergent knowledge.

Art can thus function as a participatory mechanism, producing a different type of knowledge to quantitative research. Whereas validation of quantitative data requires 'repetition of the same', validation of participatory research relies on 'repetition with difference'.

As Haseman notes, research itself has a performative aspect: "when research findings are presented as performative utterances, there is a double articulation with practice that brings into being what, for want of a better word, it names. The research process inaugurates movement and transformation. It is performative. It is not qualitative research: it is itself – a new paradigm of research with its own distinctive protocols, principles and validation procedures" (Haseman, 2006, p. 6). Haseman emphasizes the difference between this methodology and that of more conventional qualitative research, viewing it as a performative sub-branch that uses radical artistic methods and strategies as research tools. However, Bolt (2004) suggests that creative art researchers should identify their territory more clearly before claiming this new paradigm: "artistic researchers need to carefully mark out the territory of a performative paradigm and differentiate it from the established research orthodoxies by refining its protocols and procedures; defining its concepts, methodologies and interpretive methods and assessing whether a performative paradigm really can hold its own within the broader field of research" (Bolt, 2014).

As Butler has argued, identities are performed and constructed through everyday experiences. The same notion, Barba argues, could be translated into art and performative research, where identity is constantly performed and constructed through iterative practice. This allows the dialectic relations between theory and practice to be in constant dialogue. Thus, performative research offers an alternative model, which is transformative in its nature, rather than descriptive.

Artistic methods uncover a new approach, even a new research paradigm, that is different in kind from more conventional qualitative and quantitative research. Bolt claims that this paradigm is performative: "a mode of research characterised by a productive performativity where art is both productive in its own right as well as being data that could be analysed using qualitative and aesthetic modes" (Bolt, 2016). Within the realm of spatial practice, the virtues of such an approach are only beginning to be recognised, as 'research by design', 'PhD by design' and 'design research' emerge. Servillo and Schreurs (2013) refer to research by design as a series of interdisciplinary and cyclical processes that create a new model for the construction of knowledge via alternative methodological frameworks. Gao (2015) also recognises the research value of engagement with creative and artistic methods and tools, while Haseman (2008) illustrates the ways in which practice-led research might adopt and employ artistic qualitative methods. All of these sources suggest a creative hybrid between PAR, ethnography, and performative and creative methodologies.

Practice-led research can make a variety of contributions to knowledge. Smith and Dean (2008) argue that artistic output and critical reflection are significant contributions. Barrett and Bolt (2007), on the other hand, make more ambitious claims that such research can contribute to the dialectic between theory and practice, even constructing new types of theory and new modes of knowledge, a kind of “praxical knowledge”. Heron (1996) suggests that practice-led research can make four different contributions, each of which can be connected to cooperative methods of enquiry: experiential, presentational, propositional, and practical. Haseman’s performative practice-led research model sees the researcher/architect as someone who is engaging and performing through the research (Haseman, 2006). This approach suggests a collaborative framework, which places practice at the heart of the research, rather than outputs. Participants thus become co-producers of knowledge, collaborative co-inquirers, rather than subjects from whom knowledge is to be extracted.

4.3.1. At the level of performative intervening

As outlined in Chapters two and three, many public spaces are a product of political and neoliberal spatial practices which are designed to control and manage access, restricting it to certain demographics. This research aims to tackle and resist these spatial practices, and instead to suggest the possibility of critically co-producing alternatives. As Steen (2013, p.20) argues, the aim of activist-research is about bringing people together to discuss, test, investigate and catalyse the desired change. The coproduction of reflective knowledge, this research contends, plays a vital role in empowering the users of urban space, allowing them to see the power structures at work in current situations and to commit to more participatory alternative futures (Dewey, 1938). This includes resistance to dominant spatial practices within the realm of architecture, many of which focus on carefully curated magazine-style images of aesthetic beauty, rather than digging into the social relations within a space, and the social and political context that permeates it. Drawing attention to the civic, rather than the aesthetic, aspects of public space is therefore a central ambition of this project.

The aesthetic commodification of public space and the gentrification of cities together make performative interventions a vital attempt to reclaim space, with the potential to add a sense of the urgency with which an alternative form of public space is needed. Interventions were selected with this in mind: the following section presents the justification for the case studies and performative interventions deployed.

Selecting the case studies tactics

Chapter three presented a theoretically-informed history of the way in which Amman’s city spaces are performed, weaving together current observation with historical and political literatures to unfold a sense of the problematic nature of current public spaces in the city. The interventions selected as for the first phase of the research were designed to bring the power relations under scrutiny in this Chapter to wider public awareness, thus creating a basis for power relations to be acknowledged, and public space to be reclaimed through a more reflective form of critical production.

A case study approach seemed an ideal fit for the situation, because of the ways in which such a methodology invites reflection on context, as Yin argued (2003, p. 13): “A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. Similarly, Payne (2004) has stated that the case study is well-suited to an investigation that requires a clear and in-depth understanding of several social units within clear boundaries.

A number of deliberately different sites were selected, with a view not merely to comparing and contrasting each, but to synthesising a picture of public space across the city as a whole. As Chapter three revealed, Amman is a very divided city, and socio-economic divisions are very strongly reflected in spatial relations, with various forms of private, public, and public-private hybridity on offer. The research therefore needed not merely to capture the reactions of those who were present within a space, but also those who were absent and excluded. A comparative approach that was sensitive to difference was necessary: therefore, the decision was made to repeat the same performative interventions in different locations, to test the ways in which they were perceived within different areas. The objective in selecting multiple case was to produce a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of the dynamics of public space in the city (Stake, 2000), and to strengthen “the precision, the validity and stability of the findings by looking at a range of similar and contrasting cases” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 29).

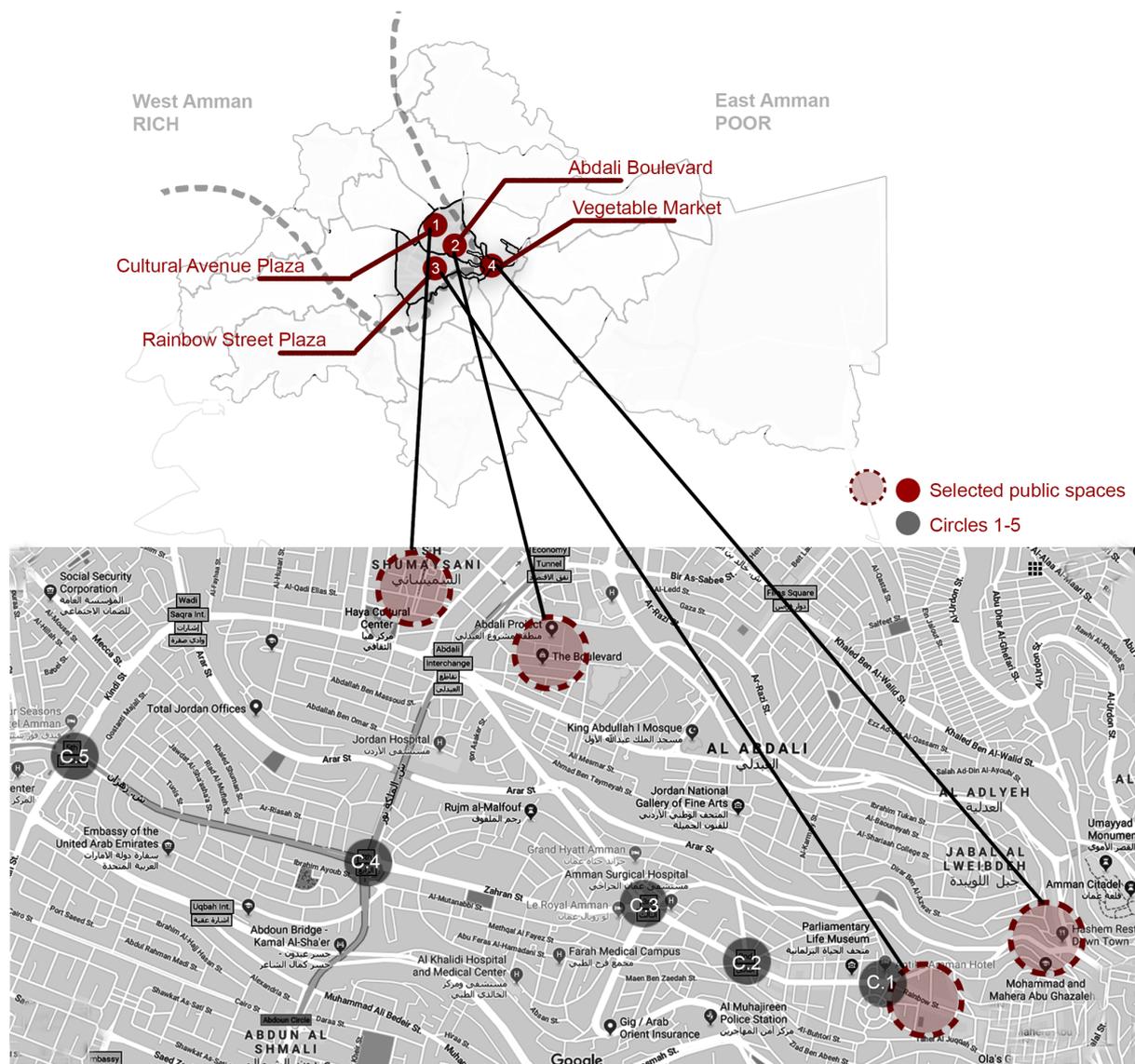


Figure 4.2. maps the sites that were selected in order to explore the different layers of publicness within the neoliberal contemporary Amman (Author, 2019).

To supplement the knowledge produced, the research also explored the use of performative interventions within the very different cultural, social, and geopolitical contexts of Sheffield, UK and Berlin, Germany. The objective behind adding experiences from other nations was to throw into relief that which is specific to Amman, by showing the ways in which political, social and economic contexts change the way in which participants react.

Provocation through performative intervention

Chapter three showed the emergence of pseudo-public space in Amman: spaces that are apparently public, but that are actually exclusive, unequal, and privately owned or managed. Revealing the invisible power relations that structure access to such spaces was the major objective of the first phase of the study. The aim was not merely to achieve this using scholarship, but to deploy a public intervention that could disrupt existing spatial relations and suggest a more equal way of coproducing such spaces by provoking reflective

reactions. Inspiration was taken from Butterworth and Sam (2007), who argue that 'site seeing and creative survey' can reveal such unspoken and invisible knowledges. Interventions acts as creative surveys collect users' narratives about their own spaces, in a performative way which re-claims and productively disrupts spatial relations.

Chapters two and five offer a critical discussion of key performative theories and an account of the way that performative practice can (re)construct social situations and relations (Butler, 1990; Soja, 1980). What is important here is to recall the significant impact that performative interventions can have in terms of bolstering resistance and creating space for forms of intersubjective recognition, allowing people to construct and reconstruct not merely their own identities but those of a wider community. Performativity thus makes a series of claims about the 'the right to appear' within a perceived power structure. As Rendell's (2006) work makes clear, this is a profoundly spatial form of critical practice: the transformative and interventional nature of performativity is *placed*, allowing it to become a tool through which the social reproduction of space can be critiqued and questioned, and using art and performance to develop alternative approaches and tactics. The work of London-based collective MUF, Public Works, the Berlin-based collective 'Raumlabour', and ON/OFF exemplify a range of attempts to use performativity as a critical lens through which to view contemporary practices of architecture itself, in a manner that draws attention to the production of space as a continuing process, rather than a static final output. Architecture itself is thus challenged to move beyond objects and images and to become more dynamic, interdisciplinary, and provocative in the public reactions that it elicits.

This thesis seeks to build on such approaches, using performative interventions to re-politicize space and to question the exclusions and inequalities that surround commodified pseudo-public places. The city for which this resistant practice was developed (Amman, Jordan), required interventions to be situated within a very specific cultural, social and political context, responding to highly specific sets of social and cultural norms, many of which have a significant degree of influence over the ways that bodies move through space. Provocation, in such a context, needs to be carefully calibrated in its negotiation of a series of social mores that are highly contentious, and both socially and officially policed. To develop tools that were sufficiently nuanced to achieve this, inspiration was drawn from two sources: performative feminist contemporary artists, including Valie Export, Yoko Ono, and Marina Abramovich (See Figure 4.3 and 4.4); and performative modes of activism and protest. In the latter category, I include the Femen movement, who write on their naked chests as a protest against the male-dominant religious orders in Eastern Europe; the occupation of public space during the Arab Spring in North Africa; the methods used by the Extinction Rebellion in London, where activists aim to create public disruption to draw attention to the climate crisis; and "the 'Cube of Truth' by the Anonymous voiceless group which protests corrupted politics" (Yaghi et al, 2019) (See Figure 4.5). These forms combine art and activism to reclaim an arena for protest in a manner that fundamentally signals a right to occupy space, constructing situations that challenge existing power structures and give a voice and an authority to marginalised groups. The actants involved are constantly constructing and reconstructing social and spatial relations, critically producing a conscious demand for an alternative (Latour, 2005). Such tools therefore seemed ideally suited to a project that aimed to critique modes of publicness in a neoliberal city.



Figure 4.3. "Tap and Touch Cinema," by Valie Export. Photo credit (Artists Rights Society (ARS), 2015).



Figure 4.4. Marina's Abramovic project "The Artist is Present", as an engaging approach (Addley, and Charney, 2015).



Figure 4.5. Femen movement (re)-acting in Paris opposing the discrimination of women (Shevchenko, 2013).

The aim of the performative interventions used in this study was to provoke discussions about the right to the city in a manner that allowed an open-ended conversation to emerge. My role was therefore to initiate, facilitate, provoke, and steer the discussion. I achieved this by occupying a range of very different ‘public’ spaces in Amman with a provocative sign which read “I am a public space, talk to me” accompanied with actions as walking, sitting, standing, and stopping when members of the public approached me. I adapted these methods for Sheffield and Berlin to reflect the different social, political, and cultural contexts of those cities. This offered the opportunity to test how performative spatial practice can be operated within different contexts, including the use of different performative tools. I was concerned to record the consequences that each operation provoked, and the ways in which they can tell us more about public spaces within different contexts, including social, cultural and political dimensions. All forms of performative intervention aimed to produce critical spaces of dialogue, from which specific themes then emerged, clustered around the central idea of publicness. While the method succeeded in provoking dialogue at every site, it was not entirely effective at drawing every demographic into the conversation. In some cases, this reflected exclusions within the space itself; in others, the intervention was simply not strong enough to break down the barriers to equal participation faced by some groups. Lack of familiarity with the techniques of performative intervention is almost certainly a factor here: such tools as live art and performance are seldom used in public spaces in the city, and this, combined with a fear of being perceived to participate in a political activity, may account for the unwillingness of certain groups to become involved (see Chapter five for a more in-depth discussion).

A total of eighty-seven narratives were collected from the intervention, after participants had granted written or verbal consent and fully understood the research aims and objectives clearly (see Appendix 1). Each space yielded between 21 and 25 of these

interviews, most of which were conducted in Arabic and then subsequently translated into English and processed. Remarkably, women participated to a greater extent than men: 59 out of the 87 were female. Each participant has been given a coded reference number (from P1 to P87) to preserve their anonymity.

Discussions revolved around a series of internal self-reflections about participants' right to access the spaces, drawing on everyday experience to reveal the unspoken and unwritten norms governing the space. Several common themes quickly emerged from the conversations, including the gendered nature of public space (male sexual harassment, 'outspoken' women); the relative exclusivity or inclusivity of a space, particularly towards refugees; and the development of exclusive and expensive leisure spaces in the cities, which were often discussed in terms of visiting tourists from the Gulf, linking Amman to a wider geographic and geopolitical region. These are discussed in greater depth in the following chapters.

4.3.2. At the level of Mediating

Recruiting mediators: interviews and workshop

The second phase of the research involved mediation to discuss the data gathered in phase one and to develop future strategies that could respond to the concerns that were raised by residents. There were two parts to this second phase: firstly, a range of (mostly) one-to-one interviews were conducted with important institutional stakeholders in the city; secondly, a collective workshop was held to discuss findings and to produce strategies for future intervention.

Mediators were recruited via a method of 'purposive sampling', a technique that is designed to ensure representation from a range of different institutional bodies with some civic responsibility (such as universities, NGOs, theatre, etc). As Morgan and Scannell (1998) have argued, 'purposive sampling' deliberately selects participants according to the aims and objectives of the project, with a view to generating relevant and unbiased knowledge. Within this research, the selection was not random; instead it intentionally aimed at generating further actions toward residents' urban rights. As Rapley (2004) has argued, interviewing need not be a one-off, static process, but can be a process of active listening, sharing and vocalisation, which produces follow-up activity, including collaboration, active engagement, and further questioning. By formalising this process via the workshop, this project ensured a stage beyond data analysis, which was geared towards building institutional and cooperative capital to produce meaningful change.

The interviews took a semi-structured, open-ended form. Fourteen were conducted with a range of participants, including architectural educators, researchers, practitioners, NGO representatives, artists and representatives of civic institutions. Twelve of the total were face-to-face conversations, one was by phone, and one by Skype. Most interviewees were spoken to on a one-to-one basis, with one exception where three members of an NGO were interviewed together. Interview duration was between 60 and 90 minutes. Twelve of the interviews were conducted in English and two in Arabic, with the former translated into English at a later point. Ten interviewees granted their consent to be recorded, but three

later rescinded this. The location of the interviews was chosen by the interviewee, according to where they felt comfortable, and was mostly within their workplace (university, NGO premises, theatre, etc) or in a public cafe.

The interviews had three main objectives: firstly, to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which key institutional stakeholders understood the 'publicness' of current public spaces; secondly, to understand how such institutions conceive of their broader civic role within Ammani society; and thirdly, to recruit key interviewees as mediators for the workshop, in order to build a coalition of interests who could develop and agree a course of action to create more inclusive and open public spaces for the future. The institutional role of many participants allowed the research to unlock not just a range of expertise but a series of resources in the city that would otherwise not have been available, including the mobilisation of student labour (see Appendix 2).

The interview questions were based on the main research question and objectives (see Appendix 1) but also focused on the emergent themes mentioned above. An open-ended format allowed interesting areas of discussion to be followed, so that areas of concern developed organically from the data (Byrne, 2004). Through preparation ensured that, as the interviewer, I had a good sense of the institutional commitments of each interviewee before the dialogue began, allowing me to follow Rapley's advice (2004) to tailor my questions to the specific knowledge of each interviewee, while retaining my own research objectives firmly in view. The political context in Amman means that self-expression is not always easy, and self-censorship quite common, so I was careful to omit questions that might cause vulnerable interviewees to become uncomfortable, while giving those who were happier to speak a rare space in which they could air their views.

The levels of anxiety experienced by some participants about speaking out are demonstrated by the number of interviewees who sought to clarify or to rescind their contribution: this is itself an indication of the difficulties of grounding an urban rights platform through pedagogic and performative spatial practice in a Jordanian context. I sometimes felt torn between my role as a researcher and as an activist: within the confines of the strict ethical framework governing this research, I sought to encourage participants to see their efforts in terms of the need to air 'right to the city' arguments. This could be identified as a form of bias, but as Mishler (1991) has argued, the ways in which an interviewee answers a question often depend on the way in which that question is formulated, and on the perceived attitudes of the questioner themselves. This is, in many ways, a dilemma faced by much activist-research: in seeking to produce a particular critical attitude towards the status quo, the researcher becomes committed to an outcome in a way that cannot be described as neutral.

Interviews and on-the-spot conversations were used to recruit mediators for the workshop session. Twenty-four participants were initially recruited in the second stage of the research (Table 4.6), thirteen of whom actually came to the collaborative discussion during the workshop sessions (Table 4.7). Given the emergence of interests (gender and roles) in the themes noted above, it was important to secure a balance between male and female participants and to ensure that all of those who attended had an opportunity to speak. Out of the thirteen mediators who actually participated, eight were women. During the

workshop, they were outspoken and even, at times, dominated the discussion, which perhaps indicates the dearth of opportunities for this group to be seen and heard in other contexts. In keeping with ethical good practice, all mediators participating in both interviews and the workshop were provided with the research information sheet, which stated the aim and objectives of the research. This was discussed verbally with each individual within the group, ensuring that everyone understood the aim of the project and building trust. Effectively, the group functioned as an alternative to the council, which is relatively inaccessible to residents, and does not listen to their concerns.

An important and interesting finding was the failure of local institutions to be open to democratic governance. Chapter three discussed the enormous number and agency of NGOs, both local and global, which exists within the context of Jordan. It concludes that NGOs fill gaps in government service provision, such as providing aid, schooling, healthcare, housing, etc. During the mediation section of the research, I discovered that global NGOs and universities with global ties were more open and confident about speaking out and criticizing the government than local NGOs, who proved self-censoring and cautious, dismissing many parts of their interviews. As a researcher from the Sheffield School of Architecture, I am myself empowered and supported by a global institution, raising questions about whether I would also act and react differently if this research were conducted in a local university.

Mediators role	Numbers of potential mediators
Academics from public universities	3
Academics from private universities	3
NGOs	6
Theatre	2
Artists and researchers	6
Potential urban activists	4

Table 4.6. Institutional roles of potential mediators.

Mediators role	Numbers of mediators
Academics from public universities	2
Academics from private universities	2
NGOs	3
Theatre	2
Artists and researchers	2
Potential urban activists	2

Table 4.7. Institutional roles of actual mediators.

Facilitating mediators

A Google Drive file was used to share ideas before the workshop commenced, allowing participants to air initial thoughts and feelings and to 'meet' one another virtually before discussing the issues face-to-face. This worked remarkably well and facilitated early communication with all potential mediators, and was particularly critical in developing trust within the group, so that discussion could proceed more freely once the workshop itself commenced.

After a date and time had been selected for the workshop, we, as a group collectively, chose a location in the one of the old downtown cafés. The reason behind selecting the space of our meeting refers to the fact that we wanted members of the public to hear us and join the meeting. Participants' contributions were recorded by hand because consent was not granted by all participants to record the session. In keeping with guidance provided by Tonkiss (2012), the start of the session was devoted to outlining the aims and objectives of the workshop and the wider research, and confirming verbally that all participants were happy to proceed. Opportunities were provided for people to ask questions and the right of all participants to leave at any point was emphasised. I also used this opportunity to outline my dual role as both mediator and facilitator, stressing that participants should design the discussion and further action plan in their own ways and conditions (Tonkiss, 2012, p.241). Discussions then moved on to reflect on the residents' narratives from the previous stage, before the group discussed future civic actions that might be taken to mitigate some of the issues raised (see Figure 4.1). As future chapters will show, an extremely wide range of suggestions for future action were discussed. This was enabled by the fact that, as with the interviews, an open-ended approach was adopted, allowing discussion to be free and wide-ranging (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007). As chair, I aimed simply to guide the process and to ensure that time constraints were

Facilitating the workshop required very similar skills to those outlined by Tonkiss in relation to focus group discussions:

- “1. Facilitating interactions and discussions.
2. Enabling space for different group members to make their views known.
3. Keeping the discussion focused around the core theme.
4. Dealing with dominant or inappropriate voices.
5. Sustaining a pace of discussion that covers key topics without constraining or rushing the talk.” (Tonkiss, 2012, p. 240)

Of these five points, some were harder to achieve in a culture of caution than they might be in a different context. The second proved the most difficult. It quickly became clear that self-censorship was a very real issue within the group, with participants fearing to commit to positions that might be seen as challenging the status quo or criticising powerful bodies or individuals. Despite the fact that some of the individuals held high positions within their respective institutions, I was asked to rescind parts of the discussion both during the session and afterwards. Interestingly, the common lunch in the café proved pivotal in allowing participants to develop trust and to speak out, resulting in full and free discussion during the

afternoon session. All mediators' narratives were subsequently codified to ensure anonymity (M1, M2, etc).

4.3.3. Sustaining tactics and interventions

Theories, pedagogical models, and interviews

The final phase of the research aimed to draw together findings from the previous two stages (intervening, mediating), and to synthesise these into a civic pedagogic framework that could act as a platform for future interventions. As subsequent chapters will reveal, the university emerged as a key institution at this stage, in part because students constituted a volunteer labour force; in part because academics were well-placed to act as mediators between various civic organisations for the future. The role of pedagogy can potentially be used as a tool of sustaining public space dynamics. I therefore found myself drawing on my pragmatic experience of teaching in universities quite extensively during this phase, as this pedagogic experience became relevant as a tool for future intervention. I consequently deepened my research into key theories of critical pedagogy, and key examples of practice, with a view to adapting these to the context of the Arab world in general, and Jordan in particular.

The four academics who were interviewed during phase two of the research became important collaborators in the development of these tools. All demonstrated a high degree of awareness about the interaction of their institution with wider civic society, and were extremely helpful in enabling me to gain a sense of the places where this role might be extended. Outside of main research data gathering which included looking into other experiences such as "Form-Trans-Inform: the 'poetic' resistance in architecture". I also conducted an interview with the co-founder of the Bucharest-based Studio-Basar, which helped me to understand the ways in which their practice had acted within complicated situations in Romania establishing alternative institutions for the promotion of civic pedagogy. This was one of five expert interviews; the four other interviews were conducted through the mediating processes with local academics, which helped me to develop an overarching framework for looking to the future, drawing on the experience of those already involved in civic architectural education and challenges to pseudo-public space.

Teaching experience in Sheffield as a way of testing civic pedagogy of performative spatial practice

My teaching commitments at the Sheffield School of Architecture had a significant impact on this research. In 2017-18, I was co-leader, with Helen Stratford, of the design studio for the MA in Architecture. Together, we taught on the theme of pseudo-public space for two semesters, running a series of seminars and workshops designed to encourage active participation from the students and to produce a radical and socially engaged approach to research and to highlight issues connected with urban rights to space. In the course of this experience, we tested various performative methodologies as tools to explore spaces, firstly in Sheffield, and secondly in other international contexts. This allowed me to broaden the scope of my research, and to learn more about the interface between performative pedagogic tools and political contexts in various parts of the world. For instance, students

who were testing interventions in China found it extremely difficult to work within the comparatively authoritarian political context of the government. We were also able to develop international collaborations with other pedagogic and design institutions, including the Floating University Berlin, ON/OFF, and the Common Lab.

The experience of co-leading the studio taught me about translating knowledges between social and political contexts, and the value of working with the community, whether in the form of live engaged workshops and projects, which actively bridge the academia and practices with real society, or in the use of artistic performative methodologies in public space. This made me much more sensitive to the specificities of my own research in Amman, Jordan, drawing my attention to the need to tailor performative politics to existing social and political mores. It also made me aware of the hybridity of my role, as I moved between the positions of citizen, academic, professional architect, activist, urban gatherer, mediator, facilitator, and artist. In turn, this made me consider the civic role of universities in more depth, as I sought to develop a practice that would draw attention to the wider social and political responsibilities of higher educational institutions to lead discussion about urban rights, particularly in a context where power can sometimes behave in repressive ways.

4.4. Collecting and analysing the data:

Data were collected during all three stages using both notes and voice recordings, depending on the permission that had been granted by individual participants on their consent forms (see Appendix 2). Generally speaking, the off-tape discussions, especially with mediators, were more interesting and revealing than the on-tape material, to the point that I was prompted to negotiate further with these participants to request their consent to use this data in the final thesis. Even when interviews were recorded, I made notes about non-verbal reactions and interactions. As a bilingual speaker of Arabic and English, I was able to use both languages, transcribing and translating the Arabic interviews into English after the interview had finished. As previously mentioned, the workshop was recorded using notes as some participants were uncomfortable with the sessions being recorded, and also with sessions being photographed. I was unable to use some of the interesting material emerging from this session, as participants subsequently rescinded their criticisms of the state and its creation of exclusionary spaces. Fortunately, however, these contributions often repeated material that had already been aired with permission elsewhere.

Data analysis proceeded in accordance with the framework outlined Bogdan and Biklen (2007): it was an ongoing process that synthesised the findings from each phase of the research, developing and deepening my understanding at every subsequent level. In keeping with the advice of Rivas (2012), the data from each phase was used to suggest different themes, which helped to shape the next stage of the research. As this research is participatory, the knowledge it generated was produced collaboratively. While I had identified the themes from phase one, the participants of the second phase reshaped and remoulded these during interviews and the workshops, as the research moved from an analytic phase to a future-focused set of priorities.

Throughout this research, it was important to ensure that the methodological framework, methods, and tools were valuable and reliable (Gray and Malins, 2016). I therefore followed the four-point advice of Gibbs (2007) to ensure the validity and reliability of my findings:

- 1) **Conveying findings and results:** As shown in Chapters three, five, six and seven, this was achieved by providing an intensive description of each successive phase of the research to inform the next. Observations, policy analysis, and findings from the performative interventions were synthesised to inform the mediating phase.
- 2) **Triangulation:** Greene et al. (2005) highlighted the importance of using a wide range of sources during investigations to ensure validity and reliability. I ensured that the sample sizes for each phase were sufficiently large to provide a breadth of opinion. Also, conducting action research requires interdisciplinary hybridity, and the various methods used to gather data (performative interventions, interviews, workshops) ensured that findings did not depend on just one type of tool.
- 3) **Reflectivity:** Reflectivity has been a key principle informing all three stages of this research. I was drawn to think about my positionality continually, as I negotiated a series of roles as an action-researcher and heard the experience of participants who came from a very different position in gender, role and socio-economic terms (Byrne, 2004; Creswell, 2009). This helped me to identify my own personal biases, and to acknowledge elements of spatial experience that were very different from my own.
- 4) **Relevance:** the major objective of this research was to propose an alternative civic pedagogic approach to be deployed by spatial practitioners in order to draw attention to the exclusion of some groups from public space, and the ways in which this threatened rights to the city. This purpose informed all of the phases of the research, ensuring its relevance. However, the collaborative approach to production meant that I could not be prescriptive in determining this framework: I had to work with, and listen to, members of the public as they criticised the project, reflected on its purposes, and suggested alternative transformative approaches. As this research aims to feed its findings, knowledge, and practice back to residents, this partnership working became increasingly important as the project progressed toward future-focused action.

Potential impactful dissemination

Dissemination of the project's findings was an important part of the research from the start. Local conferences formed a valuable forum through which this could be achieved, in particular 'Re-claiming public spaces in Amman' conference at the German Jordanian University and 'Alternative publicness' workshop in Amman, allowing the project and its findings exposure at a local and regional level. They also proved useful in encouraging other academics and researchers to join the project, making connections that led to face-to-face interviews and the recruitment of mediators and potential participants in future performative interventions.

Conferences, lectures, proceedings and articles also led to robust challenges to the aims and objectives of the project, mainly academics and researchers. These helped to strengthen the theoretical and practical commitments of the research by encouraging me to think more deeply about alternative viewpoints. It also drew my attention to matters of social etiquette when presenting: for example, one participant at a conference stated that ‘we should not embrace the image of Amman as divided nor trying to resist it. All cities have socio-economic divisions. This is an international conference and the ambassador is here... your research is interesting but I would say its tough lens that made the country looks bad, instead we should as academics try to enhance the country image in front of foreigners’ (A2). While this research opposes the construction of fantastic or ideal images of Amman as a city, this statement led me to consider ethical issues about the representation of the city that I had not previously reflected upon. Though I remained committed to writing about the city and its reality, warts and all, my attention was drawn to potential negative impacts of the project, and to the need to be precise and specific when resisting the different types of inequality.

4.5. The role of the researcher

As an action-researcher, I aim not merely to produce knowledge, but also practice that can question, reclaim, and reproduce space in more equal ways. My aim is to produce a practical pedagogy, which leads to the emergence of new social relations and alternative approaches to space, offering a series of tactics that can enable, foster, and sustain civic participation and empowerment. The hybridity and participatory approaches of this research inevitably call into question the ‘normal’ role of the academic, architect, and planner in the production of space, creating a critical discourse for reflection on the role of spatial professions more generally. They also utilise participation in a transformative and inherently political way, working “with” and “for” the community to allow the emergence of new types of knowledge, and the inclusion of different types of experience.

The research required constant negotiation of a number of different roles, as I moved between the functions of architect, urban designer, researcher and urban activist. Even as an Arab Jordanian and Ammani who was already immersed within the local context, I sometimes found it difficult to switch my identity and positions between these positions, each of which delimited different actions and a different type of authority or knowledge. By reflecting on the influence each of these positions had on my interactions with participants, I was able to reach an understanding of my various roles, and to acknowledge my position within the power current structure, as a basis for engaging others coming from very different backgrounds and positions. However, within the context of Amman, Jordan in particular, and the Arab world in general, such negotiations are always conducted in relation to existing power structures. Coproduction is limited and constrained by these, as I experienced through various phases of the research: when I was stopped by police or private security during interventions, when certain demographics walked by without participating, when participants self-censored or felt that they could not speak freely, or when the research itself was challenged by those coming from a different political perspective. In such a context, coproduction is inevitably warped by power, and alternatives constrained by existing mores and norms.

4.6 Ethical considerations

The field work, or the practice aspect of this research, was conducted in line with the University of Sheffield Research Ethics Policy, which provides guidelines on research that involves human participants. Two separate applications were submitted for ethical approval to the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) prior to any field work commencing. One application was for the performative aspects, the other for conducting the interviews and the mediation processes. Both applications (014592) were unconditionally approved on 13th June 2017 (see Appendix 3). The process of completing and obtaining ethical approval was helpful in developing my understanding of the levels of involvement by the different groups of participants, and assisted me in thinking through key considerations regarding my own personal safety as well that of those participating.

The foremost ethical consideration was the necessity to grant every participant's consent prior to their engagement in the research. This applied to all individuals, whether they were members of the public, interviewees, or expert professionals. The consent form was accompanied by an information sheet containing details of the project and clearly stating the purpose of the research, the use and confidentiality of data, the participants' right to anonymity, and their right to withdraw at any stage of the process. The consent and information sheets were also available in each participant's local language (Arabic). Consent was obtained both verbally and in a written form, since sometimes it was culturally inappropriate to ask for signature on a formal document.

To ensure privacy and participant confidentiality, collected data was protected and was not shared with any third party. During analysis, additional measures included: identifying participants by a number code instead of name; removing personal details (phone number, email address, home address, etc.); and storing the data on a password-protected computer, backed up on a secure server.

Given the context of the research, my personal safety, as well as the safety of all the other potential participants, was a consideration. During the performative interventions, I was questioned by the police and private security. These interactions were smoothed over by ensuring that I always had all the necessary personal identity and supporting documents on my person. This ensured that nothing happened beyond stopping the intervention and questioning me about the process. I was careful to hold participant interactions in safe and well-known public spaces, while interviews were conducted in public or institutional spaces. As a representative of the University, I was careful to carry out the research in a considerate and respectful manner, that showed concern for the position and feelings of each individual who took part.

The cyclical nature of the research design meant that ethical considerations remained high on the list of priorities during each phase. While it was important to conform with conventional procedural ethical requirements, the entire project also had a wider ethical focus, since it aimed to promote a more just and inclusive platform to fights against inequalities of power. It therefore made a firm commitment to a defined ethics and politics of inclusion, though this was questioned, refined, and critiqued during the research process.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the practice-oriented methodology employed within the research project, and has explored the research design in light of the underlying commitment to participatory action, preparations for co-production processes, performative methodologies, activism, and transformative research. It has described the strategies and tactics used within each of the three cumulative phases of the research (intervening, mediating and sustaining), and the ethical considerations raised by the research on two levels: processual matters concerning safety and consent, and deeper matters of ethical positioning in relation to activist-research that is committed a performative politics of inclusion and equality that stands opposed to the neo-liberalisation of the city and the creation of commodified and controlled pseudo-public space. Activist research of this type is not conventionally 'objective', but rather seeks to ground a provocative practice of protest and critique that leads to the development of alternative civic actions and responses, emphasising neglected urban rights and revealing the political forces that structure urban experience of public space. Instead of a methodology that acts at a distance upon research subjects, the research works with its participants to intervene, mediate and envision towards new knowledge and new resistant practices.

Intervening



Chapter Five: Intervening

5.1 Chapter overview

The previous two chapters discussed how Amman's city spaces are regulated and performed, and the influential role played by various neoliberal, political and planning policies. They also outlined the methodological framework adopted in this research to encourage and sustain possible and positive change. This chapter now describes the use of performative interventions to challenge the spatial status quo across three contexts. The main focus is on Amman, Jordan but supplementary material is provided from exercises in Sheffield, UK and Berlin, Germany. The aim is to address and respond to a key research question posed by this thesis at the level of **intervening**: how can forms of performative intervention prompt processes of questioning, redefining, reclaiming, and critically producing public space in Amman?

The introduction to this chapter briefly recaps some of the key performative theories discussed in Chapter two, and reviews some of the key global, regional, and local performative practices which were used to develop performative interventions. The chapter then proceeds to ask critical questions about physical, social, and political access to selected public spaces in Amman. It works through the performative processes and constructed situations developed in the research and the various actors who were involved. The following section then generates some reflections on alternative forms of publicness and knowledge developed during the performative interventions, focusing particularly on the creation of new spaces of dialogue, which allowed the collection of users' narratives while also pointing to new and different ways of producing space, knowledge, and publicness. The discussion compares and contrasts the interventions, revealing the effects of each on the existing and perceived power structures, the different layers of publicness, and the invisible rules in play in each of the spaces. The final sections question the ways in which this methodology can be transferred to other cultural and political contexts, with an emphasis on the specificity and particularity of different spatial contexts. Finally, an alternative methodological framework is suggested for the critical production of alternative public spaces using forms of performative spatial practice.

5.2. Introduction to performative interventions

Chapters two and three highlighted the ways in which neoliberal and state policies interweave to control and regulate 'public' spaces, a process which entails decisions about which groups of the public can access the space and how. This established a ground assumption for the research: that the notion of a 'public' space that is open and accessible to all groups, and to every kind of socio-political activity, remains unrealized in practice in contemporary neoliberal cities. The prevalence of pseudo-public space, in which access and activity are restricted to varying degrees, clearly highlights the need for alternative practices that question the status quo and draw attention to the right to the city.

Chapter two highlighted the main performative theories and practices which informed the performative interventions on which this research centres. Key ideas include Soja's (1980)

concept of space as always ‘performed’ and interpreted (the social-spatial dialectic) and Butler’s definition of ‘identity’ as something that is always performed and therefore profoundly shaped through and by the social and the bodily practices (Butler, 1990). Butler’s performative theory of assembly draws attention to the explicitly collective and political aspects of this, highlighting the practices of activists in the Arab Spring, Black Lives Matter, and Occupy Wall Street movements in a framework that draws on the work of theorists such as Agamben, Arendt, and Adorno to forge a new theory of global assembly through performative resistance (Butler, 2015 cited in Yaghi et al, 2019). Butler’s concept of performativity links the domain of personal identity with the social, highlighting the ways in which both individual and collective identities are performed, and the relation of that performance to the power relations that define how when bodies assemble and perform, when they become visible, and the conditions under which they have ‘the right to appear’. The agentic, dynamic, and fundamentally political understanding of space in such theories challenges the more static model that prevails in much architectural discourse (Rendle, 2006). It has been the basis for much practice-led research, often inspired by situationist ideas such as the London-based collective MUF, the Berlin-based collective Raumlabor, public works in the UK, the Berlin-based collective ON/OFF and others (see section 2.3.2 for a detailed discussion), as well as for interventions at social protest and intervention (e.g. the ‘Longest Walk’, Megan Young’s 2016 embodied installation in Cleveland’s Public Square which honours women in resistance movements worldwide; Hong Kong’s 2014 Umbrella Movement protesting for democracy; or Hannah Sullivan and Martha King’s ‘Speeches to the City’, celebrating public performance and rhetoric in Bristol, 2014). Academics and researchers worldwide have worked to develop complementary scholar-activist practice focused on socio-spatial relations, often focusing on process rather than spatial products (see the work of Adriana Cobo, Helen Stratford, and Butterworth et al, 2007).



Figure 5.1. Left: The Longest Walk, performative intervention in Cleveland’s Square (Longest Walk – MegLouise, 2016). Right: Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement, a series of performative interventions to protest for democratic rights (Hume and Park, 2014).

However, since the performative practice under scrutiny in this thesis is based in Amman, Jordan, it is important to have a closer look at Arab forms of resistance and critical practice that question socio-political and socio-spatial relations, and relate these to the specific political history of both Jordan and the wider region. One important context here is Arab art, which has a different history of both control and resistance to much Western work, with the latter a particularly strong element. Artistic practices in the Levant are loaded with

references to political events (See Figure 5.2), and the turn from Islamic to modern Art, has strengthened this tendency to produce work that has explicit or implicit political relevance (al-Hashimi, 1990). In many Arab countries, this has intensified after the Arab Spring, which has tended to produce a wider space for artistic experimentation. For example, the ‘Spiderman’ metro performance (Figure 5.3) was not previously permitted, but became an iconic recent emblem of the Egyptian revolution.



Figure 5.2. Timeline of Arab artistic practices, and their relation to political events, which acts as an establishment art of the status quo running alongside resistant art (Author, 2019).



Figure 5.3. Spiderman metro performance as regional performative practice (BBC News, 2014).

A number of contemporary artistic practices in Jordan put forward a performative element, using constructed situations or direct action. For instance, the Moroccan artist Mohammad El Baz, working with Abdallah Al Karoom, installed poetry on the concrete skeleton in Amman downtown, with a text that has been interpreted as referring to resistance and resilience within the Arab world (The text reads “The rivers burn in the distance / We hear the silence and / suddenly the music comes / towards us to kill us/ Then the dance begins again / more beautiful beneath the white sun”) (Figure 5.4). Similarly, the local artist Samah Hijawi performance entitled ‘Where are the Arabs?’. She used speeches by Gamal Abdel Nasser (President of Egypt and proponent of Arab unity) to question acceptance in the region of the plight of Palestine and Palestinians (Yaghi, 2017). Such artworks intervene, albeit in a fragmentary way, to give insight about the potentials for resistant practices to emerge and grow in a Jordanian context.



Figure 5.4. Left: The Moroccan artist Mohammad El Baz's, 'IMAGINONS' poetry installation on one of the buildings in downtown Amman. Source: (<http://daratafunun.org>, 2010). Right:

Samah Hijawi 'Where are the Arabs?' – staged by local artist Samah Hijawi. Source: (Ibraaz, 2015).

This thesis drew on a range of international, regional, and local sources to inspire a number of hybrid, collaborative performative interventions which question, reveal, and rethink socio-spatial relations and the right to the city. However, the interventions were specifically tailored to the particular conditions within Amman, as outlined in previous chapters (See Chapter four). In particular, the performative interventions that were developed aimed to challenge the depoliticization of public space in culturally specific ways, drawing on a vernacular that already existed for political protest in the region but also being attentive to existing social powers structures and rules which restrict certain kinds of behaviours and movements for cultural and religious reasons. Using the body for performative interventions involves not only a distinct gender politics, but also social, cultural and political norms. For example, as Ababsa (2017) explains: “Men control public space in Amman. This is true for nearly the entire city. [...]. It isn't socially acceptable for a woman to walk alone after sunset [...] Disregarding these unwritten rules will often expose women to suggestive remarks and unwanted compliments and/or insults”. Similarly, dancing in spaces is socially and culturally unaccepted for both genders. The heightened, provocative and political nature of challenging these existing prohibitions raised a series of ethical questions about participation, which determined an informal approach to participation via self-selection rather than more formal methods of recruitment. (Yaghi et al, 2019; see also Chapter 4).

5.3. Setting the 'Intervening' context - Site Selection

Chapter three provided a detailed critical analysis of how Amman's public spaces are performed and the problems and tensions of public space in Amman. An authoritarian governmental context, combined with an increasingly neoliberal economic system, have excluded large numbers of the population, socially and spatially, from parts of the city. As Chapter two argued, this raises questions about the 'right to the city' of Amman's residents, and the ways in which they can resist their spatial and social exclusion, by re-appropriating and reproducing public space. Such a strategy would involve intervening, mediating, and sustaining a new form of socio-spatial dialectic, where social relations and urban spaces exist in a dialectical and mutually constitutive relation. As Harvey has argued, this means foregrounding “an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our heart's desire, and to re-make ourselves thereby in a different image” (Harvey, 2003, p. 941).

This thesis studies the ways in which Amman's inhabitants can collectively change and re-appropriate their city, using practices that recreate their lived space, producing alternative forms of resistant publicness. It will explore both existing projects and potential avenues for future exploration, going far beyond a model of top-down, technocratic management by the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM), which tends to be focused on physical morphology alone (Alma'ni and Shamayleh, 2002; CSBE, 2011). Research in this area has also tended to be thin and sporadic, and heavily focused on issues of design and management, rather than politics and participation. In 1991, Al Qawasmi investigated how users perceived some spaces in Amman, by observing their behavioural patterns at particular locations, which he

classified into three categories: necessary, optional, and social. However, his conclusions were largely limited to comments on these behaviours as a product of design. Al Heyari (2004) used a similar methodology, exploring behavioural patterns within the built environment via observations and interviews, but his conclusions were also restricted to comments on weak physical design, such as lack of seating. Similarly, in 2002, Alma'ni and Shamayleh studied Al Alpha Park, investigating its design, ecology, topographical features, and social and cultural use. While their argument was largely technocratic (they recommended that the park be redesigned by experts), they did however note the need for more green space in the city, and the parlous condition of many existing parks. CSBE (2011) also investigated behaviour in the city, but with a strict divide between 'socially acceptable' actions (walking, sitting, skating and so on), and 'socially unacceptable' behaviours (cursing, vandalism and verbal harassment). Their conclusions called for disciplinary features to be built into physical designs to encourage the 'right type' of behaviour. Mahadin et al. (2005) adopted a more participative approach, however, exploring the gap between design decisions and people's actual preferences and needs in two spaces within Amman city to discover that simpler designs tended to receive greater popular approval.

This thesis aims to focus much more strongly than previous research has done on the social, participative, and political implications of urban space. As mentioned in Chapter four, the selection of embodied sites to research was based on the need to represent all three main areas of a strongly divided city (east, downtown, and west), with a view to exploring how spaces in each were performed and by whom (See Figures 5.5. and 5.6.). Attention was also paid to the ownership of these spaces, with a view to reflecting and questioning the different degrees of publicness, in particular public ownership and public-private partnerships. Finally, spaces of different eras were chosen, to explore the influence of historical factors on everyday use. A profile of each site is provided below, setting the intervening context. The following section will then elaborate on the methodological framework for this action phase, explaining how the sites were investigated and the ways in which ideas were developed for participative, performative interventions to both disrupt power structures and reveal power inequalities.

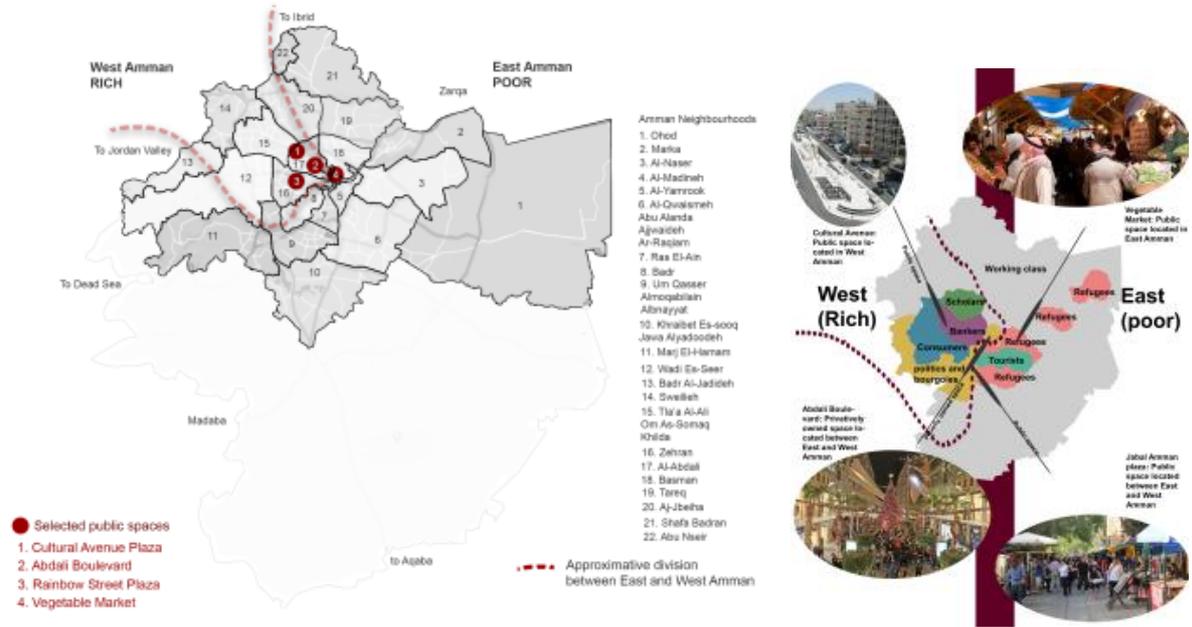


Figure 5.5. Left: Location of the sites selected for research. Right: Socio-economic profile of each selected site (Author, 2018).

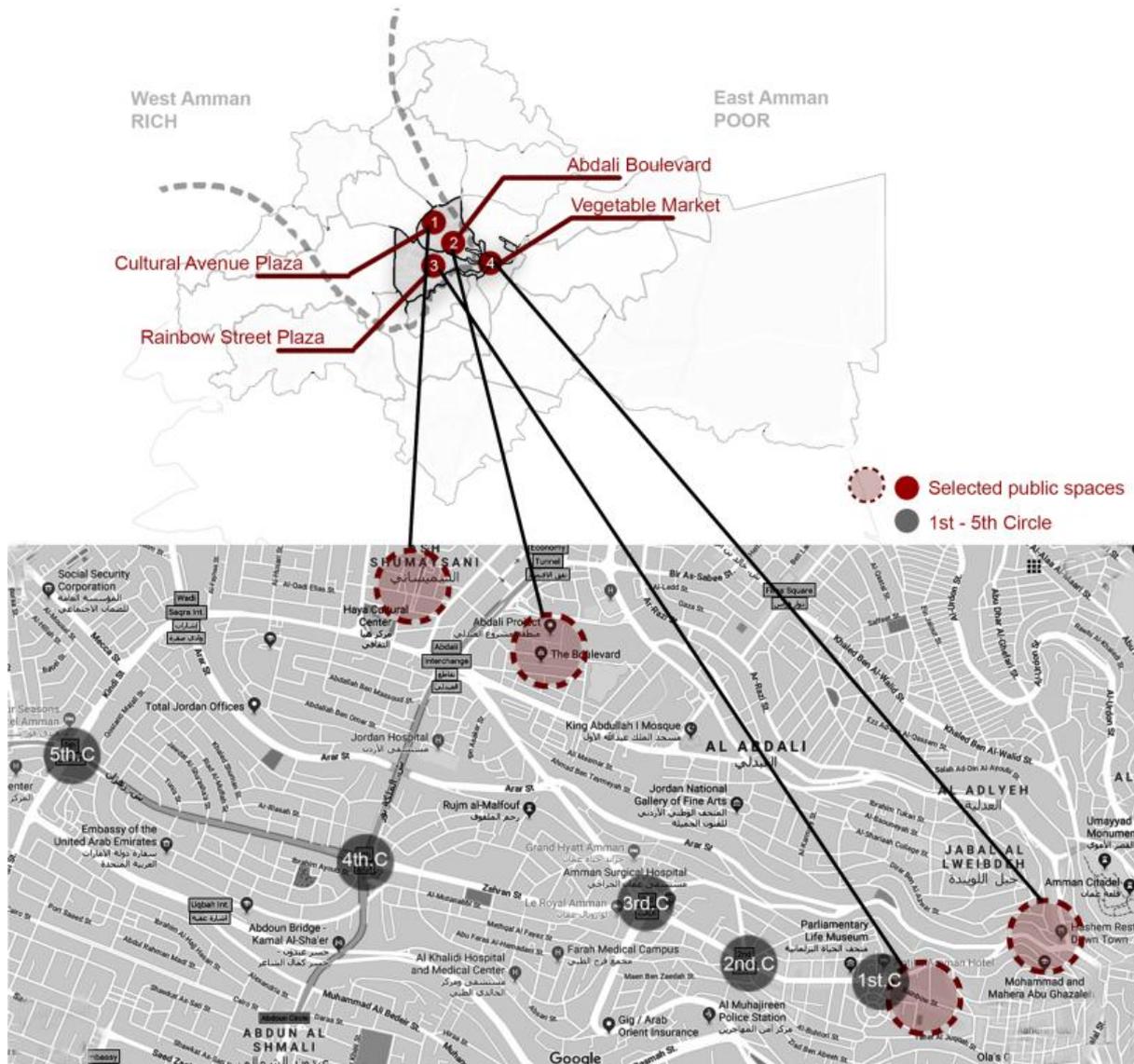


Figure 5.6. Locations of the selected sites and their relationship to the roundabouts, 'circles of Amman', which are the landmarks for the traffic within the city. Source: (Author, 2018).

The selected sites are as follows:

1. Abdali Boulevard (the new downtown)

Ownership: public-private partnership.

Location: Abdali, Amman, in the heart of the city between the eastern and western sides.

Reason for selection: It represents a privately owned and managed space with a restricted level of public access for the wealthy only. Entrance fees are charged during some events, and the boulevard is gated with a visible police and security presence. Its development epitomises the neoliberal spatial practices that the city has witnessed in recent years. However, it has a reputation as a vibrant space at the heart of the city. (See Figure 5.7).

Designer: Laceco Architects & Engineers

Year of construction: 2012

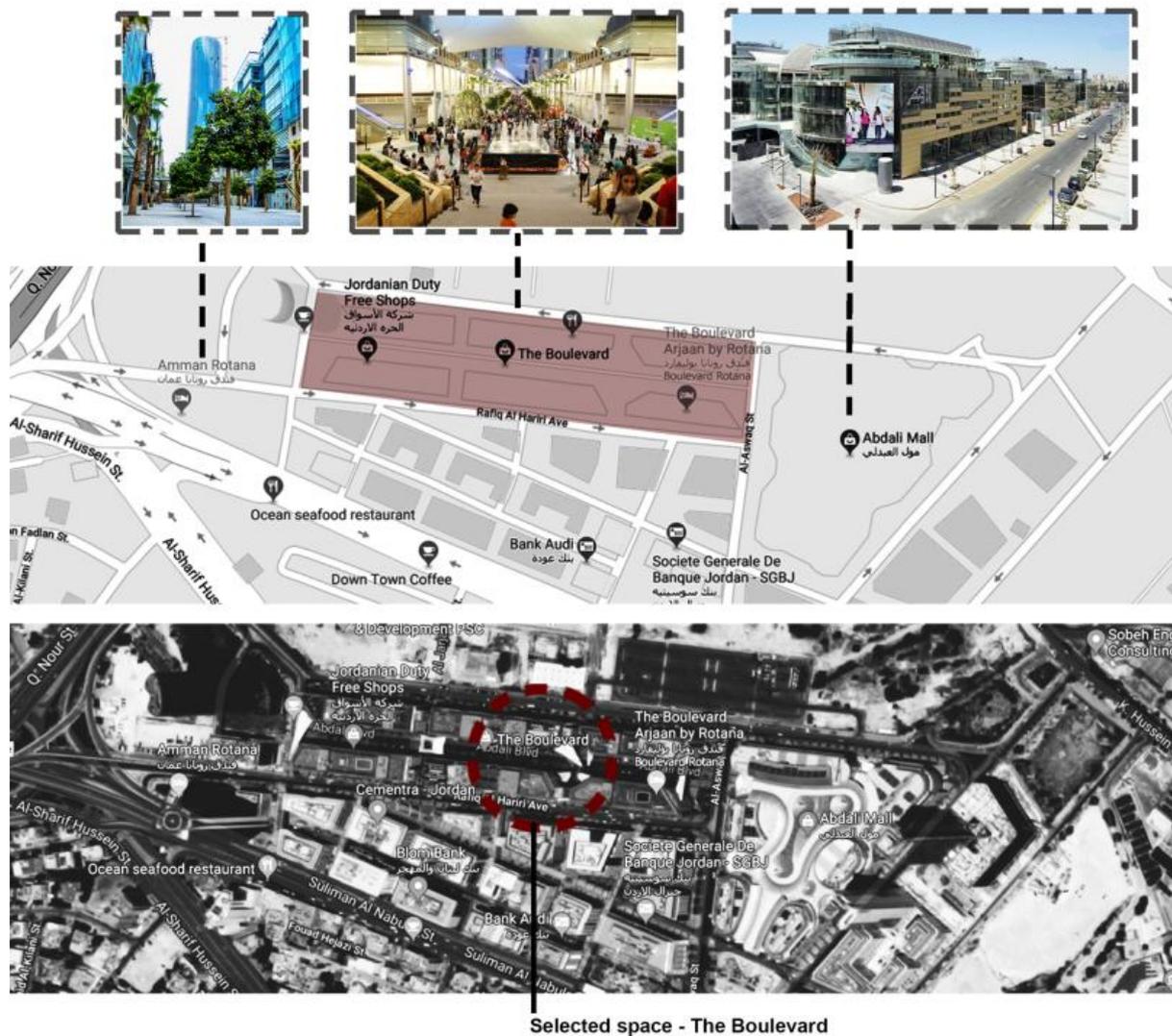


Figure 5.7. The first embodied case study, Abdali Boulevard. Source: (Author, 2018).

2. Rainbow Street Plaza

Ownership: public space.

Location: Jabal Amman, located on the line between east and west Amman.

Reason for selection: The plaza was selected because of its location on the blurred line between the rich and poor areas of Amman city. It is also considered to be an active, touristic, vibrant, and iconic example of a public space in Amman city. It was built recently, by the Amman Great Municipality (See Figure 5.8) The plaza is located within Rainbow Street which used to accommodate luxuries commercial stores during the 1960s. The plaza was designed within the “Rainbow street urban regeneration project” and was completed in 2008

Designer: Turath Consultants for Greater Amman Municipality.

Year of construction: 2008

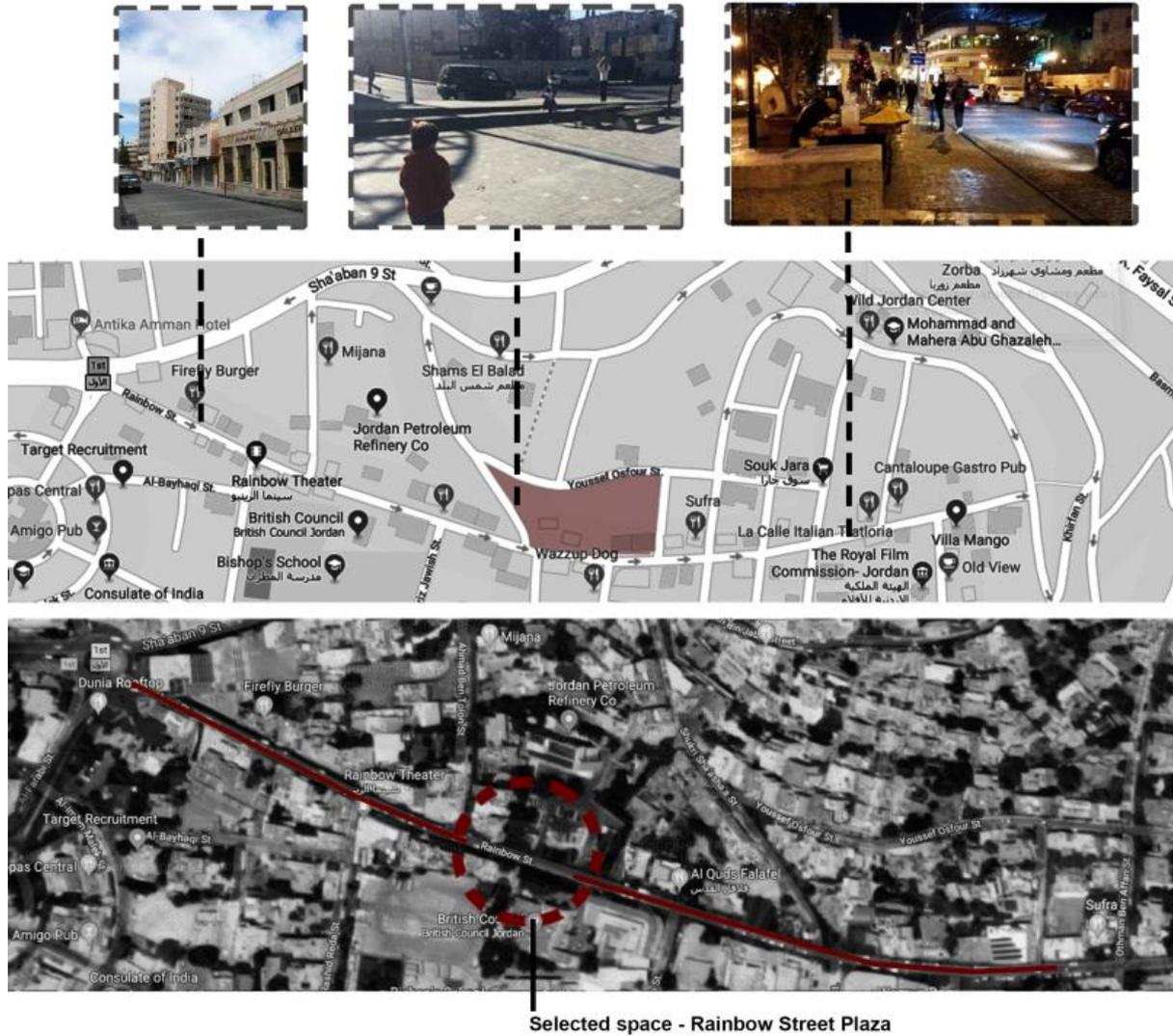


Figure 5.8. The second test space. Rainbow Street Plaza location. Source: (Author, 2018).

3. Vegetable and Mango Market

Ownership: public space

Location: In the old downtown area, central Amman.

Reason for selection: This is a lower income area, located in the heart of the city. However, it is also an attraction for tourists and the upper classes who come to visit the market (See Figure 5.9).

Designer: Mukhtar Saqr, an Egyptian-based-architect.

Year of construction: existed since 1947

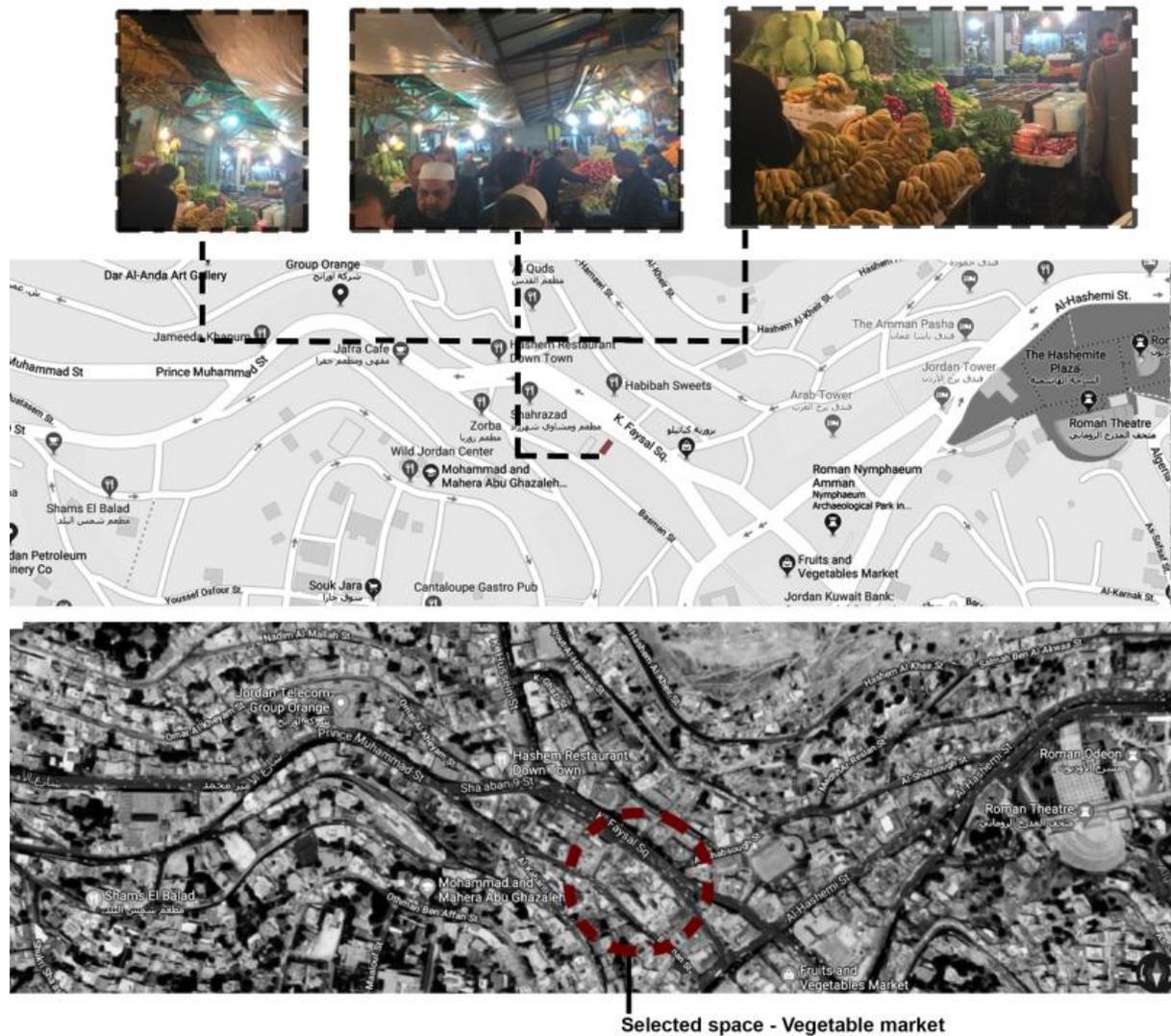


Figure 5.9. The Vegetable Market location. Source: (Author, 2018).

4. Cultural Avenue Plaza

Ownership: public space

Location: Shmeisani, in the business banking area, western Amman.

Reason for selection: To include a public place in a business area in the higher income west side of the city (See Figure 5.10) It is located in the banking area. During the 1980s, the Avenue emerged as 360-meter street.

Designer: Tom Postma, Amsterdam based architect with Greater Amman municipality.

Year of construction: The refurbishment has been constructed 2002.

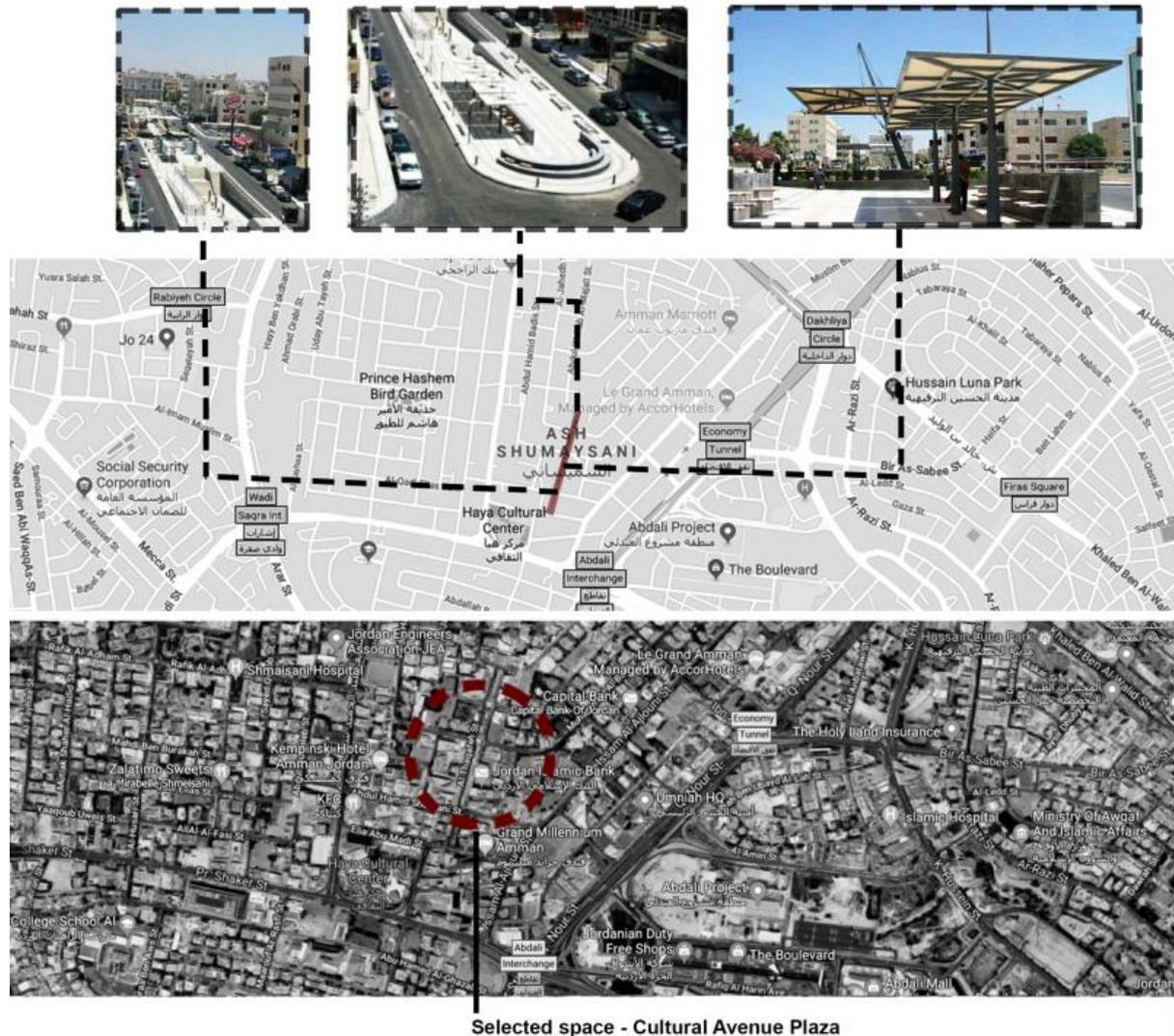


Figure 5.10. Cultural Avenue Location. Source : (Author, 2018).

5.4. Performative ‘interventions’: constructed situations in Amman

This section explores the ways in which performative interventions were developed and tested as a means of rethinking and redefining access to so-called public space. As previously explained, several locations were determined to be particularly suitable for use to examine the potential and the limitations of operating forms performative intervention in public space: the Abdali Boulevard, the Mango and vegetable markets, Rainbow Street Plaza, and Cultural Avenue (See Figure 5.11). The intervention chosen was the same in each location: to occupy the given space (walking, sitting, stopping) while carrying a provocative

sign that read: *'I am a public space, talk to me'*, in both Arabic and English (See Figure 5.12). The original aim was to elicit responses from twenty participants per location, but the total actually ran to twenty-two for each place. The tactics for constructing situations were selected according to the presence of people: in other words, the intervention moved in the general direction of travel in any given space. A pilot study, conducted in both Sheffield, UK and Amman, Jordan had shown this to be an effective way of intervening and engaging with space. This section will briefly describe the use of the intervention in each location, before a more in-depth discussion of its effects, focusing particularly on the way that it altered the sense of publicness within a divided city.

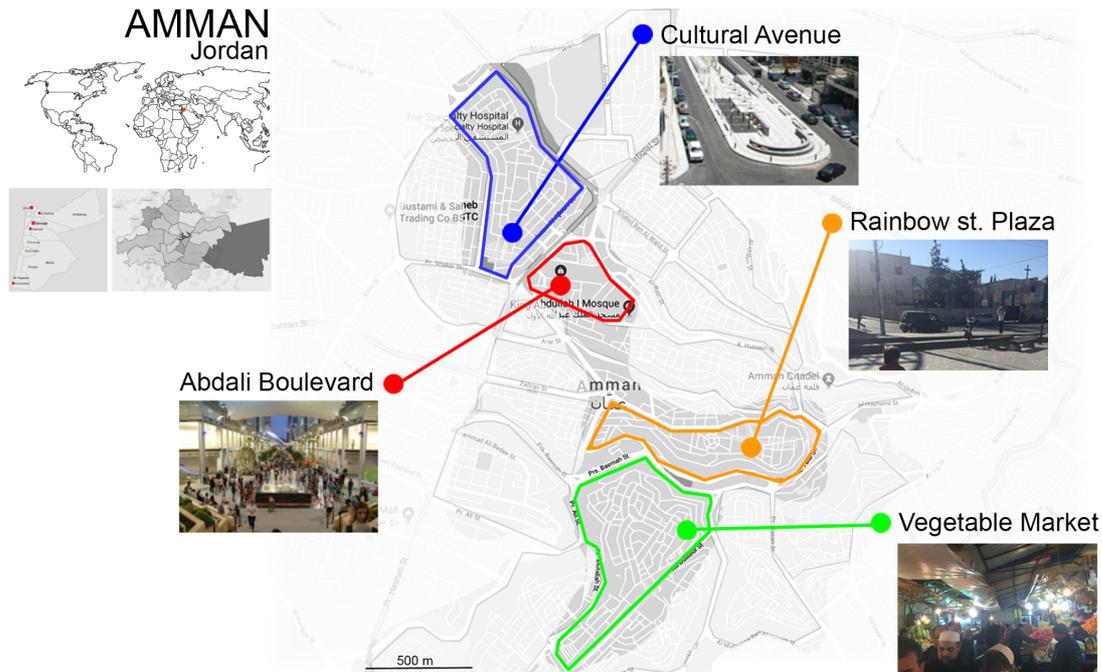


Figure 5.11 Map of locations where forms of performative intervention took place, Amman, Jordan (Author, 2017).



Figure 5.12. Performative intervention which involved holding the provocative sign that reads “I am a public space, talk to me” in Abdali Boulevard, Amman-Jordan (Yaghi et al, 2019).

5.4.1. Abdali Boulevard

As mentioned in Section 5.3, Abdali Boulevard was selected because it represents the ‘new downtown’. As part of the Abdali Urban Regeneration Project (AURP), it contains residential flats, a shopping mall, retail stores, restaurants, cafes and a hotel. The Boulevard is considered to be a new, vibrant space and attracts many of Amman’s wealthier residents for leisure activities, and especially during festivals and special occasions such as Christmas and Eid. Broadly, it is a privately owned and managed ‘public’ space, to which many members of the public do not have open access, though it is actually part-owned by a number of bodies: a public sector company with ties to the military foundation; the Royal Court; GAM; Saudi Oger (the now defunct construction company owned by Rafiq Hariri); the Kuwaiti Projects Holding Company (KIPCO); and the royal court (Hanshaw et al, 2018). This illustrates that such new, exclusive neoliberal spaces, practices and policies blurred the line between the public and private realms.

Throughout the field work, each selected space was carefully observed to identify the various actants using it at different times of the day. The aim was to identify the various rules and norms for using the space, the ways in which different groups performed within it,

and the gestures that they used. In the case of Abdali Boulevard, a security infrastructure played a significant role: gates, signs, policemen and security staff, and cameras were significant actants within this space (See Figure 5.13). These actants became particularly significant at the times when the space could only be entered by paying a fee (e.g. during festivities, see Chapter 3, section 3.3. and Figure 3.9.).



Figure 5.13. Gates, presence of police and security at the gates at Abdali Boulevard (Author, 2017).

5.4.2. The Mango and Vegetable Markets

The Mango and vegetable markets, '*Souq Mango and Souq al khudra*', lie in the heart of the old downtown. The Mango market has existed since 1947, is owned by the brothers' Hamdi and Ibrahim Mango, and was originally designed by Mukhtar Saqr, an Egyptian architect. The market connects King Faisal and Basman streets together and is located in the heart of the old downtown, next to King Faisal Square and Al-Hussieni Mosque.

Both markets are surrounded by significant landmarks. The Al-Husseini Mosque was constructed at the period of the emergence of the Kingdom in the late 1920s and is of great social and political importance within the city, as a gathering place for protests as well as a religious centre (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.5 and Figure 5.14). It is named after Al-Sharif Hussein Bin Ali, the father of King Abdullah the First. Similarly, King Faisal Street, or '*Sahet Faisal*', is a site of historical, political and social significance. Constructed in the 1920s at the behest of Prime Minister Ali Rukabi, it tends to be the spatial focus for interactions between the state and citizens during public events (for example the funeral of Sharif Hussien Bin Ali in 1931, or King Abdullah's honouring of soldiers, see Bakij, 1983). Previously, the plaza used to be an important trade and transport hub due to the existence of al Hejaz railway station nearby, and until the 1970s it was a shared space between pedestrians and vehicles. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the growth in the number of cars within the city meant that it became a vehicular street, though some of the wider area has since been rehabilitated for pedestrians and renovated with a view to preserving its historic importance. The stairs that

connected the market to King Faisal Street have been restored and pavements improved with the addition of lighting, greenery, and other street furniture.



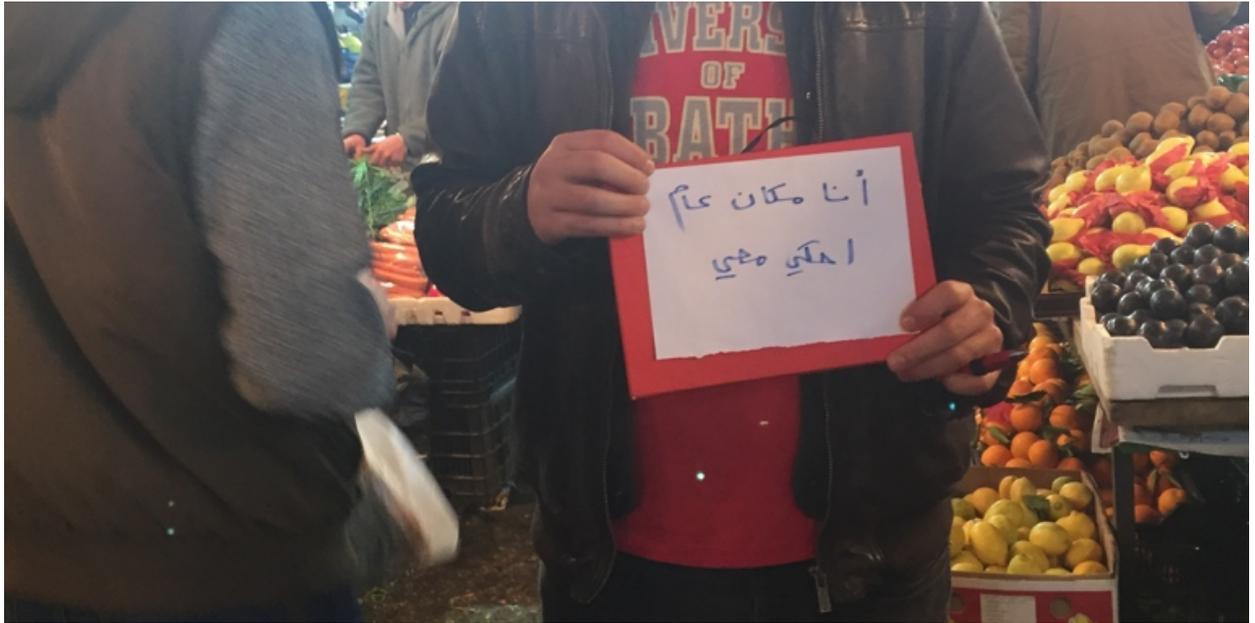
Figure 5.14. Al-Hussieni Mosque as the location for assembling for political activities, such as protests (Abi-Habib, 2014).

The Mango market is known for selling clothes and fabric, with a particular emphasis on weddings. Retail units are located on the ground floor, while the upper floors are residential. The narrow corridor next to it contains the vegetable market, Souq al-khudra, which is constructed simply, with corrugated sheets sheltering traders and shoppers from the rain (See Figure 5.15). It used to be known for its vibrancy and affordability, with prices that suited the poorer socio-economic residents of the city as well as the wealthier. It represents one of the more inclusive settings in the city, and a potential alternative future. However, Amman's city growth and neoliberal development has impacted these local markets (Jordan Times, 2010). Field work identified residents, sellers, and vendors as important actants within the space, and noted a lack of security infrastructure. In contrast to Abdali Boulevard, the vegetable market appears initially chaotic, filled with noisy bargaining and negotiation, many different smells, and movement in all directions. The Mango market is slightly more sedate, though not as managed as Abdali Boulevard.



Figure 5.15. The vegetable market, Souq al Khudra, in Amman's downtown with its simple structure (Author, 2017).

The intervention produced a series of spaces of dialogue in these spaces (see Figure 5.16). Some shop owners in the Mango Market asked me to come inside the store to have an active conversation since they could not leave their shop (see Figure 5.17), while some residents engaged in dialogue about the issues that the performance raised (see section 5.4). The narrow spaces of the markets made the performance and the holding of active conversations both difficult and enjoyable informal: after explaining the research aims and objectives, people listened while continuing to shop, interjecting comments and observations as they continued with their day-to-day life.



5.16. Performative interventions at the vegetable market in Amman's downtown (Author, 2017).



5.17. Having an active conversation with a store owner about their everyday experiences within the space (Author, 2017).

5.4.3. Rainbow Street Plaza

As section 5.3 explained, Rainbow Street is located close to the old downtown and in the blurred line between the Eastern and Western parts of the city. It is located in the Jabal Amman neighbourhood and is connected to the First Circle or roundabout. The street is considered to be one of the oldest in Amman and is officially named 'Abu Bakr al Siddiq'. Al-Asad (2011) mentioned the significance of the street during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s as the location of the headquarters of the Jordan Petroleum Refinery Company, the Saudi embassy, the British Council, and other important landmarks such as Cinema House, clothing stores, and King Talal's residence. However, the growth and expansion of the city since the 1990s has led to a partial loss of importance for the street, as residents have moved to more modern neighbourhoods. It therefore became a focus for a restoration project, led by the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) and TURATH, an Amman-based architecture firm under the management of Dr Rami Daher. The street became pedestrianised, with panoramic pockets of plazas and the introduction of mixed-use policies which allowed cafes, bars etc. to open, preserving its cultural and heritage value while adding new amenity-based business opportunities. The efforts have been a commercial and tourist success, with the street now the centre of a vibrant residential, business and tourist economy, with restaurants, cafes, bars, antique shops, and clothes stores. However, the renovations could be criticised for being somewhat top-down and for excluding local communities, part of a wider gentrifying trend experienced in the western part of the city. Various social activities occur in the space, such as sitting, chatting, strolling, and eating. Busking, singing, and walking dogs were also observed, while children played and skated on the wide pavements, a source of frustration to some local shop owners (see Figure 5.18). Activity was low during the morning and midday, but rapidly became busier towards the evening and at night, as people flocked to enjoy the social leisure activities available there. The overall atmosphere feels comparatively permissive, and certainly less securitised than some of the other spaces studied. The performative action provoked participation from a range of different actors, including residents, tourists, and even policemen!



Figure 5.18. The police kiosk at Rainbow Street Plaza, with children skating outside (Author, 2017).

5.4.4. Cultural Avenue

Cultural Avenue is located in the Shemesani area within the Abdali neighbourhood, a well-known banking district. In 2002, it was beautifully refurbished using local materials by the Dutch-based architecture firm, Tom Postma Design, and now acts like a 360 metre linear roundabout (hence its name, 'pedestrian boulevard') with a gallery, amphitheatre, sunken spaces, shops, greenery, and benches. Greater Amman Municipality commissioned the work

for 'the Amman Arab Cultural Capital' project, 2002 (See Figures 5.19 and 5.20) and it received the 'Beautification Project of the Year' award from the Arab Towns Organization that same year.



Figure 5.19. Cultural Avenue ramp that skaters have re-appropriated as a playground, following a lack of management of the space (Author, 2017).

Through observation, a number of actants were identified within the space: residents, shop owners, policemen who are based in a kiosk at one corner of the area (See Figure 5.20). Many banks and hotels surround the space, as well as computer and telephone stores. Traffic congestion is severe, peaking in the rush hours. Various social activities were spotted such as walking, sitting, eating, drinking coffees, skating, littering, and car cruising. Activity varied greatly according to the time of day, with the space virtually empty in the mornings, but coming alive towards the evening. The performative interventions, including the provocative sign, elicited interactions with several members of the public, and some called other family members or friends to participate and state their opinions. Most of the alternative production of space and knowledge took place on one part of the avenue which was away from the police kiosk.



Figure 5.20. Cultural avenue space within the business centre area as a linear island (Author, 2017).

5.5. Alternative publicness and knowledge in Amman

5.5.1. Abdali Boulevard – Revealing the invisible rules that exclude the poor

The performative intervention at Abdali Boulevard lasted just two and a half hours. After that time, I was approached by security and told to stop the performative intervention (See Figure 5.21). In spite of my showing identity and research documents, I was unable to change their request, perhaps because a number of participants had gathered around me by this point. I term this event a moment of ‘productive disruption’, since the act of halting the research reveals the presence of power structures and their disciplinary effect over public space. The securitised response raised questions about the publicness of the Abdali Boulevard: Who is this space for? What activities are permitted within it? Why are we not allowed to talk about it? How do the state and the owners get to decide how we should perform in the spaces? Is this a real ‘public’ space, or something else? (Yaghi et al, 2019).



Figure 5.21. Official policeman questioning and stopping the performative intervention within Abdali Boulevard. Photo credit (Hadid , 2017).

In spite of the research being blocked, the performative intervention provoked some residents to participate, producing spaces of dialogue in which they discussed and critiqued their everyday experiences within the city and their perceptions of their rights (See Figure 5.22). It is worth mentioning that four participants asked for their narratives not to be quoted, because they were explicitly political, an example of the self-censorship exercised by Ammanis (see Chapter 3). Others were reluctant to talk, perhaps indicating a limitation of the intervention that was used: by being unusual, it excluded those who preferred

anonymity for a variety of reasons. This is a significant insight to explain the lack of public space and political activity in the city (see Yaghi et al, 2019).



Figure 5.22. Some examples of the spaces of dialogue that were critically produced through the performative intervention. Photo credit (Hadid, 2017).

Unexpectedly, the majority of participants in the Abdali Boulevard were women, who represented fourteen out of twenty-three conversations. Eleven of the total number of collected narratives were positive in their evaluation of the space. Women, in particular, drew attention to a positive feature of the way in which the space was controlled in surveillance and social terms, articulating how safe they felt there, with police, security guards, and cameras protecting them from verbal and physical harassment and with certain demographics excluded (Yaghi et al., 2019). For example, a 22 year old female of Palestinian origin, based in the western part of the city, stated: ‘this might be the only outdoor space in Amman where we can stay out till late without receiving verbal harassment from men, I think this is due not only to the police and security presence but also to the fact it is for certain people’ (P3). Such a situation can be the product of a vicious cycle: the more women avoid a particular space, the more those who are present in that space suffer verbal harassment. This raises the important issue of the exclusion of women from public spaces in the Arab world. Johnson et al, (2014), Saleem, (2015), Young (2002), and Foster (2009) have all argued convincingly that male objectification of women affects their engagement with, and access to, public spaces. This participant’s experience therefore raises an important question: how can we ensure spaces are inclusive and safe for women? Is securitisation the only answer?

Another Iraqi father, also from the west of the city, expressed approval of the sense of order in the place: 'Amman needs well-organized and active places for children like this place' (P 12-A). His wife also mentioned its aesthetic charm: "The space has lots of activities and they decorate the place during Ramadan, Christmas, and Eid, which I like the most. It is where I meet my friends since it has a very vibrant atmosphere" (P 12-B). Another participant, aged 34 and also from the west of the city, likened the Abdali Boulevard to Dubai: 'I am proud of Amman for having nice and clean spaces like this. The space has good management and I feel this space has the Dubai character; this is something that Amman should keep. There is a mall within the boulevard which is great, everything you need can be found in one place' (P2).

Such narratives seem to refer approvingly to "the privately-managed and securitised status of the Boulevard, and the way in which access is controlled for its users, as aspects that give it an advantage over more democratic spaces with less surveillance" (Yaghi et al., 2019). Such views are in contrast "to those of scholars who have expressed concerns about the ways in which certain spaces exclude precarious and underprivileged groups, or control behaviour via surveillance" (Németh and Schmidt, 2011; Koskela, 2000 cited in Yaghi et al., 2019). "On the other hand, some families did critique their experience within the Abdali Boulevard, complaining about the entrance fees and other costs involved" (Yaghi et al., 2019). '.... I have paid at least 20 JD for myself and my kids only for popcorn, coffee, or entrance fee but since my kids like this place then the cost has to be covered.... by the way, this 20 JD does not include if my kids want to play in the mall' (P13). Another participant complained about the dress code, having been denied entry on a previous occasion due to his clothes: '...I came after work tired wearing my joggers and flip flops...the security did not let me in because I was wearing my flip flops. I found it weird and I had no choice but to go back and change. Other than this the place is amazing.' (P6). This points to the way in which dress functions as an unspoken signifier of class: the poor are ostensibly denied access because of their individual choice of clothes, but are really the victims of class prejudice. "While the performative intervention may not have led many of the participants to question the exclusions on which their experience was grounded, the act of creating the dialogue revealed some of the unspoken, unwritten rules that constitute this space" (Yaghi et al., 2019).

5.5.2. The Mango and vegetable markets: a socially and culturally constructed space

Some 80% of the 22 participants at the markets were based in the poorer eastern part of the city. Most were there either to shop or to work. Twelve mentioned the historical, cultural, heritage, and business importance of the markets, though many store owners expressed concerns about the decreasing number of customers due to a wider economic crisis. Some were also suspicious of the research and of its efficacy in changing ideas of publicness. For example, a store worker in his late 40s expressed shock at the novelty of being asked for an opinion: '...throughout my entire life, I have never witnessed anyone that would want to listen to us, and why speak if they are not going to change anything?'. He even expressed anxieties about my career choices: 'I am advising you as my son, we are working to live and feed our family....Your sign caught my eye, however, it is getting you into the municipality role about spaces, transport, cleaning, management, sewage and other things. Do not get into that or politics' (P 27). Although I responded by trying to convince

him that he had a right to question the role and responsibilities of the decision-makers ('...it is your city and your space.... they have to engage us'), I understood his frustration and his fears in a context where the Municipality is simply associated with top-down approaches. This, combined with the fear and self-censorship mentioned above, illustrates the need for academics, artists, architects, and urban activists to create imaginative ways of building trust to engage with communities who are simply unused to being consulted.

The majority of participants critiqued the ways that the markets were managed, calling for the Greater Amman Municipality to become more involved. For instance, a 29 year old woman who considers herself a regular of the markets stated the need for some basic physical improvements: 'They need to provide a proper overhead shelter because in winter the shelter does not work well in this corridor' (P41) (See Figure 5.23). A passer-by, a 31 mother who was not a regular shopper, complained that '... this place needs everything from management to safety, can you smell? I would never shop here....' (P33).

The majority of workers in both the vegetable and Mango markets are of Palestinian origin. Surprisingly, a notable narrative from these participants concerned the illegal employment of Syrian refugees as cheap labour: 'Syrians are taking our jobs since they accept jobs with half the salary we would accept, and the situation is really bad. Business owners and employers replace us with Syrian refugees since they accept lower wages' (P38). While legal Syrian refugees are placed in camps, according to state regulations, many are illegally present in the city. Despite their histories as refugees themselves, economic anxieties led these groups to blame another precarious group for their problems.

Not all users of the space were poor and precarious, however. Six participants came from the wealthier west of the city, and were present mainly for leisure and shopping. For some of them, the markets expressed a kind of place-based authenticity, though at the expense of a degree of inconvenience when it came to physical morphology, transport systems, and overall management: 'Although we live in West Amman, we do love coming and chilling in the old downtown because it has the spirit of Amman. I wish the council could rearrange and organise the place and add more seating and parking spots' (P45). These participants behaved as tourists in their own city, accessing poorer areas for their atmosphere and charm, all features that were linked with their non-exclusive accessibility. However, their concerns about transport were shared by some of the poorer residents frequenting the same space, who relied on public transport rather than personal cars: 'Prices are convenient here and it is a local market, I can afford it but the only struggle is to get here sometimes as I wait for an hour...' (P40).

The same interviewee drew attention to the gendered nature of behaviour in the space: 'It is definitely safe for women, we always hear verbal harassment but who cares, I continue my life and what I have to do'. The extent of the problem of harassment is here revealed in the way that this participant has normalised it: it is everywhere, and therefore must be ignored whenever public space is to be navigated. The luxury of a space like Abdali Boulevard, where some participants feel safer, is unknown to such women. This shows the extent to which attitudes towards gender-based discrimination are a matter of cultural norms that are socially and culturally constructed, and that vary across class lines in intersectional ways.

The intervention allowed residents who felt completely unconsented to voice their opinions about public spaces. Many were frustrated with the Municipality for neglecting the east of the city, and responded with some alacrity to the opportunity that the intervention provided, of airing their insights on the city, and rethinking their rights to its spaces. In many cases, new participants joined in the discussion halfway, contributing their views or contesting a point: the first movement towards some kind of wider dialogic community.



Figure 5.23. The critical production of alternative publicness through the use of performative interventions at Mango market. Photo credit (Hadid, 2017).

5.5.3. Rainbow Street Plaza – the negotiation of class conflict

Twenty-three participants re-performed, questioned, and produced new and critical spaces of dialogue at Rainbow Street Plaza. The vibrant intersection of the eastern and western areas of the city at the Plaza was reflected in the participants, around half of whom came from each side of the geographic and social divide (Figure 5.24). Alongside Jordanians and Jordanians with Palestinian origins, representatives of other minority groups (Egyptians,

Iraqis) got involved. When I initially raised the sign, the local policemen descended, but instead of simply interdicting the research to take place (as they had in Abdali Boulevard), they listened to my explanation of my aims and objectives, and then granted me permission to resume. One policeman, a 29 year old Jordanian male, even volunteered to become a participant, using the opportunity to praise the maintenance of order: 'I do not come here with my family, on my day off I go to visit family. There is nothing wrong with the space, we barely witness problems here' (P49)!



Figure 5.24. Some of the participants, who have agreed to be photographed as part of this research, rethought and critiqued their everyday experiences at Rainbow Street Plaza.

Source: (Author, 2017).

The discussions with Ammanis from the east of the city varied considerably. Three young Palestinians males aged between 19 and 20 were immediately curious: 'That's cool, I am always here. I saw you many times coming and looking and taking pictures here. It's the first time I have seen someone carrying a sign here. Why are you carrying it?' (P32-A). I explained the research to them, and they immediately began to engage: 'We are always here chilling, we live close by, there is nothing else to do. The police once asked us to leave because we tried to use this area to smoke sheesha, it is expensive for us to smoke sheesha inside the cafés' (P32-A). His friend replied: 'You should explain to him why we have nothing to do, we did not pass 'Tawjihi', the higher school exams before university, we applied for jobs and we did not get any, that's why we are always roaming around' (P32-B). They asked me to walk with them, offering to show me 'the best coffee' close by. P 32-A said 'It is the cheapest around here and has the best price, we smoke cigarettes with it and look at girls'. His friend laughed: 'Do not tell him that, tell him about the space, sometimes we sit on the pavements, because of the insufficient seating available. We will leave you to do your job and if you need anything, let us know.' (P32-C).

These participants recognised that their behaviour was sometimes regarded by the authorities as problematic, and related it to their economic condition. Their contributions made me wonder about the priorities of a state which could invest in a surveillance and security infrastructure, but not in basic job opportunities for young men. However, their comments about 'looking at girls' potentially draw attention to a more problematic and intersectional relationship between class and gender, between economic precarity and the

harassment of women (P32). Other participants from the west of the city picked up on these concerns: eleven out of the fourteen women who participated highlighted the issue of verbal harassment. A 25-year old Iraqi female from the west raised the issue while defiantly smoking a cigarette (smoking is not socially accepted in the Eastern part of the city), calling for 'more policemen to stop guys from verbally harassing us especially at night' P 30). Others were less sure about this as a solution, perhaps seeing police indifference as part of the problem. A 21 year old Palestinian woman, who is based in the United States, explained: 'I come early in the morning to avoid traffic and the presence of men' but then immediately switched subject: 'Amman needs to sort out issues involving traffic and parking' (P 18). When I asked her the reason for her avoidance of men, she responded 'It is not uncommon for them to verbally harass women, but the police presence is able to control this behaviour somehow. For me, I enjoy quiet spaces, where I am able to indulge in listening to music rather than verbal harassment'. An Eastern Ammani woman had similar complaints, but noted that the situation worsened considerably in the evening: 'the purpose why I am here is to enjoy my ice cream with this stunning view of Amman with my friends and sometimes I come by myself. It is a suitable space for walking and hanging out but not at night time for me personally, because many guys come here, and it makes me, as well as other females, feel quite uncomfortable' (P27). A shop owner (aged 31, Jordanian with Palestinian origins) noted that such male behaviour was a problem not only for its female victims, but also for business owners. He specifically linked harassment to groups of poorer Ammani men from the east of the city: 'Although more customers are now coming, it is frustrating conducting business within this area after they developed it. Often females refuse to visit my store because of the presence of Eastern Ammani males that are stood near the entrance.' (P22-B).

Some of those who responded to the intervention were Syrian, including two mothers, one of whom explained her reasons for participating in terms of her national identity: 'You look Syrian, that's why I am participating..... I would like to thank Jordan for hosting us and the space is better than the war in Syria (29-A). This made me consider the ways in which my own appearance played a role in eliciting, and perhaps also discouraging, participation. How different would responses had been had I dressed as a wealthy resident of the western part of the city, or as a homeless person? Would responses have varied if I was a woman? Responses can also be structured by social expectations. For example, young Egyptian men often come to Amman and often work in jobs deemed to be 'less prestigious' than other roles, such as cleaners, construction workers, and farmers. One young Egyptian man stopped me to ask why I was holding a sign, and, when I explained my research, was full of praise for the space: 'It does not need any development, the space is perfect! It has everything!' (P72). His response may be based on the fact that, living in East Amman, he appreciates the fact the city has given him a source of income to provide for his family and expects that he should show gratitude and appreciation for the Jordanian city, to be seen 'not to complain'. Conversely, a 19 year old Palestinian male who lives in Western part of the city drew attention to the ways in which expectations of public space can be culturally conditioned by perspectives from elsewhere in the world: 'If I started complaining about public spaces here I would not finish as much of the infrastructure needs to be improved. It was OK for me, till I moved last year to the United States to study. Then I began to see the difference. For example: spaces in Amman lack shelter, benches, transport, trees, and we should connect spaces to public services' (P 23). Here, the assumption that the USA

represents an advanced modernity compared to Amman may be contributing to the response.

Several other respondents mentioned infrastructure and public services as an issue, however. A 20 year old Jordanian women, based in the eastern part of the city, criticised the transport system, and the public spaces for failing to respond to needs created by its inadequacy: 'In Amman, public transport is not the best as I have to wait too long to catch my bus, so this is my spot to rest before standing to wait for my bus. Also, I do not know why there are only two benches because sometimes people will just stand as there is not enough seating space to accommodate them, especially with the buses taking too long" (P 21). Others complained that the mixture of pedestrian and vehicular access was problematic: 'Of course it is a nice place, but I have to keep watching my children. Look! Cars are passing here. If they can make this street only for walking and if they can provide more seating areas it would be better' (29-B). A 32 year old mother with Palestinian origins connected the need for a space that was responsive to the needs of children with the transport issue: 'I want a safe space to my daughter. There are not many spaces for children in the city. Moreover, if I do not have a car, I would not come here. I refer here to the lack of transport. Spaces need parking since other modes of transport in Amman are not OK. I brought my daughter here to play but there are cars everywhere and I cannot leave her playing freely. Therefore, the space needs to have fencing for the safety of our children' (P25). Another 26 years old mother argued that the presence of cars amounted to a prohibition on children playing: 'This space is only suitable for eating, as you can see I am having a sandwich. The space looks old and most importantly it is suitable for me and my child to get food and sit here. However, he is not allowed to play here. Can you see the cars around?' (P28). However, when it came to older children, some participants were less open to their presence: 'To be honest, I would like to add that I do not wish to see the teens roaming around this nice panoramic view, they create a lot of noise which prevents us from enjoying ourselves. This space has many nice bars and we like to come here and chill after drinking but not when these teens are present' (P26- A).

Other invisible rules noted by participants included a prohibition on street trading. As a 36 year old male of Palestinian origin complained: 'I was initially based in the old downtown, but certain restrictions imposed said that we are not allowed to street vend there anymore, so now I carry my goods, which are childrens' toys. This is so that these Greater Amman Municipality men cannot stop my source of income... Could you please deliver my message to them, I want them to offer space for vendors in different areas... Also, it is often tiring when I come here to rest and I am unable to find a seat, they need to develop this area and place more seats for people like us' (P31). This trader was both admitting to bending the existing rules, but also requesting a more official, legitimate place in which to do business. His actions both disrupted the current rules on trade, and sought to change them for the future.

The lack of opportunities to participate in the making of public places was explicitly noted by a 28 year old Jordanian male: 'The municipality should do an open invitation for all residents to participate when designing spaces in the city. For me, I prefer this outdoor space than malls and closed spaces, I work as a manager and I spend most of my time indoors. In other words it is an office-based job. Therefore, I would rather spend my free time in outdoor

spaces where I can enjoy the fresh air and scenery. Also, I do not smoke sheesha so I do not want to go to those expensive and noisy cafés. Today, me and my friends have prepared food from home and they are on their way here so we can all have breakfast together' (P24). Others expressed similar views, often in ways that reflected the concerns expressed by participants in the markets about the authenticity of spaces. As one Jordanian man in his late 30s explained: '....I wish that the municipality was doing your job, hearing what we want our city to look like. We want spaces that reflect the old identity of the city, this space atmosphere represents the old Amman. I enjoy roaming around and enjoying the scenery of Amman' (P 26-B). His friend, who was a similar age responded with a modifying and perhaps modernising suggestion: '....However, if I was the designer, I would provide more parking space, trash bins and small area for children to play' (P 26-C).

5.4.4. Cultural Avenue- The playful, entertaining, geo-political and gendered space

Of twenty participants from Cultural Avenue, only seven were women. This is not due to any written rules, but may well be a reflection of high levels of harassment in this area as an invisible social norm. As four Ammani guys aged between 22 and 24 admitted, women were objectified and verbally harassed in the development: 'me and my friends come and gather here, the space needs nothing but more girls' (P52 B). As with the previous example of harassment, the young men admitted: 'we do not work and have nothing to do' (P52 C). The effects of such attitudes on female users of the space were explained by a female participant aged 24, Jordanian with Palestinian origins and based in the western part of the city: 'I am passing through here only because I am going to pick my laptop up from the computer-maintenance store. I live close to here, I do witness car cruising with verbal harassment and people here from the Gulf and everything. It is clear what are they looking for' (P55). 'I wish one day, Amman Municipality would do what you are doing' she added 'spaces in Amman have to change'. Two Iraqi females based in the western part of the city, aged 26 and 28 years old, noted an additional problem in the form of anti-social teenage behaviour: 'This space is not suitable for us as women, you can witness kids aged 16 years old smoking and they are really noisy...' (P58).

The views of women about intensified harassment in the area were supported by a 43 year old male with Jordanian origins, who initially responded to my intervention by honking his car horn and giving me the thumbs up: 'I will tell you why this space is not ok, there is a hotel there for people from the Gulf and most apartments are for rent to people from the Gulf because of this area's location in the centre of the city. Tourists come here either for health services, for the hospitals nearby, or sightseeing. However, they do everything immoral here, they look for women and drinks, I live here and I know the exact situation.....I will never allow my wife or daughter to roam around here' (P56). Another male participant (32 years old, Jordanian) explained: 'Can you see this night club? It is the reason why this space is dodgy, since it attracts Gulf tourists and the workers are from Russia. I do not feel comfortable myself passing through here' (P61). When I asked whether the activities he mentioned were legal or not, he responded: 'those tourists bring money to the country, no one can say anything to them and the police are just protecting them. It is called tourist police'. These responses suggest that the problem of harassment may have multiple origins,

in both local and tourist populations, though the readiness with which some male respondents were ready to externalise the problem to men of other nations, while both female and male respondents confirmed the existence of street harassment by Ammani men may raise questions about the objectivity of their accounts.

However, other participants noted that the area had a pleasant diversity, and reflected on a different pattern of spatial use. There were indications that the area served as the assembly point for Egyptians at night time, since many work as porters or security guards in the apartment blocks around the area (their role is to clean the stairs, manage the trash, and secure the building). Three Egyptian males aged between 32 and 35 told me: 'The space is very nice, we work as apartment guards in the area. We meet here every night, after we finish our jobs. We sit here, chat, have food together and smoke, as you can see. If they can add more tree and some water features it will be great' (P62). Two families based in the eastern part of the city, also responding in the evening, agreed, explaining that the neighbourhood offered leisure uses in the cooler air of the night. One father, aged 35 years old and from Palestinian origins, set the scene: 'the weather is nice at night time, we are eating flower seeds, sitting and chatting' (P68-A).

However, this participant's wife immediately added: 'the children are playing but I have to keep an eye on them since cars surround us on all sides... we are not from this area but this space is very nice and have benches and tables to sit' (P68-B) (See Figure 5.25.). Others also noted the problems caused by mixing cars and pedestrians: a 33 year old Jordanian man, based in the western part of the city, said: 'I live near here and I am passing by to reach my gym, I will never bring my family here. It is a roundabout, there are cars on both sides. The municipality needs to prioritise safety whilst designing' (P57). The physical management of the space was a contentious theme. While the participant just mentioned (P68-B) praised the provision of tables and seating, a 27 year old Jordanian of Palestinian origins, who studies in the Polytechnic college nearby, felt that the site lacked cleanliness: 'The space is full of trash, where are the Municipality workers. Also, they should provide more trash bins...Tables and benches are not clean enough for any use. As you can see I am sitting on the pavement which is cleaner than the benches' (P53).

Cultural Avenue was the site of a significant repurposing of space: a ramp that had been built to assist those with mobility issues to access to the development had been turned into a miniature skate park by Ammani teenagers. As a 19 year old skater told me: 'I am here with my cousin to skate, the fact that the ramp exists makes skating exciting'. He even added a message back to the authorities: 'Can you tell them to shelter it in winter so we can skate?' (P51). Other users of the space were less enthusiastic about the informal skating activity, calling for it to be regulated out of the space. A 33 year old Jordanian male of Palestinian origin complained: 'Although I am sure that neither the city municipality nor developers would care about what we said, I will say my opinion: they did the ramp but it is misused. I work in the barber's shop, in front of plaza. I have never witnessed any wheelchair users or mothers with babies using the ramp. Only annoying skaters are using it and they are so noisy, police should ban skating here'.

It is also worth mentioning that, although police were present within the space, they never approached me or questioned me, perhaps an indication that this area has been redefined

as a playful, entertaining space with fewer restrictions, but also potentially a pointer to the increased vulnerability for women in this male-dominated space.

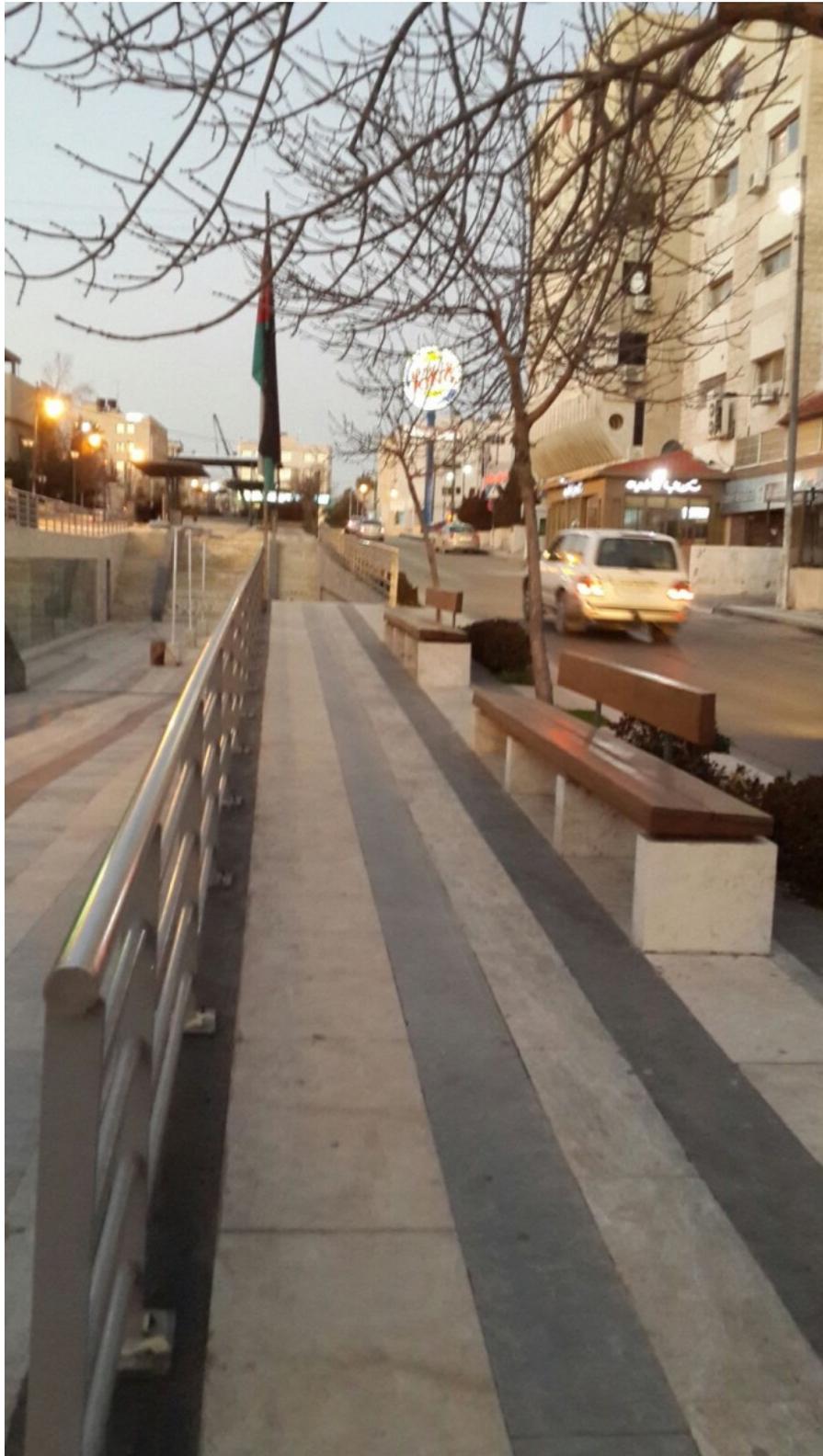


Figure 5.25. Culture avenue Plaza which acts as a linear roundabout surrounded with cars. Their presence makes the space unsafe for children to play (Author, 2017)

5.5. Discussion- Re-defining public spaces in Amman: everyday knowledge, intersectionality, and harassment in Amman

The research findings suggest that exclusion, poverty, inequality, unemployment, and lack of access to the public realm are all connected, together forming a socio-political and fundamentally spatial form of disenfranchisement. While it would be naïve to suggest that performative research alone offers solutions to this complex of problems, the intervention in which this research mounted suggests its potential to disrupt, redefine, question, reclaim and critically produce public spaces in ways that can create an alternative knowledge and a different model of publicness that is more attentive to the right to the city. Participant responses from the research suggest that performative interventions can viably be used as a lively means of generating participation across a wide range of demographics, particularly where they are developed in a manner that is sensitive to the risks inherent in any given political, social and cultural context. The research revealed the ways in which challenging spatial rules can be problematic: the immediate response from security guards and policemen to my intervention in the Abdali Boulevard development suggests both the disruptive potential of such interventions, and the ease with which they are contained in a securitized environment (see Yaghi, 2017). Equally, the responses of women to my intervention made me realise that conducting such research as a woman might well have elicited very different responses from male participants.

The most noticeably interesting finding to emerge from this research is the extent to which it enables the gathering of alternative knowledges from a locale. These everyday experiences were often predicated on the informality of the engagement, allowing those participating to be less cautious than they might have been in response to official surveys.

As has previously been mentioned, one of the key objectives of the performative intervention was to reveal the invisible power relations and phenomena which structure Amman's public spaces. The research found three key themes in this area, some of which were surprising. The first was the willingness of female participants to voice their experience and speak out. In three of the four spaces under scrutiny, the majority of participants were women. This may be a result of a pressing social need that women have for their experience to be heard; perhaps reflecting a lack of alternative arenas in which women can claim the right to participate in public politics and represent themselves. Although no formal laws limit the political participation of women, cultural mores mean that it is unusual for them to do so. The conventional Jordanian family is conservative, Muslim, and tribal, and the role of political representations tends to fall to men.

The content of many of the narratives told by women forms the second theme: sexual harassment on the street from male users of public space. Here, the findings challenge some of the automatic associations that have tended to permeate the literature, for example the easy association of securitization with repressive practice is complicated and called into question by the experience of women, who felt that the enhanced security presence at the Boulevard protected them from sexual harassment. Interestingly, defining

verbal harassment within the specific context of Amman means that it is necessary to consider the cultural norms that define spaces in gendered ways. Traditionally, public spaces have been seen as male, and private spaces as female, and while this is changing, there has not been an extensive public conversation on the matter. As a Jordanian and Ammani, I am aware that it used to be a taboo for women to speak up and discuss such topics. However, recently the Jordanian National Commission for Women's (JNCW) launched a study entitled *Speak Up... Harassment is a Crime*, which revealed that 88.4% of respondents had experienced one or more forms of verbal sexual harassment (The Jordan Times, Rana Hussein, 2018). Another more recent article entitled "'Jordan Speaks Up': documentary sparks national dialogue on sexual harassment in Jordan" by Christou in October 2019 highlighted a UN (2018) report that criticises Jordanian anti-harassment laws as weak: "the scope of the law is unclear and online harassment is not addressed." The Amman-based Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (AARD) describes the phenomenon of sexual harassment in Jordan in terms of a "culture of silence" (ibid).

Comparatively, women shopping at the poorly managed vegetable market had to grit their teeth to continue with their activity in spite of verbal aggression: 'we always hear verbal harassment, but who cares, I continue my life and what I have to do' (P49). Conversely, men who admitted being in public spaces to stare at women, or even to harass them, were often in precarious economic situations (unemployed and with nothing else to do) potentially raising a link between their need to assert an aggressive form of masculinity and their lack of a social and economic role. This supports the view, as discussed in Chapter two, of the hybrid nature of cultural norms, identities and perceptions and their constant construction and reproduction. Perceptions of inclusion and exclusion differ from individual to individual, and the wider context in which such judgements are made is changeable. To understand the problem in public space (without excusing the male perpetrators of this behaviour) therefore requires an intersectional framework. In policy terms, the solution may need to be two-fold: raising civic awareness about the unacceptability of objectifying women, while providing a greater number of employment opportunities for groups of men in economic precarity. This suggests partnership working with the state; however, if cooperation were not to be forthcoming, civic society and institutions might be able to find alternative solutions.

The third key theme was that some 'public' spaces in Amman are geopolitical, rather than merely local. For example, the Abdali Boulevard and Cultural Avenue spaces attracted many tourists from the Gulf for high-end leisure activities and consumption. Although the presence of tourists can enhance the country's economy and potentially enrich its diversity, it also has negative consequences in the shape of the fact that women now feel excluded from these spaces, and from the Cultural Avenue in particular. As one interviewee explained: 'this space is dodgy, since it attracts Gulf tourists and the workers are from Russia. I do not feel comfortable myself passing through here' (P61). A study of prostitution in Jordan conducted by Beňová (2017) identified three types of clients: locals, men from the Gulf, and men from Western countries. Each behaved slightly differently, and a common complaint about Gulf tourist was that they treated the purchase of sex in a transactional manner: "Some women explained that men from Gulf countries often did not like to spend money on cocktails for women, but ask women to go to their hotels, treating them like sex workers" (Beňová, 2017, p.69).

Another example of the wider geopolitical tensions permeating public space was the presence of refugees, who were the focus for economic anxiety, as one interviewee noted: 'Syrians are taking our jobs since they accept jobs with half the salary ... Business owners and employers replace us with Syrian refugees since they accept lower wages' (P38). According to the national figures, 1.3 million Syrians live in the country, of whom 646,700 are refugees. 750,000 were present in Jordan before the 2011 crisis (Jordanian Ministry of Planning, 2015). Furthermore, 83% of all refugees are settled in the host community rather than camps and are consequently designated as 'Non-Camp Refugees' (ibid). 28% of this group are settled in Amman (DoS, 2015). However, official figures only cover Syrians who are registered and who have formal documentation. Many undocumented Syrians work and live in the city illegally. Some NGOs, such as the Norwegian Refugee Council, are trying to establish a legal identity for this group (NRC, 2018). Perhaps it is the mismatch between official figures and the reality on the ground that provokes public questioning of the role of the state, civic institutions, and NGOs. In future, in order to achieve greater levels of equality, it will be necessary to open up a cultural dialogue to promote a more diverse understanding of the role played by refugees in Jordan, and their contribution to the economy.

Many participants spoke very naturally of the ways in which they felt excluded from the spatial decision-making process in Amman. I was surprised by the intuitive grasp that many had over "the right for all citizens, regardless of their background, to participate fully in everyday urban life" (Yaghi et al, 2019). The provocative signs, accompanied with everyday actions as walking sitting and standing, seemed to bring to consciousness a kind of everyday, intuitive knowledge, as different constructions of urban space were critiqued, explored, or challenged. However, it is possible that this also reflects a selection bias in the research methodology: those who responded to the solicitation of the placard were possible those who felt more confident expressing their views on space. Even then, many participants expressed scepticism that their views would ever 'matter' to anyone. Self-censorship is also likely to have been rife, particularly given that some participants preferred for their words not to be used, even though they were not identifiable from them.

5.6. Translating and developing the performative interventions in Sheffield-Berlin

5.6.1. Introduction to translating the performative intervention

This section highlights how forms of performative intervention can be translated and developed in various cultural and political contexts. As mentioned in Chapter two, public spaces are regulated and controlled by both state policies and management and by private corporations. The result is an inequality of access that has both social and political dimensions, with the result that 'public' space no longer exclusively means a space that is open and accessible to all, but instead a space that belongs to, or is ruled by, those who have the power to decide which citizens should be allowed in, and how they should behave once they have arrived. This practice-led research tries to formulate an emerged responsive approach to question these 'pseudo-public' spaces.

The previous sections discussed the use of a performative intervention in Amman. This section discusses how the same performative interventions can be translated across two contexts: a practice-led research workshop at Sheffield School of Architecture, and a four-day workshop at Floating University, Berlin, with the architects Raumlabor.

The aim is to explore how different the consequences of the same interventions are when operating in different cultural and political contexts. The comparative exercise tests whether different results are obtained when similar interventions are deployed in a very different metropolitan context. These three cities were chosen because they exemplify spatially segregated and socially polarised urban environments, across very different political, cultural, and social contexts. All three have hosted successive waves of immigrants and refugees, and all three are places of stark economic inequality. They therefore offer an ideal opportunity to explore the ways in which performative interventions translate across geographies.

The section begins with a brief exploration of the ways in which Sheffield and Berlin are regulated through political and spatial planning policy, and the effects of this on the physical, political, and social access to space. The results of the performative intervention in each city will then be discussed, before a final section discusses its potential and the limitations in each city. What emerges is a methodological framework for creating forms of performative spatial practice with the aim of re-thinking and critically reproducing public space.

5.6.2. Sheffield

Sheffield is the fifth largest city in the UK, and a major hub of the north. It is known for its unique topographical fabric, industrial history, and its green spaces network. Most of the contemporary built city is the result of rapid urbanisation during and after the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century (Thomas et al., 2009). Like many other UK cities, Sheffield is racially diverse, with an established community that is the result of successive waves of immigration over many decades. Additionally, it hosts many migrants and international students, who shape the spatial and the social fabric of the city (Sheffield.gov.uk, 2018). However, research from the 'Social & Spatial Inequalities Research Group' (SASI) at the University of Sheffield has drawn attention to the stark social polarisation of the city, with its poorer northern and eastern areas contrasting markedly with its wealthy south and western neighbourhoods (Thomas et al., 2009). Like many other metropolitan cities in the UK, Sheffield has been witnessing a neoliberal and capitalist transformation in recent years, especially within the city centre district (Madanipour et al, 2018).

During 2017 and 2018, I co-led a studio at the Sheffield School of Architecture (SSoA) called 'Pseudo Public Space, Public Space Does Not Exist!' The aim was to deploy a similar civic pedagogical approach to test the use of various performative methodologies as tools to challenge and rethink different public spaces in different cities. Students were encouraged

to explore how public spaces are performed in Sheffield through an investigation of three privately-owned spaces: The Moor, Orchard Square, and Meadowhall (see Figure 5.26). The three selected spaces are known for their commercial use within the City. The aim was to identify the rules, the exclusions, the activities, and the social and behavioural norms operating in each space through a process of careful observation. Students, working in groups of three and four were encouraged to make connections between these facets of the spaces they studied and neoliberal practices of spatial production and management. Retail and consumer activities were common to all three of the Sheffield spaces. Students noted that a large degree of security was present, though this took more subtle forms than in Amman, with CCTV and unwritten rules tending to replace security guards and written signs.

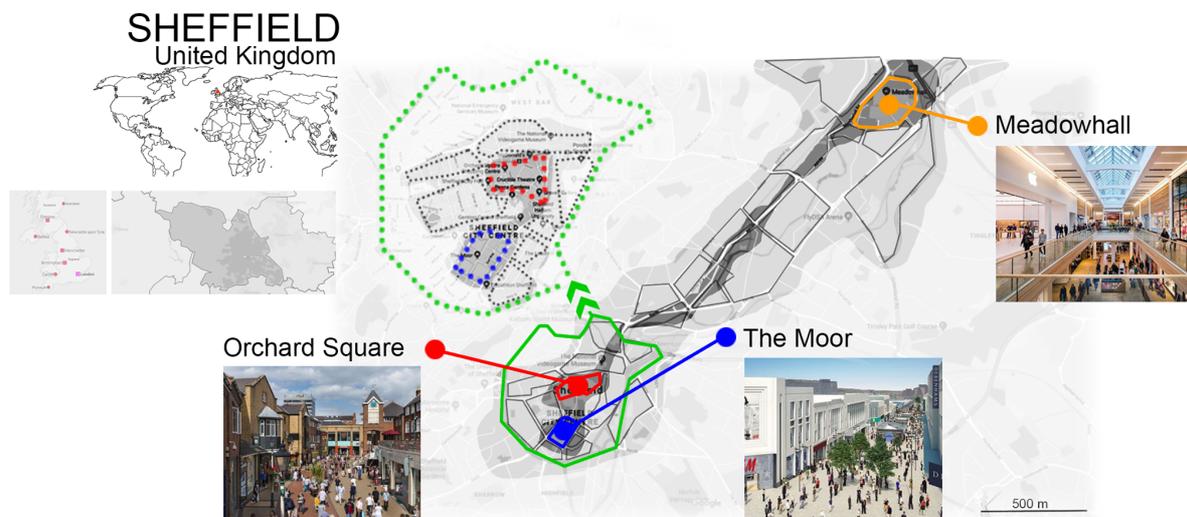


Figure 5.26. The locations where forms of performative intervention took place Sheffield, United Kingdom (Author, 2019).

Studio students then created two sets of performative interventions. The first involved used of a provocative sign in a similar format to that deployed in Amman, for instance, one group held a sign which reads ‘Who is the city centre for?’ They walked with the signs, sat with them, and stopped when approached by members of the public to create a space of dialogue (See Figure 5.27). The second performative operations, which was drawn from the first one, developed this: a poster was exhibited offering a free origami workshop, within these commercial spaces, with actors sitting or standing around a table with sheets of paper and scissors, performing origami, chosen because it is a peaceful and innocuous pastime that poses little obvious threat (Figure 5.28). Such interventions were a much less provocative intervention in Sheffield than they might have been in Amman, where even a small gathering constitutes a forbidden assembly, drawing police attention. However, while the entire exercise was able to proceed without interruption from police anywhere in Sheffield, private security did become involved in two of the three cases. The exercise was able to proceed without issue on The Moor (Yaghi et al., 2019), but in Orchard Square, security guards were quick to investigate and question what was happening. Temporary permission was, however, sought and granted after a brief negotiation during which the students showed their official IDs and explained that they were conducting an educational

activity. In Meadowhall, however, it was not possible to run the exercise at all. Two minutes after they had set up their table, the students were told to stop by security guards.



Figure 5.27. Constructing situations at the Moor Sheffield, using the provocative signs performative interventions, which critically produced spaces of dialogue with users (Author, 2017).

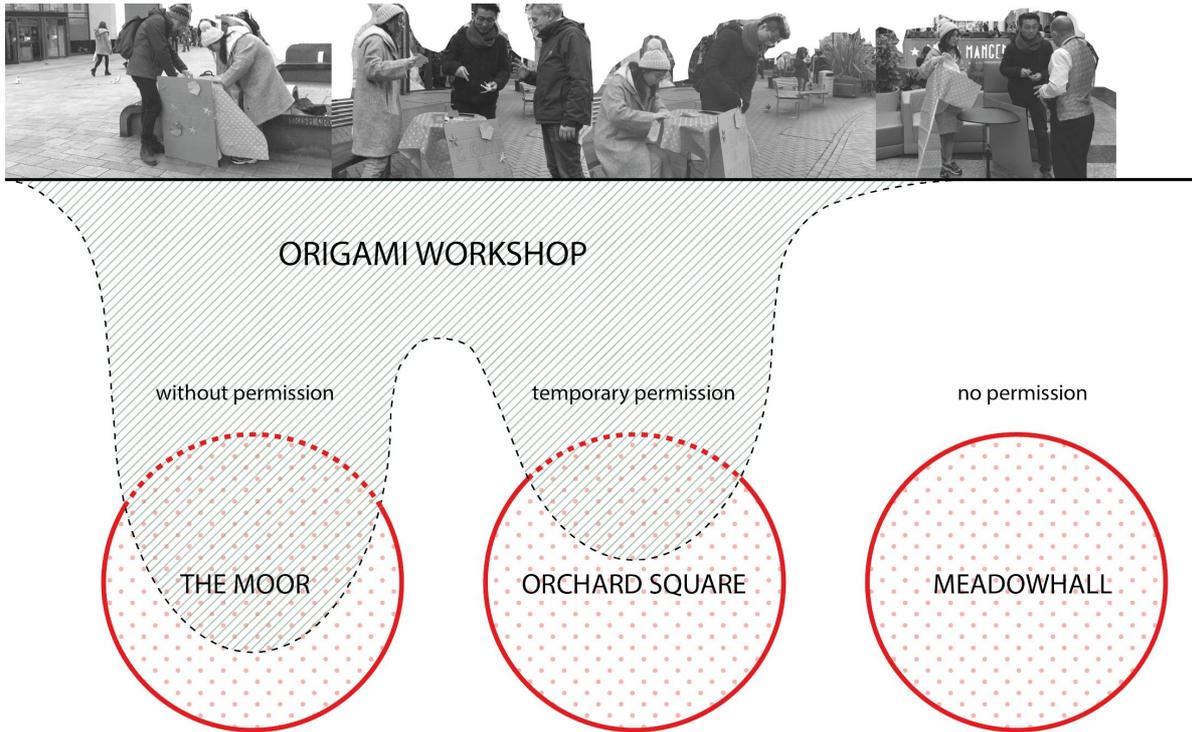


Figure 5.28. Performative intervention by students in Sheffield (Junqi, S., Hao, L., and Liuqing, Y., 2017).

Together, both constructed situations created spaces of dialogue and alternative knowledge about the different degrees of publicness in the examined spaces. Furthermore, the interventions allowed participants to ask fundamental questions: ‘Who are these spaces for?’, ‘What are the existing social norms in them - what are the overt and tacit rules and regulations in these spaces?’ The origami intervention also provided a means to test how comparatively public each space was, by exploring how each responded to a peaceful but unusual public intervention. This illustrates the potential of such exercises to make unspoken and sometimes unwritten rules visible, as well as engaging members of the public. Responses were generally favourable, though their rates varied with gender, ethnicity, and the location of the interventions (Yaghi et al., 2019).

5.6.3. Berlin¹

The division of Germany into two countries lasted from 1949 until the fall of Berlin wall in 1989. While the ‘how reunification is going’ (2015) report emphasised a general state of progress, it also drew attention to the continuing socio-economical divisions between the two former nations, something also noted in media reports. The Washington Post have published an interesting article in 2014 titled ‘The Berlin Wall fell 25 years, but Germany is still divided’, highlighted the post-reunification segregations. People in the west of the country still earn triple what those in the east take home, while poverty risks are higher by

¹ This section/practice has been published by the author with Doina Petrescu and Krzysztof Nawratek (2019) in an article entitled “Performative interventions to re-claim, re-define and produce public space in different cultural and political contexts” (See (Yaghi et al, 2019)).

25% in the East in comparison to the West (ibid). Despite the physical removal of the wall, the effects of socio-economic divisions persist, even today.

The performative interventions under discussion in this section were located within the neighbourhood of the Floating University Berlin (FUB) (Figure 5.29). FUB is an unusual concept: a temporary civic university, open to the public, constructed and conceived by architects Raumlabor. It brings together academics, experts, architects, artists, and citizens interested in collaborative work. With Helen Stratford, I was invited to run a workshop entitled 'Pseudo Public Space', aimed at conducting a group-based performative exploration of the spaces around the FUB neighbourhood: the Südsterne U-Bahn, Şehitlik Mosque, Tempelhofer Feld and FUB itself. Throughout conducting the observation processes, different actants were involved within this process, our group 12 participants (including myself and my colleague), a policeman, whom we had discussions with, who lived and worked in the neighbourhood for thirty years and the 'Imam' of the mosque who took us for a tour around the mosque. It also involved collecting the gestures, norms, rules, and actions that related to each space.

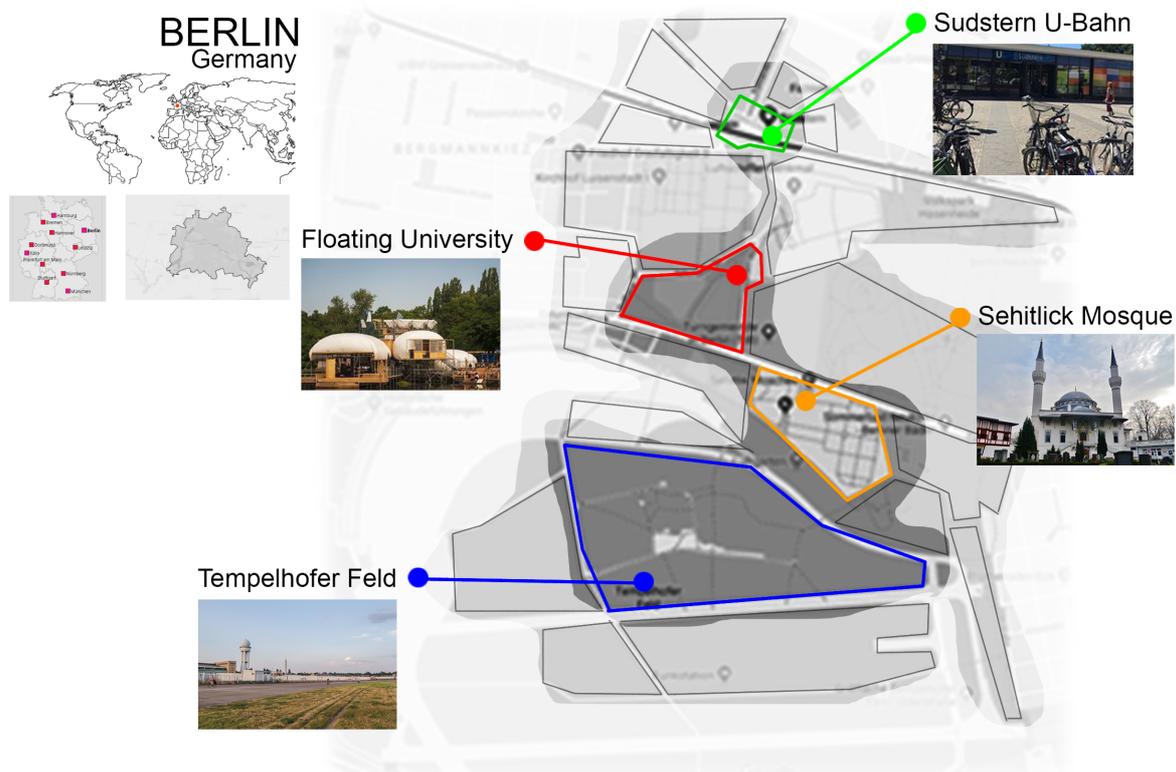


Figure 5.29. The location where forms of performative intervention took place in the Floating University Berlin neighbourhood (Yaghi et al, 2019)

The next phase of the project involved developing performative interventions to question and redefine public spaces in the neighbourhood. These were produced in collaboration with the Berlin-based collective ON/OFF design studio and other artists, and again involve the use of provocative signs designed to produce a questioning and critical attitude in participants. This time, groups of three to four participants developed their own signs for specific locations. One asked 'Do you want to join us?' in both German and English, and accompanied an action of sitting down in a circle in front of Südsterne U-bahn station. The

second group occupied the space inside the U-bahn station with a sign which read “Which direction are we going in?”, again in German and English, which they carried into the middle of the station, where they stood still. The third group occupied the frontage of a privately-owned expensive café close to the Südsterne U-bahn with a sign that said “Was kannst du hier auf dem Platz machen? Und was nicht?”, which translates “What can/cannot you do in this space?”. This sign was written only in German (Figure 5.30) and accompanied the action of walking and standing by the frontage of the café and stopping when approached by members of the public.

The second and third performative interventions provoked members of the public, allowing critical spaces of dialogue to emerge about everyday experiences. However, none of the public joined the first group. This may reflect different levels of provocation caused by the signs, but it might also be a result of the actions involved (sitting in a circle can seem a fairly exclusive thing to do) or the location and socio-cultural context. The other form of performative intervention involved writing ‘WHY NOT?’ using tape on the wall of Südsterne U-bahn Station next to the entrance. A set of instructions were then provided next to the tape-graffiti (See Figure 5.31). The interventions asked members of the public to be engaged, to challenge norms, to open up spaces for new possibilities, and to question perceived spatial limitations within the status quo. We left the taped sign and the guidelines in situ after the end of the workshop, to encourage the experimentation to continue after the end of the workshop.



Figure 5.30. Performative intervention occurring between the privately-owned cafe and Südsterne U-bahn Station, Berlin (Yaghi et al, 2019).

Finally, the provocative signs that the project had provided were combined with a methodology developed by Berlin-based architects ON/OFF. Called 'Disco Spati' the intervention involves all participants sitting or standing to hold active and critical conversations with members of the public (see Figure 5.32) while music plays and beers are sold. ON/OFF proposition bends the rules, because beer sales are not officially allowed on the street. However, by creating a cart with wheels from which to sell them, they have found a way around this prohibition that allows them to roam the neighbourhood with provocative signs, stopping wherever they feel a space of discussion may open.



Figure 5.31 Performative intervention at Sudstern Uban Station wall, Berlin (Stratford, 2017).



Figure 5.32. Combing provocative signs with the ON/Off Disco Spati propositions (Yaghi et al, 2019).

Various forms of alternative publicness were critically produced through the performative interventions tested during this research. Discussions allowed members of the public to pause and engage with the spaces around them more critically, revealing the rules and regulations as well as the subversive possibilities inherent in different spaces. In Berlin, a more open-ended procedure was also developed in the shape of the 'Why Not' tapes and instructions inviting participants to reimagine their city. Some members of the public rethought the space in a playful way, for example drawing, playing games, or creating a hopscotch matrix. Finally, combining the provocative signs with the ON/Off Disco Spati methodology produced an actual disruption of the space in the shape of alternative publicness and everyday knowledges.

Participants re-defined 'public' space, at the beginning of the workshop, often in ways that focused on its ability to host a variety of social and political activities. However, through the workshop, such definitions shifted as participants recognised both the highly controlled nature of such apparently open spaces, and their potential for interpretation and play. Performative interventions drew attention to various possible uses, other collective actions and ways of assembling, different collaborations with experts and external practices, in a highly experimental way that made visible invisible rules and questioned them.

5.7. Discussions and Conclusions

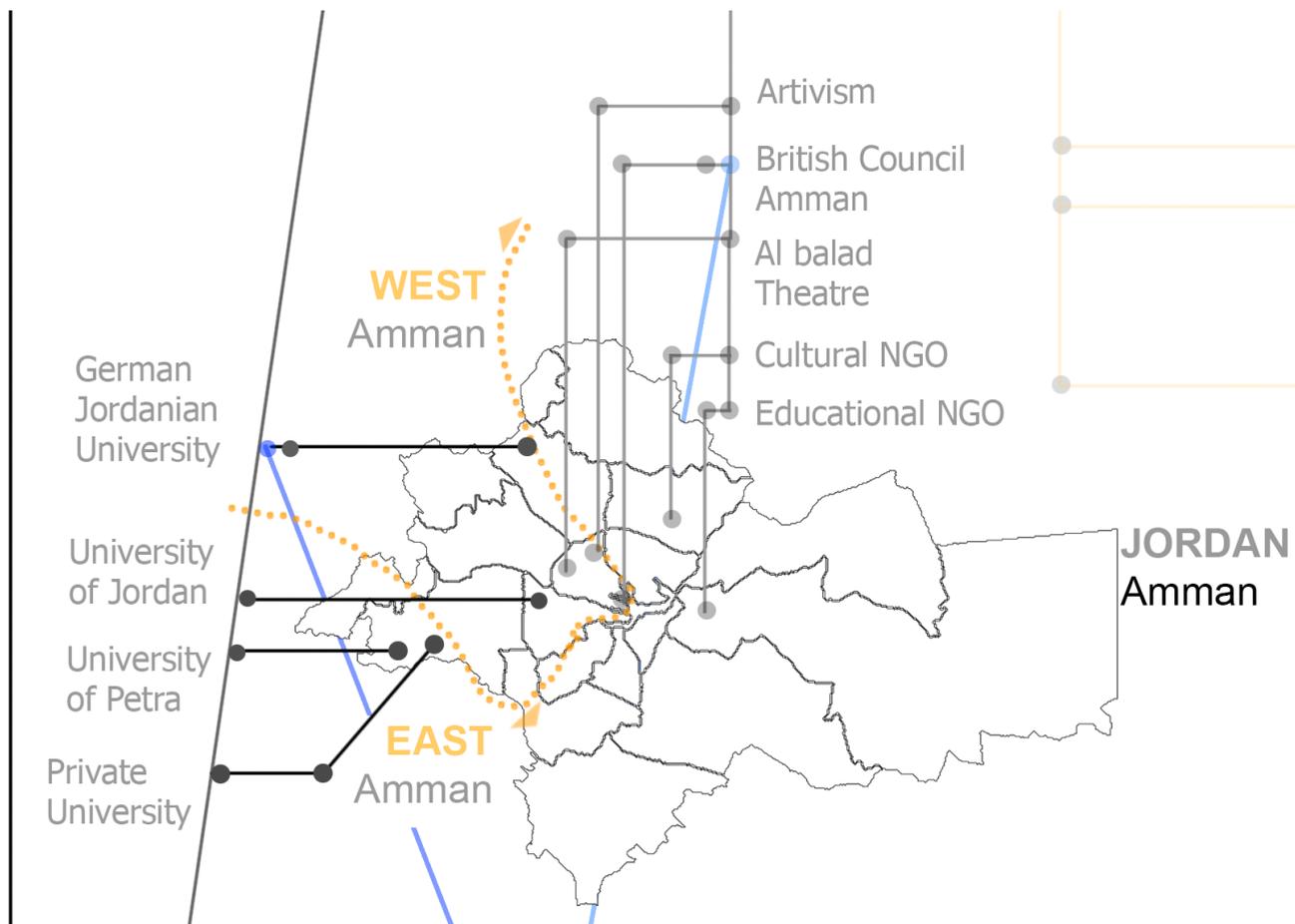
It is clear that public spaces, in our neoliberal contemporary cities, have varying degrees of publicness. Often regulated, controlled and managed either by the state or by private businesses, they can be the locus not of openness but of exclusion. This practice-led research aims to intervene in this process across different contexts, reframing the city in critical ways that gesture at new and more politically active types of space in ways that are culturally specific. Forms of performative intervention, involving the use of provocative signs, acted as a stimulus for attempts to create a new discursive space capable of leading participants towards a greater awareness of their 'right to the city'.

The process of developing and testing/practicing forms of performative intervention in the different political and cultural contexts of Amman, Sheffield, and Berlin involved a degree of translation across contexts (Yaghi et al, 2019). The different potentialities and limitations of these cities, and their different socio-political contexts, demanded methodological modifications: Berlin's public spaces tended to be more permissive and open to reinterpretation than those of Sheffield, while public space in Amman was more heavily regulated still. The use of provocative signs to stimulate dialogue, however, was successful at generating alternative knowledge, uncovering the invisible rules and norms by which each place operated, in ways that led naturally to reflections on the publicness of these spaces. "Through such forms of performative practice, it was always power 'with' rather than power 'over' which was performed, in contrast with the top-down modus operandi of traditional architectural practice" (Yaghi et al, 2019).

The clearest finding to emerge from this study was the success of the interventions deployed in the neighbourhood of the Floating University, Berlin (FUB). FUB is internationally recognized for its excellence as a platform for experimentation and collaboration, and other cities could benefit by instituting a similar methodology of playful

investigation in a way that is largely self-managed (ibid). It made the creation of experimental spaces very easy, particularly in comparison to Amman, where performative acting in public space was restricted and occasionally even risky. Utilising performative interventions as an approach of research is therefore challenging in Arab context for a range of reasons, from direct political opposition (backed by police and security services) to cultural traditions and increasing neoliberal control over space. By aiming to draw attention precisely to this fact, however, the research manages partially to subvert actions taken against it: the appearance of the police or private security guards to quash a performative intervention paradoxically only draws attention to the need for that very intervention, producing the very critical awareness in the public that the acting power seeks to repress! “Performative interventions, in other words, force power to make itself visible in ways that lead to public questioning” (ibid). This can itself be a (definitionally brief) stimulus to the critical production of alternative publicness in the social production of space, defined by Marcuse as “the right for all citizens regardless of their backgrounds to fully participate in everyday urban life” (Marcuse, 2009 cited in Yaghi et al, 2019).

Mediating



Chapter Six: Mediating

6.1 Chapter overview

The previous Chapter revealed and discussed the invisible phenomena and power inequalities that underpin relations in the public spaces studied in the research. Out of these findings, this chapter constructs a wider strategy for the critical production of public space by exploring the places where it is possible to use agency to challenge the status quo. It presents both theoretical and empirical research addressing the question of how can we catalyse change, and addresses the need to mediate between possible actants (architects, artists, academics, and urban activists) to initiate a platform for progressive collective practice which provokes the public to question and critically produce public spaces. Throughout the process, it proposes an alternative framework for 'commoning', through the act of forming a network of active actors with the power to initiate change in public space. Constructing a set of relations that negotiate civic urban propositions, scenarios, and provocations. These wider propositions mediate the relationship between the available and the potential resources for positioning a challenge to the ways in which public space is constructed in Amman City.

In terms of the structure of this chapter, it will start by introducing the importance of, and necessity for, a wider strategy for civic intervention: the construction of a platform and the initiation of a network that acts as the collective ground for (re)acting in relation with the current situation, and developing new relations for the future. The chapter will move on to focus on practical forms of agency, which it groups into two types: collective-progressive and resistant-resilient forms. These are used to reflect upon, and critically discuss, the role of mediation as a practice that is capable of producing a new collective, and alternative knowledges, scenarios, and propositions, thus contributing to the critical production of alternative public spaces.

6.2 Introduction to mediating

"Advocacy chooses to stand by one side for Justice's sake. Mediation chooses to stand in connection to all sides for Justice's sake"- (Lederach, 1995, p.14 cited in Forester, 2009).

Lefebvre (1991, p.26) famously argued that "(Social) space is a (social) product... The space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power." His argument shifted thinking about space away from conceptualisations that saw it as a 'given', towards the idea that space is relational, dynamic, political and conflictual, and operates on different levels. As cultural theorist Nina Möntmann (2006) has argued, this way of seeing space encourages its social producers to think creatively about new ways to produce it.

The research underpinning this thesis used a series of performative interventions to reveal how public space in Amman was performed (see Chapter Five). This points to the ways in

which such interventions can be used as provocations, encouraging the public to investigate the various phenomena by which existing spaces are made, and thus opening critical space for the questioning of this process. They suggest fertile ways in which the research could be used to scale up this process, initiating a transformative ground that mediates between inhabitants and their spaces and encourages people to question the power relations underlying public spaces within the city by finding means and actors that can catalyse change to resist the current pseudo-public spaces. The term 'mediator' here is borrowed from Latour (2005), who has provided a definition of the mediator as an actor or actant that produces opportunities for other actors to do things and become mediators themselves. He also speaks about actors and mediators as constantly producing and constructing relations (ibid). This process involves breaking down the boundaries between subjectivity and objectivity in debates on agency, which can be translated into spatial terms as breaking the barriers between inhabitants and their spaces, and creating the potential for new dialectic relations. This is consonant with Forester's (2013, p.6) statement that "mediators do not make stakeholder agreements any more than midwives make babies", which identifies the role of the mediator as the facilitator of debate, someone who makes connections and negotiates to find alternatives.

This notion of agency is similar to the situationist emphasis on the roles that people play in actively constructing situations, as opposed to the notion of their being passive spectators for a "spectacle" which constantly refers away from their reality, leaving them inert, and lacking in any sense of collectively or association (Debord, 1967). Both Forester and Debord suggest ways in which members of the public or community activists can turn out to be "mediators" between people and their everyday life, allowing them to intervene consciously and critically in the construction of their social reality in relations to space. Debord (1967) especially recognised the role played by alternative, revolutionary forms of art in which the public would participate in producing constructed situations. Throughout the participation process in which the public are co-producing these constructed situations, the output is social, taking the form of a critique of social relations (ibid).

As shown in Figure 6.1, members of the public who were also users of the selected spaces participated in forms of art (performative interventions), co-producing constructed situations that questioned the way that space was being produced, as a basis for redefining both space and an underlying network of social, economic, and political relations. The effectiveness of the methodology raises questions about how to expand it, in order that more people could become involved in future, initiating a collective common ground for the critical production of space in a more sustained way. This research has initiated the process of mediating by recruiting the potential mediators, facilitating a common ground to translate the findings of the research from phase one and negotiate for further mediating processes to find meanings, solutions and alternatives. This mediating processes requires negotiations between their own 'rigid' institutions and the demands of civic society.

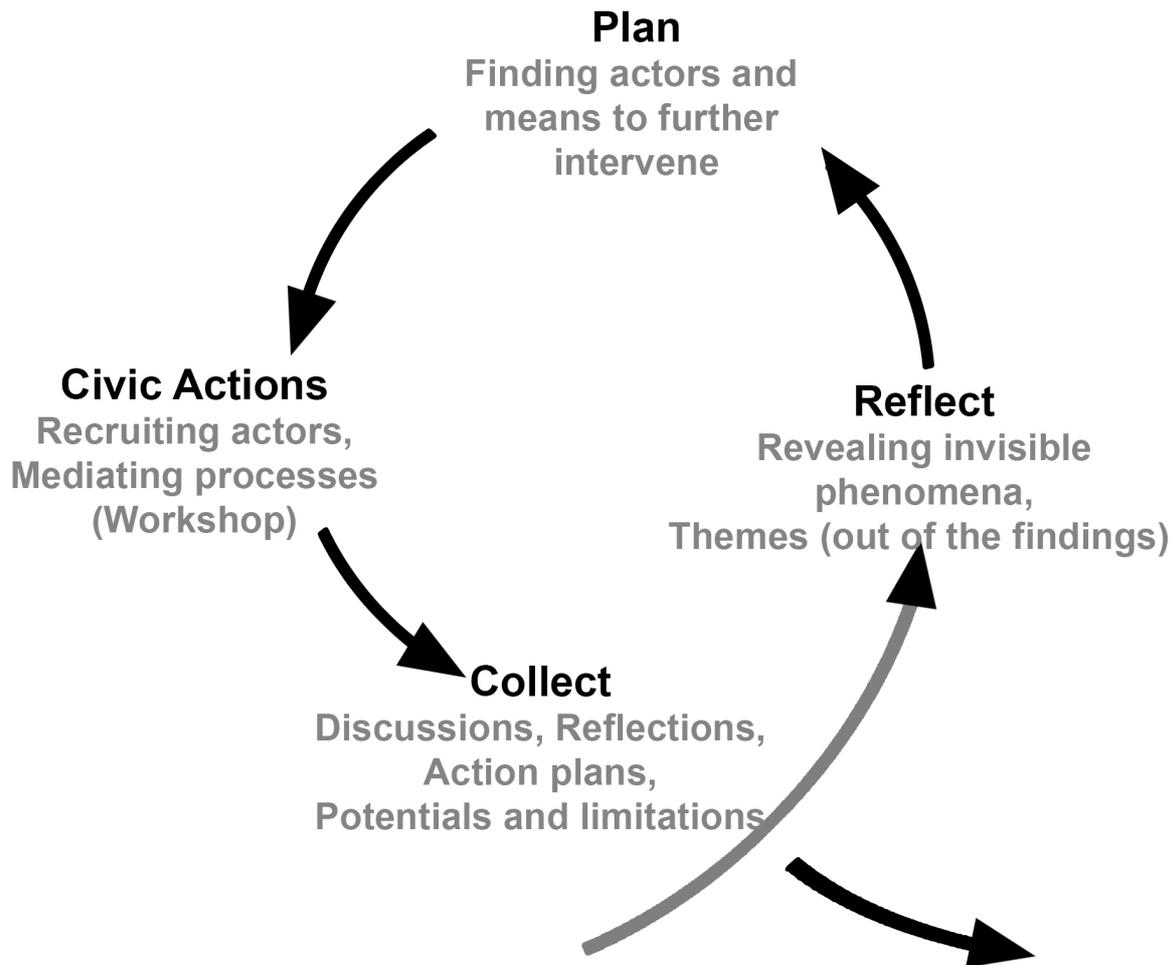


Figure 6.1. The mediating phase for this research continues from the previous stage, working with the narratives from reflective residents and using them to inform civic plans and actions (Author, 2018).

The objective of constructing a network of active actors was to provoke and initiate negotiations that would lead to change in public spaces. Existing research suggests that art and educational institutions can be effective mediators: as Jane Rendell has suggested, art can play a vital role in such processes precisely because it offers an interdisciplinary and flexible space for questioning that can literally be taken out of the museum or gallery space and into the street: “critical practice architecture must look to art and move outside the traditional boundaries of its field and into a place between disciplines. As a mode of cultural production that enjoys a greater degree of separation from economic and social concerns, art can offer architecture a chance for critical reflection and action. There is much gallery-based art that provides cultural and political critique, but once outside the gallery, as ‘public art’, art is better positioned to initiate critical spatial practices that can inform the activity of architectural design and the occupation of buildings.” (Rendell, 2006, p.192). Similarly, Liggett et al, (1995) argue for a need to shift perceptions away from spatial practices that focus on “objects”, and instead to develop hybrid alternative approaches that go beyond, to the domain of the social and political in order to produce very different forms of critical

knowledge about space. As this chapter will explore (see section 6.3), there is a rich tradition of practitioners in architecture who have found innovative ways to connect to the social, political, and spatial. This research follows in their path, with an approach that focuses on agency, questioning, mediation, and critique by revealing the socially relational production of space. Such a view departs from conventional architectural notions of space as the physical product of heroic planners and architects (Awan, et al, 2013) who are far less engaged with a wider public, whom they (re)present a wider public in a very distant, unengaged and expert manner. Contrasting with this top-down technocratic and aesthetic approach to physical spaces, the practice in this thesis aims to initiate bottom-up participation processes, in which spatial practitioners (architects, artists, planners, educators, NGOs representatives etc) function simply as mediators for a wider process which is designed to build resistance to pseudo-public spaces and the forces which contribute to producing them.

6.3. Mediating processes

As mentioned earlier, the necessity of building a network of mediators became apparent as the preliminary research was conducted. The findings from the performative intervention showed that there was a large-scale lack of awareness amongst the public about their rights to public spaces, and about the ways in which such spaces are produced by all of those who are present. It therefore became apparent that there was a need for mediation and for further interventions that could challenge and change this situation, creating alternative urban knowledge and civic action.

Meike Schalk defines spatial practitioners as ‘urban curators’ who gather invisible and unheard urban knowledge (Petrescu, 2007). This term has also been used by Chora’s founder, Raoul Bunschoten, whose practice focuses on illuminating organisational interactions, processes, and structures (Kossak et al., 2009). This research picks up this use of the term, and adds a role of mediation to it, as a means of capturing the transformative actions that can be built when the opportunities and restrictions inherent within existing structures are recognised. By focusing on public engagement, this type of approach challenges architectural norms, and goes beyond the restricted practice of building aesthetically pleasing structures to focus on the social. It does, however, call on spatial practitioners and educators to develop new skills, allowing them to perform a more civic role.

In the framework of the research, several different types of participants acted as mediators, creating a platform with equal representation from different disciplines. However, Condon (2008, p.70) notes that such a process cannot be fully democratic; instead, mediation offers means for participants to gather who might potentially make the outcome more favourable. However, the aim of this research was not to produce a particular outcome, but to recruit mediators who were able to provoke and (re)act with residents, negotiate with own rigid institutions, co-producing an open form of alternative publicness, rather than a finished spatial product.

Recruiting spatial mediators

Within the context of Amman, civic pedagogical actions need to consider both human and non-human actors, to critically produce public spaces within what Lefebvre described as ‘third space’ Lefebvre third space: space in all its richness, as it is lived. This section discusses two main challenges faced during the research: firstly, that of finding the potential mediators who could lead the process of coproduction; secondly, exploring the ways in which these mediators contributed to the critical production of public space.

The process of recruiting the potential mediators was not linear, but rather iterative. As mentioned in Chapter four, various tactics were deployed: informal interviews and invitations (particularly with participants from the first phase of the research), conversations with potential mediators from various disciplines (spatial practitioners, urban activists, artists, academics from public and private universities, representatives from civic institutions, NGO workers), and local publicity, particularly presentations at conference such as *International Conference II: Reclaiming Public Space within Metropolitan Areas*, held at the German Jordanian University. Together, these tactics produced a rudimentary local network, linking people with similar interests and concerns to one another. A snowballing technique (Byrne, 2004; Creswell, 2009) was then used to recruit further participants, which worked in a particularly effective way because Arabic culture operates conventions of hospitality, which provided a ready-made sources of introductions and recommendations. It was made clear that anyone who wanted to participate would be very welcome to come along. Of the 24 participants that were recruited, 13 eventually met in person (See Figure 6.2).

Mediators' Number	Role/Agency
M1	Urban activist
M2	Art institution representative
M3	Academic (public university)
M4	Cultural NGO representative
M5	Researcher
M6	Artist
M7	Educational NGO representative
M8	Cultural NGO representative
M9	Academic (private university)
M10	Academic (Private university)
M11	Researcher
M12	Academic (public university)
M13	Cultural institution representative

Figure 6.2. Coded numbers for each mediator, with their role and agency.

The process of recruitment assisted me to become reflective as a researcher, since it meant that I had to explain the research/practice to very different audiences, drawn from different disciplines. I could not assume familiarity with art and architecture, and frequently had to translate concepts into language from their specialism. I found Bogdan and Bilken's (2007) concept of 'five questions' particularly helpful in explaining and framing the mediating process:

What are we actually going to act/(re)act?

Would we be productively disruptive to the current power structure?

What are we going to do with the collected data?

Why us?

What will we get out of this?

The questions helped me to understand the ways in which mediators can function as facilitators in an attempt to find solutions. For instance, academic mediators initially need to negotiate with their university department on an institutional level to bridge between students and civic society. Throughout the mediating processes, the findings and data collected can be discussed, negotiated, and mediated with other civic institutions that can plan further actions with them.

There are strong debates about sampling or selecting individuals for research in this way. As Tonkiss (2012, p. 236) points out, selection has consequences for the emerging data and how these data can be translated to mirror and reflect either individual opinions or social positions. However, the need for participants with some expertise in the urban, some awareness of current debates, and an ability to engage a wider public in resistant ways of thinking, especially difficult in the context of a reasonably authoritarian state, made some degree of selection necessary.

Mediating between the mediators

As Tonkiss has pointed out, group dynamics through social interaction play a role in how people would be able to define and discuss issues. Any approach that uses such methodology has to be aware "that opinions, attitudes and accounts are socially produced, shaped by interaction with others, rather than being discreetly formed at the level of the individual.... Moreover, the group context makes visible how people articulate and justify their ideas in relation to others" (Tonkiss, 2012, p.228). At the first phase of informal interviews and conversations, the mediators identified their occupation, role, and their potential contribution to the network. The latter included people or connections that they could bring to the network, or provision of space for discussions of civic interventions. From the outset, the mediating process produced collaboration, with personal introductions supplemented by offers of assistance. At a very early stage, I shared the processed findings from the previous stage of research, and took indepth questions and feedback on the work that I had already completed. This laid the ground for further discussions about how we could (re)act, as a civic group, in the context of existing conditions. As a whole, the process provided credibility for the practice and research at the local level, allowing future plans to be developed.

At an early stage, I established a virtual space online, which allowed the group to discuss and negotiate issues in a way that did not require them to be physically copresent. The meeting agenda was also coproduced in this virtual space: a document was prepared allowing all participants to edit and add comments. For many of those participating, it was their first experience of any kind of research or practice, and this resulted in a particularly creative set of suggestions for coinvestigating the findings from the previous stage, and rethinking together what can be done. The diversity within the group thus began to produce a form of learning rooted in 'ethics, democracy and civic courage' (Wenger, 1998) even before the group had physically met in person.

The first meeting of the group was at a time and place that were collectively agreed, and took place in a coffee shop in the old downtown on the 31st March 2018. The choice of a public space was deliberate: we wanted members of the public to be able to hear us and join the meeting, if they wished. The food on offer also helped the group to bond over a common lunch. We have discussed and negotiated residents' narratives that have been collected from phase one. The outcome of these discussions was that we would initiate an 'alternative publicness' project at the end of 2018, with the aim of constructing a civic performative spatial practice in Amman. Titled '*Mediating to Intervene*', it would see the mediators enter the community and enhance residents' awareness of their right to the city via dual processes of rethinking publicness and building a wider network of community resilience and resistance. The locus for this intervention was to be a workshop, which I would facilitate by provoking and stirring up discussion, asking critical questions, and stating opinions. This setup is similar in nature to Tonkiss's idea of a focus group, where a group participates in activities and discussions (Tonkiss, 2012). The aim is to produce a different model of knowledge to that revealed by interviews (Morgan and Scannell, 1998).

Making visible and planning scenarios

As mentioned earlier, the workshop also operated from a coffee shop in the old downtown, and was also conducted in a public space in order that those just passing might be encouraged to join in the discussion about further civic action and interventions. The group of mediators selected a series of issues that had been raised by the performative interventions in the first phase of the research for further discussion. These included male verbal and sexual harassment and the difficulties of 'speaking out' as a woman, the plight of refugees, and the presence of 'Gulf tourists'. The aim was to find ways of reacting to these issues that would draw attention to inequalities of access to public spaces.

Gendered street harassment and voicing female experiences

The issue of the sexual harassment of women in public space was raised by mediators in the workshop. Several female mediators recounted their own experiences, with one giving eloquent personal testimony: "This phenomena is so common in Amman, I rarely go to public outdoor spaces within the city, as I am usually exposed to male harassment. It is perhaps a culturally accepted norm. Therefore, I do agree with female users who prefers to go to highly securitised, private or expensive spaces so I feel more comfortable. This is why we need to address this issue, indeed" (M1). Another mediator suggested we investigate why this behaviour occurred, in order that we could better tackle it and find solutions. M7,

who represented an educational NGO, suggested that under occupation played a large role: “one of the main important factors is youth unemployment. They have plenty of free time, that is why they do it”. Another mediator, also an NGO representative, mentioned that their agency was developing workshops specifically for unemployed youths, and was immediately supported by an academic who pointed out that youth involvement was a key target for several of these organisations.

From this discussion emerged the idea of conducting civic actions within these workshop to raise awareness of street harassment as a problem. As M11 pointed out: “NGOs have arranged workshops to involve them, trying to tackle civic issues. They can potentially do more collectively within this platform, connecting university students as volunteers and civic activators to kind of make this problem more visible”. It was decided that this should be discussed and negotiated further with the NGOs and the university’s architecture department, in order to develop a project to tackle the issue. Measures to tackle the unemployment rate were also discussed, in particular the need to work with employers to ensure that graduates had a job on exiting their course, even outside the country if local and regional opportunities were not available to accommodate them.

The need for women to speak out about the impacts of street harassment was discussed at length, with the majority of the female mediators contributing. Many raised the need to address the lack of opportunities for women to be heard on this issue. For example, M9 mentioned: “There are many gendered spaces, especially political ones and cultural norms that limits women’s participation. Looking at the findings means taking into account the involvement of women throughout society”. M10 added: “Here, in our context, women are rarely are being heard. As if we do not exist in society. This gives us the feeling of not belonging. That is why I certainly agree and perhaps we can take a lead in planning civic actions so we become more visible”. However, these points were not uncontroversial. Male participants (one an academic, one an artist) argued that they did not want women in their family to be exposed or seen as public activists. While they did not actively seek to limit them, they were frightened of the consequences of their being exposed on a public stage, from both a personal and a cultural perspective. As M11 explained: “Yes, I do agree that women in our context are closed off somehow. But it is how we were brought up, I just prefer to follow that....my wife is a housewife and prefers to stay home. However, I do listen to her at home and negotiate everything with her”. I was surprised by this resistance and by the reluctance to accept the ‘outspoken woman’, having been raised in the same context but having far less traditional views about the role of women in society. As a group, however, we agreed on the importance of giving a platform for woman so that those who wished to could choose to engage in a more public way. Many female participants expressed a sense of relief at being able to discuss this issue: “Thank you for listening and giving us this chance to talk, express ourselves, and be heard” p66.

As this might suggest, the social and cultural role of women has not been widely discussed in either a Jordanian or an Arabic context, and feminism remains highly controversial. While many men are now increasingly supporting the participation of women in social and political activities as an empowerment for them, there are still many who do not want women to be public figures. As mentioned in chapter two and three, this has impacts for women’s experiences within public space in the urban realm. As M9 and M10 suggested, civic actions

such as giving the lead for women to make them visible and draw attention to this issue of female involvement in the public realm could be a powerful way of stimulating further discussion “we need to break these barriers to women and open up more platforms to be heard and act accordingly. Myself and (M10) can take the lead for such interventions within the university” (M9). “There are some pockets of action that can take place immediately”, M10 added, “especially at the institutional level, if women become involved in interventions. For instance, in group projects, we can give the lead to female students and allow them to represent their group and speak up” (M10).

Refugees

As previously discussed, Jordan has been host to waves of refugees of different nationalities for many decades: Palestinians, Iraqis, and, most recently, Syrians have moved to live in the country when displaced by conflict and war. This issues that come with being host to refugees deeply affect many aspects of Jordanian society, including the social, political, environmental, and cultural domains. In terms of public spaces within the city, the issues of inclusion raised by refugees were discussed by several of the workshop participants, especially the NGO representatives and academics, and the civic mediators. As M13 noted: “We are living in a refugee city. They are using and benefiting from our public services and private ones as well. It is a peaceful place for them, and we need to work with NGOs to ensure they can access more of the public realm”. Another mediator noted the particular importance of public spaces to this demographic: “Refugees are really major users of public spaces, because they cannot afford to enter private spaces. Their presence has made many agents increase the fees to enter private spaces, making them more difficult to access. Since government statistics do not observe or acknowledge refugees’ presence within the city and its spaces, what we need to do is to make them visible” (M7). However, others noted that the heavy use of civic spaces by refugees had altered their character and identity, leading to a two-tier system of access. As M11 commented: “Public spaces in Amman are either highly private spaces, which house high-end businesses or charge entrance fees, or spaces for refugees and the lower classes”.

The discussion of this issue was wide-ranging, and covered many different fields of work as potential solutions were sought. All participants agreed that the idea of additional fees would only increase the gap between different demographics within the city, exacerbating inequality. Instead, there was a need to create more inclusive public spaces, which would bring together people from all backgrounds, as M3 explained: “We are one Jordanian community; we should interact together to have one integrated society with safe spaces for all”. One suggestion was to bring students and NGOs together to work on the issues: “We actually have capacity to address the issue and make it visible within the university”, explained M1, “We can firstly raise students’ awareness about their civic responsibilities and encourage projects to students that can make refugees visible and perhaps get them interacting with the NGOs”. Other mediators agreed that this direction could be extremely productive, noting significant areas of intersectional overlap between the experience of refugees and those of women. As M12 noted, the same groups were also well-placed to “tackle gendered spaces and male verbal harassment”. Collectively, while having our common lunch, measures to strengthen links between students and civic society were

discussed in more depth, with plans for a further workshop that would mediate between university students alongside wider representatives of the public.

Gulf tourists

Tourism has grown rapidly in Jordan in recent years, with people from the wider region paying visits to the country. As M2 explained: “Amman enjoys a variety of spaces, with different activities that perhaps they do not have. This encourages Gulf people to come, see and use them”. The situation has many positive impacts for the country, not least in economic terms, but it also creates a series of tensions and strains in terms of public space. A growth in the number of high-end, luxury retail and leisure spaces catering to this new market is leading to a situation where some locals feel pushed out, as M5 elaborated: “stores and spaces are not affordable for most of the locals, they are targeting visitors from the Gulf. Therefore, arguably they are not spaces for the locals but rather for tourists”. This was also confirmed by another participant: “Where are the spaces for locals? Are they on the outskirts? The empty spaces within the city?... We are not Dubai, Qatar and so on. We are in Jordan, spaces are supposed to be affordable for our inhabitants” M12.

As the discussion moved to question what could be done about this situation, artists, architects, and representatives from civic institutions suggested that art and publications could be mediated and used to make the issue more visible: “Stakeholders should see this gap, Gulf tourists can come and enjoy the spaces, but we need to preserve amenities for local people rather than creating another neoliberal Dubai within Amman” (M3). M7 agreed: “We need to make it [this issue] visible to them so they realise that such spaces are not for the locals”. M2 highlighted the role of NGOs within the region as a potential starting point, since they possessed access and resources to link local issues to a wider regional agenda: “We are so lucky to have many NGOs whose role is to support the local community. Our NGO works to teach locals and has mobilised volunteers to provide access to education. So, we can highlight these subjects” (M2).

6.4. Workshopping the city: a paradigm shift (Translating the themes into an Action plan)

The workshop proved to be a useful tool in terms of bringing together a group of experts to discuss, negotiate, and mediate issues of unequal access to public space. It provided an occasion for different parties to meet and introduce their role and agency, which quickly developed into an interdisciplinary discussion of the ways in which different individuals and institutions could become involved in civic actions. Most significantly, it allowed the findings from the performative intervention to be transformed into a forward-facing series of discussions and plans for civic actions to bring about positive change and to mitigate the inequality exacerbating effects of neoliberal commodified spaces in Amman. A raft of measures to catalyse change was developed, including further civic pedagogic actions and planned resistances that could continue to generate emerging knowledge by redefining public space in the city.

One of the most interesting things to emerge from the discussion was sense that the issue of local access to public space involved much wider regional issues, from the geopolitics of

conflict and the way that it displaces refugees, to the leisure industry of regional luxury tourism. Redefining Amman's spaces emerged as a highly complex and multi-scalar project that had to be sensitive to local, national and regional issues. This led the group to begin to question the meaning of terms like 'public', as M3 pointed out: "when you consider the highly political nature of neoliberal practices, very private spaces become actual public spaces". Public space has been stratified, in other words, with differential levels of access for different groups, reflecting a highly unequal socio-economic division of resources and assets: "public spaces are not for everyone, each space has its users that are able to access it. For instance, as we can see from the narratives, spaces such as shopping malls are not for the poor, but there are other spaces that they can use such as roundabouts or parks that are their space" (M3). The same mediator noted the vital role played by transport in making spaces accessible. Despite this open acknowledgement of inequality, there was a sense that Jordan was managing access rather better than other nations, but also that this did not always equate to wider forms of freedom: "We can generalise that spaces in Amman are way better in comparison to spaces within the region. For instance, in Lebanon the socio-economical gap is more visible than here. However, they have got more, sort of, political freedom" (M4).

Another participant noted that internet technology was also transforming the boundary between public and domestic, since it was possible to 'speak publicly' from inside the comfort of one's home: "It [the space] is then either inside the house or re-appropriated as a virtual space of resistance" (M6). However, this is perhaps left of a shift in Amman than it is in the West, since the private sphere is traditionally seen as more public in a Jordanian context than it often is in western Europe. However, the emergence of a virtual sphere of debate is sufficiently worrying to the Jordanian government that it has taken measures to restrict online freedom of expression. The virtual sphere relates to the political organisation of protest, as mentioned earlier in Chapter two, Arab spring in Egypt started from social media network. Egyptians used the virtual space to arrange and organise protests. The online realm can be used to prevent the socio-economic realm of public space from delaminating from the political sphere.

These themes and discussions have been translated into a plan for civic action. This had three main objectives. Firstly, it aimed to initiate the negotiation process between a series of fairly rigid institutions in order to encourage them to become more civic and to mediate with other organisations and to share available resources. Secondly, it aimed to explore the potential of higher educational institutions to act as the potential ground for future civic interventions and mediating processes. Finally, it aimed to expand and sustain this mediating and questioning process as the seed for a much wider raft of measures to rethink and critically produce alternative public spaces in Amman.

Negotiation between 'rigid' institutions

"These are times of responsibility and care, times of reinvention and change, times when everyone's skills, knowledge and affective power are the most valuable and when learning to act should indeed be on everyone's agenda" (Petrescu, 2017).

Throughout the workshop, it was important to make resources and agency visible, in order that the group could negotiate resources and responsibilities for further civic actions and interventions. Part of the aim of this phase of the research was to open up relatively 'rigid' institutions to recognising their civic responsibilities, and to build institutional alliances within other partners in the city.

One of the most interesting findings was that, throughout the mediating process, purely local institutions seemed to have less agency than globally-tied bodies. This suggests a need to support local institutions further, and planning further interventions that include them could be a useful way of securing their involvement. It is important to highlight the exact definition of agency within this context, since it is a concept that has been discussed widely across the various disciplines within the social sciences (McNay, 2000; Mahler and Pessar, 2001; Latour, 2005; Showden, 2011; Awan et al, 2013). A generally accepted definition of the term revolves around the ability to act against oppression (McNay, 2000). From a feminist viewpoint, Mahler and Pessar (2001) describe agency in terms of a series of embodied processes which are socially constructed from our everyday experience, while Sniekers (2018) asserts the need to consider spaces as alive when researching agency. Awan et al. (2013, p. 31) revisit Giddens' (1984) definition to suggest that "agency means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs." This definition reminds us of the Situationist International, who emphasised non-physical forms of intervention, supporting this contention of this research that critical spatial practices do not need to involve making changes to the built environment itself. As Cedric Price argued, the best solutions to spatial issues are not necessarily reached by means of traditional architectural practice (Barker, 1999).

Fortunately, architecture has also found alternative ways of working through processes of engagement that empower non-architects to produce their own space, and to connect their reality into socio-political networks that can inspire change (Petrescu, Petcou et al. 2010; Awan et al, 2013; Wakeford and Bell, 2008). Such practice forces an attentiveness to social relations, and a critical engagement with politics, within the realm of architecture, spatializing insights about agency from Giddens (1984), about power structures and relations within our everyday life from Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and about networked ontology from Latour (2005).

Drawing on the aforementioned theories and practices, this research defines agency as a series of interventional and transformative processes that are able to construct new situations and mediate within them in a way that coproduces alternative, embodied, and relational forms of resilience and resistance to existing power relations. As such, it is a form of practice that aims at initiating a civic urban platform, encouraging and empowering a range of actants to participate in ways that embrace and address questions about local urban spaces, which may also be the sites of global urban processes. Such transformative actions require a form of action that moves far beyond the physical, building networks of transformative, progressive agency that bring together architects, artists, educators, NGOs representatives, and ordinary people, in ways that not only question existing spaces but that also build a form of networked social capital capable of producing further challenges once the process has ended. Drawing from Wenger (1998), within this research such processes

included an informal collective learning group, sharing similar values, passions and concerns as they came together to analyse and solve problems in ways that build resistance and resilience to pseudo-public spaces, the authoritarian state, and global capital.

Therefore, the first initial proposition that emerged from the informal collective platform was mapping the available resources, in order to determine possibilities for further mediating processes. Though mapping has been understood as a representational form of knowledge that conveys information, it is important when we look at such forms of knowledge to identify who produces it, and for what purposes and audience (Harley, 2006). Conventional cartography is often seen in terms of social, political and military dominance and control, producing a territorial, birds'-eye view that claims a kind of spatial omniscience: notable examples of such maps are the governmental charts, mentioned earlier in this thesis, that neither show nor acknowledge informal settlements (ibid). However, alternative, critical forms of mapping can be used to draw attention to the potentially problematic relations, dynamics, and possibilities that can emerge during the mapping process. These cartographies can be defined as a form of inquiry, dialogue, and interaction with communities, in a way that acknowledges the role of mapping in producing new knowledges for different publics.

Amongst these forms of counter-cartography are forms of mapping that seek to represent social or power relations, experiences and narratives that are neglected by more conventional approaches. For instance, in 2015, Bureau d'Études, a group of French designers, published *Atlas of agendas – mapping the power, mapping the commons*, a series of maps that informs and empowers people by revealing the social, economic, and political relations and networks that are emerging in our everyday experiences. In so doing, these maps make visible alternative possibilities to the capitalist system. Another interesting example is provided by the work of the Atelier d'Architecture Autogérée, who use critical mapping to reveal the various social and activities networks that are emerging as common and public spaces are co-produced and connected in space.

In order to capture the findings of both phases of this research, a critical map was produced with the aim of representing the current resources that this research has located, while also proposing scenarios and visions for future **mediating processes**, relationships, leading to new forms of civic intervention (see Figure 6.3 and 6.4). The aim is to capture the processes of quotidian spatial coproduction identified in the research, and to suggest possible strategies for future mediation to transform these. Information captured by all of the research methods deployed for this thesis is synthesised in the map: being attentively present, conducting interviews, holding meetings, chatting to people in public space, developing a group of mediators, holding workshops. However, the end product is something unfinished, a draft that is ready for expansion and revision as new co-producers and mediators enter the process in future, bringing different institutional and personal narratives and resources to the table in order to create opportunities for new civic and transformative interventions. The map thus seeks to recognise the ways in which collaboration is open-ended and situated between various agencies, research, people, organisations and events, which suggest future possibilities which that echo the 'multiple aspects of society' (Bunschoten, 2001). It also represents a starting point for the

development of future scenarios to draw public attention to the critical production of space and to the inequalities of the current situation.

Mapping Resources

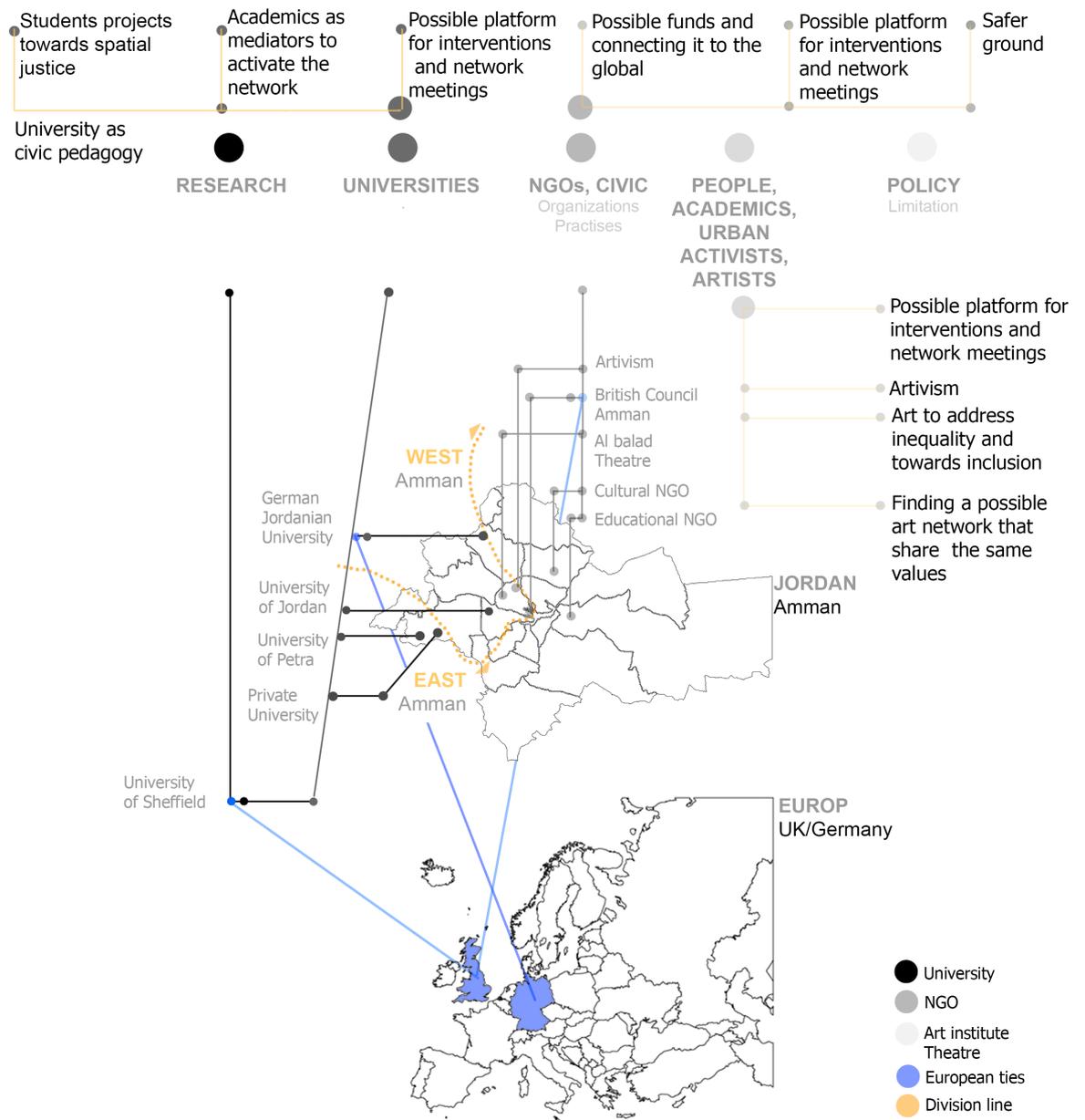


Figure 6.3 Mapping local resources for civic interventions in Amman, with their European ties (Author, 2019).

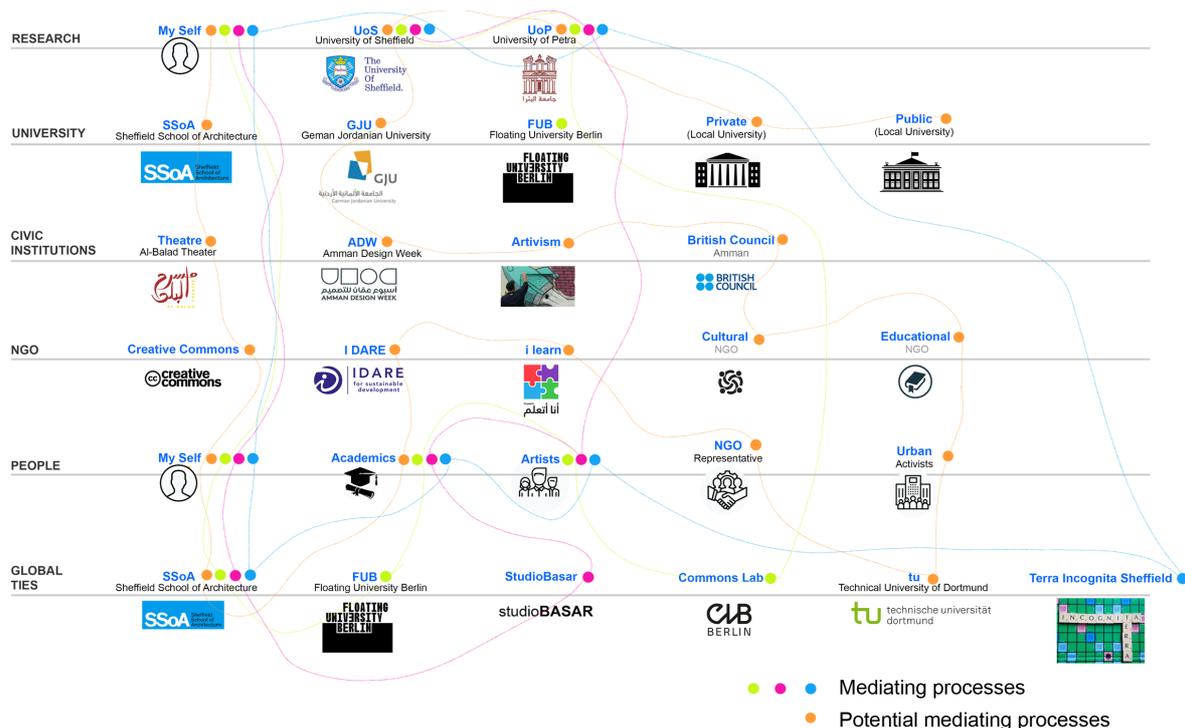


Figure 6.4 Maps the various actors with the mediating processes within this research (Author, 2019).

As Figure 6.3 and 6.4 represents mapping the available resources in which mediators can use, these resources are mostly local with global ties. The map has been produced manifesting the mediating processes, shifting perceptions from rigid institutions within the local level to have civic responsibilities. For instance, universities can be the medium for interventions with the public and mediators. It also recommends negotiating with university departments and students to encourage projects towards spatial and social justice. Lastly, it draws possibilities to expand through finding more academics to act as mediators for the civic society, mediating between students, civic and art institutions and the wider public. The map acts only as a tool that should be revised and expanded regularly according to the processes.

The civic potential of higher education institutions

“It is possible that citizenship education, at both the higher education level and in schools has got it wrong. A brittle, nationalistic, quite possibly politically colonized view of what it is to understand and project rights and responsibilities as a member of a democratic and inclusive society is unpersuasive to many of that society's members . . . and has been allowed to disguise a much more generous, contemporary sense of what it is to be a citizen.” (Bermudez, 2012, p.20).

Throughout the second phase of this research (collective discussions and civic action planning), higher education institutions seemed to have the highest potential to become mediators between the various actors. This perhaps suggests something about the nature of educational and pedagogical processes, and the ways in which they can be used as tools for

catalysing change: civic pedagogy never seemed far away from the goals of these institutions, and it was easy to provoke them to think about their civic responsibilities. As Bermudez (2012) suggests, civic engagement is not a one-note commitment, but covers a great diversity of culturally, historically, and geographically specific forms. It can be broadly defined as “the ways in which citizens participate in the life of a community in order to improve conditions for others or to help shape the community’s future” (Adler and Goggin, 2005). The broad aim of critical civic pedagogy is to provide citizens with knowledge of their rights (Sandel, 2010), while also empowering them to understand their *particular* political environment and actively to participate in the various forms of political activity taking place.

Therefore, this research tries to probe the civic pedagogical aspect of higher education institutions, to determine their real potential. The Greek term ‘pedagogy’ derives from ‘paidos’ (meaning boy or child) and ‘agogos’, meaning ‘leader’, so that the compound word has connotations of ‘leading children’ (Compayré, 2015). The term rose to prominence in the post-1968 work of Jurgen Habermas, whose ground-breaking theorisation of the public sphere criticised the function of the University as an educational institution in the public realm, and outlined a set of principles that any emerging university should follow: firstly, the transmission of values and capabilities; secondly, a critical relationship towards the surrounding culture and its self-understanding; and thirdly, encouraging students to become fully engaged with contemporary political issues, helping them to understand themselves and their role ‘within’ and ‘to’ their society (Compayré, 2015). Although theoretically these principles seem to be needed for universities to integrate and intervene at a civic level, in the context of Jordan, a fully political engagement seems almost impossible to achieve. Chapter Seven will analyse how educational institutions within the city are regulated, for now, it suffices to note that universities nonetheless have the potential to initiate transformative change by negotiating with institutions that are more rigid and formal, using techniques like design studies that are informal and flexible in their methodology. However, as participants noted within the mediating processes, for change to be effected, the university must be integrated with other social and civic bodies, which requires a more formal style of working, and more hierarchical negotiations.

Therefore, it is important to outline the relationship between hierarchical power and pedagogy. Today, the term ‘pedagogy’ is often stripped of political connotations, and instead used to describe any creative educational process or method which leads to knowledge transfer to a new learner (Watkins, et al, 1999). The term ‘critical pedagogy’, however, describes a philosophy or method of education which aims to combine critical theory with education to produce a more socially transformative result (Mclaren, 2008). Critical pedagogy recognises the relationship between knowledge and power, and the fact that certain voices tend not to be heard in the traditional classroom. Although we often think about “power” as over control, or as an obvious form of domination, ‘power’ also takes multidimensional forms and can act to produce positive change. VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) categorized forms of power as “power over”, “power to”, “power with”, and “power within”, a taxonomy to which Chambers (2013) subsequently added “power to empower”, capturing the aim of critical pedagogy. While this research, at all its phases, aims to use intervening and mediating processes power to empower, it is important to understand that other forms of power are used/ practiced in wider society, especially in a relatively authoritarian political context.

As mentioned earlier, such a multidimensional view of power is heavily informed by the work of Michel Foucault, who argued that modern state uses education as one of the tools to ensure the control of its citizens. *Discipline and Punish* (1979) argues that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw states begin to move away from enforcing power physically, and towards more coercive forms of control, including psychological forms of self-policing. These are famously epitomised by Jeremy Bentham's invention of the Panopticon prison, where space takes on a disciplinary function. Prisoners' cells are laid out around a central watchtower, creating the impression that they are being continually observed, even when no-one is watching. In other words, surveillance and self-governance become key instruments to control and govern the prison population. The same kind of logic is also applied to modern states. On one hand, according to Foucault, states initiate surveillance to ensure that societal rules are followed in a top-down fashion. On the other hand, and perhaps more importantly, "being watched" creates a negative conformity, which Foucault terms 'dynamic normalization', where people act, perform and think a certain way for the fear of being "punished", sometimes without even realising that this is occurring. Importantly, the schoolroom is an important conduit for both forms of surveillance and self-governance, as top-down teaching approaches and policies have a direct and indirect impact on students and wider society. Such arguments may help to explain the comparatively small role played during the mediation process by local institutions: they may have experienced a greater fear of 'being watched' than more globally-connected bodies. Thus, as Chapter seven will show, a rigid sense of roles and responsibilities can limit civic engagement.

Another form of control and power that requires consideration is that which adheres to the student-teacher relationship itself, as Friere has pointed out: "The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence" (Friere, 1996, p.53). Terming this 'the banking concept', Friere argues that students are pictured as passive recipients of knowledge from an active teacher, a relationship that mirrors wider patterns of disempowerment in society: "Knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry" (Friere, 1996, p. 58-59).

Friere's concept of critical pedagogy is designed to oppose the banking model of education by following five stages of dialogic participation. Firstly, participants in various educational activities describe what they see. Secondly, teachers pose problems that draw attention to the codified representation of knowledge, in particular the position of the knowledge in relation to power. Thirdly, participants reflect upon their previous state of silence, and begin to connect the logic of power with struggles in the education process (Crysler, 1995). Fourthly, participants work through increasing levels of critical awareness as they come to understand the ways that political and economic circumstances have constructed their lives and thinking. Finally, at the fifth stage, the controlling influence of the oppressor is ejected from their minds. Therefore, while formulating potential future plans for civic action, it is important to investigate whether the banking concept is employed within the local context and, if so, to find suitable poetic tactics to liberate individuals and institutions from it, and instead to instigate a more critical form of pedagogic intervention.

Central to this process is what Friere (1996) termed 'problem posing', in which students are encouraged to ask questions related to their own social issues. Hunter (2012) applies this idea to architectural education to suggest a phased introduction of radical praxis, designed to stimulate reflective action in the United Kingdom context:

"Pedagogically, a guiding principle would be that the latter part of your architectural education should be a type of supported 'proto-practice', and that the educational structures should reflect these new ways of working" (Hunter, 2012).

If we apply a similar approach to civic pedagogies, architectural education might involve the introduction of civic 'collective' actions and activities that go beyond the realm of private domestic or business architecture (Keeter et al., 2002). However, it should be tailored, poetically, to suit the specific context. Such a move would entail a significant shift towards alternative ways of performing politics, including institutional and alternative civic participatory forms, such as volunteering and bottom-up activism (Dalton, 2008; Zukin et al., 2006). The central idea would be to introduce non-hierarchical power relations and participatory democratic processes across a range of spaces, including those that are not usually counted as 'political' (Kahne and Bowyer, 2018; Kahne et al., 2012). However, such a pedagogy needs to be sensitive, as Kuttner (2016) points out, to the participation gap encountered by such as some ethnic minorities and those of lower socio-economic status, whose voices can tend to become marginalised in fora that rely on confidence and a sense of entitlement. Possible events for starting new processes of intervention and mediation that were discussed during the workshop included an event for Amman Design Week, with the British Council and the German Jordanian University. Chapter Seven explores possible civic poetic pedagogic tactics that could be used at such an event to respond to the contextual specificities of public space in Amman.

Beyond the physical: new forms of resistance and resilience

This practice proposed in this thesis is hybrid and interdisciplinary. Not only are mediators within the network from different disciplines, but alternative meanings of 'publicness' are generated through a variegated range of discourses, including residents' narratives about public spaces, and notions of urban rights. Theoretically, too, the research creates bridges between a Lefebvrian approach to the social production of space, and the work of Judith Butler on the social and cultural construction of identity. Space emerges as something that plays a mediating role, becoming "a transparent medium occupied solely by light, by 'presences' and influences" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.182). It explores the ways in which space acts on human agents, and the way that human agents mould space, in a manner that insists on space being seen as something fluid and dynamic, and not a static container (Massey, 1994).

By provoking reactions, the research shows that resilience and resistance can emerge through the process of thinking critically about space, revealing the concerns of local workers and residents, and the power inequalities that condition the production of existing spaces. This is the first step towards a resistant cartography, which challenges the restricted ways in which space is produced within contemporary neoliberal cities (see Chapters 2 and

3). Performative interventions, constructed situations, the mediating process and the assembly of mediators, and resistance are all fundamentally interconnected in this process. As Butler argues "it seems that the space of appearance is not ever fully separable from questions of infrastructure and architecture" (2015, p. 127).

Massey (1994, p. 154) stated: "What gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized story but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus." Resistance occurs through highly specific, relational, mediating processes that are particular to these fluid physical spaces, and highlights the ways in which users are embedded in existing social relations within place, and the ways that are available to them to re-perform those spaces differently. As Awan argues, resistance is therefore highly situated:

"Spatial agents are neither impotent nor all powerful: they are negotiators of existing conditions in order to partially reform them. Spatial agency implies that action to engage transformatively with structure is possible, but will only be effective if one is alert to the constraints and opportunities that the structure" (Awan et al, 2013, p.31).

Performative intervention needs to engage with this place specificity if it is to provoke social engagements that can be sustained and to catalyse meaningful changes to the neoliberal challenges posed by a contemporary city like Amman. The critical production of spaces and its mediating processes allow the global to be seen at work in the local, not as an overwhelming and irresistible force, but as something that can be challenged and modified, connecting the myriad of small practices that perform local spaces to a wider world of global economic processes.

"The word network indicates that resources are concentrated in a few places - the knots and the nodes - which are connected with one another - the links and the mesh: these connections transform the scattered resources into a net that may seem to extend everywhere.... The notion of network will help us to ... understand how so few people may seem to cover the world" (Latour, 1987, p.180).

Latour has referred to 'network' as an assemblage of human and non-human actants, which he famously treats equally. Human agency is thus considered alongside the agency of non-animate elements including objects, technological systems, and social, economic and political entities (Latour, 2005). Actor Network Theory provides a useful lens to explore cities, since it can find connections between human and non-human elements, in ways that support Doreen Massey's contention that cities should be seen as profoundly interconnected places where everything is positioned, and nothing is either universal or socio-politically neutral (Massey, 1994). There are also echoes here of the Situationist 'New Babylon', their imaginary utopian and anti-capital city, designed by the architect and artist Constant Nieuwenhuys in 1959. This urban imaginary functions as a network of "labyrinths" that the collective group can modify and revise according to citizens' needs (Van Garrel and Koolhaas, 1966 cited in Weizman, 2014). In a way that prefigures Actor Network Theory, New Babylon can only be understood in terms of an association between human and non-human components.

Within this research, such a network is necessary if people are to feel that they are part of public space, and welcomed within the everyday experiences that it offers. Within the confines of rigid spatial and institutional structures and practices, sustaining and expanding such a network is vital for the construction of different spatial and social relations, and useful in uncovering both actants and practices that are not recognised or accepted by more conventional approaches. Furthermore, as Latour has emphasised, networks provide a useful conceptual framework to understand a mediating process that sees agency in the animate and the non-animate, the human and the non-human. There are well-developed examples that connects the spatial with the organisational. They can be readily supplemented by frameworks that are designed to explore the production of organized spaces from a managerial perspective, such as that developed by Taylor and Spicer (2007). They suggest a tripartite approach: firstly, space is analysed in terms of distance, which refers to work exploring the way in which key resources and nodes are located and managed; secondly, space can be approached in terms of institutional power structures and relations; and thirdly, space can be investigated in terms of lived experience. The collective, progressive form of mediation and resistance under discussion here forms part of this third strand, as interventions act as events during which a platform is co-produced to test and question how people perform and occupy space, opening possibilities for further civic transformative actions or propositions. The focus of these mediating processes tries to shift the focus from constructing objects to constructing relations. Therefore, it is important to become aware of the available civic resources and how to use, expand and sustain them.

6.5. Discussion and conclusion

As Van der Helm has noted, thinking about the future involves thinking about methodology: “Visions of the future and the method of envisioning are common approaches for making claims about and for the future” (Van der Helm, 2009, p.96). This chapter proposes a methodological framework for developing an alternative future for the critical production of public space in Amman. It is focused more on processes than outcomes, and on openness to contingency and change rather than on theoretical rigidity. The aim is to produce not a series of urban products, but a collective approach that is flexible yet challenging in terms of its approach to the status quo: “Commoning [...] may become a force to shape a society beyond capitalism so long as it is based on forms of collaboration and solidarity that de-centre and disperse power” (Stavrvides, 2016, p. 420).

This chapter has discussed the process of recruiting mediators to approach the problem of unequal access to public space in Amman. Candidates were invited in a relatively informal and open selection process, based on their expertise and their capacity to react to the findings from the first stage of the research with suggestions that were of practical value in improving the situation on the ground. The most obvious outcome from the mediation process was the identification of further scenarios and civic actions that could follow, and the resources necessary to mount these in the public domain. These included closer institutional and group relationships between key stakeholders, in particular universities, civic institutions, and NGOs. The role of the university emerged as especially pivotal, since students appeared to be exceptionally well-placed to mediate and tackle issues such as gendered space, verbal harassment, and the invisibility of refugees and the other stakeholders. The university thus emerged as a potential ground for future processes of

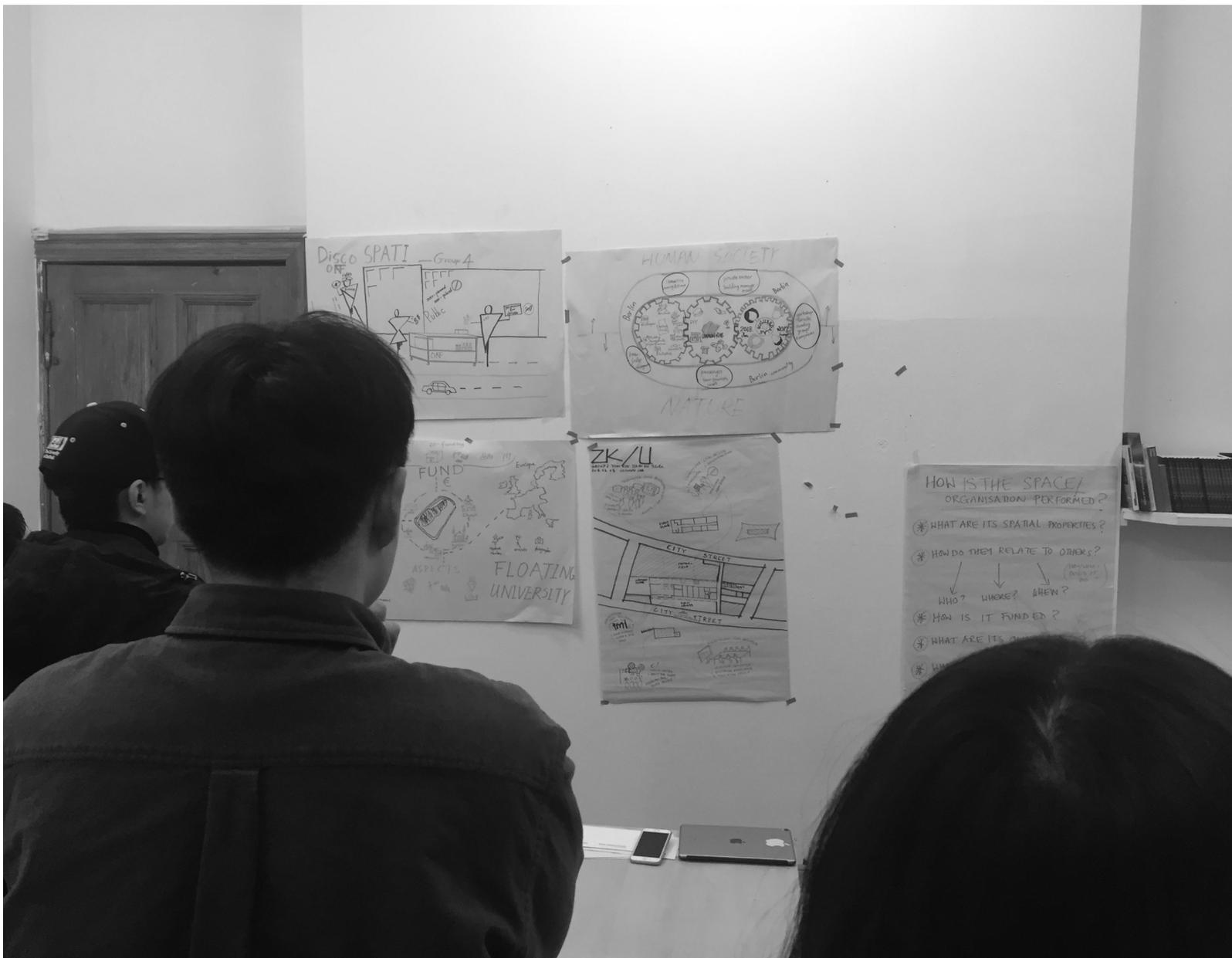
civic mediation, and as an institution that was capable of expanding, practicing, and sustaining mediating processes so that other institutions become aware of their available resources to engage in a process of civic intervention and mediation.

The work of Manzini (2015) advocates for long-term collaborative projects, which move from small-scale problem-solving or sense-making to long-term transformation. Such projects can construct new relations between participants, producing new knowledge and agency. The research in this thesis is hopefully the start of a similar, longer-term project that will continue to use the planning of civic scenarios to sustain a process of questioning, networking, and mapping, bringing together university departments and civic institutions, NGOs and members of the public, to coproduce more inclusive forms of public space. The aim is to pen the future for creative civic action that recognises the possibilities for challenge that like within existing social relations. This is also a process of overcoming inherent and sometimes well-grounded fears of participation, in a context where discursive space is also not open equally to all, and where the expression of opinion may flout cultural and even governmental codes. The process is also multi-scalar, recognising how global processes can be at work in local contexts.

Pierre Bourdieu's 'field theory' captures the ways in which power relations structure human behaviours, so that reality is seen in a manner that is relational. For Bourdieu, society comprises "a **field of forces** within which the **agents** occupy positions that statistically determine the **positions** they take with respect to the field, these **position-takings** being aimed either at **conserving** or **transforming** the **structure of relations of forces** that is constitutive of the field" (Bourdieu, 1995, p.39).

This chapter has proposed a framework for intervention that challenges existing power structures, based on the recruitment of mediators and mediating processes. Negotiation and mediation have emerged as a vital phase of civic research, and the potential of higher education institutions to become the medium and platform for transformative civic action to tackle inequality has been established. The idea was to develop a series of mediating processes that could provoke the public to question the way that space is coproduced in the present. Throughout the processes of mediation, alternative knowledge was generated and used to shape future civic actions and performative scenarios. Furthermore, operating such processes has changed perceptions at the broadest social level, for example, questioning the role played by NGOs, spatial practitioners, artists, and educators toward the wider public. Mapping was used to capture existing resources and to suggest new directions for mediating processes in public space.

Sustaining



Chapter Seven: Sustaining²

7.1 Chapter overview

The aim of this chapter is to propose civic pedagogic tactics, with the aim of sustaining the performative spatial practice and opening new possibilities for the future. These tactics are informed by a review of some key theories of critical pedagogy and practice, which are used to evaluate and critique the civic engagement of architectural education in Jordan. The chapter will then move on to focus particularly on the influence of political context on civic engagement, combining the use of key pedagogical models with the action plan that emerged during the mediating processes to propose civic pedagogic tactics that are tailored to the context of Amman. Comparing critical pedagogic theory and different practical models with the suggestions that resulted from the mediating processes generates some reflections and lessons for the future, building a dialectic relationship between theory and practice. The concluding sections of the chapter propose an innovative set of civic pedagogical tactics, designed to expand and sustain a practice that draws public attention to the right to the city, while responding to the specific cultural and political challenges that pertain in the context of Amman.

7.2 Sustaining and expanding the practice - 'An introduction to tactics'

"A society is thus composed of certain foregrounded practices organizing its normative institutions and of innumerable other practices that remain minor, always there, but not organizing discourse and preserving the beginning or remains of different (institutional, scientific) hypotheses for this society or for others."

De Certeau, 1988, p. 48

This research must intervene, mediate, and sustain citizens in their claim to possessing rights over the urban space in which they live. Producing performative spatial practice through research therefore means identifying existing 'resistant' practices or possibilities, where resistant means practices that are antipathetic to capital within the Arab world context, and that are capable of supporting and furthering this project. Hence, this type of research goes beyond both theory and the more immediate context of practice, instead building a dialectic relation between theory and practice.

Every city is shaped by invisible networks and varied infrastructures, which stretch from small street vendors to the hegemonic power of capital, manifested in massive skyscrapers. For De Certeau (1988), society can be separated analytically into two groups: the elite and ordinary people. He argues, convincingly, that cultural and material production tend to be driven by the elite, but are continually re-appropriated by ordinary people as they interact with, negotiate, and resist embodied rules throughout their everyday actions. In spatial terms, the elite produces and reproduces embodied and physical spaces that reflect its

² The practical section of this chapter has been published by the author (2020) in an article entitled "Translation of Civic Pedagogical Tactics to Critically Produce Public Spaces in Amman" (See (Yaghi, 2020)).

dominant power structures, while ordinary people resistance with a series of tactical, alternative practices (spatial and non-spatial) that can be highly quotidian in quality.

The term 'tactics' has a specific resonance within the work of De Certeau, and plays a prominent role in his 1988 book, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Tactics, for de Certeau, are the tools of the powerless and emerge from the challenges of a particular and local situation, unlike the more overarching strategies deployed by the elite. Tactics can include a very diverse set of practices, including, as this thesis will argue, civic pedagogical practices. Tactics here focus on coproducing what Lefebvre (1991) called 'lived space'; where the dialectic interactions and relations between the physical spaces and the social practices produces the lived space or the re-appropriated and used space. This enacts what de Certeau termed a 'form of resistance to capitalist consumption', where imaginations and inventions can flourish in the process of questioning and co-producing a desired alternative form of publicness and space.

Some of these tactics have a strongly aesthetic element, for example the artistic social movements of the twentieth century, such as the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, or the American civil rights movement and their use of 'freedom songs' in the 1950s and 1960s (Denning, 1998; Street, 2007). More recently, one can point to a diverse variety of pedagogical projects produced by artists and writers: Latour's School of Political Arts at 'Université Sciences- Po' in Paris since 2010, the Serpentine Gallery's offsite education base in London since 2009, Nike's collaboration with Cooper Hewitt to produce art and design workshops for teenagers called 'Make Something' in New York in 2010 (Bishop, 2012). Additionally, many artists focus on education in their work, such as Camnitzer, Joseph Beuys, Lygia Clark, Jef Geys and Tim Rollins (Bishop, 2012). Camnitzer (2007) in examining the conceptual art emerging from Latin American in the 1960s noted connections between alternative pedagogies and art as forms of resistance to state abuses of power. Concomitantly, a strongly resistant series of spatial practices has also emerged, for example, the creation of new, community-led infrastructures in peripheral spaces by the Atelier d'architecture autogérée (Petrescu. et al, 2013) which focus on the re-appropriation of space by the people according to their own needs.

De Certeau's notion of the mobility and resistance that inhere within 'everyday life' is echoed in Soja's concept of the 'socio-spatial dialectic', which questions and criticises the conceptualisation of urban city space as static and fixed. Instead, Soja (1980) suggests that space is capable of constructing new social relations, which reflexively produce spatial change. Alternative practices are therefore capable of catalysing social and political change, in an alternative, critical form of socio-spatial thought (Massey, 2007; Rendell 2006). Massey (2007), in particular, translates De Certeau's (1988) differentiation between elite producers and ordinary people's actions into a spatial form that applies his work to city morphology and 'the street', the latter understood as a locus of everyday experiences that is separate from, and resistant to, the dominant power. In this way, spatial and aesthetic practice becomes more than window-dressing that is merely expected to enhance the appearance of the urban (Evans, 2003; Griffiths. et al, 2003; Metz, 2007): it becomes a practice that is capable of producing change, an 'artivism' (de Caeter. et al, 2011). Massey (2005) describes these alternative practices as a form of resistance to the city system, while more recent work has drawn attention to the ways in which the practice of artists and architects has

played a pivotal role in recent social and political movements, from the Arab Spring to Occupy.

Building on possibilities outlined by De Certeau (1988) and on Lefebvre's idea of the social production of space (1991), this performative spatial practice can be considered as inherently political. It performs the civic, pedagogical role of orienting citizens towards their right to the city, encouraging them to rethink, to question, to speak out, and ultimately to co-produce alternative spaces in their city. In order to sustain itself, however, it requires a set of tactics, agencies, spaces, and activators, as well as the important dimension of time. This thesis explores the ways in which architects and academics can become activators within this wider hybrid practice (see Chapter 6), mediating between its different agents (including artists, architects, academics, urban activists and NGO representatives), and sustaining forms of organisation and co-working that branch across various actants and agencies. The key themes from the action plan that resulted from the mediating process were the need for negotiation between 'rigid' institutions, the civic potential of higher education institutions, and the desire to find alternative forms of resistance and resilience which went beyond the physical. Such a pedagogic action plan is well-placed to respond to two main challenges: the current gap between the realms of architectural education, practice, wider society; and the contemporary policies that govern the educational and civic institutions in modern Amman.

It is important, at this point, to distinguish between authentically resistant spatial practice, and some existing forms that do little to challenge the status quo. As Jane Rendell (2006) has noted, not all public interventions offer a critical content that is truly participative and inclusive: "One of the more serious failings of some so-called public art has been... to produce public spaces and objects that provide solutions – answers rather than questions" (Rendell, 2006, p.1). This is particularly the case in Amman: as the intervening and mediating processes showed, highly political and neoliberal practices have dominated for the past few decades, making it more difficult for interventions to disrupt and challenge existing regulations and rules. In terms of pedagogic theory, too, education has been heavily focused on 'telling others what to do', rather than enabling communities to lead and question their own process of liberation, determining their needs and the extent of their involvement with external programmes. As Freire has pointed out (1996), there is an important difference between a 'humanist' approach, which includes structural programmes to empower the oppressed, and a 'humanitarian' one, which can actually render communities more, not less, dependent on hegemonic power.

This practice-led research was committed to testing the potential of employing civic pedagogical tactics, something strongly related to my future career as an academic at the School of Architecture in Amman. It attempts to use such methods and tactics to empower both students and ordinary people, intervening to promote their awareness of their right to the city, to encourage questioning of its spaces, and to promote a process of working with communities to rethink and reclaim spaces as future practitioners. In this way, I believe, critical pedagogy (in all its diversity) can become a tactic for social change, moving beyond a model where factual knowledge is simply conveyed to students towards a model of empowerment and an epistemology that recognises the role of what Darder et al. (2008) describe as 'a nexus of power relations' in the social construction of knowledge.

7.3. Critiques on Architecture and civic pedagogies

A body of high-level theory therefore supports the idea that students can be engaged to understand and perform the political and economic forces that influence our social structure and everyday life experiences, and that this knowledge can then be used to engage in activism with the aim of empowering people for social changes. This section, however, explores the challenges to introducing such a critical civic pedagogy into university architecture schools globally, so that performative spatial practice becomes part of the curriculum. Particular attention is then paid to the specific challenges and opportunities presented by the educational context of the Arab world, and to Amman, Jordan in particular.

Following Friere, Kincheloe (2010) has described three phases in the relationship between pedagogy and power, questioning the ways in which knowledge is produced. During an initial phase, information or knowledge is produced. This is then filtered through dominant power relations, which govern access to knowledge and the level of transparency with which political interventions in the epistemic domain are handled. This second phase controls or reproduces knowledge in the image of dominant power. A third phase, however, involves the passage of this reproduced knowledge to the public. Mostly, transmission is uncritical, but there is a possibility that transformative critical knowledge can be produced at this point, where the filters that affect it are seen, questioned, and criticised by a learner who understands the workings of power. Such an individual is evolving the ability to think critically and may ultimately be able to imagine a completely different series of knowledge-power relations.

As Bermudez (2012) points out, the power relations in play during education can extend beyond the local and even the national, to international and colonial relations. This can take the form of a pedagogy that assumes a cultural homogeneity between very different societies, leading it to import concepts grounded in one cultural and geographical context, without recognising their particularity and specificity. As he points out, citizenship poses a particular problem, since it is culturally variable: 'Not all civic pedagogies, however, are critical pedagogies: instead, they vary considerably, from conversational to critical approaches towards activism against injustice' (Westheimer et al., 2004). Within the realm of academia, civic pedagogy can refer to both teacher-centred and student-centred methods, though citizenship education tends to focus on learning by doing (Levinson, 2012), or 'praxis', a Greek word that means "action with reflection" (Grundy, 1987).

Personally, my own citizenship education did not follow a pattern of learning by doing. My school and initial university education on this subject was neither critical nor practical. Instead, we sat and learnt what it should be like to be a citizen one day. Furthermore, in keeping with the educational rules, we were not allowed to discuss politics, sex or religion. Praxis-based learning, by contrast, continually combines reflection and action, a process of self-reflexively discussing, deciding, changing, thinking, acting, and generating new ideas (Grundy, 1987) which allows people to use their agency meaningfully, while also reflecting and evaluating on their actions for the future. Friere (1996) noted that this process should be part of our daily lives, a therapeutic way to heal the wounds caused by oppression and

thereby to transform reality. However, such a process is sometimes neither easy nor straightforward. As Crysler (1995) concludes, embedding a truly critical pedagogy means remaining aware of the multifaceted nature of the institutions in which modern architectural education operates, and the ways in which universities can be both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic at different moments.

When it comes to critical civic pedagogy, some inspiration can be drawn from radical art practices that work towards youth and community involvement (Clay, 2012; Weiss, 2003), where civic educators are keen to produce work that fights against injustice (Dewhurst, 2014; Hanley et al., 2013). However, such practices may sit uneasily within an increasingly marketised university sector, and can easily become a kind of add-on after-thought, rather than a central plank of the institutional approach. Goddard (2009) argues convincingly that universities should be incentivised to fulfil certain, unspecified, civic obligations that have direct and immediate societal effects, rather than behaving as if they are separate from wider society. Similarly, Carl Lee argues that civic engagement must be embedded in the institution, in the form of coproductive relationships with community partners that fully reflect the diversity of the community, especially those stakeholders who have not been engaged previously. Such a relationship should be seen as a two-way street, with academics listening to, and learning from, the community in ways that can feed back into research (Lee, Theory Forum Sheffield, 2016).

As a discipline, architecture poses a set of specific challenges to a critical pedagogic approach. For example, according to French (1998) “architecture is not considered a self-sufficient profession anymore but a multidisciplinary, multi-skilled and multidirectional profession”. In such a complex area, is it possible for a critical pedagogy to play anything more than an ancillary role? And who makes the decision about the curriculum: is it society, the academic institution, or the professional industry that architects serve? As Mithen has argued, the origins of the word ‘architect’ point to the significance of both learning and practical building techniques for professional identity, the latter encompassing both building techniques and the artistry with which architects address social problems (Mithen, 1998). Prior to the nineteenth century, architectural education (and artistic apprenticeship more widely) involved the transfer of techniques from the master to the student (ibid); only more recently did artistic and architectural education become formalised as part of an educational process, a move initiated by the Royal Academy in France, the Architecture Association in the UK, and the Bauhaus in Germany. However, the transfer of educational methodologies from senior to more junior figures remains a significant element within architectural education: “The absence of a widespread culture of critical engagement with pedagogical theories means that many architectural educators teach just as they were taught; replicating and perpetuating even the most questionable teaching practices” (Morrow et al., 2012, p.2).

Salama (2016) pointed out in his book, *Spatial Design Education*, that there is a long history of critical pedagogy within architecture, but that it remains a minority current rather than a central and mainstream plank of spatial education. There has sometimes been a temptation in the field to offer the design studio as a different form of teaching, a space for discussion and debate rather than lecturing. However, a recent ‘Pedagogies of Architecture’ symposium at the AA (2015), pointed out that the design studio often acts simply as a

different form of the banking model noted by Freire: students there often simply represent the work of their tutors or the schools. In other words, simply because work is design-based does not necessarily mean that it offers a *critical* form of pedagogy.

To understand civic pedagogical turn in Architecture, it is necessary to trace and place them in terms of a wider literature. The *Architectural Education Study* report, published in 1981 by the MIT school of Architecture and Planning, represents the first serious attempt to question architectural education and to highlight crucial issues that the discipline faces in terms of delivery and content (Salama, 2016). In 1987, Dutton published a paper, 'Design and Studio Pedagogy', in which he argued that it was necessary to place architectural education in the light of wider power relations in society: "the design studio, as a producer of knowledge and as a social practice, can now be shown in its intimate connections to wider production, distribution, and legitimation practices of society, manipulated by governing social, economic, and political institutions. By focusing on these connections, the subjects of studio knowledge and social relations are put in a new light" (Dutton, 1987, p.17). A few years later, in 1991, he published a further collection of articles, calling architecture educators to rethink and reconnect their work in relation to societal, political, and cultural matters. Subsequently, in 1995, Salama published 'New Trends in Architectural Education: Designing the Design Studio', questioning the role of the design studio in architectural education, and proposing alternative ways of delivering and teaching design. A year later, in 1996, Boyer and Mitgang published 'Building Community: A New Future for Architectural Education and Practice', which stressed the role played by architects in civic society, calling for integration between the studio curriculum and real societal problems.

However, more recent literature constructs and proposes more practical examples of successful civic pedagogy. 'Changing Architectural Education: Toward a New Professionalism' (Pilling et al., 2005) argues that the teaching of architecture should be responsive to current professional challenges, with various articles discussing ways in which students can be prepared for the industry challenges and requirements of today. Similarly, Salama et al., (2002) in 'Architectural Education Today: Cross Cultural Perspectives' call for academics to rethink and revise architecture pedagogy, in order to meet society's experiences and professional needs. Similarly, in 2002 the American Institute of Architecture Students (AIAS) issued a report highlighting the need for design studios to respond to the profession's needs, which discussed the significance of everyday life experiences and culture, a theme that is usually neglected in curricula. The field also abounds in practical examples of civic architectural pedagogical approaches, including live projects. Harriss and Widder's 2014 publication, 'Architecture Live Projects: Pedagogy into Practice' describes the success of this collaborative and participative approach when incorporated into an architectural curriculum. These recent practical examples of successful civic pedagogy forms a turn somehow in teaching Architecture.

7.4. Architectural education in Jordan.

As mentioned in the previous section, in many countries, the educational system is a core responsibility of national and local government. The Arab world is no exception, though it faces specific challenges of its own. In 2008, BBC News ran a story entitled "The Arab education system is falling and needs urgent reforming", following the publication of a

World Bank report criticising a lack of reform in the sector, resulting in students being poorly prepared for the workplace. The report, however, singled out Jordan and Kuwait for praise, compared to other countries in the region identified as lagging behind. However, there remain many issues that need to be addressed in the region more generally, and in Jordan in particular, particularly when education there is compared to international standards. Part of the problem is that both the government of Jordan and many NGOs are busy ensuring “access” to education for all (nationals, non-nationals, and refugees). Yet this focus on access says little about the quality of the education that is on offer, and nothing about its critical content. According to a USAID report of 2016, the government of Jordan reported that “the quality of education remains uneven and not competitive by international standards, particularly in poorer urban and rural areas” (USAID.gov, 2016). The report described the curriculum in Jordan as ‘rigidly national’, drawing attention to the lack of well-trained teachers in ordinary, ‘public’ schools in Jordan. Public schools are funded by the government and are free. This points to the massive difference in quality between public and private schools in Jordan, not only in terms of the facilities on offer, but also the quality of education. It is well-known that private schools in Jordan and the Arab world in general offer a superior education in comparison with subsidized or free public schools (*Jordan Times*, 2014), leading to greater educational opportunities in future. It is also worth mentioning that a quarter of students in Jordan attend and can afford private schools (ibid).

Architectural education in Jordan has a long history. During the Ottoman Empire (1516-1918) architects used to travel to gain experience in Egypt. The first architecture department was established in Cairo in 1820, under the umbrella of the School of Engineering, known as the “Mohandeskhana” (Abdel-Gawad, 1950). Later, it became affiliated with the School of Public Works, which was initiated in 1839 and which followed the system of Paris Polytechnic and combined engineering and architecture schools (Barrada, (1986) cited in Salama and Amir (2005)). This influence demonstrates the ways in which education is not only strongly related to political agendas but also to political events: strong cultural ties between Cairo and Paris existed for many years (Sakr, 1993), and many Arab and north African students went to study architecture in Paris between the two world wars. This resulted in an obvious transformation of the architecture profession and of architectural education. Schools of Architecture with French systems was established in Cairo University in 1935 and Alexandria University in 1941 (Salama and Amir, 2005). Between the mid-1940s and 1960s, Schools of Architecture also emerged in Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon. Further institutions followed, so that the Arab region reached a total of 48 Schools of Architecture in 1992 (Fethi et al., 1993).

The shift of architectural education into the university environment has not necessarily led to a loss of professional practice relevance. Webster (2004) notes that that almost sixty percent of Western architecture educators are either part- or full-time practitioners. Additionally, a plethora of international and professional bodies now concern themselves with both architectural professionalism and architectural education, for example the RIBA (Royal Institute of British architects), the UIA (International Union of Architects), and the NAAB (National architectural accrediting Board of North America).

In terms of the history of the architectural curriculum, Salama and Amir (2005) argue that government policymakers aimed to ensure that architecture schools in the Arab region met international criteria and international professional norms and standards. This led to a tendency to adopt Westernised pedagogic approaches wholesale, a problem that still persists today. Arab architecture schools have therefore replicated European and American problems connected with a passive and insufficiently critical pedagogic approach, and have paid scant attention to the ways in which curricula have to be amended to take into different social, political, and economic contexts. As Salama and Amir (2005) have contended, Arabic architectural education has tended to be based around three “transformative” themes or trends: environmental-behaviour studies; a focus on sustainability and environmental consciousness; and digital and virtual practices.

This helps to explain some of the findings of this thesis, which closely explored architectural educational curricula at nine public and private Architecture Schools during 2018 in Jordan. This research adopted the methodology for evaluating curricular using ‘community of inquiry’ model in which looking for modules that have the three elements social, cognitive and teaching presence (Lipman, 2003). Although all of the institutions under scrutiny had a compulsory module called ‘National Education’, none of them had programs where students worked closely “with” the local community or practiced participatory or collective methodologies (see Appendix 4). During the first phase of the field work, five academics from various school of architecture in Amman-Jordan were interviewed. When asked, if the School incorporates civic interventions towards spatial justice or the right to the city, four out of five respondents focused on physical spatial practices rather than participatory or civic obligations. An academic at a public university stated:

“we try to tackle neoliberalism in Amman city by assigning students to an urban project located near a gated community or business centre, such as the Abdali project, where the students can develop their skills to observe and analyse the impact on morphological layers of that area, focusing on the historical character of Amman city and whether the new developments are integrated within the existing fabric of the city. Here, students can develop some principles and recommendations to maintain the historical fabric of the city such as local brick and stone material instead of glass and steel structures” (Formal Interview 1, 17/06/2017).

However, this raised further questions about the role of architectural education: does it produce architects who work in human relationships, or non-human urban forms? Only one out of the five academic interviewees answered in a way that noted the human dimension, and the fact that this individual came from an international university may be significant here: “we try to tackle social and spatial inequality through assigning students to design civic centres in the area between the East (poor) and the West (rich) of Amman. Students can therefore become aware of these inequalities in our society” (Formal Interview 4, 21/06/2017). However, even in this case, the architect was pictured as working at a distance from society, rather than operating in close conjunction with a community.

Furthermore, none of the Architecture curriculums showed any indication of political modules that discussed the way that everyday experiences affect the production of space in our cities. As a plethora of critics have noted (Boyer and Mitgang, 1996; Crysler, 1995; Nicol

and Pilling, 2000; Stevens, 1998; Webster, 2004, 2008; Wink, 2000; AIAS, 2008), the separation of architectural education from practice, research and everyday experience may be a direct result of what Friere (1996) described as 'the banking model of education' (see above), which depicts students as passive sponges, soaking up the teaching approaches of highly controlled institutions. Just as such an approach focuses on the pristine and unquestioning transfer of a piece of knowledge from educator to student, the architectural curriculum focuses on the production of 'good' physical and urban form. In neither case do the power-laden human relationships that impact personal and community relationships appear. This raises the question: how can we ensure that schools of architecture in Jordan are more oriented towards citizens' right to the city and its spaces, without adopting wholesale principles of democracy and action that have been developed for a Western context?

Before answering this question, it is vital to highlight a significant inspiration and influence on my thinking. My position as a PhD researcher at the Sheffield School of Architecture (SSoA) has had a significant influence on this chapter. As co-leader of a Masters at the Architectural Design Studio (2017-2018) at SSoA. I have learned many lessons that I believe are transferrable to practice in Amman, as previously discussed in Chapter Five. The active, civic quality of the school's engagement has produced a curriculum actively engages students with surrounding society and its issues. The approach is rooted in critical pedagogical approaches, for instance, live projects, as well as modules that reflect on architectural design and education. This empowers students to question architecture practices and education, motivating them to be reflective, collaborative, and responsive (Care et al., 2013). The next section discusses three case studies in which civic pedagogical tactics were deployed. The first comes from Romania, where architects of the 1980s used spatial tactics to resist the Ceausescu regime. Two further cases are drawn from the SSoA which had a positive impact on me and the development of this research: live project and 'Pseudo Public Space Studio'. As this thesis aims to demonstrate, these models can potentially act as a vehicle that can be translated to sustain and expand this practice in Amman. The process of translation here does not mean importing Western methods wholesale to a non-Western context. Some concepts simply do not transfer directly: Western ideas about democracy might be one example. Instead, they require a kind of translation that adapts them to a different culture, geography, power structure, and way of thinking. This needs to be done in a way that is decolonising. Therefore, the transfer should not be done in a way that posits Europe as 'superior' but should rather be about a process of two-way learning.

7.5. Tactics to sustain and expand the practice

Throughout the intervening and mediating processes conducted in this research, the critical state of architecture pedagogy in the Arab world, and in particular in Jordan, was revealed. This suggested the urgency with which a more critical pedagogy is needed: one that can act as a bridge between schools of architecture to the community. The current curricula of architectural courses in Jordan tend to be lacking in participative opportunities and mechanisms, but pedagogic theory and practice from Western contexts cannot be imported wholesale, without adjustment to the specific cultural, social, and economic conditions of the Arab world. Additionally, the discussions with academics during the mediation stage of

the research, strongly suggested that curricula are shaped to some extent by the political context in which architecture schools find themselves, with self-censorship and fear of repercussions shaping the syllabus.

How, then, can civic pedagogical approaches be introduced to the context of Amman? If overt inclusion of material is difficult, are there subversive tactics that can be deployed to smuggle in ideas that challenge and provoke, sustaining the types of thought and action that build collective solidarities? Important lessons can be drawn from various practices. This section translates the civic action plans that emerged in the mediation phase into a series of propositions for the future.

‘A school within the school’ or how to negotiate with (and survive in) ‘rigid’ institutions

As discussed earlier, the Arabic context in general and Amman in particular, are characterised by strong political control, which breeds self-censorship and potentially limits involvement in civic interventions by both institutions and individuals. Therefore, there is a need to find poetic and indirect tactics of resistance. Such tactics have a history within spatial practice in other regions: for example, the civic-pedagogical tactics that were used by a group of young Romanian architects called Form-Trans-Info, in the 1980s to resist the Ceausescu regime, a task that was both difficult and unsafe (Stratford et al., 2008). The control exerted by Ceausescu was not only manifested throughout the social structure of contemporary Romania, but also through many different socio-political and educational institutions, which had a direct impact on inhabitants’ everyday life experiences (ibid). Consequently, these architects deployed performative spatial practice as form of resistance, often using indirect and ‘poetic’ approaches. As one of the former members explained:

“We were not engaged in a direct political critique – as protest or political demonstrations [...] but indirect, embedded in internal codes and hidden meanings shared by those that were able to read them. It was a resistance through alternative discourse, through alternative ways of thinking and doing, alternative life style” (Stratford et al., 2008).

One of the central tenets of the group was that the political and the poetic could not be separated in their acts of defiance: “to the power that infiltrated our life with ideology, control and restriction we replied with a poetic form of life, which kept alive our sensorial, intellectual and affective capacity” (Stratford et al., 2008, p.155). However, in an authoritarian context, such resistance was dangerous, meaning that its survival frequently depended on its fragmentation into smaller ‘pockets of resistance’ across a multitude of settings (ibid).

Once such setting was the Bucharest School of Architecture, the “Institutul de Arhitectura Ion Mincu (IAIM)”. Student and architects at the school managed a number of collective actions, generating a deep solidarity from individuals as well as groups that shared the same values. Since the group’s activities has never been officially permitted by the School, students, academics and architects formed an open collective, creating a ‘school within the School’ that was opposed to the formal curriculum, instead promoting alternative modes of knowledge that were at once ‘experimental, analytic and holistic’ (Stratford et al., 2008). Their clever and poetic approach critiqued wider institutions through collective actions,

events, exhibitions, and art as well as pro-democracy film screenings (ibid). A series of exhibitions also took place, starting with 'Space-Object', with twenty participants from various backgrounds. Four years later, the much larger 'Space-Mirror' was launched with seventy participants from different backgrounds (ibid). Although the committee was recognised by dissident individuals and groups, the exhibition only lasted for few days before it was terminated by officials from the regime (ibid).

The way that Form-Trans-Inform dealt with an authoritarian context makes it a potentially useful model for rigid institutions and architectural educational institutions in the Arab world, where democracy involves a great deal of state control. Methods of poetic civic resistance offer powerful socio-political tools in such contexts, enabling the organisation of exhibitions, events, collective actions and film screenings that bring together people working across a variety of media (academics, artists, students and other individuals). Furthermore, this model offered deliberately alternatives modes of knowledge in the shape of a parallel curriculum that challenged the political regime and its formal pedagogy. These tactics can potentially be transferred to other contexts in order to form and sustain resistant praxis. An example of such adoption is that by the Atelier d'architecture autogérée (aaa), which was initiated by Petrescu and Petcou in Paris since 2006, whom were members of Form-Trans-Inform. The aaa uses various 'urban tactics' to break rules on citizen access, land use, and temporary use of neglected space. As Petrescu states: "Tactics have been ways for us to transgress, even if only temporarily and locally, laws and regulations, roles, professional boundaries and so on" (Petrescu et al., 2013). In order to sustain their critical spatial practice over time, aaa have co-produced a mobile spatial device, ECObox, which can be transferred from location to the next. This is a good example, in their case, of the use of mobility to allow in resistance, allowing it to endure despite obstacles, limitations, and dominant power structures. Such tactics form an important part to sustain their spatial practice.

Such tactics can be translated to the context of Amman, in order to initiate the negotiation process towards civic interventions. Firstly, it is crucial to find alliances both within and between institutions, locating those who share the same values, in order to work collectively and create solidarity to face the political challenge. This could take the form of a research group in the university which can then organise and arrange relevant events. Recognition and visibility of the group is important in encouraging others whom have the same commitments and interests to join, expanding and sustaining the work of resistance. Such tactics can potentially initiate a negotiation process as a form of resistance to the rigid curriculum.

Teaching Studios Otherwise: a week off the rigid curriculum

The design studio is considered by many scholars as a spine of architectural education (Dutton, 1987, Salma, 1995), which can potentially shape the future of spatial practices and the city. However, the traditional methodology of design studio working is limited, following phases of sketching, presenting, and critiquing (Sultan, 2018). Alternatives have therefore been suggested, for instance, use of the 'case method', which was firstly introduced to schools of law. In this methodology, instructors provoke students to draw alternative conclusions using open-ended narratives (Sultan, 2018). Another critical approach is

suggested by Wright (2011), who encourages students to work independently, acquiring skills and knowledge by defining the problem, and finding possible solutions through phases of design development (Wright, 2011). Live projects extend these alternatives, but do so by connecting students to real clients on real projects, and thus 'learning by doing'. This provides students with a range of experiences outside of the classroom and the lecture theatre that they can remember (often vividly) and draw on in later practice. Part of the reason that the experiences are so valuable is that they engage all five senses through which we learn.

This section gives a practical example of a radical design studio approach, also adopted at the Sheffield School of Architecture (SSoA). In 2017-18, Helen Stratford and I co-led a design studio entitled 'Pseudo-Public Space: Public Space Does Not Exist!'. The studio was embodied to MA in Architectural Design Masters students and lasted along for two semesters through the academic year 2017-18. We encouraged students to test various performative methodologies as tools to challenge and rethink different public spaces in different cities, including Sheffield. This section illustrates the studio module, discusses some reflections arising from the teaching sessions about alternative design studio methodologies, and identifies lessons that can be translated to the context of Amman.

Importantly, the studio approach explored how cities are performed and produced through norms, policies, and everyday actions and activities. During the studio, critical discussions were used to question existing knowledge and to acquire new ideas. The pedagogic focus was on co-producing 'constructed situations' which revealed the various factors and spatial practices that produce city. In short, the studio used performative methodologies as tactics for the rethinking of public space and proposed alternative notions and propositions that deemed public. Additionally, the studio did not only support student learning with theory, but also looked at various practices in the UK and Berlin that question and challenge spaces in the city, exploring the way that these practices could be used as opportunities for learning. The first semester was devoted to critical discussions that investigated different geographies, but developed constructed situations for the UK context alone. In the second semester, students were encouraged to translate these methodologies to their home city, exploring the ways in which cities are performed differently from one context to another, and adapting ideas to suit the culture, society, economy, regulations, and policies that are embodied in a particular space.

It is important to highlight how the SSoA, as a platform for civic pedagogical approaches, encourages such curricula. The school is well-known for a philosophy that connects critical thinking to practice, including their investigations into the political challenges that citizens face. As discussed earlier in Chapter Five, the studio provoked and empowered students to use a performative methodology to rethink the context in which they were working: for example, one student chose to question and challenge the rules at Tiananmen Square as a form of performative intervention. He developed a constructed situation using "sunflower seeds" containing hidden questions, as an appropriate tool to use within the highly political space of the square. Although constructed situation was an 'imaginary' act of resistance, the student developed these as poetic and indirect tactics to prevent encounter significant problems with the authorities. The studio encouraged comparisons between the UK context, city, and spaces and the Chinese, which revealed opportunities on both sides to

learn from differences, and to gain insights into alternative practices that were capable of embracing, provoking, and empowering new actions and new ways of thinking with the community about public space in ways that are sensitive to context, and therefore able to become transformative (see Figure 7.1).

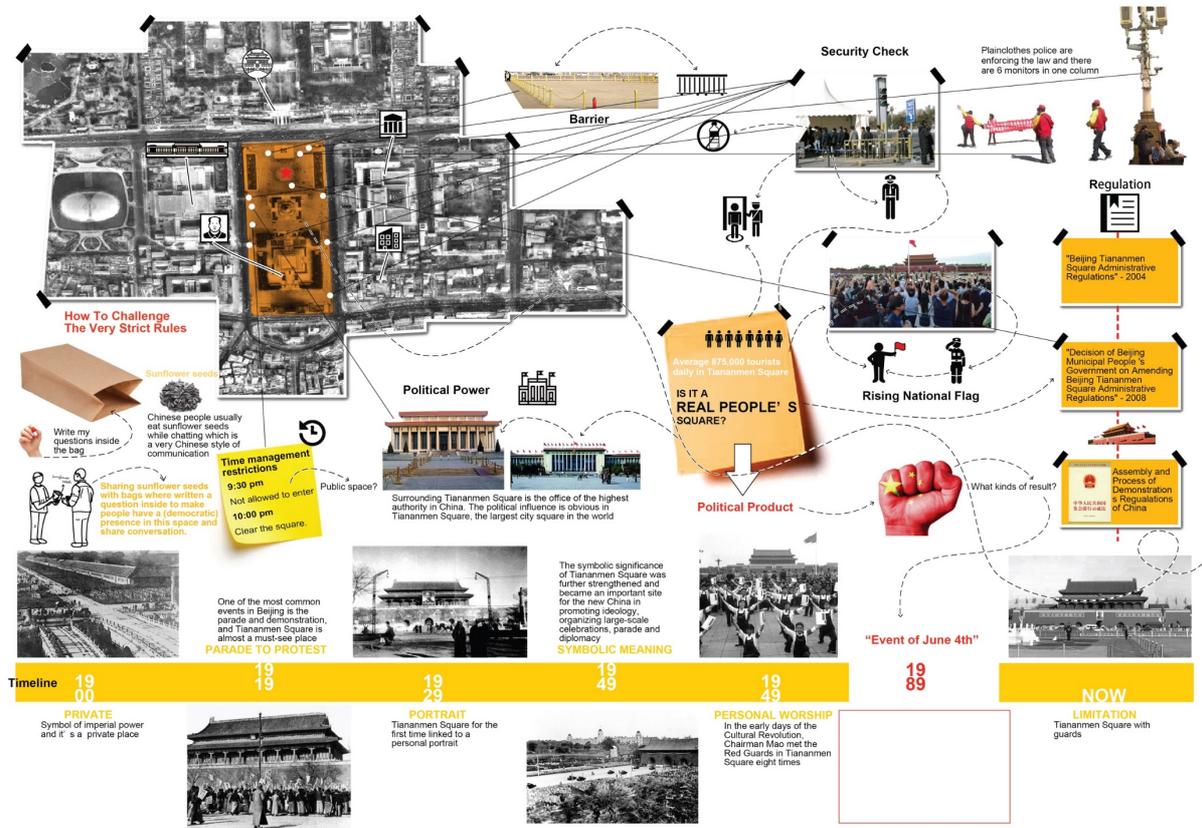


Figure 7.1. Student work revealing the invisible rules using 'indirect and poetic' performative tactics at Tiananmen Square.

As this example of 'pseudo-public space' illustrates, a performative methodology can be used to teach studios in an alternative way that translates to the context of education in Amman, though adaptations are always needed when moving from context to context, and both imaginary and actually constructed performative situations will vary accordingly. The adoption of such a methodology would empower students and the university to explore other ways of learning, encouraging them to reclaim and rethink their city spaces. Furthermore, the mediating processes offers an opportunity to construct alliances, building will and capacity for further and wider civic collaboration between institutions. Constructed situations can potentially be employed within another civic institution outside the university, allowing students to experience a different context. An example arising from the research is the possible future collaboration between Ammani universities, the local theatre, and Amman Design Week to arrange an event with students to employ performative tactics. The objective is to empower students to engage with the community to rethink and reclaim their spaces, in order to catalyse change that highlights and promotes citizens' right to the city and builds community.

Amman's Live project

Design studio approaches can include student-led critical pedagogy, reflective pedagogy, and engaged and live learning. Recently, however, live projects have become a well-used tool in schools of architecture in the UK and abroad (Butterworth, 2013; Harriss and Widder, 2014). These vary greatly in length, form, and organization, but most forms aim to connect the realm of academia with the 'real' community outside. Live projects can therefore be considered as a momenta where many western architecture schools open up their controlled environments to actual civic interventions. They encourage students in cities across the West to be engaged with the complexities of 'real-life conditions', as a learning approach that connects theory with 'real' practice (Stone and Woof, 2015), while offering students an experience of collaboration and learning that constitutes a transformative pedagogy (ibid). Live projects therefore have the potential to raise students' awareness of political, social, and cultural issues, connecting their architectural practice to wider society.

An important early example of the use of the live project to connect students to the community was the Rulal Studio, in the United States, introduced by Mockbee and Ruth in 1992. The focus was on shifting students away from the top-down power structures of traditional learning, but also from capital-driven architect-client approaches:

"Live Projects develop the collaborative and participatory skills that are essential to future practice. Live Projects establish an awareness of the social responsibility of the architect and can empower students to produce work of exceptional quality that makes a difference to the communities they work with. Beyond the direct impact of the project on the communities involved, Live Projects also make a wider impact by enriching the student learning experience, developing design, management and enterprise skills and significantly increasing employability" (Butterworth et al., 2013).

Butterworth's description highlights soft skills that move beyond academia, something that is also emphasized by the SSoA approach to similar live projects, where the focus is more heavily placed on the co-production of participatory, reflective, and collaborative practice. Through developing dialogue with others, these projects can potentially empower students to inhabit their own judgements and voices.

A live project at the SSoA is defined as

"a relationship with an external client, a strong participatory nature and an emphasis on the processes of the project as well as its outcomes. It is a 'live' way of learning, practicing, and thinking about architecture... Working in response to the complexity of real-life situations enables students to experience the potential of research by design and to reflect simultaneously upon the processes, roles and effects of architecture... Live Projects give students the opportunity to explore an architecture that is both socially and environmentally sustainable... Through Live Projects, staff and students continually construct their own learning through action research and experience" (Butterworth et al., 2013).

Involvement with such a project enables students to integrate architecture into practice, community and research, and therefore to achieve a critical and transformative civic pedagogical experience. A lively and engaged practice collaborating and negotiating with the local community leads to reflection on the political, social and cultural context. Having such a live project in the curriculum in Amman could connect students to their community, using a combination of theory and practice to build a community that can expand existing social networks and co-produce an alternative form of civic and public engagement that can resist capital and insist on citizens' right to the city. As discussed in sections 5.6 and 5.7, this has been tested by students in Sheffield and Berlin; using live civic projects as performative intervention and translating the performative and civic pedagogical framework in different contexts.

This can be achieved through sustaining long-term collaborations with other civic institutions, such as the theatre (see Appendix 5). These collaborations can be achieved through assigning student projects that encourage academics and students alike to work in collaboration with other civic bodies to reclaim critical spatial production. For instance, students can arrange events in the theatre for the benefit of wider civic society, using various participatory mechanisms to engage people with their spaces, through lively and provocative propositions (see Appendix 5). The potential for such tactics and interventions lies across institutional borders, as the university becomes a partner with other organisations in a fluid and creative series of collaborations. Such tactics, in other words, negotiate with both the wider city and other bodies, suggesting a way for universities to be more civic, and to start providing possible solutions and conditions that engage with the needs and concerns of ordinary residents.

7.6. Discussion

“We cannot make our claim as seekers after justice if we advocate knowledge only of and about ourselves. Our model for academic freedom should therefore be the migrant or the traveller: for if, in the real world outside the academy, we must be ourselves and only ourselves, inside the academy we should be able to discover and travel among other selves, other identities, other varieties of the human adventure.” (Said, 1994).

An initial effort at developing such a practice in a Jordanian context was attempted throughout the mediating process in the form of the ‘Alternative Publicness’ workshop in Amman, undertaken during the second phase of the field work in March 2018. The ultimate goal of this civic pedagogical workshop was to develop the sense of shared values between the various actants, and to encourage and provoke invitees to consider citizens' rights to the city. The event brought together academics, architects, artists, NGO representatives, and urban activists, building a new network that could be used to mediate between different participants and to sustain their collaboration into the future. The hope is that an alternative practice will eventually emerge, and that it will produce a new and different form of publicness, as well as a resilient and resistant community. Throughout the mediating process, thought was given to the ways in which strong forms of political control have influence over both institutions and the public realm, limiting their civic engagement. The key themes that emerged from the action plan were the need to negotiate between ‘rigid’ institutions, the potential of higher education institutions to become civic, and the

desire to construct alternative forms of resistance and resilience which went beyond the physical.

Another practical effort in introducing the performative and civic pedagogical approaches that have been developed, is based on pedagogical approaches developed at the Sheffield School of Architecture (SSoA); In particular, through the 2017-18 MAAD studio which I co- led with Helen Stratford called 'Pseudo Public Space, Public Space Does Not Exist!' Further, I ran lively and engaged workshops which manifested throughout the Floating University Berlin (FUB) workshop, whereby various performative methodologies were tested as tools to challenge and re-think different public spaces in different cities, including Sheffield (Figures 7.2, 7.3; Chapter Five, sections 5.6.2- 5.6.3; Appendix 5).

The aim of such performative and civic pedagogical tactics was to construct relations and situations which can potentially sustain the dynamic of public space. Using pedagogy within educational institutions in Amman can be the instrument which serves to forge this civic pedagogical and performative practice; it can work to raise awareness about urban rights through bridging students and the city's social body with everyday urban life. This practice aligns within Rendell's (2006) definition of critical spatial practice through the way it associates with transformative and interventional processes and approaches as a way of critiquing the social conditions of spaces and their boundaries. The proposed practice has gone beyond the boundaries of architecture to involve live and performative art, site-specific interventions, and provocations for public participation.



Figure 7.2. Students testing a collective performative intervention in Sheffield City Centre within 'pseudo-public space' studio. Photo credit: (Author, 2018).



Figure 7.3. Participants testing collective constructed situations at FUB neighbourhood Berlin (Stratford, 2018).

Said (1994) emphasised the freedom of academia, stressing the importance of challenging narrow models of national identity, economic role, and political power. The freedom of the scholar, he argues, is to cross over, to journey across various disciplines and territories in a perpetual act of travel aimed at promoting justice, democracy, and freedom to be critical. His views echo those of Freire, whose *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996) argues that freedom is an essential aspect of humanity, while oppression acts to dehumanize and to constrain. However, for Freire, freedom is not always a straightforward good for individuals or groups to grasp: sometimes, he argues, people can accept their own oppression because the dynamic between oppressor and oppressed creates a fear of things being otherwise: “The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized” (Freire, 1996, p. 32).

The process is similar to that which Karl Marx termed the ‘manufacture of consent’, or victimisation. This duality from which the oppressed suffer can only be overcome via a pedagogic method that is focused on uncovering the subjective relations between oppressors and oppressed, and understanding the damage done to both sides by this power dynamic. Pedagogy is thus critical to a process of subjective ‘humanization’ of both the self and the other, which in turn leads to an objective transformation of society.

This chapter has responded to the research findings by presenting a theoretical and practical framework for proposing and sustaining civic pedagogical tactics to further citizens' right to the city into the future and sustaining public space dynamics. The critical discourses that this chapter offers calls for more civic pedagogical opportunities in Amman context. This research offers alternative and possible tactics, in catalysing change within the community through civic pedagogical approaches. As discussed earlier, the political, cultural, and social specificity of the context requires an indirect approach in which poetic forms of resistance become an alternative tactic that can be used within official institutions. 'A school within the school' thus emerges, which is powerful and flexible enough to negotiate the 'rigid' institutions and political control of the Ammani context. Inspiration was drawn from 'Form-Trans-Inform', a group of young architects working in Romania during the 1980s, whose practices built a collective that was capable of subtle challenge to the Ceausescu regime, bringing together students, architects, and artists across a range of media in mutual recognition and solidarity. Furthermore, the SSoA design studio offers a paradigm for developing a politically challenging constructed situations, encouraging the development of critical thinking skills and building a new sense of the civic. The other practical lesson that can be learnt is from live projects, which connect the university in participative ways to the society around it. Pedagogy can thus take on a wider mission, encouraging citizens to rethink their cities and working towards a wider recognition of rights. Such methods encourage architects to become aware of their responsibility for engaging with wider societal and economic issues (especially, perhaps, power and inequality), and offer useful suggestions about how to begin a politically engaged form of practice that is coproduced with practitioners, activists, and the general public (see Appendix 5).

Conclusion



Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1. Overview

Responding to the current status quo in the context of Amman, Jordan, this research has prepared and formulated an alternative practice which resists the commodification of public spaces, critique and reclaims them for a broad, inclusively conceptualised 'public'. My research is based on my multiple positions: as a Jordanian student in an international educational institution, but also as an architect, urban designer, tutor and researcher, I have brought together a number of perspectives to question the ways in which public spaces are imbued with power, and to suggest more equal and fair ways of producing them.

My approach has aimed to take a hybrid, comprehensive, and holistic attitude to the research questions. The ambition of the thesis was to meet an urgent need for just and democratic spaces, and the aims and objectives of this thesis have been geared towards this end. Initial chapters investigated the existing literature on defining and redefining public spaces in a variety of political and social contexts, answering the question: 'What theories, philosophies, and practices revolve around the notion of public space?' This provided a lens to investigate the ways in which spaces are performed, regulated, and managed within the context of Amman. The next phase therefore reviewed methodologies, strategies, and tactics to explore the possible use of performative and civic pedagogic alternatives and interventions to reclaim public space, in a way that could make visible the unspoken and unwritten phenomena that structure it. This informed a series of decisions about the use of practical interventions to challenge and produce alternative spaces, provoking existing citizens to reflect on their city, and allowing the collection of a series of narratives to further explore key themes from a range of different perspectives.

This research contributes to current existing knowledge on public space and to writings on spatial practices and education within the specific context of Amman. It represents an attempt to research public spaces *otherwise, paying attention to political and social relations*. As mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, very little research has been done within the context of Jordan that discuss spaces in a social way, moving beyond spatial objects towards activism and participatory research. Testing and proposing ***alternative critical approaches to the normative architecture of public spaces, including alternative tactics to develop and sustain critical spatial practice*** involved developing an innovative and hybrid methodological framework incorporating both ***performative*** and ***pedagogical*** tools. As discussed previously, an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates art and activism is a new paradigm globally, let alone in Jordan. Nonetheless, I was still able to draw on local, provocative artistic practices that have been developed within an Arab context, such as Samah Hijawi's 'Where are the Arabs?' artwork, rather than relying exclusively on European models.

The findings from the performative interventions showed that this methodology has the capacity to gather alternative forms of knowledge from everyday experiences, beyond the remit of more conventional methods such as observation, surveys, and questionnaires. As Chapter Five revealed, constructed situations enabled people to articulate the ways in

which their own identities interacted with public spaces, emphasizing the significance of gender, class, and experiences of public space. The key themes that revealed during analysis, the experience of women in public space emerged as a particularly interesting area of concern, as female participants discussed both the verbal sexual harassment and objectification that they experienced on the streets, and their fear of 'speaking out' publicly against it. There was an observable, intersectional relationship between these concerns and the behaviour of their harassers, some of whom were revealed to be underemployed young men from deprived socio-economic groups. This affected attitudes to public space: some women preferred the highly securitised environments of neoliberal and commercial spaces, which excluded poorer groups, to ostensibly 'freer' sites which were less restrictive in terms of class. Others, however, were less concerned about the levels of verbal harassment ('we always hear verbal harassment, but who cares, I continue my life and what I have to do' (P49)). However, it is also important to note that discrimination was not exclusively a problem of poverty: concerns around wealthy Gulf tourists, and the treatment of women in leisure spaces designed for their use, were also part of this urban landscape of discrimination.

The second phase of the research transformed intervention into mediation, gathering actors and resources together to produce actions, plans, and visions that would further the right to the city in Amman, making visible existing problems and catalysing genuine change. A combination of tactical methods was deployed: shared online collaborative resources, formal interviews, and a workshop which brought together mediators (including many institutional representative). This allowed discussion not only of the problems of public spaces in the city, but of the potential role of institutions in their solution, working from personal experience to a more collectively organised solution. As Chapter six manifested by the end of the meeting, a rudimentary form of alternative publicness had come into being, knowledges had been exchanged, and spaces of democratic dialogue created.

One of the outstanding intellectual contributions of the workshop took the form of a discussion on the redefinition of the term 'public' in the phrase 'public spaces'. This concluded that Western concepts of public and private were inadequate to capturing the configuration of these terms in Amman. In particular, they were incapable of relaying the ways in which the quintessential Western 'private' space of the home becomes 'public' in Amman, by virtue of the fact that it is the site for the creation of an online public sphere, in which more can be said than is possible in physical so-called public space. Online discourse thus provides an important locus of questioning and resistance, though it is increasingly controlled by the government, who are restricting online freedom of expression.

The mediating processes introduced many ideas for future collaborative projects, including initiatives to bridge the gap between the university and civic society. The group explored possibilities for civic pedagogical approaches involving partnerships between educational and civic institutions, and plans were drawn up for a further series of workshops. An elementary framework is therefore now in place to develop performative and civic pedagogic spatial practice further, in order to critically produce alternative publicness in Amman. The potential for higher educational institutions to be the ground and the bridge for future networks of resistance against pseudo-public spaces is a particularly exciting development emerging from this research.

This study has made visible the political, social, and institutional agendas which shape public space in Amman, and has suggested future directions for further research and intervention. Its findings propose an alternative practice which goes beyond the aesthetically loaded, politically denuded use of architecture to serve private clients, reaching out to broader ambitions of challenging controlled and commodified public space, and proposing tactics to construct and sustain long term resilience and resistance to neoliberalisation. The thesis outcomes can be specified as follows:

1. This research critically discussed the available literature on current debates about public space, especially its relation to social, political and economic factors. It explored a range of definitions of 'publicness' and 'pseudo-publicness', from a perspective that is influenced by the theoretical notion that space is in an active, dialectical relationship with social relations (Soja, 1980; Lefebvre, 1991).
2. The thesis explored a creative and innovative series of critical interventions, designed to challenge existing social and political relations using performative practice. The work of Judith Butler proved particularly useful in thinking through the connections between the right to space, and the right to other forms of political, social, and cultural recognition (Butler, 2010). In such a view, public space ceases to be a series of relationships between static and inanimate architectural elements, and becomes a series of embodied relations, in which it is possible to fight for recognition and rights. All the findings of this initial stage culminate in a call to shift the role of spatial practitioners to a more activist and democratic model, reclaiming and rethinking public space by challenging neoliberalisation and other forms of political, gendered, and racialized exclusion.
3. The theoretical framework revealed how public spaces are performed at the scale of a city, and the ways in which they interact with city-wide and national policy (for example, with relation to refugee groups). The impact of global changes at the level of the urban was also traced as the research investigated the incursions of neoliberal capital into public space, and the creation of new 'pseudo-public' commercial shopping centres.
4. This research proved the efficiency of performative interventions in revealing and recording residents' narratives about their spaces. It has demonstrated the use of this provocative creative methodology in producing spaces of critique and dialogue that make visible the power relations that structure space.
5. This research has compared the use of these interventions in a Middle Eastern context to their deployment at other, very different geographical locations in Europe. This shows the nuance of which this methodology is capable, as it reveals forms of social, political and cultural difference in the meanings and use of public space in different countries. However, it also reveals the perils of overgeneralising across contexts, throwing the specificities of the authoritarian political context of Amman into relief.
6. The research shows the efficacy of recruiting mediators from key institutions to analyse the problems of public space, and the ability of a mediation process to mobilise institutional resources to solve spatial problems, which played an important role in developing an action plan for the future. The role of higher educational institutions was revealed to be particularly pivotal as a ground for future practice,

since these bodies could act as a bridge with other institutions in civic society, fostering resilience and resistance via a combination of civic forms of pedagogy and performative intervention.

8.2. Contributions

This research contributes to a growing interdisciplinary literature on public space, which includes performance art and site-specific art practice; participation; civic pedagogy; and socio-political forms of resistance against pseudo-public spaces. Its innovative methodological framework has been tailored to suit the specificity of the context of the study, and is part of a wider trend in architectural research to engage with everyday life experience. It also challenges a view of architectural research that is oriented towards a theoretically static and non-dynamic view of space, instead stressing space as something that is a product of social and economic relations.

In intellectual terms, this research, with its hybrid nature, fills an important series of gaps in existing literature, spatial practice, and architectural education. Its interdisciplinary methodological framework, and its in-depth and sharp critique of existing spaces distinguish it from much existing writing in architecture, which tends to focus on aesthetics and accessibility in a manner that neglects the socio-political. The thesis also fulfils an important political role in Amman, where there is currently very little activism centred on critiquing and reclaiming space: the framework for future action that emerged from the mediation phase has real potential to bring together different social bodies to resist pseudo-public status quo. Intellectually, too, there is little work on public space in a Jordanian context, especially from a participatory viewpoint focused on revealing the experiences and frustrations of the public as they are confronted by existing spaces and spatial policies.

The socio-political and intellectual contributions made by this thesis are potentially scalable. While the research under discussion here is focused on the scale of the city, many of the study findings would be applicable across other cities and towns in both Jordan and the wider Middle East. Furthermore, the performative methodology is sufficiently flexible to allow it to be adapted to other contexts, widening the repertoire of democratic and participatory performative interventions available to spatial practitioners, and allowing critiquing or reclaiming to take a form that is oblique, safe, and creative.

This research findings around the efficacy of civic pedagogic and performative research will drive a wider activist, participatory and critical practice. Oddey (2006) argues that site-specific performance has the ability to present a serious challenge to current structures and to provoke members of the public to resistant, and alternative, ideas. Creative and performative approaches thus access 'energies of imagination' that are unavailable within more conventional approaches. If nothing else, the practice-led research within this thesis has led to the development of a critical spatial practice framework which persuasively unites creative and artistic elements, performative intervention, and civic pedagogy.

Furthermore, this research made a case for the use of a very mixed methodology, which uses these techniques alongside more conventional forms of semi-structured interview and workshops. The study brought together a PAR methodology and a performative approach,

in ways that are sensitive to the colonial nature of traditional epistemologies and the need to include research 'subjects' in the coproduction of knowledge as equal participants. The thesis thus responds to Jane Rendell's call to draw on a range of different disciplines, artistic performances, and practical tools to construct critical spatial practices.

Although this research has its limitations (see section 8.3), I hope to extend it in future to develop new actions and artistic tactics. I am particularly interested in creating a platform for airing residents' issues in public spaces which is flexible enough to evolve with new and emerging challenges. Basing such initiatives in the institutional power of universities would provide long term sustainability, encouraging social and educational bodies to evolve their civic responsibilities and to work towards citizens' rights to the city. Such a strategy links the thoughts and feelings of residents to initiatives designed to disrupt the current power structures, making inequality visible and working collectively to promote democratic space.

8.3. Limitations

This research has faced many varied challenges that limited its execution and findings. These can be outlined as follows:

1. Within the context of the Arab world, in terms of tracing the existing literature, very few publications focused on the relationship of public spaces to politics or institutional civic responsibility. Generally, there is a dearth of material on the relationship between public space and higher education curricula. This research has tried to fill this gap in knowledge, but further work remains to be done.
2. Access to demographic data about Amman was limited by problems in the collection of official statistics (for example, the lumping together of many different groups as 'minorities'). Information was also rarely up to date.
3. Data on the spread of neoliberalism in Amman was difficult to locate, and information on public-private partnerships almost impossible to find, despite repeated requests to the Official Greater Amman Municipality. Overall, this meant the research had to use data already in the public domain, which was then connected to politics, policy, and wider literature. Newspapers and interviews provided a valuable source to fill this gap.
4. Digital resources for mapping Amman city are scarce and inadequate. Most of the available maps were in JPEG format, rather than a more manipulable digital format.
5. When it came to performative interventions, some members of the public perceived participation as a political gesture, and consequently did not wish to take part. As discussed in Chapter five, I also felt and believe that my self-presentation (gender, clothes, the sign I used) influenced participation, though this could occur in different ways depending on the location of the intervention.
6. The points noted in (5) above also raise the issue of self-censorship. During both the performative interventions and the mediation, many participants in all types of space asked for anonymity. Some dismissed or qualified statements which initially appeared to criticise the state or the municipality.
7. Self-censorship may also have affected the mediation process at an institutional level, since some organisations (especially NGOs and some academic disciplines) do not want to be perceived as engaged in any activity that could be described as

‘political’, for fear of institutional consequences. Self-censorship therefore affected all phases of the research: data collection, mediation and collaboration, and the action plan for the future.

8. A context that produces such fear of speaking out also limits comparisons that can be drawn with the other places in which performative interventions were used. It is not easy to compare Berlin or Sheffield to Amman in this way, since the political freedoms of each place are very different. The Arab Spring, in particular, has brought a degree of tension to debates about publicness across the Middle East, and authoritarian responses to perceived criticism in its wake still influence the willingness of participants to speak out on certain issues.
9. Coercive and overt forms of control by the police were a significant problem during the performative interventions, limiting the duration of the experiment in one particular location (see Chapter 5). This may point to the need for further research to scope out other forms of intervention which can escape such control, and yet pose a genuine question to citizens of the city.
10. The time limitations on the research limited its scope and ambition. A greater number of interventions at more sites, and a greater amount of time to negotiate with institutional representatives, would have expanded the intervention and mediation phases of the project.

8.4. Future research and possibilities

This thesis proposed civic pedagogic and performative spatial practice that rethinks, reclaims, and critically produces public spaces in the context of Amman. The output of its successive phases (intervening, mediating, and sustaining) found higher educational institutions to be a potential bridge and platform for critical and resistant practice. However, the research is necessarily ongoing and unfinished. My attitude towards architectural research is that it should not focus on the solution of specific, technical problems, but on provoking an ongoing, flexible negotiation with ordinary people and everyday life. I am hoping to continue the research into the future, using supplementary practices to complement existing findings.

Firstly, I would like to expand the civic pedagogic and performative practice at city level. Chapter Seven explained how higher educational institutions, across the whole city, can initiate live performative projects which fulfil civic pedagogic responsibilities and have real potential impact. Such expansion requires a coalition of various actors, including universities and civic bodies. State support may also be needed if the public is really to be encouraged to critique the system and to suggest ideas for future change based on their own experience. Ideally, a cyclical process would be initiated, whereby repeated interventions are used to build an ongoing mediation process, feeding into continually updated action plans. In my capacity as a future academic in Jordan, I hope to create such a system, with a view to encouraging an ever greater number of people to claim their right to the city.

Secondly, I would like to engage in a more specific analysis of the Arabic context. Throughout this research, I have become acutely aware of the differences between the European and Arabic contexts, and further investigation is required to understand how to

conduct performative interventions and civic pedagogic tactics more effectively in a Middle Eastern context. This may streamline the research with initiatives aimed at 'decolonising' the curriculum, and being more attentive to the political, social, economic, and cultural specificities of non-European contexts as a means of producing new types of knowledge. There may well be no universal performative methodology that can operate in all contexts, but rather a series of principles that can be tailored to the particularities of a given context. The relationship of political institutions, political cultures, and political interventions therefore requires further exploration.

8.5. Recommendations

Reflections on the findings of the study has generated the following series of recommendations, each for a different group of actors:

1. For educators across the different contexts and in particular within the Arab region:
 - a) Within the Jordanian context, to initiate the various tactics that Chapter Seven has suggested in order to bridge between higher educational institutions, other civic organizations, and wider society. As explained previously, this can be achieved by forging new alliances, by promoting civic pedagogy, and by organizing a small research group to arrange performative interventions, coordinate mediations, and formulate action plans
 - b) To be aware of the power of education, which can either be used by the government to control society, or as a tool to promote the just city by empowering, negotiating, intervening, and mediating for urban rights.
2. For architects, designers, and spatial and urban practitioners:
 - a) To shift their professional focus away from objects towards the actual users of space, and to involve the public in the whole process of producing the city's spaces.
 - b) To use artistic methods and other tactics to provoke urban reaction and encourage thinking about the critical production of spaces
 - c) To theorise space in a way that is dynamic and mobile, and not static and empty (space as a series of networked relations, rather than an empty container)
 - d) To work with various actors and agencies, such as NGOs and universities, to both critique existing spaces, and to challenge and change attitudes to the production of new space, in a way that is attentive to civic responsibilities.
3. For the researcher:
 - a) To pay attention to political, cultural, social, and economic factors while exploring public spaces in the region
 - b) To develop hybrid, interdisciplinary methodologies, seeking inspiration from art and politics (particularly innovative in a Middle Eastern context)

- c) To commit to a democratic politics that focuses on the production of just and equal spaces, using a series of imaginative resources and tactics that are tailored to suit the historical, geographical, and political context.
4. For the state and other stakeholders:
- a) To consider the various findings and themes that have emerged from this thesis, and to be open to a more provocative, inclusive and participative approach to the study of space and especially to the production of new spaces. (This latter point particularly applies to the Greater Amman Municipality)
 - b) To allow, recognize, and support supplementary methodologies that critique existing practice, and to be open to bottom-up approaches that listen and respond to citizens, rather than being exclusively concerned with top-down approaches the exertion of a high degree of central control
 - c) To be aware of the impacts of privatizing public spaces and the public realm more generally, including being open to critiques of public-private partnerships and their social and spatial effects
 - d) To amend the discrimination laws that differentiate between different degrees of citizenship within the Jordanian nations, where nationals have access to the public realm and political sphere and non-national do not have it. Such laws produce and reproduce social, spatial and political inequalities within the nation.

This research is rooted in my individual observations and position as an Ammani, as a Jordanian, and as an architect, urban designer and educator interested in finding alternatives to the current state of public space in Amman. This study, and my ideological approach, did not seek solutions or a defined 'product' but rather aimed to prompt a process of rethinking and renegotiating, of reclaiming and critically producing new types of public space, using performative and civic pedagogic approaches. I am deeply indebted to the radical social approach I have found in the Sheffield School of Architecture, to which I feel personally committed, and which has led me to understand the potential of a hybrid, interdisciplinary methodological framework in catalysing real and valid change.

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[‡] All figures and tables, including the chapters' cover images, were produced and/or taken by the author unless stated otherwise in the caption.

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Appendices⁴

Appendix 1: Participant information sheet- performative intervening



The
University
Of
Sheffield.



Participant Information Sheet

Social exclusion and public spaces in Amman

I am a PhD student in the School of Architecture at the University of Sheffield. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the study. Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw or leave at any time

The research aim is to identify and map the diverse factors that lead to exclusion in public spaces in Amman city. Constructing a democratic platform through performance, in public spaces, which allows all residents to participate and ensures research participants' narratives are being heard. Additionally, raising citizens' awareness about their right to the city and its public spaces, public realm and political sphere through building a network with different experts that can intervene.

This research will allow researcher to gain an understanding about the various factors that affect social exclusion in Public spaces in Amman. This will help in considering public participation for planners and politician.

Conversations during the performance will be audio recorded. If you choose not to be audiotaped, I will take notes instead. If you agree to being audiotaped but feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview, I can turn off the recorder at your request. Or if you don't wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time. All participants will be identified by participant identification number only quoted as such in transcripts. If photographs are taken, with the participant's permission, the participant's face will be obscured so as to maintain their anonymity.

Date collected in the performance might be used in different publication such as: thesis, presentations, conference papers and journal articles.

For any more details or inquires please do not hesitate to contact me. Email address: Aaayaghi1@sheffield.ac.uk

⁴ Appendix 5 is an external annex



The
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Informed Consent Form

TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: Social Exclusion And Public Spaces In Amman
NAME OF RESEARCHER: Amro Yaghi
PARTICIPANT NUMBER:

Please tick box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the description of the research project.
2. I confirm that I am an adult and over the age of 18.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at anytime without any consequences.
4. I understand that my identity in this research will be confidential and I will not be identified.
5. I am aware that conversations during the performance will be audio recorded.
6. I give permission for my photograph. I am aware that my face will be obscured so as to maintain my anonymity.
7. I give permission for the researcher and supervisors of the researcher to use the data collected in future research.
8. I agree to take part in the research project as described above.

Name Of Participant	Date	Signature

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet- Informal interviews



The
University
Of
Sheffield.



Participant Information Sheet

Social exclusion and public spaces in Amman

I am a PhD student in the School of Architecture at the University of Sheffield. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the study. Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw or leave at any time.

The research aims to identify and map the diverse factors that lead to exclusion in public spaces in Amman city. Constructing a democratic platform through performance, provoking people to speak in public spaces, which allows residents to participate and ensures research participants' narratives are being heard. Additionally, raising citizens' awareness about their right to the city and its public spaces, public realm and political sphere through building a network with different experts that can intervene.

The aim of interviews is to explore the existing methodologies and interventions towards spatial justice and inclusive city. Interviews will be with scholars, academics, civic institutions, University, theatre, NGOs and artists. include willingness for collaboration within the network to intervene towards issues that resident have identified.

This research will allow researcher to gain an understanding about the various factors that affect social exclusion in public spaces in Amman. This will help in considering public participation for planners and politician.

I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. Conversations during the interview will be audio recorded. If you choose not to be audiotaped, I will take notes instead. If you agree to being audiotaped but feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview, I can turn off the recorder at your request. Or if you don't wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time.

Data collected will be handled as confidentially as possible. If results of this study are published or presented, individual names, photography and other personally identifiable information will not be used unless you give explicit permission. Date collected in the performance events, workshops, interviews, seminars might be used in different publication such as: thesis, presentations, conference papers and journal articles.

For any more details or inquires please do not hesitate to contact me. Email address: Aaayaghi1@sheffield.ac.uk



The
University
Of
Sheffield.



Informed Consent Form

TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: Social Exclusion And Public Spaces In Amman
NAME OF RESEARCHER: Amro Yaghi
INTERVIEW NUMBER:

Please tick box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the description of the research project.
2. I confirm that I am an adult and over the age of 18.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at anytime without any consequences.
4. I understand that my identity in this research will be confidential and I will not be identified. Unless I give explicit permission.
5. I am aware that conversations during the interview will be audio recorded.
6. I give permission for the researcher and supervisors of the researcher to use the data collected in future research.
7. I agree to take part in the research project as described above.

Name Of Participant	Date	Signature

Example of the questions that have been asked during the interview:

- From your point of view, what are the factors (social, economic, political and cultural) that result in social exclusion and spatial inequality in Amman public space? How would you define Amman public space?
- What is your view on gender inequality in public spaces in Amman?
- To what extent are the different degrees of citizenship in Jordan spatially expressed in public spaces?
- Is there anything done by your institution that intervenes towards spatial justice? What is the applied mechanism? (E.g. academic modules, art, live art, publication, workshops, etc.)
- What is the existing role of public participation in the city planning and how can it be improved?
- If there is any willingness from your institution for future collaboration with the network in order to intervene towards issues that the residents have identified and their urban rights? If yes, how? And if no, is there any way to negotiate over this?

Appendix 3: Ethics approval letter



Downloaded: 02/08/2019
Approved: 13/06/2017

Amro Yaghi
Registration number: 150104483
School of Architecture
Programme: PhD in Architecture

Dear Amro

PROJECT TITLE: Performative spatial practice methodology to understand inclusion, exclusion and urban politics in public space, Amman-Jordan

APPLICATION: Reference Number 014592

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 13/06/2017 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 014592 (dated 23/05/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1031056 version 1 (23/05/2017).
- Participant consent form 1031057 version 1 (23/05/2017).

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

Chengzhi Peng
Ethics Administrator
School of Architecture

Appendix 4: Jordanian school of architecture curricula

Applied Science Private University

Applied Science Private University

Faculty of Engineering

Architecture Department

Study Plan

Architectural Engineering

Graduation Requirements 167 C.H.



First semester 2018 / 2017

.First: University Requirements 24 Credit hours						
1. Mandatory Courses (15) credit hours, include the following subjects:						
Course No	Course Name	C.H	TH	PRA.	Prerequisite	
MS 100	MILITARY SCIENCES*	3	-	-	-	
ARB110	ARABIC LANGUAGE 1**	3	-	-	-	
HSS 116	ISLAMIC EDUCATION	3	-	-	-	
ENG120	ENGLISH LANGUAGE1 ***	3	-	-	-	
HSS 151	UNIVERSITY ETHICS	3	-	-	-	
2. Elective Courses:(9) credit hours, selected from the following subjects						
Course No.	Course Name	C.H	TH	PRA.	Prerequisite	
402104	Entrepreneurship	3	-	-	-	
501114	Palestinian Problem and Contemporary Arabic History	3	-	-	-	
602143	Human Rights	3	-	-	-	
602144	Law in our lives	3	-	-	-	
121110	Arts Education	3	-	-	-	
1401111	Introduction to Library Science	3	-	-	-	
1401117	Islam and Contemporary Issues	3	-	-	-	
1401118	Ethics in Islam	3	-	-	-	
1401130	Fitness and Health	3	-	-	-	
1401131	Introduction to Sociology	3	-	-	-	
1401132	Human and Environment	3	-	-	-	
1401133	Introduction to Psychology	3	-	-	-	
1401150	National Education	3	-	-	-	
1401210	Arabic Language (2)	3	-	-	ARB110	
1401220	English Language (2)	3	-	-	ENG120	
1501113	Arab and Muslim Sciences	3	-	-	-	
1501126	First Aid	3	-	-	-	
1501127	Green Energy	3	-	-	-	
1501128	Comm. & Social Media Technology	3	-	-	-	
1501153	Nutrition in Health and Sickness	3	-	-	-	
1501154	Health Education	3	-	-	-	
1501161	Digital Communities	3	-	-	-	
Second) Faculty Requirements (25) credit hours						
Course No.	Course Name	C.H	TH	PRA.	Prerequisite	
MATH110	CALCULUS(1)	3	-	-	-	
EE112	CALCULUS(2)	3	-	-	MATH 110	
PHYS120	GENERAL PHYSICS 1	3	-	-	-	
PHYS 220	GENERAL PHYSICS 2	3	-	-	PHYS120	
PHYS 121	GENERAL PHYSICS LAB 1	1	-	-	***PHYS120	
PHYS 221	GENERAL PHYSICS LAB 2	1	-	-	***PHYS 220	
EE201	COMPUTER SKILLS 2	3	-	-	Passing skills test	
ME107	ENGINEERING WORKSHOP	1	-	-	-	
EE23	ECONOMY & ENGINEERING MANAGEMENT	3	-	-	Third year level	
CE106	ENGINEERING DRAWING	2	-	-	-	
CE200	ETHICS AND TECHNICAL WRITING	1	-	-	Second year level/ ENG120	
PE201	RENEWABLE ENERGY APPLICATIONS & SUSTAINABILITY	1	-	-	-	
Third) Department Requirements (118) credit hours						
A) Mandatory Courses (98) credit hours						
Course No.	Course Name	C.H	TH	PRA.	Prerequisite	
AR 100	ARCHITECTURAL GRAPHICS (1)	2	-	4	-	
AR 104	ARCHITECTURAL GRAPHICS (2)	3	1	4	AR 100	
AR 105	FREE-HAND SKETCHING	2	-	4	-	
AR 106	ARCHITECTURAL PRESENTATION TECHNIQUES	3	1	4	AR 105	
AR 111	INTRODUCTION TO ARCHITECTURE DESIGN (1)	3	1	4	-	
AR 112	INTRODUCTION TO ARCHITECTURE DESIGN (2)	3	1	4	AR 111	
AR 204	COMPUTER IN ARCHITECTURE (1)	3	2	2	AR 112 + CE 106	
AR 205	COMPUTER IN ARCHITECTURE (2)	3	2	2	AR 204	
AR 213	ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN (1)	4	1	6	AR 112	
AR 214	ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN (2)	4	1	6	AR 213	
AR 226	HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE (1)	3	3	-	AR 112	
AR 227	HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE (2)	3	3	-	AR 226	
AR 237	BUILDING CONSTRUCTION (1)	3	2	2	AR 112	
AR 238	BUILDING CONSTRUCTION (2)	3	2	2	AR 237	
AR 313	ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN (3)	5	1	8	AR 214	
AR 314	ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN (4)	5	1	8	AR 105 + AR 104	
AR 317	INTERIOR DESIGN	3	1	4	AR 214	
AR 320	CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE (1)	2	2	-	AR 227	
AR 326	CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE (2)	2	2	-	AR 320	
AR 328	Architecture in Islamic countries	2	2	-	AR 227	
B- Elective Courses (6) credit hours						
Course No.	Course Name	C.H	TH	PRA.	Prerequisite	
AR 236	PHOTOGRAPHY	2	2	-	-	AR 112
AR 239	ARCHITECTURAL WORKSHOPS	2	-	4	-	AR 237
AR 381	SPECIAL TOPICS IN ARCHITECTURE (1)	2	2	-	-	AR 213
AR 407	ARCHITECTURE PRESENTATION BY COMPUTER	2	-	4	-	AR 205
AR 421	ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN CONSERVATION AND LOCAL ARCH.	3	3	-	-	AR 214
AR 422	ARCHITECTURE CRITICISM AND ANALYSIS	2	2	-	-	AR 326
AR 423	ENVIRONMENT & BEHAVIOR / VISUAL COGNITION	3	3	-	-	AR 214
AR 434	ADVANCED CONSTRUCTION SYSTEMS	2	2	-	-	AR 238+CE312
AR 435	BUILDING RESTORATION & REHABILITATION	2	2	-	-	AR 452
AR 483	SPECIAL TOPICS IN ARCHITECTURE (2)	2	2	-	-	AR 314
AR 556	URBAN SPACESCAPE	2	2	-	-	AR 357
AR 557	ISLAMIC SETTLEMENTS	2	2	-	-	AR 328
AR 558	HOUSING	3	3	-	-	AR 356
AR 580	SPECIAL TOPICS IN ARCHITECTURE (3)	1	1	-	-	-
C. Support Mandatory Courses from other departments (14) credit hours						
Course No.	Course Name	C.H	TH	PRA.	Prerequisite	
CE 312	STATICS & STRUCTURAL MECHANICS	3	3	-	-	PHYS120
CE314	REINFORCED CONCRETE	2	2	-	-	CE312
CE 319	SURVEYING FOR ARCHITECTURE	2	2	-	-	FINISH 1 ST YEAR
CE 415	STEEL STRUCTURE	2	2	-	-	CE312
EE 448	LIGHTING & ACCOUSTICS	2	2	-	-	PHYS 230
ME 449	BUILDING SERVICES HVAC	3	3	-	-	PHYS120
ENGINEERING TRAINING LAB						
AR588	ENGINEERING TRAINING LAB	Department Approval				
FINISHED TRAINING :				Did not finish training		
<p>* Non-Jordanian students may take any subject offered instead of Military Science. ** All students must take a skill level test in Arabic and English languages. Students failing any of the tests shall register for a remediation course In the subject they failed which will be outside their study plan. *** Simultaneously with C.H.: Credit Hour TH.: Theoretical Pr.: practical</p>						



Course Plan – Procedures of the Course Plan Committee/ Department of Architecture الخطة الدراسية - إجراءات تنفيذ مهام لجنة الخطة الدراسية/ قسم هندسة العمارة	QF09/0407-1.0
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(التوقيع والختم الرسمي) **2/2/2013** رقم وتاريخ الاعتماد **Dept. of Architecture** القسم
 Authorized Signature & Stamp **22/1/2013** Number & Date **165 CH** Department
 of Approval

الخطة الإرشادية Advisement Plan (الفصل/السنة) (Semester/year)	المتطلب السابق Prerequisite	ساعة عملي Practical Hours	ساعة نظري Theory Hours	ساعة معتمدة Credit Hours	اسم المادة Course Name	رقم المادة Course No.	معلومات الطالب Student Information	
							مسجل Registered	منحور Passed
أولاً- متطلبات الجامعة (27) ساعة معتمدة على النحو التالي:								
First: University Requirements (27) hours								
أ) متطلبات الإلزامية 12 ساعة معتمدة								
2/1		0	3	3	Arabic language 1	0401100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/1		0	3	3	English language 1	0402100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Military sciences	0420101	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/2	-	0	3	3	National education	0420102	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ب: المتطلبات الاختيارية 15 ساعات معتمدة (حد ادنى مادة واحدة ويحد اعلى مادتين من كل مجال)								
B) Electives 15 Credit Hours (A minimum of one course and a maximum of two courses in each field)								
First Field: Humanities مجال الاول: العلوم الانسانية								
	English language 1	0	3	3	English language 2	0402105	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Modern history of Jordan	0420105	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	History of Jerusalem	0420103	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Islamic culture	0420106	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Physical education	0407100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Second Field: Social and Economic Sciences المجال الثاني: العلوم الاجتماعية و الاقتصادية								
	-	0	3	3	Introduction to sociology	0420109	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Contemporary issues	0420110	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Introduction to psychology	0405104	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Principles of education	0407102	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Principles of economics	0520100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Third Field: Science, Technology, Agriculture and Health المجال الثالث: العلوم والتكنولوجيا والزراعة والصحة								
	-	0	3	3	Computer skills	0102102	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	First aid	0301101	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Science and society	0103100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Fundamentals of environment	0106100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Herbal medicine	0110100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	Principles of energy sciences	0904100	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	-	0	3	3	The health and life	0105101	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Course Plan – Procedures of the Course Plan Committee/
Department of Architecture

QF09/0407-1.0

الخطة الدراسية - إجراءات تنفيذ مهام لجنة الخطة الدراسية/ قسم هندسة العمارة

الخطة الإرشادية Advisement Plan	المتطلب السابق Prerequisite	ساعة عملي Practical	ساعة نظري Theory	ساعة معمدة Credit	اسم المادة Course Name	رقم المادة Course No.	معلومات الطالب Student Information	
تالياً: متطلبات الكلية (27) ساعة مقترحة على النحو التالي								
Second: Faculty Requirements (27) Credit Hours								
أ: المتطلبات الإلزامية 27 ساعة معمدة								
1/1	-		3	3	Calculus 1 for engineering	0101103	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/1	-		3	3	General physics 1	0103101	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/1	-	3	1	2	Engineering workshops	0904101	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/2	2ed year Standing	-	1	1	Technical writing	0902231	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/4	4th year Standing	-	3	3	Engineering economy	0904400	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/1	-	6	1	3	Architectural drawings	0905161	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/1	-	6	1	3	Free hand sketching	0905160	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/2	-	3	2	3	Computer applications in architecture 1	0905200	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/3	Computer applications in architecture 1	3	2	3	Computer applications in architecture 2	0905300	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/2	-	3	2	3	Surveying for architecture	0905220	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
تالياً: متطلبات التخصص (111) ساعة على النحو التالي:								
Third: Major (111) hours as follows:								
أ: متطلبات التخصص الإلزامية 90 ساعة معمدة								
1/1	-	6	1	3	Basic design 1	0905150	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/1	Basic design 1	6	1	3	Basic design 2	0905151	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/1	Free hand sketching	6	1	3	Architectural communication and presentation	0905162	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/2	Basic design 2	9	1	4	Architecture design 1	0905250	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/2	Architectural design 1	9	1	4	Architecture design 2	0905251	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/2	-	3	2	3	Building construction 1	0905270	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/2	Building construction 1	3	2	3	Building construction 2	0905271	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/3	-	-	3	3	History and theory of architecture 1	0905310	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/3	History and theory of architecture 1	-	3	3	History and theory of architecture 2	0905311	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/3	-	-	3	3	Illumination and acoustics	0905320	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/3	Architectural design 2	3	2	3	Landscape architecture	0905330	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/3	History and theory of architecture 1	-	3	3	Conservation of architectural heritage	0905331	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/3	Architectural design 2	12	1	5	Architecture design 3	0905350	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/3	Architectural design 3	12	1	5	Architecture design 4	0905351	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/3	Building construction 2	3	2	3	Building construction 3	0905370	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/4	History and theory of architecture 2	-	3	3	History and theory of architecture 3	0905410	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/4	History and theory of architecture 3	-	3	3	Islamic architecture	0905411	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/4	History and theory of architecture 3	-	3	3	Local architecture	0905412	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/4	Architectural design 4	3	2	3	Urban design	0905430	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/4	Architectural design 4	3	2	3	Urban planning	0905431	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/4	Building construction 3	-	3	3	Specifications and quantities	0905440	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/4	Architectural design 4	12	1	5	Architecture design 5	0905450	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Course Plan – Procedures of the Course Plan Committee/
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الخطة الدراسية - إجراءات تنفيذ مهام لجنة الخطة الدراسية/ قسم هندسة العمارة

الخطة الإرشادية Advisement Plan	المتطلب السابق Prerequisite	ساعة عملي Practical	ساعة نظري Theory	ساعة معمدة Credit	اسم المادة Course Name	رقم المادة Course No.	معلومات الطالب Student Information	
2/4	Architectural design 5	12	1	5	Architectural design 6	0905451	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Passing 120 credit		8 weeks	0		Engineering practical training	0905480	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/5	Specifications and quantities	-	3	3	Project management	0905540	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/5	Architectural design 6 Passing 120 credit	3	1	2	Graduation project 1 thesis research	0905580	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/5	Graduation project 1	18		6	Graduation project 2	0905581	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B) Mandatory Major Supporting Requirements 15 Credit Hours					ب: متطلبات التخصص الاجبارية المساندة 15 ساعة معمدة			
2/1	Calculus 1 for engineering	-	3	3	Structural mechanics	0902130	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1/2	-	-	3	3	Building materials	0902222		
1/2	-	-	3	3	Building construction and assembly	0902230	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2/2	Building construction and assembly	-	3	3	Structural systems	0902232		
1/3	-	-	3	3	Mechanical systems and environmental control	0904336		
							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C) Major Electives 6 Credit Hours					ج: متطلبات التخصص الاختيارية 6 ساعات معمدة			
	Architectural design 4	-	3	3	Housing issues	0905432	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Architectural design 4	3	2	3	Interior architecture	0905452	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Architectural design 5		3	3	Theories and criticism of contemporary architecture	0905510	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Architectural design 5	3	2	3	Geographical information systems	0905500	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Architectural design 5	3	2	3	Green architecture	0905550	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Computer applications in architecture 2	3	2	3	Advanced computer architectural design	0905400	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	As specified by the department	-	3	3	Specialized topics in architecture	0905582	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Middle Eastern University- Private University

MEU

قرار مجلس الكلية:
تاريخ الاعتماد:

Study Guide Plan 2013/ 2014

Faculty of Architecture and Design

Department of Architecture

Major: Architecture (Bachelor)

1st Year

1 st Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010111	Design Basics (1)	3	-
11010113	Architectural Drawing	3	-
11020114	Freehand Drawing (1)	3	-
01060110	Mathematics (1)	3	-
010616	Arabic (1)	3	-
010617	English (1)	3	-
		18	

2 nd Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010112	Design Basics (2)	3	11010111
11010123	Architectural Presentation	3	11010113 + 11020114
01060110	Physics (1) *	3	-
01060110	Physics (1) Lab *	1	01060110
010610	Military Science	3	-
010618	National Education	3	-
* Co-requisites		16	

2nd Year

1 st Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010123	Architectural Design (1)	4	11010112
11010113	History of Architecture (1)	3	-
11010123	Computer-Aided Design (1)	2	0106110
11010121	Building Construction (1)	3	-
09040120	Engineering Workshop (1)	1	-
	Elective Faculty Requirement	3	-
	Elective University Requirement	3	-
		19	

2 nd Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010123	Architectural Design (2)	4	11010123
11010114	History of Architecture (2)	3	11010113
11010124	Computer-Aided Design (2)	2	11010123
11010121	Building Construction (2)	3	11010121
09040120	Engineering Workshop (2)	1	09040120
11010143	Aesthetics	3	11010113
	Elective Faculty Requirement	3	-
		19	

3rd Year

1 st Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010133	Architectural Design (3)	4	11010123
09040143	Mechanical and Electrical Systems	3	0106103 + 0106105
11010124	History of Islamic Art and Architecture	3	11010114 or 11020114
11010134	Landscape Architecture	3	11010123
11010110	Research Methodology in Architecture and Design	3	-
	Elective Department Requirement	3	-
		19	

2 nd Semester			
Course No.	Course Name	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010133	Architectural Design (4)	4	11010133
11010135	Lighting and Acoustics	3	0106103 + 0106105
09040133	Structural Systems	3	11010121
11010131	Urban Design	3	11010133
11010121	Engineering Mechanics	3	-
11010131	Modern & Contemporary Architecture	3	11010114
		19	

4th Year

1 st Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010143	Architectural Design (5)	4	11010133
11010141	Housing	3	11010133 + 11010131
09020132	Structural Analysis (1)	3	11010121
11010132	Vernacular and Regional Architecture	3	11010124
	Elective University Requirement	3	-
11010153	Field Training	--	(135 Cr. Hrs)
		16	

2 nd Semester			
Course No.	Course Name	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010143	Architectural Design (6)	4	11010143
11010145	Urban Planning	3	11010131
09040137	Environmental Control	3	09040135
09020123	Surveying *	3	01060110
09020123	Surveying Lab *	1	01060110
	Elective University Requirement	3	-
* Co-requisites		17	

5th Year

1 st Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010153	Graduation Project (1)	2	11010143 + 11010110 + (135 Cr. Hrs)
11010142	Professional Practice & Building Codes	3	11010153
09020137	Contracts, Specs & Quantity Surveying	3	11010121
11010143	Working Drawings	3	11010143 +

2 nd Semester			
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite
11010153	Graduation Project (2)	5	11010153
	Elective University Requirement	3	-
	Elective Department Requirement	3	-
	-	-	-

- Non-Jordanian students may choose to study either Military Science or any other course offered by the University
- For a student to register in the Graduation Project (1) course, he/she must have successfully finished at least 135 credit hours.
- For a student to register in the Field Training Course, he/she must have successfully finished at least 135 credit hours.

Faculty of Architecture and Design

University Requirements				
1. Compulsory University Requirements (12 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
0100100	Military Science (*)	3	-	-
0100101	Arabic (2)	3	-	-
0100102	English (1)	3	-	-
0100103	National Education	3	-	-
0100104	Islamic Education	3	-	-
2. Elective University Requirements (15 Cr. Hrs)				
A. Humanities (6 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
0100105	Arabic (2)	3	0100101	-
0100106	Technical Writing	3	-	-
0100107	Intro to Library Science	3	-	-
0100108	English (2)	3	0100101	-
0100109	Islamic Culture	3	-	-
B. Social and Economic Sciences (6 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
0100110	Law in our Lives	3	-	-
0100111	Human Rights	3	-	-
0100112	Contemporary Economic Issues	3	-	-
0100113	Contemporary Islamic Civilization	3	-	-
0100114	History of Jerusalem and Palestinian Issue	3	-	-
0100115	Contemporary International Issues	3	-	-
C. Science, Technology and Health (3 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
0100116	Computer Skills (1)	3	-	-
0100117	Science in our Lives	3	-	-
0100118	Man and Environment	3	-	-
0100119	Physical Education	3	-	-

Faculty Requirements				
1. Compulsory Faculty Requirements (18 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
11010110	Research Methodology in Architecture & Design	3	-	-
11010111	Design Basics (1)	3	11010112	-
11010112	Design Basics (2)	3	11010111	-
11020114	Freehand Drawing (1)	3	0100103	-
11010113	Aesthetics	3	11010111	-
11010114	History of Islamic Art and Architecture	3	11010114.g 11020114.5	-
2. Elective Faculty Requirements (6 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
110201121	Visual Communication Skills	3	-	-
110201211	Creative Thinking	3	-	-
110201142	Freehand Drawing (2)	3	110201141	-
110201221	Ceramics	3	-	-
110101401	Programming for Architecture & Design	3	0100100	-
110201222	Photography	3	-	-

Department Requirements (117 Cr. Hrs)				
1. Compulsory Department Requirements (100 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
11010121	Architectural Design (1)	4	11010112	-
11010122	Architectural Design (2)	4	11010121	-
11010123	Architectural Design (3)	4	11010122	-
11010124	Architectural Design (4)	4	11010123	-
11010125	Architectural Design (5)	4	11010124	-
11010126	Architectural Design (6)	4	11010125	-
11010127	Graduation Project (1) (**)	2	11010126 + 11010110 + 11010125	-
11010128	Graduation Project (2)	5	11010127	-
11010129	Architectural Drawing	3	11010125	-
11010130	History of Architecture (1)	3	-	-
11010131	History of Architecture (2)	3	-	-
11010132	Modern & Contemporary Architecture	3	11010114	-
11010133	Vernacular and Regional Architecture	3	11010124	-
11010134	Urban Design	3	11010131	-
11010135	Landscape Architecture	3	11010122	-
11010136	Housing	3	11010132 + 11010131	-
11010137	Computer-Aided Design (1)	2	0106110	-
11010138	Computer-Aided Design (2)	2	11010137	-
09020137	Contracts, Specs & Quantity Surveying	3	11010127	-
11010139	Lighting and Acoustics	3	0106103 + 0106105	-
09040143	Mechanical and Electrical Systems	3	0106103 + 0106105	-
11010140	Building Construction (1)	3	-	-
11010141	Building Construction (2)	3	11010140	-
11010142	Professional Practice and Building Codes	3	11010139	-
11010143	Architectural Presentation	3	11010131 + 110201141	-
09040137	Environmental Control	3	09040135	-
09040138	Structural Systems	3	11010121	-
09040139	Engineering Workshop (1)	1	-	-
11010144	Engineering Workshop (2)	3	-	-
11010145	Working Drawings	3	11010143 + 11010121	-
09020142	Structural Analysis (1)	3	11010133	-
09040134	Engineering Workshop (2)	1	09040129	-
11010146	Field Training	--	(135 Cr. Hrs)	-
11010147	Urban Planning	3	11010133	-

2. Elective Department Requirements (6 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
11010131	Human Behavior in the Built Environment	3	-	-
09040174	Project Management	3	-	-
11010133	Theory of Architectural Design	3	11010114	-
11010134	Green Buildings and Sustainable Design	3	09040317	-
11010142	Design of Steel and Concrete Structures	3	090201321	-
11010143	Architectural Conservation and Restoration	3	11010131	-
3. Supportive Department Requirements (11 Cr. Hrs)				
Course No.	Course	Cr. Hrs	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
01060101	Mathematics (1)	3	-	-
01060103	Physics (1)	3	01060101	01060105
01060105	Physics (1) Lab	1	01060101	01060103
09020121	Surveying	3	01060101	09020123
09020123	Surveying/Lab	1	01060101	09020121

Total Hours = 168 Credit Hours
Please note that:
 (*) Military Science is compulsory for Jordanian students; non-Jordanian students may either choose to study Military Science or any other course that the University offers instead.
 (**) For a student to register in the Graduation Project (1) course, he/she must have successfully finished at least (135) credit hours.
 (***) For a student to register in the Field Training Course, he/she must have successfully finished at least (135) credit hours.

Architecture Course Description

	<p>201101 Architectural Drawing (1) (3:1-2) Prerequisite: None</p>
	<p>Technical Drawing of architectural components including geometrical shapes, multi-views, sectional – views and paraline drawings using manual tools and equipment.</p>
	<p>201102 Architectural Drawing (2) (3:1-2) Prerequisite: 201101</p>
	<p>The construction of shade and shadows of geometrical masses and the construction of one – point and two – point perspectives through the different methods and short-cuts.</p>
	<p>201131 History of Art in the Old Ages (3:3-0) Prerequisite: None</p>
	<p>Study of Art in ancient Egypt, Near – East, Asia, Greece, Rome and other old Civilizations under the influence of the social, political and religious factors.</p>
	<p>201132 History of Art in the Medieval Ages (3:3-0) Prerequisite: 201131</p>
	<p>Study of art in the Early Christian, Byzantine, Renaissance, Gothic, Mannerism, Baroque and Rococo periods under the influence of social, political and religious factors.</p>
	<p>201152 Workshops (1:0-1) Prerequisite: None</p>
	<p>Introduction to timber and metal usage in building construction works: Their forms, properties, modes of treatment, handling, an applications.</p>
	<p>201201 Architectural Communication Skills (2:1-1) Prerequisite: 201102</p>
	<p>Rendering and presentation techniques of architectural drawings by using pencil, ink and colors. Model-making and make – up practices are included.</p>
	<p>201203 Photography for Architects (1:0-1) Prerequisite: None</p>
	<p>Basic principles of photography for architects including the usage of conventional and digital cameras focusing on selected architectural objects and scenes.</p>
	<p>201206 Research Skills in Architecture (2:2-0) Prerequisite: 201211</p>

201322 Environment and Behavior (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: 201212

Introduction to environmental psychology and behavior in architecture focusing on fundamental processes of perception, cognition, spatial behavior and the concepts of personal space, privacy, territoriality and personalization.

201333 Modern & Contemporary Architecture (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: 201132

Study of Architecture from the early industrial revolution in Europe to the present focusing on the most worldwide influencing movements and trends under the influence of the different acting forces.

201343 Computer Applications in Architecture (2) (3:1-2)

Prerequisite: 201242

Application of computer programs for producing 3-D architectural drawings and design detailing as needed (Revit Architecture) and desired.

201344 Computer Applications in Architecture (3) (3:1-2)

Prerequisite: 201343

Application of advanced computer programs for visual presentation purposes and modeled architectural drawings as needed and desired.

201353 Structures (1) (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: 104101

Moment distribution, forces, stability, mechanical properties of structural materials, stress analysis and reaction, shear and bending.

201354 Structures (2) (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: 201353

Choice and behavior of structural systems. Basic principles of structural design. Reinforced concrete and steel as construction materials.

201357 Building Construction (3) (2:1-1)

Prerequisite: 201254

Structure systems for high – rise and large spans such as cables, shells and trusses. Curtain wall systems and assembly details.

201358 Working Drawings (3:2-1)

Prerequisite: 201357

Principles of working drawing production and detailing as a genuine part of tender documents for executing a small building project.

201362 Surveying (2:1-1)

Prerequisite: 201101

Introduction to surveying principles and techniques: Measuring distances & heights, triangulation, taping errors & corrections, differential & cross sectional leveling, compass use, computing angles, construction and topographic maps.

University of Petra | Course Description

Introduction to landscape design including site analysis, treatment of surfaces and levels, types of plants and vegetation, water, and other features necessary and desired for developing and maintaining open sites.

201464 Urban Planning & Design (1) (4:1-3)

Prerequisite: 201415, 201461

Study of architectural solids and voids that formulate the morphology and typology of urban settings including visual analysis, cognitive image, and special design strategies.

201523 Special Topics in Architecture (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: None

Study of topics of certain importance and significance to the discipline of architecture. Topics are chosen and decided upon by the Department Council.

201544 Geographic Information Systems (3:2-1)

Prerequisite: 201343

Introduction to the concept of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and their applications in architecture, planning and urban design.

201551 Tender Documents (2:2-0)

Prerequisite: 201358

Preparation of job contract, bills of quantities and technical specifications in accordance with building construction regulations and requirements.

201554 Environmental Design (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: 201454

Introduction to climatic factors and their effects on buildings, neighborhoods, cities, & regions including natural and mechanical systems for maintaining sustainable and ecological environments.

201556 Construction Project Management (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: 201358

Introduction to construction project management including planning, programming, pinpointing and controlling strategies besides revising, updating and team-work systems.

201561 Urban Planning & Design (2) (4:1-3)

Prerequisite: 201464

Urban development and urban infill for existed sites including environmental assessment studies, analysis and new design solutions as needed and desired.

201565 Urban Planning (3:3-0)

Prerequisite: 201313

Theories and principles of urban planning focusing on the evolution of cities as self-contained units in their perfect response to social, political, economic and contextual forces.

201591 Graduation Project Research (2:2-0)

Prerequisite: 201206, 201464

Collecting, analyzing and interpreting data for a selected graduation design project. Final report should include sound conclusions as well as alternative design concepts and ideas.

201592 Graduation Project (6:0-6)

Prerequisite: 201591

Complete design solution with a clear departure point, concept and comprehensive details for the selected graduation project.

Isra University- Private University

ISRA University
Faculty of engineering
Study plan for academic year 2016/2017
Department of Architectural Engineering
A Total of (165) credit hours is required for the
Bachelor's Degree

1-University Requirements (24) Cr. Hrs:

A-compulsory requirements (12) Cr. Hrs:

Course number	Course title	Cr.Hr.	Prerequisite
110115	Arabic Language	3	-----
110105	English Language	3	-----
110100	Military Sciences*	3	-----
110820	National Education*	3	-----

* Non Jordanian students are required to take both of these courses or a substitute course from courses offered by the university.

B-Elective requirements (12) Cr.Hrs. chosen from the following courses:

Course number	Course title	Cr.Hr.	Prerequisite
	Group (A) human science		
110116	Communication Skills in Arabic	3	-----
110191	Islamic culture	3	-----
110821	Teaching how to Think	3	-----
110194	Civilization and word Thought	3	-----
110196	History of Jordan and Palestine	3	-----
	Group (B) Social and economic Sciences		
110110	Communication Skills in English	3	-----
110205	Economic concepts & systems	3	-----
110301	Law in our life	3	-----
110314	Human Rights	3	-----
110822	Psychology & Society	3	-----
	Group (C) Science and Technology		
110825	Methods of Scientific Research	3	-----
110606	Introduction to internet	3	-----
110615	Computer skills	3	-----
110823	Sport & health	3	-----

*The student should select at least one course from each fields(a,b,c) and at most two courses from each field

2-Faculty compulsory Requirements: (25) Cr. Hrs. Distributed as follows:

Course number	Course title	Cr.Hr.	Prerequisite
401115	Photography	1	For Architectural Engineering
402105	Workshops	1	-----
403103	Engineering Drawing	3	-----
403373	Administration and Engineering Economy	3	604101
604101	Calculus (1)	3	-----
604102	Calculus (2)	3	604101
403110	Engineering Ethics	1	-----
403310	Technical writing	2	110105
1102101	General physics (1)	3	-----
1102102	General physics (2)	3	1102101
1102103	General physics Lab (1)	1	With 1102101
1102104	General physics Lab (2)	1	With 1102102

3-Department Requirements: 113 Cr. Hr. Distributed as Follows.

A-Compulsory Courses offered by the Department (100) Cr. Hr.

Course number	Course title	Cr.Hr.	Prerequisite
401111	Architectural Drawing	2	-----
401112	Shade & Perspective	2	401111
401113	Free Hand Drawing (1)	2	-----
401114	Free Hand Drawing (2)	2	401113
401122	Architectural Design (1-A)	2	-----
401124	Architectural Design (1-B)	2	401122
401213	Presentation Techniques	2	401114
401219	Computer Aided Design (1)	2	401112
401222	Architectural Design (2-A)	4	401124
401224	Architectural Design (2-B)	4	401222
401226	Basics of architectural Design	3	401124

Course number	Course title	Cr.Hr.	Prerequisite
401231	Building Construction (1)	3	401111
401232	Building Construction (2)	3	401231
401241	History of Architecture (1)	3	401124
401242	History of Architecture (2)	3	401241
401245	Physics architecture	3	1102102
401317	Computer Aided Design (2)	2	401219
401319	Advanced Applications in Computer	2	401317
401323	Architectural Design (3-A)	4	401224
401324	Architectural Design (3-B)	4	401323
401334	Working Drawing Design	3	401232
401343	Islamic Architecture	3	401242
401344	Theories of Contemporary Architecture (1)	3	401242
401362	Local Architecture and Heritage conservation	3	401232
401366	Town Planning(1)	2	401443
401367	Town Planning(2)	2	401366
401423	Architectural Design (4-A)	4	401324
401424	Architectural Design (4-B)	4	401423
401443	Theories of Contemporary Architecture (2)	3	401344
401454	Building Specification & Profession fundamentals	2	401232
401456	Construction Management	2	401454
401522	Graduations Projects Thesis	2	With 401524
401524	Architectural Design (5)	4	401424
401525	Graduation Project	6	Pass in 401524 401522
401563	Landscape Architecture	3	401367
400000	Engineering Practice		After (90) Cr. Hrs

B- Optional courses offered by the Department (3) Cr. Hr.

Course number	Course title	Cr.Hr.	Prerequisite
401118	Architectural Models	1	-----
401234	Sustainable Architecture	3	401245
401333	Advanced Construction Technology	3	401232
401335	Building services	3	401232
401434	Special Topics in Architecture	3	401224
401436	Shop Drawings	2	401232
401446	Behavior in Architecture	3	401344
401466	Urban Planning	3	401367
401565	Housing	2	401367

C-Courses Offered by Department Of Civil Engineering (10) Cr. Hr

Course number	Course title	Cr.Hr.	Prerequisite
403225	Structural Mechanics & Structural Analysis (Arch.)	3	604102
403245	Surveying	3	604102
403246	Surveying Lab	1	With 403245
403336	Concrete and steel structures (Arch.)	3	403225

4- Any Free Course (3) Cr. Hr. Chosen from The Courses Offered By The University.

5- Practical training or (320) working hours after the completion of (90) Cr. Hrs.

Al-Ahliyya Amman University
Faculty of Architecture and Design
(166) Credit Hours
Study Plan 2014-2015 for Architectural
Engineering



First: University Requirements: (27) Credit Hours

1) Compulsory University Requirements (12) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Exception
0161101	Arabic Communication Skills (1)	3	0161100	-
0161200	Military Sciences	3	-	None Jordanian
0161201	National Education	3	-	-
0121110	English Communication Skills (1)	3	0171100	-

2) Elective University Requirements (15) Credit Hours

A) Humanities (6) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Exception
0152102	English Communication Skills (2)	3	0121110	-
0161300	Islamic Culture	3	-	-
0162102	Arabic Communication Skills (2)	3	0161101	-
0162301	History of Jordan and Palestine	3	-	-
0411100	Human Rights	3	-	Law Students

B) Social and Economic Sciences (6) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Exception
0132300	Psychology and Life	3	-	Psychology Students
0143301	Entrepreneurship	3	-	-
0162302	Media and Public Relations	3	-	Hotels & Tourism Students
0561500	Tourism and Archaeology	3	-	-

C) Sciences, Technology, and Health (3) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Exception
0161303	Sport and Health	3	-	-
0162305	Environmental and Public Safety	3	-	-
0162306	Science and Life	3	-	-

Community Service & a Mandatory Graduation Requirement (10 hours of service).



Ref.: Deans' Council Session (09/2014-2015) Decision No.: (08)
 Date: 4,6/11/2014

Second: Faculty Compulsory Requirements (33) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
0111101	Mathematics (1)	3	-	-
0111202	Physics (1)	3	-	-
1012112	Perspective, Shade and Shadows	3	1012117	-
1013310	Workshop and Model Making	3	Passing 45 Cr. Hr.	-
1021411	Aesthetics	3	-	-
1021414	Freehand Drawing	3	-	-
1031121	Basic Design (1) (Two Dimensional)	3	-	-
1031122	Basic Design (2) (Three Dimensional)	3	1031121	-
1031401	History of Art and Architecture (1)	3	-	-
1035402	Structure of Modern Architecture	3	1031106	-
0331203	Computer Skills (Architecture)	3	0331200	-

Third: Major Requirements (106) Credit Hours

A) Compulsory Major Requirements (95) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
1031217	Architectural Drawing	3	-	-
1032103	Architectural Design (1)	3	1031122	-
1032104	Architectural Design (2)	3	1032103	-
1032205	Computer Applications in Architecture (1)	2	1031217	-
1032215	Computer Applications in Architecture (2)	2	1032205	-
1032316	Architectural Presentation	2	1031122	-
1032306	Building Construction (1)-Materials	2	1031122	-
1032307	Building Construction (2)-Systems	2	1032306	-
1032405	Environmental Control	2	1032103	-
1032406	Surveying and Building Information for Architecture	2	0111101	-
1032407	Structural Analysis for Architecture	1	-	1032406
1032408	Mechanics of Materials for Architecture	3	0111202	-
1032502	History of Art and Architecture (2)	3	1031501	-
1032517	History of Art and Architecture (3) (Islamic Architecture)	3	1032502	-
1033105	Architectural Design (3)	4	1032104	-
1033106	Architectural Design (4)	4	1033105	-
1033117	Interior Architecture	3	1032104	-
1033308	Building Construction (3)-Finishing	2	1032307	-
1033409	Structural Analysis for Architecture	2	1032408	-
1033515	Theories of Modern Architecture	2	1032517	-
1033516	Contemporary Architecture	2	1033515	-

Fourth: Remedial Requirements (to a student who has not passed the exam level)

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite
0161100	Remedial Arabic Language	3	-
100100	Remedial English Language	3	-
0331200	Remedial Computer	3	-

B) Ancillary Major Requirements (5) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
0834107	Mechanical Systems	2	1033105	-
1022216	Digital and Traditional Photography	3	-	-

C) Elective Major Requirements (6) Credit Hours

Course No	Course Title	Cr:H	Prerequisite	Co-requisite
1032214	Freehand Sketching	1	1031122	-
1033213	Advanced Computer Skills for Architecture	3	1032215	-
1034004	Community Services	1	-	-
1034507	Local and Regional Architecture	3	1033106	-
1034605	Housing	3	1032104	-
1035006	Selected Topics in Architecture	1	-	-
1035304	Advanced Building Technology	3	1032407	-
1035312	Art and Architectural Criticism	3	1031501	-
1035366	Cities Emerging and Development	2	1033601	-





Student Name:
Student No :
Academic Advisor:

First: University Requirements (27) Cr. H.
A. First Field: University Compulsory Requirements: (15) Cr. H.

Course No.	Course Title	Cr. H.	Prerequisite
114101	Arabic Language Skills (1)	3	114099
111100	Military Science	3	---
130101	English Language Skills (1)	3	130099
130102	English Language Skills (2)	3	130101
111101	National Education	3	---
111000	Student Community Service	0	---

B. University Elective Courses (12) Cr. H.
The student studies 12 credit hours from the table below:

Course No.	Course Title	Cr. H.	Prerequisite
140111	Language Skills (1)	3	---
140112	Language skills (2)	3	---
111133	Human Vision & Civilization (1)	3	---
420143	Legal Culture	3	---
420140	Human Rights	3	---
330111	Introduction to Project Management	3	---
731102	Social Networking Skills	3	---
910102	Health Education	3	---
780101	Connectivity & Communications Skills	3	---
610230	Entrepreneurship and Creativity	3	---
240132	Environmental Culture	3	---
111112	Introduction To Psychology	3	---

Notes: -
All students must take level examinations in Arabic Language, English language and Computer skills. Student who fails to pass in any examinations (less than 50 %) must successfully pass the remedial course which He / She did not pass.

Codes used in Curriculum:
(620) Mechanical Eng.
(610) Electrical Eng.
(611) Renewable Energy Eng.
(630) Computer Eng.
(650) Communications & Electronics Eng. (660) Architectural Eng.
(670) Civil Eng.
(615) Alternative Energy Technology
(640) Mechatronics Eng.

Second: Faculty Requirements: (27) Cr. Hr.

Course No.	Course Title	Cr. Hr.	Prerequisite
250101	Calculus (1)	3	---
250102	Calculus (2)	3	250101
211101	General Physics (1)	3	---
211102	General Physics (2)	3	211101
212101	General Chemistry (1)	3	---
660131	Manual Engineering Drawing	1	---
660132	Computer Engineering Drawing	1	660131
620171	Engineering Workshop (1)	1	660132
630263	Programming Language	3	---
640253	Engineering Skills	3	130102
610550	Entrepreneurship	3	640253+120 Cr. H

Third: Department Requirements (111) Cr. H.
A. Compulsory Requirements: (93) Cr. H.

Course No.	Course Title	Cr. Hr			Prerequisite
		Cr.	The.	Pr.	
0660149	Architectural Design 1	3	0	6	---
0660151	Architectural Design 2	4	0	6	660149
0660161	Architectural Drawing	3	0	6	660132
0660162	Free Hand Drawing	2	0	4	---
0660163	Architectural Drawing & Perspective	3	0	6	660162
0660252	Architectural Design 3	4	0	8	660151
0660253	Architectural Design 4	4	0	8	660252
0660264	Computer Aided Design 1	2	0	4	660161
0660265	Computer Aided Design 2	2	0	4	660264
0660223	Building Construction 1	3	2	2	660161
0660224	Building Construction 2	3	2	2	660223
0660211	History of Architecture 1	3	3	0	660151
0660212	History of Architecture 2	3	3	0	130101
0660354	Architectural Design 5	4	0	8	660253
0660355	Architectural Design 6	4	0	8	660354
0660359	Excavated Designs	4	0	8	660224
0660313	Islamic Architecture	3	3	0	660212
0660314	Theories of Contemporary Architecture	3	3	0	660212

B. Compulsory Support Requirements: (12) Cr. Hr.

Course No.	Course Title	Cr. H.			Prerequisite
		Cr.	The.	Pr.	
0660331	Town Planning	3	2	2	660253
0660332	Landscape Architecture	3	2	2	130102
0660456	Architectural Design 7	4	0	8	660355
0660457	Architectural Design 8	4	0	8	660331
0660437	Urban Planning	4	0	8	660456
0660415	Behavior in Architecture	3	3	0	660332
0660291	Environmental Control	3	3	0	660314
0660467	Advanced Computer Applications	3	1	4	660265
0660499	Engineering Training (*)	3	3	0	(115) Cr. Hr.
0660581	Engineering Project 1	3	3	0	660499
0660582	Engineering Project 2	4	0	8	660581

C. Elective Requirements: (6) Cr. Hr.

Course No.	Course Title	Cr. H.			Prerequisite
		Cr.	The.	Pr.	
0660442	Building Specifications & Professional Fundamentals	3	3	0	660359
0670315	Structural Mechanics & Structural Analysis	3	3	0	211204
0670416	Concrete and Steel Structure	3	3	0	670315
0620329	Mechanical Systems for Architecture	3	3	0	250101

D. Elective Requirements: (115) Cr. Hrs.

Course No.	Course Title	Cr. H.			Prerequisite
		Cr.	The.	Pr.	
0190333	Technical Writing in English	3	3	0	130102
0670265	Surveying Architecture	3	2	2	211100
0660416	Theories of Contemporary Architecture	3	3	0	660313
0660592	Illumination & Acoustics	3	2	2	211204
0660517	Special Topics in Architectural Engineering	3	3	0	Dept. Approval

(*) Seven weeks (280 hours) of Training after completing (115) Cr. Hrs.

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Architectural Department Course Plan by Semester

First Year

First Semester			Second Semester		
<i>Course No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>	<i>Course No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>
0301101	Calculus (1)	3	0301102	Calculus (2)	3
0302101	General Physics (1)	3	1931102	Computer Skills	3
0302111	Physics Lab (1)	1	0966111	Engineering Workshop	1
0942113	Free Hand Sketching (1)	1	0932114	Free Hand Sketching (2)	1
0904131	& Engineering Drawings Descriptive Geometry	3	0992115	Architectural Drawing & Presentation	3
0992121	Basic Design (1)	4	0972122	Basic Design (2)	4
	University Elective	3	0908200	Introduction to Engineering	2
	Total	18		Total	17

Summer Semester		
<i>.Course No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr. Hrs</i>
1501100	Communication Skills / Arabic	3
1502100	Communication Skills / English	3
	University Elective	3
	Total	9

Second Year

First Semester			Second Semester		
<i>Course No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>	<i>Course No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>
0932223	Architectural Design (1)	4	0932224	Architectural Design (2)	4
0932233	Building Construction (1)	3	0932234	Building Construction (2)	3
0902243	History&TheoryofArchitecture(1)	3	0902244	History& Theoryof Architecture(2)	3
0932201	Computer Architectural Drawing	2	0932213	Architectural Communication Skills	2
0901242	Structural Mechanics	3	0901253	Introduction to Structural Design	3
0966201	Technical Writing	1	2300100	National Education	3
	Total	16		Total	18

Summer Semester		
<i>.Course No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr. Hrs</i>
	Department Elective	3
0941283	Principles of Surveying for Architecture	2
	Total	5

Third Year

First Semester			Second Semester		
<i>Course .No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>	<i>Course .No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>
0942323	Architectural Design (3)	4	0942324	Architectural Design (4)	4
0902335	Building Construction (3)	3	0902336	Working Drawings	3
0902343	History & Theory of Architecture (3)	3	0902344	History & Theory of Contemporary Architecture	3
0932371	Illumination and Acoustics	3		Department Elective	3
0902353	Building Legislation	3		Department Elective	3
	Total	16		Total	16

Summer Semester		
<i>.Course No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr. Hrs</i>
	University Elective	3
	University Elective	3
	Total	6

Forth Year

First Semester			Second Semester		
<i>Course .No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>	<i>Course .No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>
0902423	Architectural Design (5)	4	0902424	Architectural Design (6)	4
0932454	Urban Planning (1)	3	0932455	Urban Planning (2)	3
0902463	Landscape Architecture	3	0962341	Architectural Analysis & Criticism	3
	Department Elective	3	0901421	Engineering Economics	3
	Department Elective	3		Department Elective	3
	Total	16		Total	16

Summer Semester: The student is required to undertake practical training for 8 weeks after finishing the total of 120 credit hours

Fifth Year

First Semester			Second Semester		
<i>Course .No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>	<i>Course .No</i>	<i>Course Title</i>	<i>.Cr .Hrs</i>
0932523	Architectural Design (7)	4	0902597	Graduation Project Design	6
0902595	GraduationProjectThesisResearch	3		Department Elective	3
2200100	Military Sciences	3			
	University Elective	3			
	Total	12		Total	9