Public Outdoor Space and Refugees' Socio-Cultural Integration: Understanding Refugees' Agency within a Network of Actors in Amman, Jordan.

By:

Hala Hesham Ahmad Ghanem

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield

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Abstract

Public Outdoor Space and Refugees' Socio-Cultural Integration: Understanding Refugees' Agency within a Network of Actors in Amman, Jordan.

This thesis is an in-depth exploration of the relational processes involved in the production of public spaces for socio-cultural integration in Amman, Jordan, engaging with the multiplicity of actors who produce, authorise, educate, activate, advocate, fund, and use these. Amman has a long history of hosting refugees, but more recent influxes have led to higher tensions between hosts and refugees, sometimes playing out in public space social dynamics. However, there is also an emergence of some actors who identify the opportunity of public spaces to support social cohesiveness. This research identified and employed a framework of four components - understand, enhance, amplify, and reflect - to document and analyse the experiences and intersections of different actors. This analysis represents layers of knowledge relating to the roles of different actors: government, third sector, urban designers, activists, researchers and refugees with a particular focus on a relational and socio-spatial understanding of refugees' everyday outdoor experiences. The research process adopted a tailored qualitative approach for each category of actors, focused on stakeholder interviews and three ethno-cases: researcher residency in architectural practice, volunteering at a community skate park, and ethnographic excursions with refugees living in one neighborhood. The findings provided an in-depth understanding of the multidisciplinary processes around public space and refugee integration, highlighting the links, gaps, and interrelations between the actors. Notably, the refugees' agency was identified through their mundane outdoor experiences and represented a range of tactics concerning survival, indifference, and sociability. This form of agency is explored as expressions of 'gentle insurgency'. The researcher is situated as a contributing actor within the research process and the city contexts, and reflection on these relational dynamics is integral to this thesis. The research aims to understand and amplify marginalised voices of refugees to inform better practice in both the public space and refugee support sector.

Keywords: Public Open Space, Amman, Refugees, Socio-Cultural Integration, Socio-Spatial Production, Refugees' Everyday Experiences, Agency, Actor, Ethno-cases.

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List of Abbreviations

ASC	Asylum Seeker Certificate
BSA	Boston Society of Architects
BID	Business Imporvement Districts
CSBE	Centre of the Study of Built Environment
CBO	Community-Based Organisations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CRP	Collateral Repair Porject
DoS	Department of Statistics
EPC	Economic Policy Council
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestice Product
GAM	Greater Amman Municipality
HIA	High Impact Attribute
ILCA	Improving Living Conditions in Amman
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
JEA	Jordanian Engineers Association
JRC	Jordanian Red Crescent
MC2MC	Mediterranean city-to-city Migration Project
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MoE	Ministry of Environment
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoMA	Ministry of Municipal Affairs
MoP	Ministry of Planning
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning
NCR	Non- Camp Refugees
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
PAR	Participatory Action Research
POS	Project for Public Spaces
ZEIND	Queen Zain Al Sharaf Institute for Development
RC	Reclaim Childhood
RDFMSC	Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies Centre
SLOAPS	Spaces Left Over After Planning
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals

AFD	The French Red Cross
GIZ	The German Agency for International Cooperation
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Section 1: Introducing the Research Questions and Context

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

'Imagine ourselves as architects, all armed with a wide range of capacities and powers, embedded in a physical and social world full of manifested constraints and limitations. Imagine also that we are striving to change the world. As crafty architects bent on insurgency, we have to think strategically and tactically about what to change and where; about how to change and with what tools.'

- Harvey, 2000 (*Spaces of Hope*, p. 233)

In seeking spaces of hope where everyone is capable of change, alternative interpretations of public space are emerging (Fisker et al., 2019; Harvey, 2012, p. 197) that are enabled by a relational focus on public space production processes and the actors involved, regardless of whether they create, regulate, use, or resist (Calderon & Chelleri, 2013; Dovey, 2012). Such interpretations recognise the enabling nature of public space for social action (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014), and are of great importance when it comes to contexts that are facing growing diversity and progressive conflicts that generate unsettled cultures that are ultimately reflected in the everyday public space (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019).

Countries shaped by such 'unsettled culture' often address these challenging contexts and issues with a range of policies and programs delineating tight control mechanisms for public space usage and access (Amin, 2002; Neal, 2010). However, a divergent but flourishing approach considers public realm as a space of encounter and contact (Watson, 2006) for multiple publics (Fraser, 1990), including migrants and refugees (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019). This concept perceives potentials of public space as a vital tool for achieving sociocultural integration (Ibid.). A growing number of actors—that is,

academics, researchers, decision-makers, and activists—are exploring this approach via culturally sensitive methods and public space programs (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007). However, while there is a plethora of studies that investigate social integration and how this process is related to pubic space, the dual concept that combines social integration and public space is still emerging and lacks spatial focus and clarity regarding how this concept is operationally defined and plays out in different contexts (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019). Indeed, this area requires culturally sensitive studies (Dempsey, 2009).

One way in which a geographic region is 'unsettled' is through larger scale migrant movements, especially when relating to forced migration. In relation to integration and public space, many critical accounts are questioning what public spaces have to offer refugees and displaced populations (PPS, 2018). Such debates are arguably the result of moving beyond a focus on camp dwelling refugees to the specific broader socio-cultural challenges of refugees living in cities. Even though refugees themselves have always been part of urban settings, international debates on urban refugees have only recently become prevalent (Darling, 2017, p. 180; Fábos & Kibreab, 2007, p. 9). Previously, camps were recognised as the proper space for refugees (Kibreab, 2007), despite this spatial segregation actively preventing their integration and only serving to perpetuate their refugee status (Fábos & Kibreab, 2007, p. 30).

Refugees' movement from camps to urban areas has generated rapid socioeconomic and physical changes in cities, and the pressure on resources and services this creates when refugees reside in vulnerable areas is one such change that is widely discussed at present (UNHCR, 2009). Refugees' moving to urban settings requires a multidimensional and multisector response that requires certain levels of creativity. A careful consideration of city processes, what and how the city changes in line with these movements, and who is involved in these changes, are needed to guarantee equal and decent quality of life for all residents. For those involved in public space design and management, public space processes should be looked at

differently—that is, in a way that is more considerate and inclusive of the new users and emerging dynamics they bring to such places.

Even though global displacement and migration is a global issue, the academic focus on urban refugees is primarily based in Europe, including debates regarding urban refugees' use of public spaces (Bagwell et al., 2012; Flemsæter et al., 2015; OECD, 2018; Rishbeth et al., 2017) and calls to promote critical and reflective stances towards refugees in urban settings (Darling, 2017). However, such debates are still somehow under-discussed in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, despite it being a host to the largest urban refugee populations in the world. The displacement rates and migration experiences in the region have been intensified by a number of interconnected events, including the Syrian war and historical but continuous Israeli occupation of Palestine. This has placed massive pressure on the neighbouring countries in the region (i.e., Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey) to absorb enormous numbers of refugees, in turn creating unsettled contexts.

The Arab Spring era intensified waves of unrest and conflict more in the region (Ward, 2014, p. 81), creating outbreak of conflicts and transforming cities into contested spaces hosting violence and destruction. Since then, public open spaces (POS) in the Arab region have tended to be seen through a conflictual lens, as revolutionary settings for political protests (Parkinson, 2012; Ramadan, 2013; Sande, 2013; The Economist, 2016), managed with excessive policing and control mechanisms. Though such logic cannot be ignored, this research attempts to shift this focus to the consensual use of POS in the Arab region, specifically examining the multiplicity of actors who perceive public spaces as venues for the sociocultural integration of refugees.

The research presented by this thesis focuses on Amman (a contemporary city in the modern Arab world, located in Jordan). Amman has been subjected to an incremental spatial transformation as a result of the pressure placed on it by the ever-growing migration of diverse refugees since the 2010s (during the Arab Spring and specifically after the rise of the 2011 Syrian crisis). Notably, only 17% of Syrian refugees reside in Jordan's camps; rather, according to UNHCR (2015), Amman hosts a large number (about 28%) of Non-Camp Refugees (NCR), who are living in urban areas and creating multiple forms of

urban settlement that are contributing to new morphological structures, ultimately creating gradual spatial change socially and physically (Al-Tal & Ghanem, 2019).

The migration issue in Jordan is reflected in the political and academic discourse we are seeing, with notable differences in emphasis. While the political discourse includes exaggerated sensitivity towards the effects of the hosting communitie, social science studies lack deeper understanding when approaching aspects in a way that contradicts the state's discourse and what the state promotes of refugees as burdens. Notably, urban refugees tend to reside in vulnerable and poor neighbourhoods (Verme et al., 2016), inevitably adding more pressure on the already-overburdened infrastructure, in turn exacerbating tensions with the host community (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). This often leads to the financially pressured host communities showing resentment towards refugees who get assistance.

Given the scope of the urban refugee problem in MENA, there is an essential need to use research to change the dialogue regarding refugees to attend to direct experiences of urban refugees in the region. Different dimensions of this phenomenon are still understudied, with very few studies addressing the everyday experiences of urban refugees (Hawkins et al., 2019) and a wealth of studies overlooking the mundane forms of socio-spatial practices and conflicts with a tendency to focus on extra-ordinary revolutionary practices (García-Lamarca, 2017; Padawangi et al., 2014).

The local tension with the host community is considered to have a significant impact on refugees living in Amman (Achilli, 2015), since this tension often includes racism, verbal and physical attacks, hostility, and disrespectful treatment (Johnston et al., 2019). The different social norms and cultural discrepancies refugees bring to the mix only intensify this hostility, along with the economic competition over work and social competition over jobs, housing, and public services (Haynes, 2016; MercyCorps, 2012). While some scholarly work magnifies the impact of refuge flux on disoriented notions of inclusive/exclusive public spaces (Tabbaa, 2016), many emphasise the need to prioritise public spaces as a way to foster social exchanges and cohesion so

as to reduce the hostility between the different groups (Alhusban et al., 2019; Linn, 2020). With more diverse and less uniform urban identities being created, we need less stable theoretical models (Brandão & Brandão, 2017) and more openness to our approaches (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014).

This research focuses on the emerging attention that has been directed to Amman's public spaces in the form of international donors' help and the activities of different creative actors. These actors being multidisciplinary actors who are not necessarily professionals (Awan et al., 2011, p. 30) but are involved in the production processes embedded in a broader social context, resulting in a range of conceived, lived, and perceived spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). They perform intentional actions that can range from various strategies, tools, and projects to support refugees in accessing, benefiting, and visiting urban greenspaces. Together, they actively attempt to create political subjectivity and new knowledge through practices and processes, alongside physical appropriation. Identifying and rethinking roles of such actors within the built environment is very essential in mapping actors (Schneider & Till, 2009) and understanding processes adopting integration via public spaces (OECD, 2018, p. 85). However, these actors may not have a proper response to refugees living in Amman, whether in terms of considering the integrative possibilities of POS or have a collective and collaborative response. In this research, actors are considered as a means to apprehend the production processes of public spaces, despite their being understudied in the urban design field (Inam, 2002).

The fluid nature and constant flux of refugees in Amman has resulted in the constant production of spaces, these processes being shaped by these actors, along with refugees themselves, in their individual endeavours for integration (Astolfo et al., 2020, p. 53). Counter to the dominant look at refugees as burdens and pressures on cities infrastructure (Fawaz et al., 2018), this research believes that an alternative perception towards refugees is evident, and a closer attention to their agency and potentials in spatial production is vital. Hence, this research aims to detect refugees' agency along with the different inquired actors.

The identified actors in this research form a network of multidisciplinary actors, including professionals, refugees, and myself as a researcher conducting a PhD study on the topic. Some personal history is relevant to how the research aims were identified and developed. My previous research experience provided the catalyst for starting and shaping this particular research agenda and increased my awareness of my positionality. Both an earlier experience that occurred during one of my masters' courses and my master's thesis encouraged me to apply for my PhD and explore fields that merge refugees and public spaces.

This experience occurred while I was conducting a project for a landscape urbanism course that revolved around lost and abandoned public spaces in the city of Amman; this gave me the opportunity to meet a Syrian refugee child, one of the very few users of that public space. The five-year-old child, who frequently visited the space with his friends to play football in a nearby street behind the abandoned public space, provided a new perspective that contrasted with the majority of the local perspectives surveyed then. While the space was perceived as meaningless, neglected, and transitional for most users, the child viewed the space as festive: for him, it was the place where he and his parents celebrated Eid (an Islamic festival), where he ate Shawarma, and where he met his friends from the opposite *jabal* (mountain). Interviewing him formed the spark that led to my interest in refugees' experiences in public spaces and the cultural differences in different usage patterns.

Second, my master's thesis (and, later, a paper that focused on the impact of the Syrian crisis on the socio-spatial transformation of Eastern Amman (Al-Tal & Ghanem, 2019)) prompted my further interest in refugees' experiences in communal public spaces. In the studied neighbourhood, I witnessed how Syrian refugees transformed remote urban housing, suffering from decay, into a lively neighbourhood strengthened by refugees' socio-spatial relations. The relations were moulded by their basic everyday practices, such as chats that did not require arrangements in advance and practices that were informal and apparently occurred at random. Even though this finding was beyond the

scope of my master's thesis, it, as well as my experience with the Syrian child, shaped my PhD proposal.

However, this PhD research explores different contexts, neighbourhoods, and actors to discover new perspectives and thoughts that are not necessarily similar and can be surprisingly different and context-dependent.

Hence, this research intends to first explore the concept of public space as a tool for integrating urban refugees in a procedural manner; and second, to unpack the concept of public space and collective action conceptually, placing emphasis on the agency of refugees as actors, contributors, and public space producers. It also attempts to identify some of the theoretical and practical challenges associated with shifting this conflictual perception of POS in this particular context. It is important to note that it is beyond the scope of this research to address all the possible actors in the POS-production processes in Amman; hence, this research is context- and actor-specific.

The actors of interest in this research cover a wide range of government and non-government agencies, private practices, community-based organisations. All with a focus on either POS, with some potentially peripheral interest in refugee residents, or a focus on refugee support, with some intersection with their everyday lives and POS in urban contexts. To some extent, studied actors have a certain degree of influence on different access mechanisms to public spaces for refugees. Access mechanisms that entail physical access, or access to: knowledge, social capital, technology, identity and opportunities (Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

As a means to investigate the POS production processes for integrative purposes in Amman and the actors involved in these processes, this research is interested in what can be learnt or achieved from studying the actors involved in interdisciplinary practices. Thus, this research argues that to produce practical knowledge, we need to first understand the different layers of knowledge, including the roles of the different actors, supplemented by relational and socio-spatial understandings. This understanding helps to enhance practices and has the potential to amplify marginal voices in practice. Accordingly, this research has been developed from an ambitious

framework that has **four main components**: '**understand**, **enhance**, **amplify**, and **reflect**'. Each component has objectives and sub-questions that will be unpacked below.

1.2. Research Questions

The overarching aim of this thesis is to explore POS-production processes for integrative purposes in Amman, with a central emphasis on the multiplicity of actors who produce, authorise, educate, activate, advocate, fund, and use public spaces for sociocultural integration in Amman. This is explored through the following research objectives and questions (See **Table 1**).

Table 1: Overall research objectives and research questions. Source: Author, 2019.

UNDERSTAND
Understand Roles
RQ1: Identify and understand the roles of the different actors who are involved in public space-production processes where there is some stated intention (however peripheral) to integrate refugees. 1.1 What is the impact of their operative role? 1.2 What are the threats and barriers facing them? 1.3 What are their aspirations?
UNDERSTAND
Provide a Relational Understanding
RQ2: Investigate the ways in which POS actors perceive diversity and collaborate (or not) with the refugees, refugee support organisations, and other POS actors. 1.4 How do actors perceive, access, and include refugees in their practices? 1.5 What are the links and gaps between the collective actors?
UNDERSTAND
Provide a Socio-Spatial Understanding
RQ3: Explore the outdoor experiences of refugees living in Amman. 3.1 How do refugees perceive and use POS?

3.2 What are the values given to POS?
3.3 What are the barriers and obstacles standing in the way of their POS experiences?
RQ4: Situate refugees' agency within the network of the studied actors.
4.1 How can a better socio-spatial understanding of refugees' everyday outdoor experiences help in detecting their agency and contribution in their POS experiences?
ENHANCE AND AMPLIFY **Transverse Understandings to Inform Different Practices**
RQ5: Transverse relational and socio-spatial understandings to enhance and amplify refugees' outdoor experiences and the POS sector in general.
5.1 What recommendations can be made from this research to inform different actors and practices to enhance the POS sector and hence refugees' experiences in POS?
5.2 How can transversed understandings of refugees' everyday outdoor experiences improve their agency and contributions to public space-production?
REFLECT
RQ6: Situate the researcher agency within the network of the studied actors.
6.1 What are the research-actor dynamics that can emerge?
6.2 What are the possible ways for me to contribute to initiate change within this network of studied actors and expand my influence on the city of Amman?

In relation to the methodological approach, the essence of this research is an ethnographic approach that attempts to detect the everyday practices of different actors and their influences, with the aim of supporting change. Further, the exploration of multidisciplinary processes and practices throughout this thesis required the studying of several locations and sites, as well as the consideration of the range of different decisions, ethical considerations, rights, and responsibilities required of me as a researcher/contributor (further discussed in the upcoming chapters). A degree of reflexivity and position awareness was needed throughout the research.

This research investigated the contexts, actions, and influence of a range of actors via several data collection methods tailored for each actor (an overview here, but will be further discussed in Chapter 4), including:

- Interviews of educators, researchers, and personnel at Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (Chapters 5,6), to have deeper understanding of each as an actor with specific roles.
- Three ethnographic cases (ethno-cases):
  - Researcher-in-residence model in an urban design consultancy firm, being a member of a public space project design team (Chapter 7)
  - Volunteered in an activists' skate park that hosts refugees on weekly basis (Chapter 8),
  - Conducted ethnographic excursions with refugees in a form of a hangout in their everyday neighborhood public spaces (Chapter 9).

Hence, a tailored methodology was crafted based on designated criteria, with a series of multi-sited and embedded ethno-cases (Parker-Jenkins, 2018, p. 19). This research is intended to be critical (Reason, 2004) and aims to explore how change can be achieved across different sites, from official to subaltern contexts (Marcus, 1995), as well as to encapsulate a series of ethno-cases that employ ethnographic practices yet are still aware of the time and immersion limitations associated with a PhD study (Parker-Jenkins, 2018). The type of ethnography used here is far from the broad public realm of ethnography and has more of an engaging nature, whereby the ethnographer both participates and observes (Jones, 2021). This ethnography has, however, been supplemented with interviews and socio-spatial analysis, depending on the studied actor.

It is worth mentioning that this research was primarily designed as a two-phase feminist Participatory Action Research (PAR) research, with a critical approach (Reason, 2004) and transformative social justice intentions (Ledwith, 2007). The second phase was mostly planned as action research that includes re-examining previous findings and provide netural spaces for different actors to meet and level out of hierarchies. It also was planned to include an ethnographic hang out with the locals to understand their spatial experiences and juxtapose that with refugees' spatial experiences.

Although the second phase was cancelled due to the pandemic (and resulting travel ban), the research maintained the critical approach and transformative intentions within its sole phase, creating a rich basis for future research in the field. Although, these restrictions meant that a whole part of the research was effectively cancelled, I was able to secure a fund by The Centre of the British Studies in the Levant (CBRL) to implement the second phase of this research (this will be further discussed in Chapter 11)

1.3 Brief Introduction to Key Terms

While definitions of different themes covered in this research differ within disciplines and mundane use, including discrepancies between disciplines too. The following is a brief summarised definitions of major themes in this research which will be discussed in detail in the Literature Review (Chapter 3).

Public Open Spaces (POS): is used to refer to the free-to-access outdoor spaces including different ownership structures and typologies, some are formally designated as POS (i.e., parks) and others are defined as POS by use (i.e., neighborhood communal spaces).

Urban Refugees: individuals who left their home countries escaping war and resided within cities peripheries and not within camps. This research involved inquiries with Syrian, Iraqi, Palestinian, and Sudanese refugees living in Amman.

Social Integration: The social attachments individuals form with a larger society; it is an equivalent concept for social cohesion and is related to social inclusion and capital.

Public Space Production: is used here to refer to all processes related to public space production (the conceived, lived, and perceived) rather than the final product of public space itself. These processes include decision-making, planning, funding, designing, thinking, activating, and using POS.

Actors: is used here to refer to individuals, groups, or organisations who have several roles in initiating or being part of public space production processes: they produce, authorise, educate, activate, advocate, fund, or use POS. To be more specific, actors covered here are municipality as decision-makers, NGOs, practitioners, activists, researchers, educators, and refugees.

Agency: is defined here as the ability to create change whether intentionally by creative means and skills or and unintentionally in a multiplicity of activities in different situations influencing particular effects.

The Socio-spatial: is used to refer to the complex reciprocal relationship between social experiences and spatial dimensions. On one hand, it encompasses how space can influence social change and on the other hand how social experiences can influence space.

1.4. Thesis Structure

This thesis is partitioned into three sections.

<u>**Section 1: Introducing the Research Questions and Context**</u>

Chapter 1 introduces the research problem and questions in addition to the theoretical and methodological frameworks.

Chapter 2 entails the introduction of the city of Amman as the main research context via the provision of a general brief about the city as a refugee hub and the phenomenon of urban refugees. Here, Jordan's approach towards different refugee waves is discussed via the displaying of Jordanian refugee integration policies throughout history and the ethnic similarities and differences between the different waves. This chapter concludes with the introduction of public space as a tool for sociocultural integration in Amman, and how this is reflected in policy.

Chapter 3 comprises a literature review, whereby I look into the existing literature exploring the links between public space and integration and the actors involved in this association. Here, scholarly work related to refugees'

everyday spatial experiences and how their collective experiences are addressed in the literature as a catalyst for change is also explored.

 Chapter 4 defines my overall methodological approach and its scope and scale, including the philosophical and theoretical framework, and the fieldwork process and methods. The chapter also tackles the analytical approach, ethics, and integrity of the research, and concludes with reflections on the methodological approaches used.

Section 2: Understanding Actors

This section focuses on the data related to the first component of the research: 'understanding'. As a whole, the section aims to answer research questions 1, 2, and 3 to provide a relational and socio-spatial understanding of the studied actors. The section also sets the scene for addressing the remaining components of this research and answering the corresponding questions.

Chapter 5 explores the findings garnered from the interviewing of the primary decision-makers in the Amman POS-production processes (GAM). This starts with an institutional overview and then discusses how GAM generally operates and what roles they take before explaining their partnerships and how GAM perceives refugees' integration. Chapter 5 closes by demonstrating the challenges and barriers GAM teams face before displaying what supportive mechanisms they have.

Chapter 6 explores the findings garnered from the three main actors' (the researchers and educators, NGOs, and activists) consecutive interviews, starting with the background of each practice in Amman and the issues related to their operative roles, perception of refugees, funding, partnerships, weaknesses, barriers, and strengths and potential.

Chapter 7 unpacks the first ethno-case in this research's findings (the research residency at a local practice firm Turath) and my involvement in the public space rehabilitation project, *Jabal Al Webde Project*. The chapter will start by displaying a background of architectural practice in Amman and of Turath and the studied project. Then, it will explore Turath as an actor by

displaying their design philosophy and process, perception of diversity, and their weaknesses, barriers, and strengths.

Chapter 8 explores the socio-spatial findings resulting from the second ethno-case in this research (volunteering at 7 Hills Skate Park), starting with a background of the park. Then, the chapter covers two main layers of knowledge: first is the understanding of the role of activists in this ethno-case, supplementing the activists' section in chapter 6. Second, it explores the refugees' usage patterns of the park before outlining the findings from an ethnographic conversations with the refugee participants in the park. The chapter concludes with a discussion concerning the value that the participating refugees attributed to the park and the constraints they face in their outdoor experiences.

Chapter 9 explores the socio-spatial findings resulting from the third ethno-case in this research, the hangout with refugees at Hashemi Shamali Neighbourhood. This begins with the methodology and context of the studied neighbourhood before delving into the socio-spatial settings of six outdoor places that refugees perceive and experience as a public space. The chapter concludes with thematic findings regarding usage patterns, differences of usage across gender and age, the meaning and perception of POS to refugees, the values given to their outdoor POS experience, and, finally, what obstacles and constraints they face in their outdoor experiences.

Note: The sequence of the finding chapters (5,6,7,8,9) are not necessarily in chronical manner as will be detailed further in **Chapter 4**. This ordering of chapters facilitates establishing the context and foundation of public space production processes by starting with the main supplier of POS in Amman GAM, and then examining actors, and then presents the ethnographic findings that reflect the role of refugees in public space production. A benefit of this ordering it this way is that that wider understanding of public space production processes lay a foundation to understand usage patterns of refugees, especially for readers unfamiliar with a Jordanian or MENA region contexts. However, there may be unintended consequences of how people will experience reading the findings in this order, in particular potentially

seeming to give primacy and more attention to stakeholder actors in relation to refugee voices or experiences. This thesis is a constellation of different voices, and the power differences between actors is evident, and this is acknowledged across different parts of this research.

Section 3: Transversing Perspectives

This section pulls together the findings of this research and builds on the 'understanding' component. Here, I address research questions 4, 5 and 6, related to the remaining components 'enhance', 'amplify', and 'reflect'. This section transverses the perspectives of all the studied actors so the implications can be presented to enhance the POS sector —with the ultimate aim of refugees' contributions to these practices being amplified.

Chapter 10 interweaves the findings of this research by proposing a conceptual framing of the network of the studied actors before examining the refugee's role within this network, looking at the links and gaps between all the studied actors and providing tailored recommendations for each actor accordingly. It also presents a personal reflection of the research performance.

Chapter 11 links all the research components with research questions, summarises the main findings, discusses their significance and limitations, and provides final concluding reflections.

1.5. Research Timeline: Writing a PhD Dissertation in a Pandemic

Fortunately, my early PhD experience was undergone under normal circumstances, in which I was able to meet with my supervisor regularly, attend research-related events, use the offered facilities at the university, and conduct a major data collection phase of my planned fieldwork in Jordan. However, the second half of my research was conducted during the first

outbreak of COVID-19, which continues at my time of writing, this unpredictable situation resulting in a pressured transition to alternative and online tools and resources, banned flights that caused multiple personal relocations, and an overall much more difficult PhD experience, being a sole carer away from family. These circumstances necessitated a shift in focus on mental wellbeing and working with what was available and accessible. The research was initially planned to be action-oriented involving two phases of fieldwork in Jordan, but only one was conducted in the end, in early 2019. The second phase, planned to be conducted in 2020, was planned with the aim of returning with a wealth of analysed data and conducting the remaining stages of the participatory action research plan (which included non-academic outcomes), which involved working on a specific grant application. However, the grant scheme was cancelled due to the pandemic, resulting in disappointment for me and this study's participants and collaborating partners. Despite all these constraints, however, this dissertation reflects, to some extent, an intuitive personal journey in positivity and resilience, with a rich dataset that explores the relevant issues and actors.

Chapter 2: Context

2.1. Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief history of the capital city (2.2), as well as a background of Amman's public open spaces (2.3). Following this, Jordan's role as a refugee haven will be outlined (particularly in terms of Amman as a host city for urban refugees (2.4)). Then, focus will be directed to both the tangible and intangible dimensions of the integration processes for different refugee influxes throughout post-World-War-II history (2.5). Here, I will explore how, over the last 60 years, Jordanian authorities have responded to waves of refugees through the tangible production of legal national policies. Then, in Section 2.6, I will highlight the intangible sociocultural distinctions of the different waves before I explore and trace how the tangible and intangible dimensions play out in the form of refugees' everyday challenges. Finally, the implications of the varied integration processes in Amman through time will be outlined, with specific focus on the need to explore public space as a tool for sociocultural integration (2.7).

2.2. Amman: An Overview

'Compared to its other sister cities in the Arab World such as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Baghdad, or Beirut, Amman is a city that is understudied and is in need for more research and documentation, especially in terms of its new re-emergence in the region in the middle of the 20th century mostly as a quaint residential/domestic city but also in terms of its specific urbanity. One needs to understand Amman and its specificity. Amman represents a different urban reality in the way that it is grand yet unstated; elegant, yet unpretentious; and memorable; yet non-monumental. It is a city that should be explored and understood through its unstated details.'

- Daher (2013, p. 79)

Amman is a city constructed on the valleys and hills of northwest Jordan, forming horizontally along the one central water stream and vertically through its seven hills. During the early 20th century, it hosted a population of 2,000-3,000 (Potter et al., 2009). Notably, the city cannot be classed as a 'typical' Islamic city, like other cities in the region (Daher, 2008; Finlay, 2003). A major highlight of the city is the diversity of its population, which was formed by numerous waves of displacement and refugee movements starting from 1920s (Shami, 2007). Amman has always been a city that hosts refugees and protects people coming from across the Levant *Bilad Al sham* (Ababsa & Daher, 2011; Daher, 2008). Today, Amman is the capital city of the second largest refugee host globally (see Figure 1).
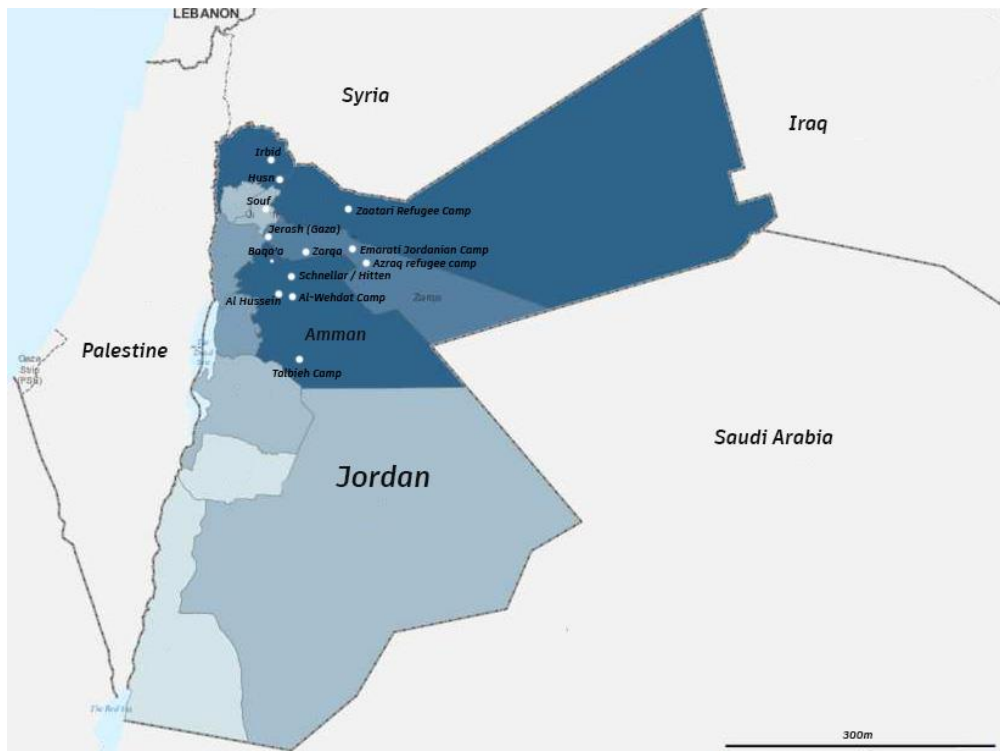
Figure 1: Map of Jordan showing the locations of different refugee camps in relation to the Capital city Amman. Source: Author, 2021.

The city is characterised by its modernity, symbolised by its megaprojects and successive development towers (Ababsa & Daher, 2011; Daher, 2013), and is a clear representative of neoliberal urban restructuring (Daher, 2013; Zada, 2014). It is also described by (Gehl, 2005) as an important centre of

trade and commerce in the Middle East. According to the latest Jordan national census (DoS, 2015), the population of Amman, which has doubled 10 times in the last 55 years, is around four million residents (1.5 million of them being non-Jordanians). The city of about 460 square km in area (Tomah *et al.*, 2017) is described by Al-Asad (2004) as an ever-growing city to explain its fast-paced growth and phenomenal expansion of urban areas in the city (Potter *et al.*, 2009), with continual transformations on the various fields and even an increase in the social disparity seen between the city's districts (Al-Asad, 2004; Khawaja, 2015).

2.3. Public Open Spaces in Amman

The Greater Amman Municipality GAM (2009) defines public space as, 'Both active and passive open space and constitutes "Green Areas" that contain canopy trees and sitting areas rather than physical development. Open spaces include parks, sports fields, buffer strips, public gardens/landscaping, and cultural heritage sites and corridors. However, Ammani's usage and public interaction patterns occur almost entirely on/in streets, stairs, marketplaces, and places of worship.'

Local studies provide context-specific typologies that meet this definition to some extent: for example, Aljafari (2014, p. 131) lists five patterns of public spaces: park pattern, street pattern, plaza pattern, and closed public spaces (e.g., malls) and informal public spaces (e.g., the sides of major roads, such as Airport Road and Jordan Road).

In her study, Khawaja (2015) defines public spaces based on a synthesis of used public spaces, and proposes a typology of Amman Public Open Spaces (POS) that allows people to come together within public, semi-public, and privately owned spaces that are publicly used realms (see Figure 2). She recognises non-formally designated POS that are practiced and experienced as POS, but notes that they do not meet the 'public' category criteria (e.g., the communal steps between neighbourhoods; street roundabouts; historical streets; informal gathering edge spaces). Her typology also includes formal

public spaces, such as urban plazas (normally associated with mosques and possessing a historical value), neighbourhood parks, recreational parks, themed\educational parks (i.e., traffic parks), public gardens, regional parks, and shopping malls (as a special form of privatised public space).
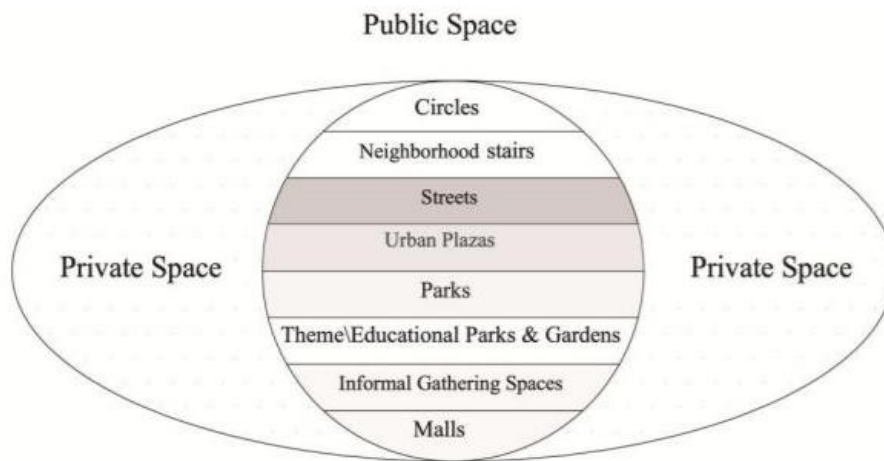
Figure 2: The proposed typology of Amman POS. Source: (Khawaja, 2015, p. 79).

When thinking about the city's POS, many issues, uncertainties, and themes emerge. Formal public spaces in Amman can be described as inadequate both in terms of quantity and quality: they lack liveability for several reasons, such as physical decay, poor management, excessive control, and users' social fear, and formal POS are simply inadequate for many people's everyday activities, and so there is a comparatively high level of everyday collective activity that takes place in privatised spaces, informal public spaces, and virtual public spaces. The nature of Amman's POS prompts the need to both question the evident challenges and to redefine the terms 'public' and 'space'.

To provide a general understanding of local POS, this section provides multidimensional themes about Amman POS, starting from the physical and planning aspects and ending with the social aspects. It is worth mentioning that these themes are based on the existing literature about Amman's public spaces—which is, to a great extent, limited. Issues about POS research conducted in Amman will also be addressed in Chapter 6.

2.3.1. Neoliberal Infection, Consumerism, and the Increased Rates of Fear

In the last 20 years, the neo-liberal political shift in Amman resulted in certain planning approaches that are now shifting to encourage the development of privatised exclusive 'public' spaces that are, as a matter of fact, inaccessible to all social classes either as a result of the excessive security and control or the entrance restrictions/fees. This neoliberal shift has increased the inability of the city to appropriate, attribute, and designate spaces for the 'public' due to their increased land value or potential to be privatised (Daher, 2013; Manasrah, 2014). Khawaja (2015) shows that private public spaces (e.g., malls; boulevards) are an attractive refuge for the upper social classes who do not favour spending time in public parks, and discusses how this contributes to increased rates of privatisation, with this process being perceived as a mechanism for ensuring good quality maintenance and services. Khawaja's quantitative study, which involved a questionnaire of 100 Ammani candidates, shows that one third of the sample chose going to the mall in their spare time, with around 20% choosing public parks. Moreover, a report by the *Jordan Times* (Kayed, 2018) suggests that people prefer the mall because it offers a place to walk in a city that is otherwise unfriendly towards pedestrians.

Another factor that shapes residents' and authorities' attitudes towards public spaces is questions of security: the history of the refugee settlement in Amman has, in various ways, exacerbated the fear of the 'other' across the social classes and has thus informed political and social debates around individual needs of security, often contributing to a decline in the use of formal designated public spaces. Coupled with authorities' top-down mechanism (which prioritises security over inclusion and publicness), these dynamics are reflected in a study by the Centre for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan, which illustrates that Jordanians have had a lower sense of security than Syrians since the beginning of the refugee crisis, with 49% of Jordanians believing that the existence of refugees outside the camps 'highly threatens the security and stability of Jordan' (Dupire, 2017). These issues have been addressed in recent years by many researchers, professionals, NGOs, and governmental parties, who are all emphasising the cohesion of

multi-ethnic groups and the role of POS in facilitating it (Alhusban *et al*., 2019; Linn, 2020).

2.3.2. The Politics of Public Space: The Mechanisms of Monitoring and Control

Some public open spaces in Amman are 'open', publicly owned, and physically accessible, but nevertheless highly controlled, and the legitimacy of what can be contested and done within these spaces is always subject to debate. Many reports that can be found online (mainly written by expatriates or Jordanian students at foreign universities with few local contributions) discuss the politically harsh mechanisms of monitoring and controlling different public open spaces. One such example is a report by Hiari (2011) titled *Why Amman's Public Space Stops at 4th Circle (roundabout)?* which criticises the fact that one of the major roundabouts in Amman was fenced in a matter of hours after a group of orphans started a sit-in claiming for their rights. She describes them as the 'neglected population' silenced by urban design, drawing similarities between this and Bahrain (which demolished the centrally located Pearl roundabout after the demonstrations by the opposition political party) (Ibid.). There are, however, distinctions to be made between the two cases, as GAM did not demolish the roundabout but employed urban design beautification to stop future protests by planting roses and using decorated fences. Nevertheless, the political aspect of public spaces in Jordan is demonstrated not only in the form of forceful tactics that eliminate the practical option of protest, but also via campaigns that give voice to the alternative philosophy of governance and endeavour to win public approval, all with the aim of enabling governmental actors to expropriate public property for private profits (Abu-Hamdi, 2014). In many ways, it is possible to see these dynamics as exemplifying Whyte's discussion of a tension between the government's intentions of serving the public versus the glorifying of its image (1980, 1988).

To exemplify, Abu Hamdi (2014) refers to the decision to replace one of Amman's few public parks with a luxurious residential development, The Gate Towers in 2002. The towers were publicly approved by the state, who

mediated 'Jordan First Campaign' to make such projects possible and to win public approval through appeals of pride and civic duty. The campaign changed the climate of opinion by promoting that it was patriotic to have ambitious landmarks and to not protest (Ibid.). Years later, as compensation to the lost public park, the King Abdullah II Park was created—but its location and limited access led to low use. Linking this to broader political dynamics, Atteneder (2014), an urbanist and blogger, clearly indicated in his blog how the political and economic powers in Amman deprived the freedom of the citizens' movements so they could obtain and maintain control over them.

In the same vein, Amman Design Week which is a recent annual event that provides curated exhibitions to showcase the cultural and artistic scene in Amman, can be seen to represent the state's official move to formalise the art efforts that were already developed in Amman over the past years, but not formally noticed. However, Elkhatib (2017) critiques how contributions were pushed into general thematic creations, rather than conceptual or politically specific works; she describes the Public Space competition, announced during Design Week, as an apolitical understanding of public space and a site of improvement rather than conflict.

While this is one specific example and event, the prioritising of state control can be seen across many scales and timeframes, from the presence of police kiosks in all the major public spaces in the city to the ambiguously framed 'Public Gathering Law' that enables interpretation and abuse by those who enforce it. According to the Human Rights Watch (2017), the Public Gathering Law states that Jordanians do not generally require permission to hold public meetings (including demonstrations), but prohibits gatherings against the political regime, foreign countries, or Islam. There are many continuing censoring policies, such as the report of banning band performances due to 'values diversion' (Montoyo, 2016) and the incident of detaining an impromptu group from The Hashemite Plaza because they were singing and dancing at evening time (Elkhatib, 2017).

'The shortage of literal bodies performing in physical public spaces is still an issue… the state makes it difficult to appear in public without some form of permit, extensive depoliticization, or a hetero-masculine national agenda.'

- Elkhatib (2017, Online Blog)

Above all, the absence of participatory public engagement in decisions generates disputes and serious disagreements. A related case here is the public rejection that was triggered after the relocating of the popular open flea market, which had taken place every Friday for 16 years and drew thousands of visitors every weekend, from its original place to another, without considering the stakeholders involved, or even the citizens. As a bulldozer started to remove the stalls, vendors protested, and a public dispute emerged that lasted for two more months after its relocation. Many newspapers reported how the new site did not meet the demands of the users (Freij, 2014), and the vendors were concerned that their business would be negatively affected due to the new fenced location, the police patrols' dedicated space beside the entrance, and the insufficient number of parking spaces, since this may not accommodate all traders and customers may feel uncomfortable. The official reasons for this decision always vary, GAM's point of view being that this change of location was due to overcrowding, poor organization, general safety concerns, and to alleviate traffic jams and safeguard the overall public health in Abdali. Again, this case highlights the top-down approach of the planning system in Jordan.

2.3.3. Scant Public Spaces and Planning and Design Flaws

Amman has a two-square meter designated public space per capita—clearly very low when comparing this to the World Health Organization's standard of nine square meters (WHO, 2010). Public parks make up 0.4% of the area of Amman (Tomah et al., 2017), and the majority are very small in size, being described as mini neighbourhood parks (Ibid.) (see Figure 3). The Amman Growth Plan (GAM, 2009) affirmed that GAM has no designated open space system or strategic approach, and, similarly, a recent assessment

of the POS geographic distribution in the city highlighted the shortage of POS in terms of number, size, and location due to the inadequate, short-sighted strategies of GAM, the primary supplier of POS in the city (Tomah *et al.*, 2017). The assessment adds that many parts of Amman where the population density is at its highest face a severe shortage of POS and do not have open spaces except within scattered, private, and vacant lots. This backs an earlier study by Al Asad (2011), which states that the demand for public spaces in Amman remains very high, but that the supply does not even begin to meet this demand.
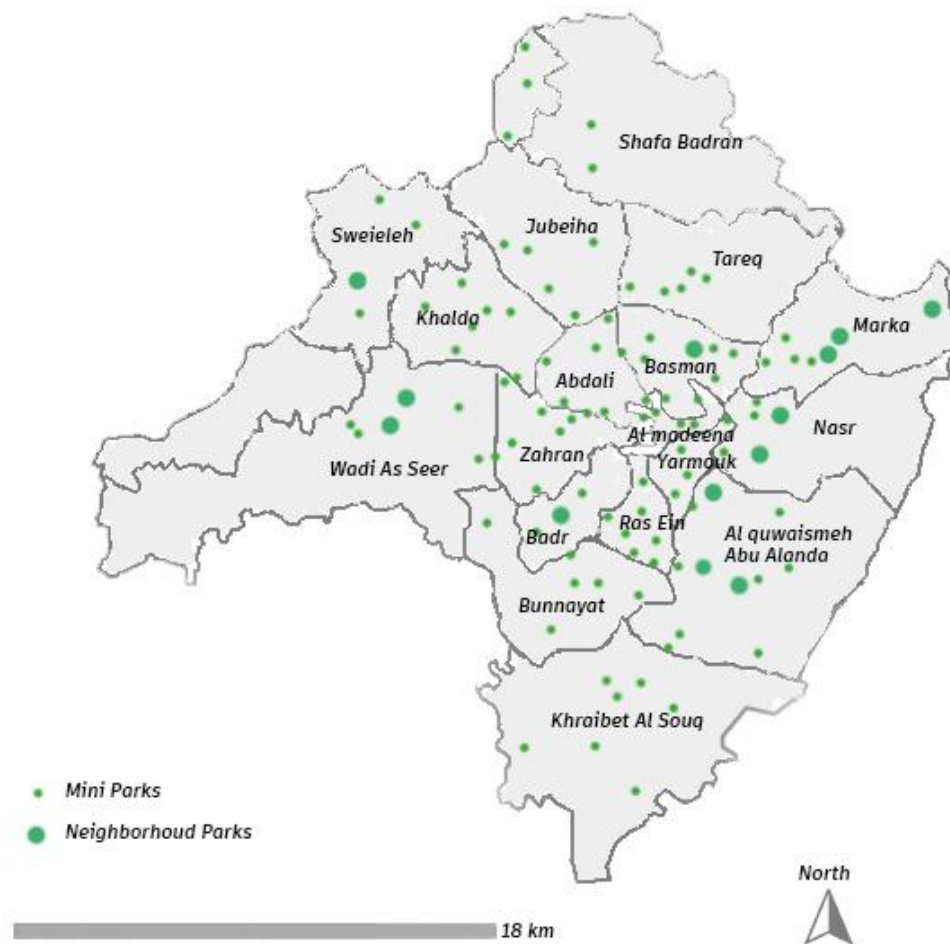
Figure 3: Locations of mini and neighborhood public parks in Amman's different districts as classified by Tomah et al. (2017, p. 272). Modified from Source by Author, 2021.

According to the executive director of the Department of Gardens in GAM, Amman has 142 public gardens and five parks, and the department is willing to open another three soon (Al Sabeel, 2016); however, the majority of these

parks and gardens are in the higher income areas or outskirts of the city (Ababsa, 2011). Tawil et al. (2016) describe public spaces in Amman as 'dispersed', without a defined pattern of growth and lacking integrated development.

When analysing the discourse of articles about public parks in local newspapers, such as Al Sabeel (2016) and the *Al Ghad* newspapers (2016, 2017), the majority of the articles assure that those spaces are too low in number, lack cleanliness and provision, and need more and better facilities like toilets, drinking water, sandpits, safe children's playgrounds, and orientation signs. A study by Al Jafari (2006) criticises the limited interest of the department, which concentrates on physical aspects only, resulting in a lack of proper park management and an absence of security guards.

Depending on the location, public parks are either accessed by families only and do not fit all age groups, or are used by young male groups who are usually perceived as having bad habits of littering, harassment, and vandalism only: for example, the articles mentioned above report that the major large parks in the city are located in the outskirts of Amman, in turn preventing access for the majority of city residents. The location of POS also justifies why some public spaces are totally crowded, while others are abandoned and overlooked (Khawaja, 2006).

The poor design of these public spaces is mentioned repeatedly in general conversations about the city in the form of the need for creative spaces other than just filling up SLOAPS (Space Left Over After Planning) (Brett, 1970), which comprises merely grassing over without it being a proper park with facilities (just mere green areas). Tawil *et al*. (2016) deem these as 'spaces' for the sake of their having a green spot in a certain district. Furthermore, the majority of Amman's parks are leftover areas and odd-shaped, and their locations and design should be reconsidered (Tomah *et al*., 2017).

Multiple necessities are recommended and needed in the Amman POS design processes, such as the incorporation of empirical and behavioural studies concerning the design of the public space, the reconsidering of the conventional aesthetically oriented processes of design (Al Aswad, 2018),

and designing in response to the site's attributes and environmental issues (Al-Hiary, 2004). When discussing the planning and designing of POS in Amman, Tomah *et al*. (2017) recommend first looking closely at GAM. They also note a need for an incremental multi-partner plan to work on the need of suitable funding, proper infrastructure, and rational governmental strategies.

2.3.4. The Social Aspects and Parallel Typologies of Public Spaces

Public spaces in Amman are generally considered to be secondary spaces, associated with neither the city or the individual and having the appearance of no man's land (Abu-Ghazzeh, 1998; Tomah et al., 2017). There are also important social dimensions to these perceptions: many residents see them as 'men only' spaces, as verbal sexual harassment is a major problem in the majority of Amman public spaces, its level varying depending mainly on which part of the city a woman is in (Ababsa & Daher, 2011). Khawaja (2006) witnesses distinctive markers in Amman public spaces translated as opposites, such as public and private, conservative and liberal, male and female, and work and leisure. She also discusses the Middle Eastern preference of 'enclosed and contained' public spaces, rather than public open ones, and this has influenced the appearance of 'procedural space' (Iveson, 2007), which she defines as 'an alternative linear public space along the neighbourhood or housing/market called "hara"' (neighbourhood public space). Hara is a common space where neighbours socialise and children play. This preference might be related to the feeling of security that comes with being surrounded by familiar faces in the hara, instead of being surrounded by strangers in the public spaces (Ibid.), or maybe this is down to the unwritten rule for women to not walk alone after sunset in places other than *al* hara or dense commercial streets (Ababsa, 2011). Khawaja (2015, p. 17) describes this as, '…a crucial collector space that evokes social cohesion, hosts various activities, and brings everyday life to public, in parallel with the traditional spaces: parks and public gardens.'

Along with *al hara*, Amman heritage neighbourhoods and historical streets are targeted by urban revival projects to celebrate the emphasis on historical associations and themes, and are thus increasingly being perceived as new

public spaces (i.e., Jabal Al Lwebde Neighborhood). Here, a few streets were renovated and turned into more pedestrian friendly destinations, such as Rainbow Street, which promoted the festival marketplace by a seasonal souq called *Souq Jara*.

Figure 4: Amman Downtown (Al Balad) Steps. Source: Haupt & Binder.

The distinctive topography of the hills (*jabal*), valley (*wadi*), and street that are following the hilltops clearly justifies the consideration of including stairs as a non-conventional typology of public space in Amman. Stairs are becoming sites of literal street art, brightly coloured and beautified (see Figure 4). Recently, GAM (2018) started an initial phase of preserving those stairs, which are being listed and classified regarding their historical and symbolic value and their significance to the surrounding area. Coupled with stairs, there are Amman roundabouts (and specifically some of the famous eight roundabouts, now less after the conversion of most of these into crossings) starting from the first circle, which leads to older Amman areas, to the seventh circle of the newer areas of Amman, and other historical ones, like the Paris circle, which is alternatively called Paris Square. Not only are these roundabouts considered to be navigational landmarks, but they are also

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historically considered as the early public spaces of the city. Some were also designed to be wide enough to host bazaars or gatherings with the inclusion of benches and sometimes fountains, like the one in the Al Madine Monawara circle.

2.4. Amman: The Refugee Hub

2.4.1. Historical Background

Since the mid-19th century, forced migration has always been a major driver for the establishment of multi-layered Amman (Daher, 2008). Partially due to its reputation of safety, political stability, decent basic services, and opportunities to make a living (Haysom, 2013), as well as its geographic location, waves of refugees from different ethnicities have come to and settled in Amman (Potter *et al*., 2009). These influxes have contributed to the city's urban development (Mansour-Ille et al., 2018) and has inevitably altered the demographic composition of the city (Shami, 2007). This has granted Amman various names acknowledging its diversity, such as the 'city of immigrants' (Al Hamarneh, 2002) and the 'city of many hats' (Gharaibeh, 2003 as cited in Daher, 2008), as well as some more critical urban descriptions of being 'too inclusive' (Shami, 2007). Before the first major refugee wave in 1948, the city hosted different ethnicities such as Circassians (1878), Armenians, Chechens, and Druze (1998), as well as Syrian and Lebanese merchants in 1901, 1920, and 1975 (Daher, 2008).

As illustrated in Figure 5, the years 1948 and 1976 of the Palestinian conflicts resulted in high migration rates, creating immense population shifts in a very short space of time (Potter *et al*., 2009) and swiftly turning Jordan into the largest refugee hub for Palestinians, with an estimation of two million refugees (Pavanello & Haysom, 2012). Recently, it was estimated that more than half of its population is originally Palestinian (El-Abed, 2006; UNRWA, 2011).

Though many of these Palestinian refugees were poor and in need of help, there were many middle-class individuals who subsequently contributed to

the development of the city (El-Abed, 2006). After the Gulf War in 1990, many well-educated and skilled Palestinians and Iraqis poured back into Amman from Kuwait (ESCWA, 2005), the wealthy savings they brought back from the Gulf helped prosper the economy of the city. New businesses and residential villas with high influence on both the public and private sectors were erected in western Amman at this time (Chatelard, 2010).
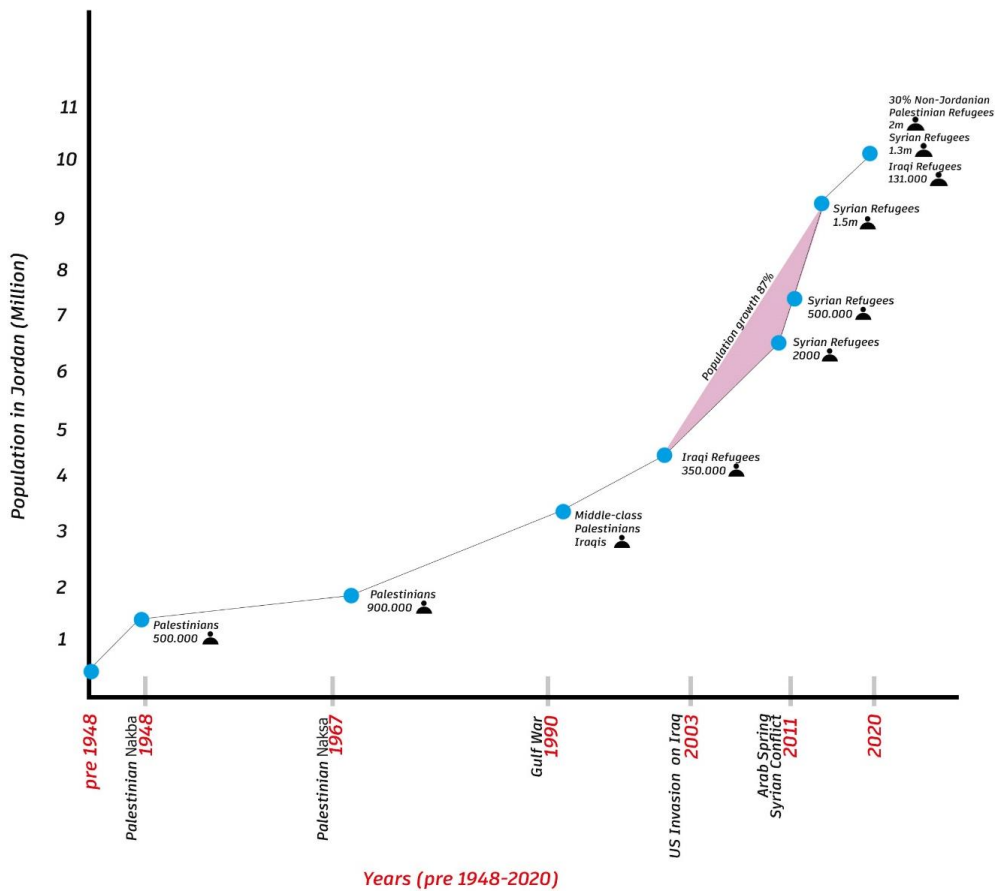
Figure 5: Refugees influxes to Amman post 1948. Source: Author, 2021.

Between 2003-2005, the US Invasion in Iraq perpetuated the largest wave of Iraqi refugees to Jordan (Chatelard, 2010). Jordan's previous initial waves mainly consisted of upper- and middle-class individuals from Baghdad injecting the Jordanian economy with luxurious lifestyles (Chatelard, 2009), but the 2006 second larger wave comprised a mostly poor population, a smaller percentage possessing professional skills. Unlike the first wave (who resided in western Amman), the second wave were pulled into eastern informal areas of Amman, Palestinian camps, and some middle-income

neighbourhoods (Ibid.). Since 2006, the numbers of Iraqi refugees were decreasing until they finally stabilised in 2016 (UNHCR, 2020). However, smaller numbers kept arriving monthly in 2017 up until 2019, when the numbers were (and still are) decreasing, as many Iraqis looked (and are still looking) at Amman as a temporary point for their resettlement into a third country (Chatelard, 2009). Today, the numbers of Iraqi refugees have decreased to about 80%. Many who remain in Amman are classed as vulnerable (UNHCR, 2020).

The latest influx of refugees was during the 2011 Syrian conflict, which led to Syrians becoming the second largest refugee population in Jordan, constituting 15% of Jordan's total population (MoP, 2020). Of the estimated 1.3 million Syrians in Jordan, 656,000 of them are vulnerable and considered as a population of concern (UNICEF, 2020). Other smaller vulnerable refugee populations are Yemenis, Sudanese, and Somalis (Ibid.). The Department of Statistics (DoS) (2015) released number of non-Jordanian populations as shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6: The Non-Jordanian populations in Jordan. Source: DoS, 2019.

`So, for many years, Jordan has been a demographically unsettled context, and this history has, to some extent, made migration processes ordinary and Jordanians more tolerant of living alongside and welcoming others. Some refugees are no longer considered as refugees, such as the Palestinians, although there are still some distinctive and segregated areas that are labelled as Palestinian, such as the Palestinian camps in the eastern areas of Amman. The spatial segregation between east and west is an economic segregation rather than an ethnic one in the city, since there are different ethnicities

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residing in both parts of the city. Generally speaking, Arab refugees are broadly welcomed, and Jordanians have tolerance towards other ethnicities. However, individual and collective perceptions towards refugees are also shaped by ethnicity, timing, and socioeconomic circumstances.

2.4.2 The Phenomenon of Urban Refugees

Globally, the majority of refugees reside in urban areas (World Refugee Council, 2020)—and in Jordan, the majority of the UNHCR refugee populations of concern reside in Amman, constituting 27% of its population (UNHCR, 2020). Notably, over 83% of the Syrian and Iraqi refugees are non-camp refugees (Ibid.).

The phenomenon of urban refugees demonstrates the necessity of countering a common image of refugees confined in camps, showing that they are actually interwoven into the very fabric of the cities (Hawkins *et al*., 2019). For refugees, the city offers economic opportunities and better access to humanitarian assistance (Haysom, 2013), and over time, urban refugees become less distinguishable from their host communities (Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018). Saying this, refugees living in urban settings do wield considerable impacts on their host cities, the negative including their influence on the urban economy and pressure on the public services (Habersky, 2016) and the positive including their contribution to urban social life, in turn transforming the urban centres into real zones of potential integration (Ibid.). For the refugees themselves, residing in urban areas encourages long-term settlement and enables their changing their status from temporary to a more permanent state (Ibid.).

There are three types of urban refugee (GSMA, 2018): the first of these concerns those who are not formally registered with the authorities, and who live under the radar, fearing arrest or refoulment (forcible return). They cannot access any type of assistance and need to work informally. The second and third types are registered and eligible for assistance, with one working informally (often resented by the host community) and the other not seeking employment at all. This third group is generally comprised of children and

women as householders who struggle to meet their needs and are the most vulnerable.

However, different dimensions of this phenomenon are still understudied, and there are scarce studies that address the everyday experiences of Amman's urban refugees (Hawkins *et al*., 2019). Indeed, wider ranging and more richly layered studies concerning urban refugees in Amman are required (Al-Tal & Ghanem, 2019).

In conclusion, the above has recounted a historical brief, first signposting the multicultural nature of the city and the importance of ethnicity and identity when addressing the city. Second, it highlights the need to recognise characteristic difference in every refugee wave, taking into consideration the time of arrival, conditions, and overall context of the migration. Third, it has demonstrated the implications of this history of displacement in shaping acceptance and the roots of being consistently tolerant and welcoming in the integration processes. Finally, it has acknowledged this history, which aids tremendously in understanding the following section (which lists a series of Jordanian integrative policies and measures that are entrenched in this timeline and displays how they shifted through different points of time, from flexible and fully integrative to more restrictive and cautious).

2.5. The Tangible and Intangible Dimensions of Integration

The multifaceted integration processes are comprised of three elements: the socioeconomic, legal and political, and sociocultural fields (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016). Here, Entzinger & Biezeveld (2003) also include attitudes of recipient societies as a fourth element of the integration process.

The legal and political elements, including the wide-framed policies discussed at national level, can also be witnessed and traced into the everyday level of refugees' urban experiences. The absence or existence of these policies contributes to both tangible and intangible dimensions of integration for different ethnic groups (Penninx, 2005).

While the focus of this study is mainly on the sociocultural aspect of integration, the overall understanding of policies and how they are linked to refugees' every day is a necessity when it comes to achieving a better understanding of the different integration processes. While the tangible dimensions are represented in the form of key issues (e.g., access to different services like health, education, housing, and employment), the intangible dimensions are psychological, cultural, or personal (Hawkins *et al*., 2019).

The following subsections provide a summary from various scholarly sources and reports concerning sociocultural integration. The first subsection (2.5.1) will focus on the tangible dimensions and Jordan's approaches to handling waves of refugees, showing how these different approaches resulted in various processes of integration for different refugee groups based on ethnicity, the timing of the wave, and the overall conditions at that point of time. The second subsection (2.5.2) will focus more on the intangible dimensions of ethnic differences and similarities. Finally, the third subsection (2.5.3) will adopt a combined lens to demonstrate the everyday barriers to integration refugees face, including traces of both the tangible and the intangible.

2.5.1. Jordan's Integration Policies: The Tangible

2.5.1.1. Changes Through Time and Across Refugee Groups

Located at the junction of the Levant and Arabian countries of the Middle East, Jordan shares its borders with Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. It was annexed in 1948 as the east bank (with Palestine as the west bank), both countries sharing strong ties and historical bonds till this day.

Also being close to the sites of major regional conflicts, Jordan is the second most popular host country, with the highest number of refugees per capita (MoP, 2020) of about 2.7 million refugees today (UNHCR, 2020). It is also considered to be a strong political and socioeconomic player in the Middle Eastern region (Hüser, 2016). It is in light of all of the above that much international attention has been given to examine the different dimensions of the Jordanian policies concerning displacement and influence and enacting

changes on those policies (Chatelard, 2009; Haysom, 2013; Johnston *et al*., 2019; Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018).

Up to 2003, Jordan adopted open-door policies, active integration, and naturalisation for waves of refugees, Palestinian's integration in 1948 and 1976 being a successful example of such policies in action (Dal Pra, 2017). However, after the Iraqi war and the following conflicts of the Arab spring (the Sudanese Darfur War, the Syrian Crisis, and the country's drastic economic unrest), the refugees resulting from nearby conflicts were met with more restrictions and regulations in Jordan than before (Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018, 3). Hence, until today, the state has had no intention of granting *de jure integration* (legal and by right) for Syrians or Iraqi refugees like the Palestinians, and any attempt towards integration has been partial, for temporary improvements, and highly dependent on both the type and degree of international support, orientation, and funding (Ibid.).

In 2015, international donors committed to the development of Jordan's economy, and that pledge has been reflected in the Jordanian state's relaxing some restrictions and acknowledging the importance of sociocultural integration with the help of international communities' funding schemes and pressures to implement direct and indirect national policies.

Moreover, in 2016, partnerships between the government, donors, and NGOs led to the establishment of the coordinated Jordan Response Platform, run by the Jordanian Ministry of Planning (MoP) in 2014. Nowadays, this is witnessed in the 2020-2022 Jordan Response Plan's alignment with SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) and Global Compact on Refugees (MoP, 2020).

It is also important to note that the different refugee waves from, 1948 till 2013, were all met with different approaches and inconsistent policies of integration, and the country received variable levels of international support (Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018): even today, there is not any unified protocol in place that outlines Jordan's obligations towards all refugees, no matter the timeframe or geographical location (Haysom, 2013). Their policies do not

adhere to law and are mainly guided by historical legacy and political contexts (Pavanello & Haysom, 2012).

The following three sections delineate the policies currently in place concerning the three refugee groups in Jordan.

Open-Door Policies Towards the Palestinian Refugees (1948-1967)

The early policy environment in Jordan was not clear or formal, but rather was based on cultural beliefs and Pan-Arabism norms (Pavanello & Haysom, 2012)—which meant full hospitality and support to refugees in terms of bilateral support (Chatelard, 2009). This Arab solidarity guided their conduct, meaning Jordan then had no urge then to sign any international refugee conventions (as an example of this, Jordan is not a signatory to the UN 1951 Refugee Convention or its 1967 Protocol). They also did not form formal policies for newcomers (Haysom, 2013), and with the exception of ex-Gazans and some refugees who were confined in camps and treated as Arab foreigners until now, Palestinian refugees were granted *de jure integration* (Chatelard, 2009). Not facing any legal barriers, Palestinians with Jordanian citizenships have full access to employment, the public health system, and education in the formal economy (Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018).

Notably, the Palestinian conflict was met with huge international attention—and in this regard, Jordan's refugee naturalisation approach was in consort with its long-term parallel bargains (i.e., its UNRWA services; its funds to the refugee population; the country's public services and infrastructure) (Haysom, 2013). Other Palestinian groups with no citizenship can still access the affordable education of UNRWA schools, health services, and informal work.

Policies Towards the Iraqi Refugees (2003- 2016)

The first wave of wealthy Iraqis was welcomed similarly to the Palestinians, but were not granted full citizenship (Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018). Later waves of middle-class and poorer Iraqi's included more Muslim non-Sunni numbers, which triggered the government in 2008 to control the profile of

Iraqi refugees residing in Jordan to a more educated, middle-class, and Sunni population, resulting in a substantial decrease in newcomers (Chatelard, 2010). Although Iraqi refugees were met without clear policies and were kept under pan-Arab norms, they were faced with stricter entry terms and were not granted full citizenship. Their status even today remains unclear (Pavanello & Haysom, 2012).

However, the Iraqi refugee crisis was remarkably funded by the international community, which facilitated a more tolerant, supportive attitude from the Jordanian authorities (Haysom, 2013). Unlike the Palestinians, the Iraqis were (and are still are) considered to be temporary guests, and many governmental bodies name them as 'guests' and not refugees, promoting the 'protective' role of the government towards them (Pavanello & Haysom, 2012).

Accordingly, Iraqi refugees are granted access to public health and education services, regardless of their legal status (Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018). However, the majority of them are banned from working in the formal economy, despite them being highly educated and skilled (Ibid.).

Policies Towards Syrian Refugees (2011-Present)

The Syrian refugees that have been continuously pouring into Jordan since 2011 are met in an increasingly restrictive attitude, although the government of Jordan shows no intention of treating them like previous waves and granting them *de jure integration* and full naturalisation (Achilli, 2015). In 2014, the Jordanian government increased its restrictions and started a no-entry policy, along with what was called the 14th of July Procedures restricting Syrians from moving in urban areas unless they bailed out of camps formally by taking the UNHCR Asylum Seeker Certificate (ASC). Without this certificate, they could not access food, cash, or a The Ministry of Interior (MoI) service card, by which they could access health and education services (Ibid.).

These restrictive policies were retracted by the international community in 2015 when they pledged more support, and then in 2016, London Compact

grants were secured to improve the employment conditions for Syrians, creating up to 200,000 jobs in its wake (Mansour-Ille *et al.,* 2018). This indicates that relaxing displacement policies largely depends on the degree and type of international support and funding received (Achilli, 2015).

Nowadays, many agencies and aid organisations are running projects within the country targeting refugees, the majority of these agencies possessing very good relations with the government (Pavanello & Haysom, 2012). It is worth mentioning that almost all funding for the refugee response is directed to Syrian refugees, along with vulnerable Jordanians (Johnston *et al*., 2019) through the Jordan Response Plan, which started in 2015, as the only national comprehensive plan for the different donor agencies providing financial support for Syrian refugees in Jordan.

2.5.2. Ethnic Similarities and Differences: The Intangible

Within the same wave of refugees, the varying groups are highly heterogeneous and possess different skills, assets, and educations (Haysom, 2013)—and, indeed, discrepancies in culture and social habits not only exist between the host community and different ethnic waves, but also in the different ethnic groups themselves (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). Differing characteristics can be hard to recognise when the urban refugees are blended within the wider multi-ethnic community, leading to them possessing some degree of anonymity, and although this lack of visibility enables integration to some extent, it can, on occasion, lead to a diminished understanding of the specifics of living situations for particular groups (Haysom, 2013).

This section will provide an overview of the similarities and differences between Palestinians, Iraqis, and Syrians in comparison to Jordanians so that a better understanding of the different burdens faced across the different refugee waves can be garnered. While most of the following ethnic groups are Arabs communicating in the same language and are Muslims, in many ways, they still can be distinguished culturally from one another (Lenner & Al-Khatib, 2015).

2.5.2.1. Palestinian Refugees

Palestinians share major cultural pillars with the Jordanian community: in addition to their religion and language, they share ancestors and have a very similar dialect. Dal Pra (2017) deemed the Palestinian integration successful due to the fact that they have been settling in Jordan for about 70 years, the third and second generations in turn becoming indistinguishable from the community while still embracing their Palestinian origins and culture. The intermarriages that have been facilitated have also enhanced the naturalised nature of their integration; the royal family of Jordan has a number of Palestinian and Jordanian intermarriages, such as Queen Rania Al-Abdullah and the late Queen Alia Tuqan, who are from Palestinian origins. In addition to this, religious appreciation of Palestine is well-rooted in Jordanian society, and even in its educational system (Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018). On the other hand, Jordanians place crucial importance on tribal identity and origin, focusing on kinship and genealogical ties. They easily self-identify themselves with their surnames (Hawkins *et al*., 2019; Haynes, 2016), tending not to accept Palestinian refugees as fully Jordanian citizens, unlike other nationalities (Dal Pra, 2017). However, many Palestinians constitute a large fraction of the Jordanian population, which certainly limits such tensions (El-Abed, 2006).

2.5.2.2. Iraqi Refugees

Iraqi refugees arrive from the Gulf region and face more cultural barriers than the other refugee groups in Jordan, including discrepancies in dialects, traditional norms, lifestyles, and backgrounds (Hawkins *et al*., 2019); take, for example, the pluralism of religion in Iraq and the largely Sunni population in Jordan (Ibid.). Refugees coming from Iraq are varied from extremely vulnerable to very rich, with some of these rich families actually being far wealthier than the Jordanian high-income class in Jordan: Riller (2009) highlights the fact that the majority of Iraqis come from well-serviced urban areas with spacious houses, unlike the norm in Jordan. Further, although Jordan's educational levels are very high regionally, Iraqis have higher levels of education and degrees.

2.5.2.3. Syrian Refugees

Syrians possess ethnic similarities to Jordanians, as they share the same religion, doctrine, ancestry, and language (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). However, they do have different social habits and customs that can cause social tension, as mentioned in a number of studies (Haynes, 2016; MercyCorps, 2012). Jordan, Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon constitute the historical *Bilad Al Sham*, meaning 'land to the north' (Damascus being its capital), which shared a specific texture of society, ties, and identity (Philipp, 2004). These historical ties based on geographical proximity and cultural similarity still circulate today in the form of homogeneous cuisine and other resemblances besides, such as the weather.

2.5.2.4 Breaking the refugee / non-refugee dichotomy

As mentioned earlier, there are many similarities that holds these different ethnicities together. Tensions cannot be ignored, but Jordan today has 'refugeeness' heritage and many third and fourth generation refugees within its population. These different generations led to the development of a multicultural diverse society, identified with this lax nature towards difference. This ease relied historically being directed by Arab norms of hospitality and granting newcomers with de-facto integration. Alongside these tensions, there are also homogenous and strong relationships that exist between refugees and host communities, and also between refugees from different ethnicities.

2.5.3. The Everyday Barriers to Integration: The Combined Lens

The different approaches and policies to the heterogeneous groups of refugees who have dissimilar ethnic characteristics can steer and influence the daily dynamics of refugees from different groups through their tangible and intangible combination.

The following section delineates a thematic overview of the sociocultural barriers of integration that are faced by refugees daily. Some are recurrent

across all refuge groups; others are ethnicity-, wave-, gender-, and age-specific.

1. **Local tensions with the host community** are considered to be major struggle for refugees (Achilli, 2015). These tensions include racism, verbal and physical attacks, hostility, and disrespectful treatment (Johnston *et al*., 2019). As refugees tend to reside in vulnerable and poorer neighbourhoods (Verme *et al*., 2016), they inevitably add more pressure to the already-overburdened infrastructure they inhabit, in turn exacerbating tensions with the host community (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018). In this scenario, host communities living with financial hardship can sometimes show resentment towards refugees who get assistance, specially when funding is going straight to refugees in deprived areas and not to low-income Jordanians living nearby. Another reason for these tensions concerns their differing social norms, cultural discrepancies, economic competition over work (as refugees tend to charge for their labour below the market rate)**,** and social competition (in jobs, housing, and public services) (Haynes, 2016; MercyCorps, 2012). Finally, refugees tend to revert to negative coping behaviours in light of these tensions, which only serve to aggravate this tension.

2. Environmental stressors (e.g., a low income) mean that some refugees engage in **negative coping mechanisms** (Achilli, 2015), which contribute to refugees' daily hardships (Ibid.) and violate the receiving country's regulations. Examples of these are early marriages and child labour (leading to interrupted education). These coping mechanisms also contribute to more vulnerability, especially for urban refugees who are not registered and cannot access assistance, share overcrowded housing, and are restricted in their movements. Also, because some refugees (i.e., Iraqi and Sudanese refugees) are not allowed to work, face bureaucratic obstacles to get work permits (i.e., Syrian refugees), or have certain illnesses and disabilities, they tend to work informally for a low wage, a high rate of exploitation and harassment, and for lengthy hours (Wells *et al*., 2016).

3. The interaction between the previous stressors and refugees' psyches tends to lead to major **mental health issues** (Haysom, 2013; Wells *et al*., 2016)—and not only are refugees' mental health issues highly stigmatised, but they also

have restricted access to already-inadequate mental health services (Haysom, 2013). In addition to their pre-existing mental health issues, such as depression, hopelessness, sadness, anger, loss of interest, and distress, there are many compounding factors related to living as a refugee that can exacerbate such problems, such as the anxiety and fear surrounding the prospect of being forced return to their home country in refugees who lack documentation and are from a background of discrimination (Ibid.). Another factor that can contribute to this is financial uncertainty, which can lead to distress and fear of failure to pay the rent and make ends meet every month (Johnston *et al.*, 2019). This factor became more prominent after the decline of assistance for groups that previously had state assistance, such as Sudanese refugees (Ibid.). Wells *et al.* (2016) listed many factors that contribute to mental health issues (e.g., traumas, depression, and feelings of social isolation):

- Divisions and tensions within the same refugee group.
- Low social capital.
- Illness and disability.
- Particular social norms, especially isolating women.
- Fear of the outside world and host community's hostility.
- Lack of free opportunities to engage with the host community.
- Loss of social and occupational roles and having nothing to do, leading (in some cases) to domestic violence and family conflict.

2.6. The Implications of the Long-Term Holistic Policy

The aforementioned dimensions of integration throughout history have several implications for sociocultural integration studies, including this one in particular. First, those who are displaced in Jordan require a uniform policy, as the current lack of policy coherence influences the lives of refugees by creating unequal situations that in turn lead to increased tension with the host community. This problem is becoming more widely recognised as of late, especially after the primary focus on Syrian refugees. The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) has called for one refugee policy (2018-2020) to

realise the rights of non-Syrian refugees in Jordan, such as the Sudanese and Yemenis. Johnston *et al*. (2019) additionally emphasises the need to meet the needs of different refugee groups, and called international donors to consider supporting all refugees regardless of their origins. Further, Haysom (2013) argues that all urban refugees have to be met with a clear displacement policy, and that options for their local integration must be explored.

Second, Palestinians are, to some extent, integrated successfully (Chatelard, 2009), and thousands of Iraqis have no intention to repatriate (Haysom, 2013), nor do the Syrians, who only tend to leave Amman for a third country (Haynes, 2016). From this, we can see that many different refugee groups prefer to stay in Jordan than in any other European and non-Arab country, likely due to their fearing sociocultural estrangement (Achilli, 2015). Hence, from this we can conclude that the phenomenon of urban refugees is not temporary, and in order for them to contribute to the social life of host cities, they will need access to a more holistic economic and social system (Haysom, 2013). With this in mind, many scholars and reports have called for an overarching sustainable strategy that shifts from short-term crisis-focused policies to prolonged strategies that look into local integration with a more holistic lens, with the aim of considering the needs of the displaced (Pavanello & Haysom, 2012) and the wider host community (Hagen-Zanker *et al*., 2017). This can be seen as a two-way dynamic, and Haysom (2013) notes that authorities must add a new social layer to the existing essential policies, while others recommend thinking about sustainable ways for urban refugees to contribute to their social lives and strengthen their social capital (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018; Johnston *et al*., 2019). It is also advised that incentives to resolve negative attitudes should be established—one that does not focus solely on one group of refugees and in turn neglects other groups, including the host communities themselves (Johnston *et al*., 2019; Pavanello & Haysom, 2012).

These implications highlight the need for a holistic prolonged policy of integration with rich sociocultural layers that equally recognises the different refugee groups, along with the wider host community. In turning to POS and according to the abovementioned contextual conclusions, I build on research

that evidences the benefits of refugees using POS in other national contexts (nearly all being European/ North American, as will be further discussed in Chapter 3) (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019; Low, 2005; Peters, 2011; Peters & de Haan, 2011; Rishbeth, 2001; Wells *et al*., 2016).

However, first, it is important for this research to ask whether Jordan has a clear POS agenda that recognises the value of POS as a tool for sociocultural integration, what policies there are to support this, and whether there have been any strategies or projects that are more directly focused on refugee and host community integration. These questions will be addressed and revisited in many of the upcoming chapters.

2.6.1. The Sociocultural Integration Policy in Jordan

This section reviews the gradual shift of policies towards those comprising more sociocultural layers in addition to the existing focus on assistance and sectorial services. The 2020-2022 Jordan Response Plan, aligned with SDG's Global Compact on Refugees, has paid attention to public spaces as sites of integration, and outlines social cohesion's specific objectives (MoP, 2020, p.25). Here, they explain how providing proper infrastructure can increase standards of living, which in turn contributes to mitigating the issue of social segregation (though the focus is mainly on the infrastructure and maintenance). A clear priority displayed in both plans is renovating (MoP, 2020, p.25) or constructing new (MoP, 2016, p.100) public areas, including parks and recreation facilities. Unfortunately, there is a clear lack of a wider strategy targeting social cohesion and integration specifically.

The current integrative projects or programs of sociocultural integration are not coordinated under one large umbrella or abide by one national plan; rather, they are scattered, heterogeneous, and highly dependent on individual, non-state endeavours and the availability of funding schemes. Chatelard (2010, p.10) argues that the majority of the integrative processes within the social and functional domains in Jordan are left to international agencies, while the international community shows more attention to economic

dimensions and labour (e.g., The Economic Policy Council (EPC) 2018, the EU in 2016, and the 2016 Jordan compact in London) (Immenkamp, 2017).

Locally, the Jordanian national policies have started to identify the integrative potential of public spaces in the last five years, encouraged by a plethora of actors, who, with their projects, initiatives, and wider relationships, will be the focus of this research. For example, these policies have been influenced by both the royal initiative to renovate and establish 32 public spaces in 2016, as well as the help of the international community, which facilitated massive projects such as the Improvement of Green Infrastructure in Jordan through labour-intensive Measures (GIZ, 2017) and the UN Habitat Block by Block project (UN Habitat, 2018).

To summarise, the changeable integration policies in Jordan throughout its history have, for the most part, paved a national culture of generosity and tolerance. Initially, Jordan did not sign conventions to regulate displacement, and was guided by policies of lax nature, being directed by Arab norms of hospitality that granted newcomers with de-facto integration (with concurrent bargains of international support and services). However, with time and as a result of the increased pressure on economy, heightened sociocultural tensions, and overburdened public services, Jordan showed more restrictive guided policies and was pressured to adhere to international conventions.

Recently, Jordan has paid more attention to public spaces as a step towards sociocultural integration. However, these attempts still lack larger coordination and are fund-dependant—and despite the ongoing support of international donors, the majority of these funds seem to be directed to labour and livelihood matters in terms of securing the basic necessities of life, rather than to integrative social infrastructure, such as public open spaces.

2.7. Conclusion

This section has established the wider context of this research, which is highly related to the rapid growth nature of the city, the general themes about POS in Amman, and the history of integration policies, which have all

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contributed to the growing attentions towards POS. A central contribution of this research is the combined exploration of this context and its dual focus on Amman POS and the integration of the refugees residing in this ever-growing city. This dual focus will be theoretically explored in the following chapter.

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Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

This research overlaps interdisciplinary approaches and is structured based on a theoretical framework that incorporates insights from urban design, landscape architecture, migration studies, geography, and anthropology. I will start by explaining the link between public space and integration (3.2) and the actors involved in this association (3.3). The chapter will also address the existing scholarly work that is related to refugees' everyday spatial experiences (3.4) and how their collective experiences are addressed in the literature as catalysts for change (3.5). Further literature will be integrated throughout the thesis as relevant in addressing particular concepts and topics emerging from the research development.

3.2. Public Space and Integration

To understand the relationship, link, and dynamics between public space production processes and refugees' integration, it is important to understand both concepts individually before displaying the interplay of both concepts.

3.2.1. Public Space: A Multidimensional Concept

The term 'public' is rich in meaning and is used in multiple disciplines (Akkar, 2005). According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the term can mean 'involving people in general', 'what is provided by the state', or 'where a lot of people are'.

The term 'space' is often discussed in relation to the related concept of 'place'. As a concept, 'space' is generally used as a more abstract term than 'place' (Creswell, 2007), though their connection is slippery and often intertwined (Altman & Zube, 1989; Friedmann, 2002). Spaces become

meaningful places as people occupy them and are endowed with value by time in this way (Tuan, 1977). Dovey (2010) illustrates Deleuze & Guattari's (1987) theory of assemblage in space by describing the street as the 'coming together' of buildings, trees, cars, sidewalks, goods, and people—but the connections between these components make it an assemblage or a place (Dovey, 2010). These illustrations were based on Massey's (2005) approach to space as a product of interrelations, multiplicity, and non-stop construction. Places comprising multiple interactions are constant processes of production, in the words of Lefebvre (1991), rather than products themselves. The interaction of people is what activates places, and without encounters and relationships, a space is an empty stage with no friction (Tsing, 2004).

Many scholars discuss the importance of Public Open Spaces (POS) to societies: Low (2018), who argues that POS contribute to a flourishing society, summarised the benefits of POS in four major points (as reflected in Figure 7): play and recreation; sociocultural and economic relations; social justice and democratic practices; and, finally, community and individual wellbeing.

Figure 7: How public space contributes to a flourishing society. Source: Low (2018), modified by author in 2021.
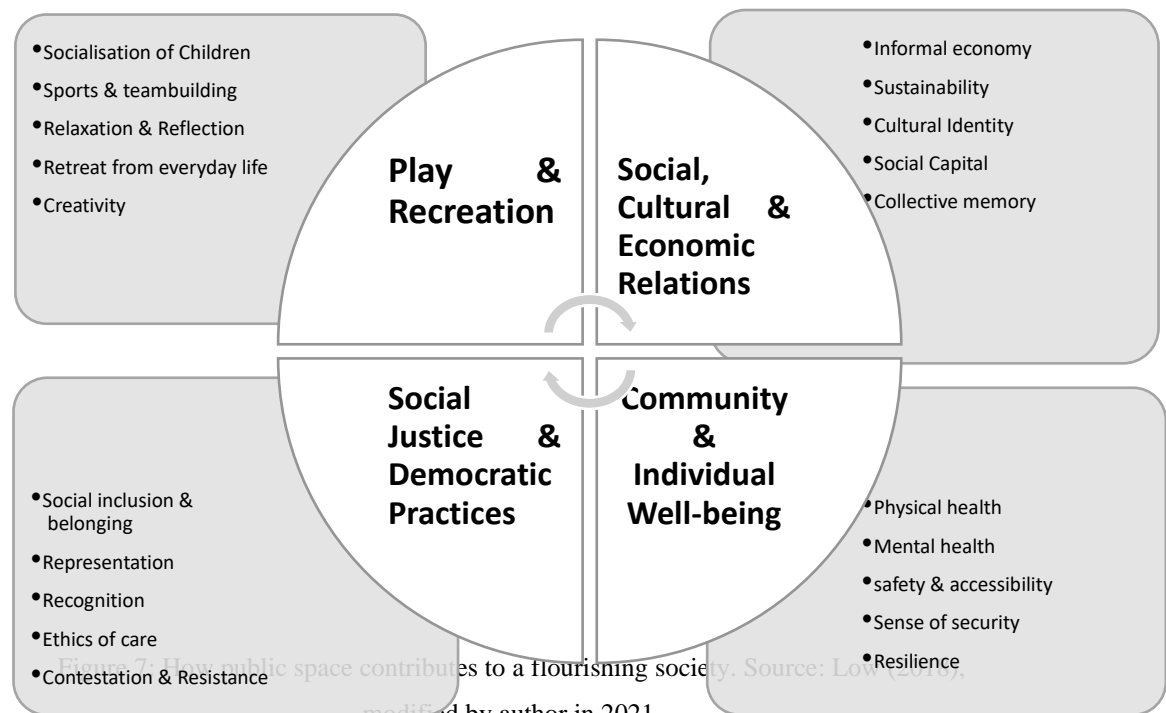
On the other hand, Neal (2010) lists three major perspectives on public space studies: the legal perspective, the socioeconomic perspective, and the political perspective. Here, only the latter two perspectives will be covered, as they are within the scope of this research. The socioeconomic perspective builds on foundational scholars such as Jane Jacobs and William Whyte and is concerned with the form and usage of public spaces. It has a positive stance towards the future of public spaces, as they acknowledge the social influence on carefully designed public spaces and view urban design as a problem-solving process (Carmona *et al*., 2010; Cooper-Marcus & Francis, 2003; PPS, 2018).

On the other hand, the political perspective based on the seminal ideas of Lefebvre's (the right to the city) and Hannah Arendt's public realm concept has a negative stance, questioning the reality of the 'so-called' democratic role of public spaces and the existence of 'proper' public space. The perspective is concerned with the dichotomy of public and private space, highlighting dimensions of ownership, access, and management (Akkar, 2005; Benn & Gaus, 1983; De Magalhães, 2010; Madanipour, 1999; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007). This perspective expands to question exclusionary practice in public spaces (Madanipour, 1999; Mitchell, 2003, as cited in Neal, 2010). The combined lens of the socioeconomic and political perspectives looks into how public space forms can impact and influence citizens' participation in the public realm (Neal, 2010, p. 63).

However, this research relies on the intersection of both perspectives—specifically on the public space formulations that point toward public space: as a place of encounter and political expression of minorities; as a space for meeting and exchange despite ownership (Worpole & Knox, 2007); as a factor that influences how people perceive migrants (Kleine-Rueschkamp & Veneri, 2018).

However, there are many constraints to achieving social interaction between strangers (Sennett, 2001) and through encounters in public spaces. Low (2018) summarised them in a comprehensive list of main constraints:

- Ownership and Property Relations. Privatisation, gentrification, Privately-Owned Publicly Accessible Spaces (POPS), and Business Improvement Districts (BIDS).

- Planning, design, and physical features. Aesthetics, flexibility, furniture, and ecological suitability.

- Laws, governmental policies, and governance. Extensive rules and regulations; exclusionary zoning.

- Securitisation and fear of others. Policing, surveillance, barriers, gates, and walls.

- profit-driven rather than social justice policies. Commodification, commercialisation, and corporatisation.

These formulations are related to many well-established discussions about spatial justice, democracy, and the interaction of different power hierarchies when addressing Public Open Spaces (POS) (Agyeman, 2012; S. Low & Iveson, 2016; Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007; Mitchell, 2003; Soja, 2010). Young (1990) and Iveson (1998) draw attention to the idea of 'multiple publics' (Fraser, 1990), highlighting the heterogeneity of the public realm, involving overlapping realms that include various socioeconomic, gender, and ethnic backgrounds.

Relatively, many studies place importance on inclusiveness as a dimension when addressing public spaces (De Magalhães, 2010; S. M. Low, 2005; Young & Allen, 1990): it is considered as a means to capture the state of social integration (Akkar Ercan & Oya Memlük, 2015, p. 98). According to Tiesdell & Oc (1998), public spaces are pluralist at nature, and inclusive spaces have to be addressed by the following access qualities (Ercan, 2005, p.99), which are represented in Figure 8:

- **Physical Access**. Related to physical presence, in relation to the design of entrance and circulation (Carr, 1992).

- **Social Access**. This relates to how welcoming the space is to users and how the design reflects their needs and culture (Rishbeth, 2001).

- **Access to Activities.** Relates to accommodating activities that are open to the public.

- **Access to Information.** Relates to access to the wide range of production processes of POS, resembled in access to design, management, use, and all the related processes besides POS.
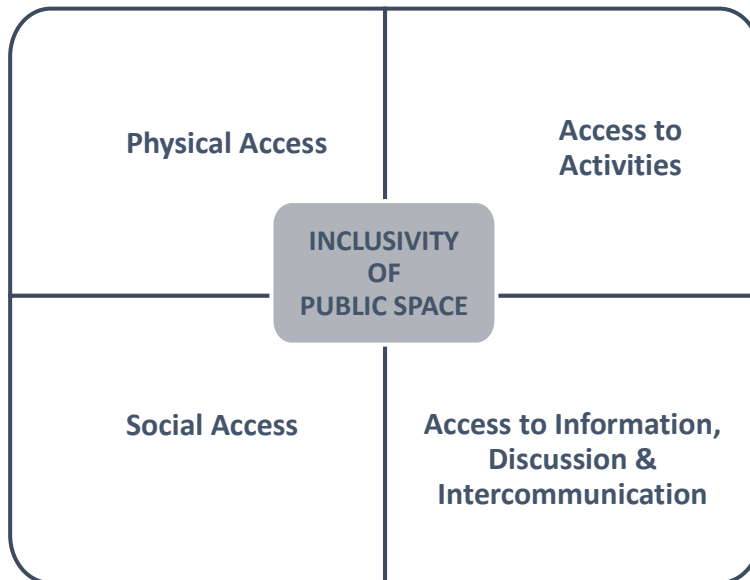
Figure 8: Defining inclusivity of public spaces. Source: Akkar Ercan & Oya Memlük (2015, p. 99), modified by author in 2021.

From a wider angle, the theory of access developed by Peluso & Ribot (2020, 2003) defines access as 'the ability to derive benefits from the natural environment'. Their definition focuses on ability rather than right, meaning they formulate their theory on the grounds of mechanisms that focus on who gets to benefit in using what spaces, in what ways, and in what circumstances. They also question not only who controls access, but also who maintains it (Peluso & Ribot, 2020, p. 300). The theory that identifies mechanisms of access is linked by Harvey (2021) to socioeconomic access to outdoor green spaces. Similarly, this study looks at a range of actors who both can control and/or maintain access to POS.

The following represents a description of socioeconomic factors for each access mechanism.

- **Capital**. This can include transport, entry fees, equipment, and activities. This also can be linked to social capital.

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- **Knowledge**. Can include an appreciation of benefits, awareness of what opportunities exist, engagement and how to access the opportunity, participation knowledge and skills, and qualifications to be able to progress.

- **Technology**. Can include equipment to use while outdoors, transport for getting there, facilities and resources like information boards, and the equipment needed to access things.

- **Social Identity**. Relates to mutual beliefs, ideology, and discursive practices around minorities, like what is on the media about them, being a member of a community or group, and the cultural narratives minorities have around outdoor usage and values and personal interests.

- **Relationships**. Relationships help in access and in creating engagement and positive experiences, like having a family, community, colleagues, friends, peers, networks, gatekeepers (e.g., teachers; community volunteers), and co-partners in the experience.

- **Opportunities**. Venues, spaces, and centres.

These various forms of analysis illustrate how studies tackling public space as a venue for integration have to address inclusivity and access mechanisms. However, several scholars highlight the need for addressing public spaces from a wider angle—not only from socio-spatial dimensions (Neal, 2010) but from an angle that includes more dimensions (human and non-human), since this ultimately comes down to understanding a 'fuzzy' term (Ekdi & Çıracı, 2015). Wide-angled studies notably limit the conceptual flaws that result from defining publicness in single dichotomies or restricted views (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013) and cover the need for a balanced apprehension that addresses multiple forms, users, and roles of public spaces in modern cities (Carmona *et al*., 2010).

In this research, public space and the related production processes are framed with the Lefebvrian theoretical conceptualisations of space and the triad (1991: 23) of 'conceived-lived-perceived' as production processes of space, and the relational understandings of public outdoor space (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014). The Lefebvrian triad shifted the understanding of space production from the final product to the process itself, the 'conceived' space being the space conceptualised and represented by the producer (i.e., a planner or decision-maker), the 'lived' being the representational space that is

lived through symbols and images, and the 'perceived' being mostly about the unfolding of daily spatial practices, pre-structured by the 'conceived'. Hence, the discussion of this is displayed here to situate how the research perceives the production of public spaces in a way that encompasses the intersection of this triad.

On the other hand, Harvey (1978, p. 4) negates any space outside of the web of processes that identifies it; he believes processes define the spatial frame: 'the concept of space is embedded in or internal to process'. Both Harvey and Lefebvre established conceptions of space and place that encouraged relationality (Graham & Healey, 1999; Tonkiss, 2005; Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014), yet these theories are criticised as abstract (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014) and lack links to specific everyday spatialities, to socio-spatial practise, or to academia.

However, Lehtovuori (2010, p. 4) suggests that these theories are not yet ready to initiate change in spatial practise, as he believes practitioners are educated enough to understand space as visual, and yet neglect its social aspects or procedural nature. This critique led Tornaghi & Knierbein (2014) to introduce discussions of relationality that situate this research's definition of public space.

It is important to note that this research has no intention of providing a static or flat definition to oversimplify a multidimensional concept such as public space. Instead, it supports Tornaghi & Knierbein's (2014) understanding of public space: a space that is under constant processes of generation, led by people and being of indirect influence on their everyday lives, and in turn is transformed by their changeable everyday life patterns and societal dynamics. Such perceptions address the lived spaces by tackling the socio-political and cultural contexts relevant at a given time. Hence, public space, here, is considered an outcome of several and ongoing processes between several actors in a sociocultural context and controlled by multiple and varied powers.

Central to the relational conceptions of public space is the strong emphasis on first how the socio-spatial dialect is a 'trans-disciplinary catalyst' that

sustains social change spatially; and second, on recognising inequalities, along with sociocultural and political contexts (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014). Both conceptions of how public space has social potential and the recognition of inequalities can reflect the state of the community's social integration.

This concept will be explored next.

3.2.2. The Concept of Social Integration

In the late nineteenth century, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim first introduced social integration and defined it as an 'ordering feature of society and the outcome of social solidarity and shared values' (Durkheim, 1892; Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019). Bernard (2000) meanwhile describes it as a concept of convenience, as many sociologists formed equivalent concepts and use them interchangeably (e.g., social cohesion; social inclusion; social capital). They also associate social integration with values that are deemed good for societies, such as being tolerant, respectful, and open (Ibid.).

The academic understanding guided this term to be a 'quasi-concept'—that is, hybrid enough to operate within academia and policy (Jenson, 2010). The concept emerged in the policy world in the 80s, perpetuated by globalisation and neoliberalism. Many authors tried to define the concept by addressing several dimensions rather than one single definition that captures all to maintain its flexibility and hybridity of use in academia and policy (Jenson, 2010; Kearns & Forrest, 2000).

O`Connor (1998) suggests that social integration covers three issues:

- What binds the society: the ties resulting from similar values and beliefs.
- Differences and disparities.
- 'Social glue' (refers to networks, associations, and infrastructures).

Berger-Schmitt (2000) refines these into two key dimensions:

- **Inequality.** Promoting equal opportunities and reducing disparities.
- **Social Capital.** Strengthening societal ties.

While the above summaries seek to define social integration, another approach by Jenson *et al*. (1998) focuses on the outcomes of social integration: belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, and legitimacy. The relative importance of these dimensions varies according to context, so the concept itself becomes, in part, socially constructed and context-dependent (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). The importance of context is strengthened by the arguments that associate the concept of social integration with spatiality, and how various socio-spatial dynamics influence the process (Cassiers & Kesteloot, 2012; Kearns & Forrest, 2000; Koramaz, 2014; Musterd, 2005). Therefore, this spatial dimension of integration underscores the transformative agency of urban design in all scales national, regional, city-wide, and neighbourhood-wide, including public space design (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). This raises multiple questions concerning what public spaces have to offer to processes of social integration.

3.2.3. Social Integration vis- à -vis Public Space: The Dual Concept

A recent report by The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2018, p. 80) mentions the fact that effective integration is place-based, works on a local scale, and creates public spaces of interaction as a means to achieve it. This section looks at how sociocultural integration is supported by public space production processes, and, in particular, the duality of public space *vis-à-vis* social integration with refugees.

Public spaces, with their crucial role in social lives (Dines *et al*., 2006), constitute a large part of the every day of many residents, including refugees. Fawaz (2017) argues how integration is entrenched within the every day and surpasses the arrival platforms of refugees. Hence, public spaces are considered tools to attain and maintain integration and cohesion (Parkinson, 2012), and by doing that, the agency of public space is expanded to the politics of public space production (OECD, 2018). In thinking about the potential of public open spaces (POS) to support social integration, at a simple level, different types of urban outdoor space offer the opportunity for

everyday activities to take place, which bring people together in 'normal circumstances' (i.e., not specifically 'integration activities' (OECD, 2018, p. 128)). As public space hosts encounter both local communities and refugees, the contact between the different publics can reduce prejudices, increase familiarity (Allport, 1954), and promote tolerance and integration (Ganji & Rishbeth, 2020).

Disputing this stance is the distinction between meaningful and fleeting encounters that Valentine (2008) raises: here, she argues that encounters, if banal and fleeting, cannot lead to wider changes in society, and are not enough to reduce conflict (Amin, 2008). These encounters resemble the 'situated' multiplicity (Amin, 2008, p. 8) as a characteristic of the urban realm where people and things are in a state described as 'throwntogetherne*ss*' (Massey, 2005, p. 296). Vertovec (2007) adds that sustained or meaningful encounters are not necessarily an outcome of small-scale interactions within public realm encounters; encounters can be bounded with indifference in a way that makes people live parallel lives (Valentine, 2008) without any sort of interaction, and resemble the phenomenon of the familiar stranger (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007, p. 10).

While it seems plausible that strangers developing longstanding 'meaningful' relationships from chance outdoor encounters is extremely rare, Granovetter (1976) highlights the potential of the weak ties resulting from sustained encounters, and even the small gestures of recognition between different users. What Kohlbacher *et al.* (2015, p. 449) call 'nodding relationships' are argued to be important for migrants' social integration; such ties are classified as bridging in Putnam's (2000) theory of social capital, which identifies three forms of social capital: bonding (which refers to horizontal ties within similar groups), bridging (which refers to horizontal ties across different groups), and linking (which refers to vertical links between individuals and groups to the institutions and organisations outside their immediate communities).

However, both Dines *et al.*, (2006) and Sandercock (2003) backed up the idea that positive interaction can emerge in public spaces, but they mostly will not initiate friendly relationships. However, they can be an 'important positive precursor' (Phillips & Robinson, 2015, as cited in Rishbeth *et al.*, 2018).

Even still, here, the focus is still on positive encounters, and how these play out in practice is understudied (Selim, 2015).

Many studies try to find relationships between the role of the good-quality design of built environments in achieving social cohesion (Dempsey, 2009; Gehl & Gemzøe, 1996). Identified as 'spaces of potential', Lownsbrough & Beunderman (2007) list eight types of space that can enhance social capital with its three forms (Putnam, 2000) and result in a well-functioning public realm. These spaces are:

- Exchange spaces (i.e., markets).

- Productive spaces (i.e., communal gardens).

- Spaces of service provision (i.e., small physical interventions, like a sheltered school gate).

- Activity spaces (i.e., a sports field).

- Democratic spaces (i.e., self-built spaces).

- In-between spaces (i.e., territorial spaces between communities).

- Virtual spaces (i.e., networking apps).

- Staged spaces (i.e., curated programs).

To support the potential of these spaces for diverse interactions, Lownsbrough & Beunderman (2007) listed some recommendations for practitioners and policymakers that included: flexible usage of space or looseness (Franck & Stevens, 2006); set aims to create safety; adopt indirect approaches to foster positive interactions (and don't promote them); and, finally, embrace creativity in finding novel uses of POS.

Rishbeth *et al.* (2018: p. 48, p. 49) developed four principles on how ethnographic understandings of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods can inform urban design practice:

- Support straightforward participation and activity in public realms.
- Legitimise different uses of POS.
- Maximise the potential of street edges to offer opportunities for micro-retreats.
- Address structural inequalities of open space provision.

In their book *Public Space Design and Social Cohesion*, Aelbrecht & Stevens (2019, p. 336) look at the enabling power of urban design and recommend design principles that promote social cohesion. They stem their recommendations from the spatial dimensions of social cohesion (Kearns & Forrest, 2000) and studies tackling the influence of the interplay of the social and physical factors affecting the social integration of different users (Cattell *et al*., 2008; Dempsey, 2009). They recommend a range of principles, some being well-established urban design principles (e.g., accessibility; visibility (physically reachable); adaptability); the others being less commonly addressed (e.g., congestion; spatial novelty; informality). To go into detail, 'congestion' means designing for more users and more interaction between them, while 'novel design' is the creation of loose designs that encompass a wider range of typologies, uses, and users of public spaces. On the other hand, 'informality' is to take lessons from the global south cities and explore how the informal activities there enrich experiences and enable the potential for social integration.

The book introduces this dual concept and displays an original first attempt (as they claim) to compare international cases regarding public space design and social cohesion (Ibid.). Nonetheless, many sociocultural integration projects include innovative approaches, such as working on soft and hard public space interventions with direct and indirect aims of integration (Bagwell *et al*., 2012; Boston Society of Architects (BSA), 2018; Flemsæter *et al*., 2015; Rishbeth *et al*., 2017; UN-Habitat, 2018).

We now turn to explore a few case studies in more detail, where there has been a clear aim to integrate theory and practice for improving integration in public open spaces in a range of contexts.

3.2.3.1. Case Studies

Refugees Welcome in Parks:

Refugees Welcome in Parks (Rishbeth *et al*., 2017) is a good example of a project interweaving public space usage and sociocultural integration and connecting approaches with practical recommendations and case studies. The project highlights the holistic approaches of integrative practices in public

spaces. The project, which was open to a wide range of ideas and initiatives supporting refugees' access to parks, displayed examples from different cities across northern Europe.

The main aims of their promoted holistic approach (Rishbeth *et al*., 2017, p. 7), as illustrated in Figure 9, are :

- To increase refugees' autonomy by providing them with information.
- To use and build healthy social networks by creating specific groups and volunteering opportunities.
- To support respite by establishing steps to exploit the therapeutic potentials of public spaces.
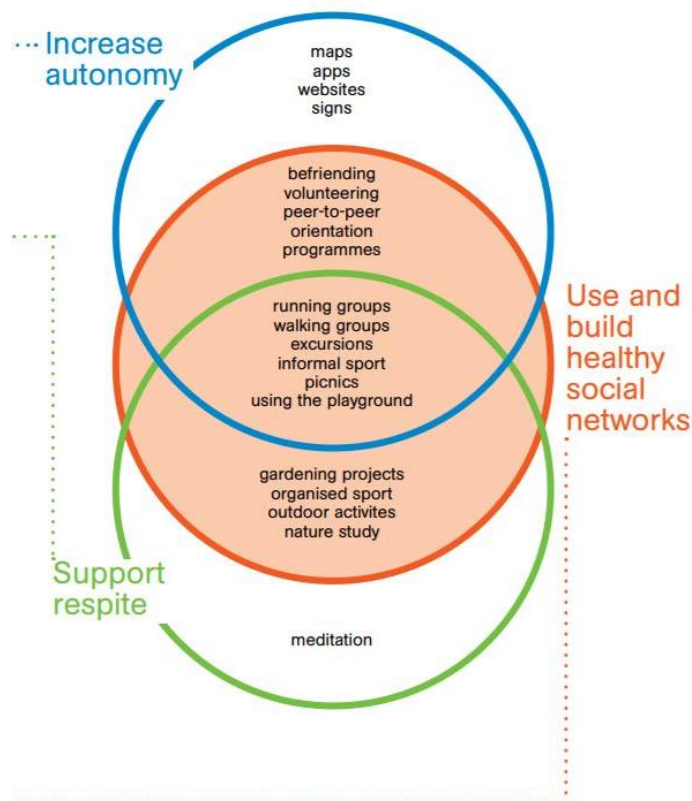
Figure 9: The embedded aims of the Refugees Welcome in Parks approach. Source: (Rishbeth et al., 2017, p. 7).

The aims are operationalised and structured in four themes (p. 9): 'find', 'chat', 'join in', and 'feel better'. Each theme is supported with portrayed examples from different cities.

Examples that cover the 'find' theme revolve around making refugees understand the culture and diversity of parks (i.e., orientation walks; information hubs); meanwhile, 'chat' is more about building relationships (i.e., Open Air kitchens). Further, 'join in' is mor:e about the range of free activities that are available to refugees and asylum seekers (i.e., football and cultivating programs). Finally, 'feel better' centres on wellbeing and mental health (i.e., horticulture therapy; cycling clubs for wellbeing).

The Syria Initiative:

Another example that is more concerned with the physical construction and design of public spaces for refugee children and young adults to play and interact is the Syria Initiative (Boston Society of Architects (BSA), 2018). The initiative introduced child-focused public spaces to support positive interactions, social cohesion, and healing. The outcome was a playground in a Lebanese refugee camp, with a modular system design (see Figure 10). This is a replicable model that can be replicated in areas of crisis within reactive timeframes in any other location.

Figure 10: The Syria Initiative Playground with its modular system design. Source: (Boston Society of Architects (BSA), 2018, p. 13).

The Norwegian Friluftsliv Culture for Everyone:

Friluftsliv is a major component of national Norwegian identity and refers to the range of activities that take place in the open air during leisure time with the aim of changing scenery and nature experiences (Flemsæter *et al*., 2015). *Friluftsliv* secures Norwegian citizens the right to practice all sorts of activity in the outdoors and is highly linked with the national normativity of the Norwegian outdoor (Ibid.). However, a major challenge for this project is the perception that this culture is simple and needs no prior knowledge or training. The link between the citizenship and politics of *Friluftsliv* is expanded to include and think about asylum seekers and refugees' experiences, and to encompass that within the national culture.

Some globally driven initiatives have emerged in the Middle Eastern region, where the intertwining of public space and integration is still not often realised; for instance, the UN-Habitat projects in Palestine and Amman or PPS Placemaking for Peace-Making in Lebanon (Jalkh, 2017).

Placemaking for Peace-Making:

Initiated by Jalkh (2017) as a two-way approach for promoting inclusion and interaction in unstable and socially fragmented cities, this approach highlights that peace-making is a process rather than an outcome. He defines peace-making as a creative process to engage with the other to touch upon the root causes of conflict. Echoed by Place Making MENA in Aleppo, who initiated a workshop for architects and activists involved in the rehabilitation of the City of Aleppo, Syria, the workshop addressed placemaking processes that aim to create encounters between diverse users and create places where conflicting ideas, goals, and lifestyles meet.

As social integration in the global south is more context-specific, it is important to address it with attentiveness to context and with increased cultural literacy (Brecknock, 2006) by the networks of the actors and outsider forces who shape the integration of refugees, along with the individual agency of refugees (Astolfo et al., 2020, p. 53). The following section provides a theoretical exploration of actors and public spaces.

3.3. Actors and Public Spaces: Agency and Assemblage

3.3.1. Public Space Actors

'*The provision or transformation of a public space touches upon the interests and values of a wide variety of actors (individuals, groups or institutions) with different driving dynamics and histories, with diverse concerns about and attachments to the same place. From institutions, corporations, and investors (funders) to politicians and policymakers (regulators), from developers, planners and designers (producers) to occupiers and everyday users, different actors claim public spaces in different ways in order to carry out desired activities or achieve a desired state (Carr et al., 1992).*'

- Calderon & Chelleri (2013, p. 3)

The field of urban design has witnessed a growing interest in understanding the interdisciplinary processes of the production of public spaces and has structured the actors and forces responsible for these processes (Calderon & Chelleri, 2013; Inam, 2002; Schmidt & Németh, 2010; Thompson, 2002) central to Lefebvre's theoretical conceptualisations (Lefebvre, 1991) that place importance on addressing space (and thus public space) with consideration to wider socio-political contexts. Massey (2005) considers space as an outcome of complex processes with many actors involved, while Calderon & Chelleri (2013) suggest looking at actors as a means to apprehend the production processes of public spaces—especially actors of influence. These suggestions are influencing the urban design field, and yet these actors involved in the complex POS production processes are still understudied (Inam, 2002).

Studies that look at pluralistic and multicultural users prioritise understanding the actors of public spaces (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009; Thompson, 2002). Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht (2009, p. 266), drawing from Sandercock (2003), raise the notion that we should ask ourselves how cities can better integrate immigrants, with a particular focus on public space and its related actors. Relatively, when looking at similar processes that adopt integration via public spaces, OECD (2018: 85) emphasises the importance of identifying and mapping actors and their relationships when it comes to addressing integration effectively. Mapping actors means rethinking critically the meaning and intention of the role of each actor, as well as the built environment (Schneider & Till, 2009). Hence, understanding the roles of actors and the relationships between them is the main objective of this study (see Chapter 1's Research Question 1 (RQ1) and RQ2).

This research tackles actors like funders, regulators, and producers, in addition to refugees as users. It also places attention on exploring actors who are defined by Mady (2018) as public space suppliers who can be committed to justice. These actors can be also addressed as the new growing urban creative class who are influential agents of society and can shape the future (Florida, 2011), or public space entrepreneurs (Mady, 2018). These actors expand the agency of urban design towards transformative change, and can

also be described as public space intellectuals (Ng, 2014) who are trying to critically transform rather than maintain the system.

Some of these actors, as the focus of this study, resemble the actors responsible for what Rishbeth *et al.* (2019, p. 127) term as 'curating sociability'. This term defines intentional action that can range from various strategies, tools, and projects to support refugees in accessing, benefiting, and visiting urban greenspace. Here, curators are attentive to the fact that refugees and asylum seekers can be isolated, and so promote activities as initial points of contact and orientation. They list three characteristics of curating sociability approaches: invitation, purpose, and activity. The combination of these helps first in orienting them to have a foothold, giving them a sense of autonomy and agency to leave a footprint in their new environments. This then offers them a broader change that leads to integration (Ibid. p. 132).

As this research focuses on integration, it responds to Astolfo *et al.* (2020, p. 53) in including refugees with their individual agency when exploring networks of actors and outsider forces who shape integration. Henceforth, the studied actors (who are also looked at as agents) are not necessarily included in Florida's creative class descriptors, as the actors covered in this study range from state planners to actors who would not necessarily see themselves as creative or are not directly related to POS. For instance, the research considers occupiers of public space and everyday users (Calderon & Chelleri, 2013), specifically refugees, as major actors with agency (see [Chapter 1's RQ3 and 4](#)).

Linking agency, actors, and public space is associated with Mouffe's idea of 'agonistic politics' (2005, p. 805), which consider public space as a contested battlefield with continual confrontations of different actors, negating any potential of future intersection or junction—a field that includes different players, who can be architects, planners, artists, policymakers, and ordinary citizens.

The following section will cover agency through a broader lens, providing a definition and linking it to Deluzian concepts and network theories, as encouraged by Doucet & Cupers (2009) (who recommend such concepts to

find the meaning of agency altogether). Finally, it introduces discussions around agency and refugees.

3.3.2. Defining Agency

'Agent' in the Cambridge dictionary (2011) is defined as 'a person or a thing that produces a particular effect or change'. Agencies can link to empowerment when acting as an agent on behalf of others (Awan *et al.*, 2011). Here, two interrelated understandings of agencies can be drawn: agents with goal-oriented intention to create change; and the unintentional multiplicity of activities in different situations (Doucet & Cupers, 2009). Agency is linked to rethinking criticality, determination, and intentionality (Ibid.), and is intimately related to 'acting otherwise' (Schneider & Till, 2009); it is a concept that critically tries not only to examine how things work but to also find the meaning and role of actor and object and have the drive to create alternative worlds (Doucet & Cupers, 2009).

The Agency Group (2009) proposes agency as a notion that applies not only to architecture, but also to teaching, pedagogy, social activism, and even academic events; they see that agency brings a transformative programme to reflect on the intellectual, social, and political issues, and to do this in the ordinary multivalent encounters using activism of a grassroots nature and participatory procedures.

This relates to how agency tries to connect systems, modify boundaries, or restructure the systems themselves; it transforms the rigid spaces of the city into an open flow of smooth spaces. This is reminiscent of Deleuze & Guattari's notion of spaces like the desert or the sea, or even the open spaces of nomads; spaces that are exposed to continuous processes of redefinition by movement and culture (Livesey, 2009). Accordingly, political agency is seen as political, and has the capability to initiate a collective process of social change (Baltazar & Kapp, 2009).

The role of agency is transitional in nature, and can take many forms; it requires acting between and within theory, practise, pedagogy, and civic life (Schneider & Till, 2009). Different scholars introduce categories of agency, Kossak *et al.* (2009) for one categorising them as actors who intervene,

sustain, or mediate. Charley (2008) meanwhile saw critique as a starting point to the role of the agent to resist several hegemonic and destructive practices (e.g., neoliberal policy; socio-spatial inequality). The critique leads to the finding of a well-engaged alternative practice (Charley, 2008).

For Ghorashi *et al*. (2018, p. 377), reflection is one form of agency. Here agency refers to the capacity of individuals to reflect their situations, with some level of discursive consciousness, which can influence action and change.

Inspired by the aforementioned importance of critique as an agent's role, I question myself as an agent among the other studied agents in this research and reflect on that as a major objective of this study (see Chapter 1's RQ6). I believe I can highlight and critique to provide a better understanding of public space integrative processes in Amman and to contribute to better, well-engaged practice.

This understanding was aided by methods motivated by Deleuze & Guattari's 'agencement' as a way to apprehend agency and its various forms.

3.3.3. Deleuze & Guattari's Agencement

Tracing agency can start with the theory of assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) as the groundwork of critical urban theory (Brenner *et al*., 2011; McFarlane, 2011). The word 'agency' is derived from the French concept 'agencement', or operating arrangement (Livesey, 2009). The concepts of this theory have been mobilised in various manners (Marcus & Saka, 2006), and have been utilised widely as major tools that do more than fill a descriptive role for urban spaces and cities (Farías & Bender, 2010) such as highlighting the neglected details of the spatialities of the urban environment (McFarlane, 2011).

The theory structures the city as a complex socio-spatial assemblage of components: people, organisations, policies, practices, buildings, and settlements. The parts are created and identified by the flows, connections, interactions, and alliances they enter into (Farías & Bender, 2010). It apprehends the city as an ecological arrangement that is constantly merging

harmonic elements that are inhabiting the city to shape new assemblages—which indicates the organic nature of unexpected connections that are constantly evolving and shifting (McFarlane, 2011).

Deleuze & Guttari address the idea that the agency of assemblage accommodates the interconnection of the singularities of social, structural, and territorial natures; they view assemblages as a multiplicity of forces, taking into consideration that such forces have notable levels of creativity and innovation and work towards rearranging boundaries and destabilising other hegemonic forces (Rajchman, 2000). Socially, they include groups that are different and resisting to assimilating or acting against state and capitalism; they contain former nomads, the homeless, and subcultures. Although they started with the individual agent as the first category of agent, the role of an individual is modestly considered when compared with the other two categories provided (Delanda, 2006), which include the bureaucratic structures and forces within the system. However, they consider the capability of certain agents, like philosophers, writers, leaders, community activists, and artists, to mediate, shape forces, and cause change.

3.3.3.1. The Intentional vs the Unintentional

Two interrelated understandings of agency can be drawn: the first is the agency with the goal-oriented intention to create change; the second is the unintentional and non-oriented one, revealed by the multiplicity of activities in different situations (Doucet & Cupers, 2009; Lash & Picon, 2009).

Both the intentional and unintentional work together, Delanda (2006) highlighting the unintended consequences of intended actions and how new structures can be formed as a consequence. These consequences, along with both the intended and the unintended from the beginning, reflect how different forces are at play within an assemblage. This has provided this research with a framework to understand and transverse the different actors within the studied assemblage (see Chapter 1's RQ5).

In terms of the intention of agency, Awan incorporates both understandings in her works concerning spatial agencies (Awan *et al*., 2011) and diasporic agencies (2016). Spatial agents are defined as individuals or groups creating

intentional change through empowering others, providing new potential for them to engage in their spatial environments. She maps operations of spatial agents into multiple themes of politics, pedagogy, humanitarian crisis, profession, and ecology. In her latter work, she connects the unintentional production of agency and the diasporic inhabitation of space and acting 'otherwise'. Both of her books look at these agents' spatial influences in different contexts (i.e., the streets; public space; virtual spaces) and display discussions that rely on the Lefebvrian production of space, showing that these processes are embedded in a wide social context and are not necessarily attained by experts or professionals (Awan *et al.*, 2011, p. 30).

Two main forms of agency are of interest to this research: first is the secondary agency (actors who have the knowledge and means but have secondary positions, apart from forces of power (i.e., researchers, designers, planners, and activists)); second is the unintentional agency of refugees.

3.3.3.2. The Concept of 'Secondary Agency': The Intentional

The concept of secondary agency is of major importance to this research, as many of the actors studied in this research develop their actions from secondary positions, at a distance from forces of power. This form of agency does not represent powerful entities or the marginal or excluded; rather, they are the intermediate actors who have access to the means and agencies to create change indirectly, yet they do not have or use power directly (Vais, 2009). Although they freely and creatively operate, they must adhere to powerful structures such as state authorities, municipalities, and organisations.

However, these positions have creative forces to initiate change, and, indeed, they commence change. This ability to cause change is what distinguishes the secondary from the refugees' agency. The secondary understands that their effective power is in their alliance, and assemblage, creating what Groys (2005) calls a 'situation of multiple authorships'. The outcome of their actions varies in nature: they are indirect, incomplete, situational, and delegated, with effects of delay, rebound, and unpredictability.

Discussions related to the theory of assemblage have informed this research in approaching the network of studied actors with varying levels of power and in equally investigating authoritative structures (see Chapter 5), capable agents who have the means to mediate and change (e.g., researchers, architects, and planners) (see Chapters 6 and 7), and individuals and refugees (see Chapters 8 and 9).

Although this form of agency is vital, examining the agency of the unintentional through the consideration of their everyday practices can disclose new possibilities and highlight 'theory from the bottom up' (Vais, 2009). This research places a major focus on everyday practices as a way to apprehend the unintentional agency of refugees in their everyday uses of space (see Chapter 1's RQ3 and 4). This will also be theoretically discussed later in this chapter.

3.3.3.3. Agency and Refugees: The Unintentional

There are many discussions around (the lack of) agency and refugees, described as having a 'bare life' (Agamben, 1998), being liminal, and 'living life in limbo' (Gorashi *et al*., 2017: p. 383), amongst other descriptions that try to illustrate the factors behind refugees' limited agency to negotiate rights (Ibid.). Factors like their informal legal status combined with socially excluded settings, financial or legal restrictions on mobility and work, and lack of knowledge about new countries systems (Ibid.) are considered—yet there is an increasing body of research that questions refugees' agency and whether they are agents of change or passive victims (Ghorashi, 2005). This argues against reducing refugees' life into bare life or as passive indifferent individuals (Fresia & Von Känel, 2016, p. 252).

Ghorashi *et al*. (2018) explore several alternative forms of agency that exist within refugee communities. They summarise agency as actively getting things done; actively resisting against visible forms of power; resisting normalised structures through reflective consciousness; maintaining a delayed form inspired by dreams and desires, without immediate actions; or choosing marginality in relation to power (Ibid. p. 377). In their study concerning

Dutch asylum seekers in the Netherlands (2018), they detected the last two forms of agency and titled them as 'unexpected agencies'. One interesting form listed is the delayed agency, which they describe as one form that does not include a direct form of action but rather serves as a source of inspiration to other forms (i.e. resisting against forms of power, reflecting against structures).

By giving an example of how refugees transform spaces into meaningful places, they state that considering alternative forms of agency (delayed agency and other unexpected forms) can have great implications on refugees' wellbeing and long-term inclusion (Ghorashi *et al.*, 2018, p. 373)—which of course relates to this research's objective in providing understandings that can inform practices and enhance refugees' experiences and integration (see Chapter 1's RQ5).

Gotham (2003) proposes that the agency of refugees can be better understood by capturing how they use space to create a better life of security and trust (Gotham, 2003). This understanding has linked RQ3 and RQ4 together (see Chapter 1), meaning that the situating of refugees' agency in this study required a socio-spatial understanding of their experiences.

3.4. Refugees' Spatial Everyday Experiences in Public Spaces

Migration literature works from economic, political, and legal dimensions, while the social dimensions of daily experiences are, to some extent, overlooked (Blachnicka-Ciacek, 2020), and when addressed, they are presented in a static point of time (Eastmond, 2007) rather than as a complex process that holds within it an intertwining of refugees, past and present (Blachnicka-Ciacek, 2020). Secor (2004, p. 353) emphasises looking at the scale of everyday and urban settings; she highlights that spaces like neighbourhoods, public parks, streets, and buildings are the medium through which hosts struggle to build citizenship. According to Darling (2017), more attention should be directed to cities' public spaces so better insights about refugees' spatial experiences can be garnered—and so the attention can be

shifted from abstractly conceiving identities at a macro-scale to the micro-experiences of the every day (Secor, 2004). As many refugees tend to stay for years and are not usually short-term residents (Bekkering *et al*., 2017, p. 34), public spaces as a setting of everyday spatialities become more vital (Chase *et al*., 2008; De Certeau, 1984). This clearly links to what is mentioned in our previous section by authors such as Fawaz, Dines, and Parkinson concerning the role of public spaces in refugees' social lives and their integration processes.

However, this section places more attention on what occurs through refugees' every day, as refugees' collective experiences and forms of life reveal many nuances of the lived spaces and places and reflect the interplay between individual and hegemonic public narratives about refugees (Datta, 2009). In understanding sociocultural integration of the refugees and minorities, we can reach a conclusion that is similar to Parkinson's (2012) and Aelbrecht & Stevens' (2019), who suggest that how they use and perceive public spaces in part reflects the dimensions of social and structural integration in their everyday lives. Therefore, they place importance on socio-spatial experiences in public spaces to capture this duality of public space and social integration.

Wise & Velayutham's (2009) influential book *Everyday Multiculturalism* captures the spatiality of integration as a concept and its relation to spaces of encounter, like public spaces. The book aims to explore how social actors negotiate differences on the ground in contrast to the dominant top-down interests and macro-political approaches—and because social actors are also always spatial (Gotham, 2003), this concept highlights the dynamics of both the social and the spatial (Secor, 2004).

Spicer (2008, p. 492) clarifies how literature tries to understand the experience of place by refugees and asylum seekers: 'To understand the meanings individuals and groups attach to 'place', how individual and group identities are constituted and reconstituted in particular places, and how people develop attachments and feelings of belonging to places linked to their everyday lived experiences.'

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Understanding their experiences in public spaces can highlight their perceived points of familiarity in new cities, combined with the constraints associated with these experiences (Rishbeth *et al*., 2019). Kochan (2016) places importance on understanding the tangible and intangible dimensions that influence migrants' spatialities by capturing spatial situatedness to further explore their relatedness, belonging, and experiences (Datta, 2009). However, it is important to note that refugees' everyday experiences in public spaces can vary from public spaces that are informal and part of the every day to those facilitated by intentional visits to open spaces that support respite and conviviality for refugees (Rishbeth *et al*., 2019).

For refugees and asylum seekers, experiences between and within different places vary based on their positions in relation to ethnic identities, social class, and geographic location (Clayton, 2009, p. 488). Rishbeth *et al*. (2019) add three other positions that make experiences differ, along with geographic location: cultural accessibility, safety, and legal status. These dimensions are highly related to how refugees perceive public spaces as places of exclusion or inclusion (Spicer, 2008). Places of inclusion enable the forming of social networks that promote belonging, opportunities, feelings of security, freedom, and empowerment (Ibid.), whereas spaces of exclusion are products of complex interactions between several factors (Ibid.):

- Poverty and disadvantage.
- Poor health.
- Social, physical, and cultural segregation.
- Restricted spatial mobility.
- Hostility and harassment.
- Vulnerability, fear, stress, and depression.
- Difficulty in establishing social and vertical links with institutions.

In some ways, this relates to Low's (2018) constraints of social contact mentioned above: such constraints affect the interactions of the aforementioned factors, leading to spaces of exclusion being formed.

Both spaces of inclusion and exclusion can be arenas to encounter others and form part of the spatial ordering of refugees' everyday multicultural experiences (Clayton, 2009). In outlining a contact hypothesis, Allport (1954) argues sustained contact can reduce prejudices. However, an entirely positive focus on contact and encounters can be considered overoptimistic (Amin, 2002), as encounters can be fleeting, meaningless, and non-progressive when it comes to long-term social enhancement (Clayton, 2009). But such arguments do not negate the fact that such encounters can be a precursor to more open and democratic communities (Kohlbacher *et al.*, 2015; Young & Allen, 1990). Hence, desirable encounters of meaningful interactions that include minority participation, social cohesion, mixing, active citizenship, and inclusion (Lapina, 2017) are the aims of many refugees' integration projects.

The quotidian experience of public spaces, which is influenced by refugees' practices of belonging (Neal *et al.*, 2015) is associated with their sociocultural integration on a wider scale (Clayton, 2009). This has brought more attention to understanding the processes of belonging, as well as the opportunities and constraints of belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Huizinga & van Hoven, 2018; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Huizinga & van Hoven (2018) discuss belonging as a multidimensional hybrid, that can be located at different scales and sites. To elaborate, belonging can be local, national, and trans-local, and manifested in places that remind them of their home countries. Spaces of exclusion activate the state of seeking to belong in refugees (Yuval-Davis, 2006). The interplay between seeking and granting belonging confirms that belonging is a process with back-and-forth practices of inclusion and exclusion (Visser, 2020).

This interplay can be more understood by the personal and social dimensions of belonging identified by Antonsich (2010, pp. 646–648):

- **The personal dimensions of belonging** encapsulate belonging as an individual. This is negotiated via five interrelated factors:
    - Autobiographical factors, including past experiences and memories.
    - Relational factors, including social ties (strong and weak) that attach the person to their environment.
    - Cultural factors (representations of culture).

- o Economic factors.
- o Legal factors and entitlement to rights.
- **Social dimensions** (alternatively called 'politics of belonging' by Yuval-Davis (2006)). These dimensions interrelate with the previously mentioned dimensions and are more related to concepts of citizenship.

The interplay of dimensions can be played out in encounters with others (Visser, 2020), as encounters are considered to be tools that aid integration between individuals and groups with differences (Huizinga & van Hoven, 2018). However, Phillips *et al*. (2014) suggest that these encounters seem more vital and of benefit to migrants than to the host community. Accordingly, a different perspective is introduced here that refers to a paradoxical gap between geographies of encounter, which explains that host communities are exchanging civilities out of tolerance and as an act of power (Valentine, 2008, p. 325). The power dynamics and how refugees are received as less powerful in their everyday experiences necessitates looking at how scholarship acknowledges refugees' agency and power in their everyday socio-spatial experiences. This will be explored further in the following section.

3.5. The Collective Vernacular Intelligence – Detecting Insurgencies

Wise & Velayutham (2009, p. 2) raise the need to study everyday multicultural experiences as negotiated and experienced from the ground; they suggest that everyday multiculturalism is usually investigated from top-down perspectives and macro-scale theoretical approaches. These micro-dialectics of everyday life have notably been studied from several intellectual perspectives and various landmark writings (De Certeau, 1984; Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1991; McFarlane, 2011; Simone, 2014)—creating a flourishing body of literature that concentrates on the global south, examines everyday life for marginal communities, and explores the implicit urban governance systems behind urban collective actions (Bayat, 1997; Kihato, 2011; Silver, 2014; Simone, 2014).

The global south notably enriched Kihato's (2011, p. 360) perspective on urban governance. She illustrates that in such contexts, 'the state is not simply a homogenous site where rational bureaucratic procedures, negotiated with a participating citizenry, are implemented. Rather, it is a site where multiple actors with varied objectives exist.'

Her perspective echoes Simone (2004, p. 139) when it comes to extending the notion of the infrastructure of cities directly to people's activities in the city, as well as how marginal residents forge relations with one another on the basis of necessity and create micro-changes that Simone describe as vernacular intelligence of the collective.

A very similar stance, this time closer to the Middle East, is taken by Bayat (2010) in his seminal book *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*. The book displays resemblances from across the region, starting from Bayat's home country Iran: it describes the insurgencies of collective individuals as encroachments and of the potential to create change. Such insurgencies, nurtured by systems that lack regulation and planning, are not seen as means to justice due to them being placed in wider unjust planning regimes (Roy, 2009).

The majority of the research on urban collective actions is either descriptive and place-based or directed towards large-scale revolutionary practices with minimum recognition of everyday actions (García-Lamarca, 2017; Padawangi *et al*., 2014). Bayat (2010) highlights the vital need to create tailor-made vocabulary and solutions to understand social change in the public space in the global south, and, precisely, the role of ordinary and informal individuals and the many-sided processes of social agencies in steering and provoking change. He draws attention to the need to flexibly approach social movement in the Middle East in a different way than the orientalist outlook based on theories of the western experience, and to apprehend unconventional forms of agency that do not take adequate attention because they do not fit into the existing western theories. He suggests that collective actions can be drastically different based on the context and that insurgencies in the west are much more explicit in demands,

well-represented, and organised compared to those in the global south; meanwhile, the social realities remain closed, and settings continue to face technological limitations. His approach rejects the uncritical application of universal concepts and introduces the need for new perspectives to observe, vocabularies to speak, and analytical tools to understand this specific region reality—particularly through a clearer understanding of the dynamics and power of collective action.

Bayat (2010) labels the appropriation of urban space and resources that leads to social change by the term 'quiet encroachment', and explains it as being a state of affairs that he terms 'a non-movement' (the holistic sum of a multiplicity of everyday practices to acquire the basic necessities of life (public space, for example)). The term was further defined later in the second edition of his book (2013) as 'collective actions of non-collective actors who represent shared practices of multiple ordinary people with akin but fragmented quotidian practices that instigate meaningful social change, even though these practices are not guided by any formal ideology or leadership'. Together, they perform, negotiate, and resist politics as a part of articulating their (trans)identities (Ibid.). Here, Bayat introduces a wide spectrum of social change, believing that social movements are not necessarily revolutionary, but are attempts to make just spaces and to link individuals to their basic rights of services and spaces (Ballard, 2015), and are not necessarily restricted to macro-level issues, but also meso-level problems of lifestyle (Vihalemm, 2015).

In this research, the collective experiences created by migrants in public spaces and the active participation in the public realm is of interest, as these experiences of the collective can defeat stereotypes and can help refugees to shape their local community (OECD, 2018, p. 38). Many studies highlight the link between minorities' participation in societal activities and sociocultural integration (Musterd, 2005, p. 341), as well as how collective participation is one dimension of a sustainable community (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011).

Neal (2009) links 'new arrivals to a city' with the process of redefining both private and public space by mentioning Holston's insurgent citizenship

(1998), which justifies migrants and marginalised groups in seeking public life participation and thus influencing space. This shifting process includes both formal and informal public spaces (Rappaport, 1981) and finding a diverse set of hybrid formal attributes or adaptations in these spaces as outcomes of refugees' activity. This implicates a detection of migrant's agency, which is alternatively expressed by Cairns (2004) as architecture-by-migrants.

In the Arab cities of conflict, where refugees' presence is labelled as a 'burden' to cities (Fawaz *et al*., 2018), an alternative perception captures the refugees' individual agency and labels them as city-makers (Ibid.) is needed. Reiterating the concept of Pioneer Migrants (Bakewell *et al., 2012), Fawaz et al*. (2018) tag refugees as homemakers, city navigators, urban producers, and political subjects. They place importance on looking at the possibilities of the collective and emerging solidarities of refugees. Their articulation represents refugees as active, competent agents in a long-term process of change.

Writing from a north American context, Sandercock (2003) also links networks of migration to the spaces of emergent identities and their social organisation and called them spaces of insurgent citizenship. Linking collective experiences with insurgency relates to many of the current debates on public spaces that are concerned with new patterns and emerging public practices that challenge existing practices (Franck & Stevens, 2006; Hou, 2010). Ballard (2015) examined themes emerging from the abovementioned literature (Bayat, Holston, Simone, and others) on how ordinary people

With a slightly different emphasis, Cancellieri (2017) describes the collective experiences of immigrants that instigates change as 'home-making' practices. Capturing these practices is highlighted in Awan's (2016) book *Diasporic Agency*, and presents research that can reveal the threshold-crossing capacity of home to extend and link migrants and places (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p. 518). To Cancellieri (2017, p. 50) the urban experience of migrants can imply how 'home' emerges in new places, as home-making practices can shift outside domestic spaces (Rappaport, 1981; Relph, 1981).

3.6. Summary

This literature review has provided the framework for this research through the interweaving of insights between public space research and social integration. It has linked the role of the actors in the proposed duality between public space and social integration and proposed the theory of Agency and Assemblage as methodological strategies to understand their role. It has further explored actors in terms of intentionality, leading to the exploration and framing of the unintentional everyday practices of refugees and associating them with belonging as a process and spaces of inclusion and exclusion. The chapter has also demonstrated rising trajectories that appreciate and highlight the intelligence of refugees' agency and has brought concepts from multiple disciplines together in line with a relational perspective on public space.

Connecting different themes of collective agency (whether expected, unexpected, or unintentional) with concepts of insurgency prompted asking to what extent refugees' practice in Amman POS are of influence to reshape the POS production process and informed exploring forms of refugees agency in this study (explored in chapter 10).

Finally, the discussions presented in this literature review have informed both the focus of research questions and the methodological approach of this research, which will be extended in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter defines my overall methodological approach and its scope and scale. This includes the philosophical and theoretical framework, fieldwork process and phases, and the underlying structure of Feminist Participatory Action Research (PAR) in the research. I also cover the analytical approach utilised and the research ethics and integrity adhered to, concluding with reflections on the methodological approaches implemented as a whole.

The fieldwork process was initially designed as a two-phase plan: the first (main) phase, implemented in 2019, had a critical ethnographic approach aiming to identify and explore a range of the involved actors, including the refugees and myself as a researcher; and the second phase had a participatory nature and intended to link the studied actors with the refugees in the spring of 2020. However, this latter phase was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

4.2. Research Aims and Objectives

The overarching aim of this thesis is to explore public open space- (POS) production processes for integrative purposes in Amman, with a central emphasis on the multiplicity of actors who produce, authorise, educate, activate, advocate, fund, and use public spaces for sociocultural integration in Amman. The research has been developed from an ambitious framework comprised of four main components: understand, enhance, amplify, and reflect. Each component has been explored through the following of the research objectives and related research questions and sub-questions.

- **Understand.**

- **RQ1:** To identify and understand the roles of the different actors involved in public space-production processes, where there is some stated intention (however peripheral) to integrate refugees. What is the impact of their operative role? What are the threats and barriers facing them? What are their aspirations?

- **RQ2:** To provide a relational understanding by investigating how the actors perceive diversity and collaborate (or don't) with refugees, refugee support organisations, and other POS actors. How do the actors perceive, access, and include refugees in their practices? What are the links and gaps between the collective actors?

- **RQ3:** To provide a socio-spatial understanding by exploring refugees' outdoor experiences in Amman. How do refugees perceive and use POS? What are the values given to POS? What are the barriers and obstacles standing in the way of their POS experiences?

- **RQ4**: Situating refugees' agency within the network of the studied actors. How can a better socio-spatial understanding of refugees' everyday outdoor experiences help in detecting their agency and contribution to POS experiences?

- **Enhance and Amplify.**

  - **RQ5:** To transverse relational and socio-spatial understandings to enhance and amplify refugees' outdoor experiences and the POS sector in general. What recommendations can be made from this research to inform different actors and practices to enhance the POS sector and hence refugees' experiences in POS? How can transversed understandings of refugees' everyday outdoor experiences improve their agency and contribution POS production?

- **Reflect.**

  - **RQ6:** To situate the researcher's agency within the network of the studied actors. What are the research-actor dynamics that emerge? What are the possible ways for the researcher to contribute to initiate change within this network of studied actors and to expand this influence to the city of Amman itself?

The aforementioned research questions and objectives were governed and influenced by a philosophical and theoretical framework that is discussed below.

4.3. Philosophical and Theoretical Framework

The essence of this research aims to detect the everyday practices of different agents, who are aiming to support change, and their influence. Thus, this research adopts a critical approach that has transformative social justice intentions (Ledwith, 2007). The general methodological framework is critical feminist ethnography as action research (Reason, 2004), which was designed in harmony with a robust philosophical framework that informed the methodological concepts adopted. Based on criticality as the primary philosophical perspective, this research is influenced by feminist ontologies and epistemologies.

4.3.1 Critical Theory and the Feminist Ontologies and Epistemologies

The primary philosophical perspective in this research follows the critical theory the researcher adopts—an explicit ideological perspective that governs all stages of research named Feminist PAR (Participatory Action Research). Critical theory promotes such research, and its related investigations should alter situations of oppression and initiate change (Crotty, 1998; Moon & Blackman, 2014). Figure 11 illustrates the related ontological and epistemological approaches in this research.

The neo-materialism ontological approach, which is central to the fourth wave of feminism (the post-structural turn), addresses notions that are relevant to this research (e.g., power structures; the agency of the everyday; human versus nonhuman relations and interactions; the subjectivity of humans and women in particular) (Coole & Frost, 2010; Fox & Alldred, 2014). This ontology has directed the theoretical framework and influenced

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the research with theories that reflect non-materialism, such as the theory of assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), the theory of agency (Delanda, 2006), and the articulation of agency (Latour, 2005) (see Chapter 3).

The feminist epistemologies that govern this research combine constructionism and subjectivism, whereby the meaning is depicted both within the subjects and from the interplay between the subject and object (Moon & Blackman, 2014). Neo-materialism has steered the epistemological inquiry of this research towards creative mobile research methods (Law & Urry, 2004), giving voice to experience (Stewart, 2013), and lay knowledge (Candy, 2006) through a series of embedded ethno-cases (Parker-Jenkins, 2018), including a mobile method called The Hangout (Geertz, 1998). The different methods in this research were designed to reflect the essence of these theories.

Figure 11: The theoretical perspective of this research with related ontologies and epistemologies. Source: Author, 2019.

4.3.2. Feminist PAR, Critical Ethnography, and an Ethno-Case Study

The methodological framework implemented here was designed in accordance with Feminist PAR, which endeavours to comprehend diversity and allow empowerment and involves talking to women, understanding particularities, and producing a rational framing of everyday social activities using subjective representations (Gatenby & Humphries, 2000; Reason, 1994). It additionally combines multi-methods to enable the linking of data collection and action and to illuminate any unexamined areas (Reinharz, 1992).

Feminist PAR has been utilised for involvement, activism, and social critique to achieve social liberation and change (Gatenby & Humphries, 2000; Reason, 1994). This methodology commits to empowering disadvantaged groups by contributing to knowledge-production and conducting research and helping to attain thoroughness, immediate responsivity, and credibility (Reinharz, 1992). Accordingly, this research was planned to shift between methodological phases and different scales in accordance with the inquiry at hand, as well as to achieve general aims. However, not all the planned phases of the Feminist PAR were conducted due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This limitation will be discussed further later.

Feminist PAR is highly compatible with critical ethnography; both the methodological designs are well-matched in terms of their goals, attentiveness to power relations, and collaborative nature. In such a way that makes juxtaposing them fruitful and productive. This in turn opens the door for integrating both in productive synthesis (Hemment, 2007).

Ethnography, which is rooted in anthropology, is concerned with people's everyday lives in their immediate contexts (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and aims to produce thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) about people and their cultures, interactions, and relations to provide an overlapped understanding that merges, to some extent, both the 'insider' and 'outsider' position of the researcher. Traditionally, the term refers to 'a long-term practice and long periods of research on-site' (Parker-Jenkins, 2018), and is a particular research approach that encompasses several methods, such as interviews

(both structured and not), observations, narrative collection, historical research, and contextual participation (Crowley-Henry, 2009).

However, critical ethnography differs from the traditional ethnographic methods in seeking emic knowledge considering its attempts to associate the analysis of ethnography to broader social, political, and power structures and wider systems (Carspecken & Walford, 2001; Madison, 2005). Therefore, it unifies with feminism and promotes emancipation, studies power dynamics, and adopts the highlighting of political dimensions (Madison, 2005).

In contrast to traditional ethnography, this ethnographic approach encourages the integration of details about the researcher's journey when it comes to understanding context and participants, believing that the experiences and motivations of a researcher are relevant to the broader enquiry (Crowley-Henry, 2009). The criticality here problematises the researcher's positioning and role throughout the research process (Parker-Jenkins, 2018). Although the dilemma of 'being here' and 'being there' has always been discussed, ethnography has always been manifested from an emic perspective (i.e., from the participant's point of view, rather than the ethnographer's) (Geertz, 1973). Feminist notions and the emergence of multiple epistemologies influenced the reflexive turn (Emerson, 2001), and, simultaneously, several different types of ethnography surfaced, along with the classical (for example the focused, critical, natural, and feminist) (Atkinson *et al*., 2001). This shifted the role of ethnography (Coffey, 1999) to integrate both the insider and outsider (Clifford & Marcus, 1985) and acknowledge the positionality of the researcher, understanding him/her as an 'interpretative lens' and that the field itself can influence the researcher, too (Creswell, 2007).

Ingold's call for integrating participatory dialogue, along with the demands of feminist scholars for the development of inclusive methods (Smith, 1999; Wolf, 1996), facilitated the emergence of different methods and models of research, such as heuristic research (Moustakas, 1990), interactive introspection (Ellis, 1991), and the hang-out as a method (Geertz, 1998).

Parker-Jenkins (2018, p. 18) introduced the ethno-case study as a term that merges case studies with ethnography. She argues that the term better

conveys an inquiry concerning people which employs techniques associated with long-term and intensive ethnography, but which is limited in terms of scope, time in the field, and engagement with data (Parker-Jenkins, 2018, p. 18). Ethno-cases are about applying ethnographic techniques for small studies, and can include an array of ethnographic methods; however, employing ethno-case studies can benefit any given study in mind of them doing the following (Parker-Jenkins, 2018, p. 25):

- Drawing clear boundaries for the researcher.
- Recognising that the case study is situated within a wider and richer context.
- Conveying the sense of ethnographic techniques.
- Accepting limited timeframes for research and immersion in sites.

I now turn to the theoretical basis for the key methods used within the research.

4.3.3. Ethnographic Methods and Techniques

For a long time, the methods used in ethnography were observations of participants in their natural contexts and interviews (Hammersley, 2008). Both methods can be led from different distances—close and at a distance. This research is interested in employing ethnography to understand and operationally define several practices and phenomena. The ethnographic techniques used and explored in this study were the conventional methods of interviews and observations, along with engaged ethno-cases such as: the practice-led 'researcher in residence' model and the deep hang-out method.

4.3.3.1. Practice-Led Research: The Researcher-in-Residence as a Method

This methodological technique is usually adopted in creative arts and design research (Candy, 2006; Smith & Dean, 2009), and is concerned with the operational nature of practice aiming to advance knowledge about and within practice (Candy, 2006). Practice-led research has affiliated alternatives such as practice-based research and practice as research, and all can be seen in the fields of design, art, health, and education.

In art and design, when this method is employed, the researcher suggests that artefacts or certain creative practices involve processes that are worthy of study (Smith & Dean, 2009, p. 5). Such a method helps to detect and explore the specialised knowledge and training practitioners have when they are engaged in processes producing artefacts as outcomes (Ibid.).

The researchers here are interested in grasping the nature of practice as a major research topic (Candy, 2006), as well as in generating operational insights that can be written up as research (Smith & Dean, 2009), to produce and advance knowledge concerning the nature of the studied practice and the aspects for improvement, rather than creating or writing about new artefacts (Candy, 2006).

Candy (2006) clarifies that doctoral studies adopting a practice-led method do not necessarily require artefacts as an outcome of the submission; rather, they focus on the practice itself and generally fall within areas of action research.

Relatively, the researcher-in-residence model can be considered one model of practice-led research, since this model aims to lessen the gap between academia and practice by infusing evidenced research into practice and generating new research evidence that is of relevance and is more operational for practitioners (UCL, 2021). The model has a participatory research basis, and relies on collaboration across many stakeholders, with the aim of having a practical look at problems and initiating change through reflection, with a focus on agency and detection of power imbalances (Ibid.).

The key features of this model include:

- The researcher spending time as a member of an operational practice, working collaboratively with a team.
- The researcher's intentions of the research being made explicit to the operational team.
- The researcher being willing to bring expertise to the team in the form of negotiation and not imposing without consideration of the wider context (whether theoretically or practically), including teaching others and treating complex data.

Although the term is dominantly used in health research, these methods can be mobilised into architecture and design: for instance, Yaneva (2009) writes a series of short stories drawing on the innovative process of permeating design practice and how the mundane everyday work choices and techniques influence architectural and urban phenomena.

4.3.3.2. The Deep Hanging-Out as a Mobile Method Variation

Recent studies of place focus on the materiality of mobility, embodiment, and the criticality of place—and combine the methodologies of ethnography and interpretive phenomenology (Hein *et al*., 2008), adding up mobile methods to the previous methods. This can be traced back to the efforts of reconstructing the field and territory (Amit, 2000) and the theoretical contributions of feminism and mobility (Brah, 1996; Braidotti, 1994; Kaplan & Grewal, 2002; Mendoza, 2002; Mohanty, 2003). It can also be traced back to Law & Urry's (2004, pp. 10-11) calls to develop methods that deal with the fleeting, distributed, multiple, sensory, emotional, and kinaesthetic of our day-to-day realities, those which deal with the non-casual, chaotic, and complex, and to those that are more mobile. Their call to enact the social and not only describe it, led to the *mobilities turn* (Creswell, 2007), as well as Sheller & Urry's (2006) new mobilities paradigm, paved the broader spatial turn:

'Mobile actors abound and what were once spaces of place are now reckoned spaces of flows; space itself, emancipated from territory, becomes mobile and is deployed as a capacity.'

- Hall (2009, p. 571)

Moreover, this paradigm emphasises the significance of place (Hall, 2009), problematises sedentarism, and gives attention to devoting methods for researching the mobile experiential and every day through developing mobile research method (Ross *et al*., 2009). In relation to this paradigm, five interrelated mobilities that produce social life are listed by Busenbach & Urry (2009): the physical travel of people; the physical movement of objects and

commodities; imaginative travel through talks; virtual travel that transcends geographical and social distance (for example bank transfers); and communicative travel (mobile, texts, and messages are examples of this). They also highlighted the challenge of addressing multi-sited practices of physical movement in an environment and an imaginative movement of subjectivity; indeed, such challenge raises the need for a dynamic research method that extends the reach of research across space and place (Hall *et al*., 2009) and captures, with ease, the different spatial engagements of the individuals and how they understand and relate to the space—hence contribute to the understanding of Lefebvrian's 'lived space' (Hein *et al*., 2008; Moles, 2008).

The mobile methods acknowledge the harmony of personal narratives, meanings, and movement through place, and potentially explore the figurative and material geographies of participants (Hall *et al*., 2009); they accentuate the strengths of the primarily used methods of ethnography (i.e., observations and interviews) and compensate for the limitations and areas of subjectivity that are hardly accessed by other static methods. Kusenbach (2003), in her extensive methodological discussion of one mobile method, lists several convincing limitations of the interview such as the limits of narrativity and the static interview situation. The limitations of interpreting the observed setting (even for well-immersed researchers) lay in the emphasising of the researcher's own personal knowledge and interests, rather than overcoming it. In her discussion, she defines an in-depth qualitative interview method of 'going along' (i.e., accompanying the research participants on outings in their familiar local area). 'Going along' can include walking or riding a vehicle with the participant, or even a combination of both (Carpiano, 2009). In general, scholars use a variation of mobile methods, such as bumbling (or, as defined by Anderson (2004, p. 258), aimlessly walking through an environment), wandering (Solnit, 2014, p. 5), mapping memories, or constructing soundscapes in addition to cycling and driving (Hein *et al*., 2008).

Equally important to going along but more modest and less outcome-oriented is the hang-out, which combines a number of the previously

mentioned forms of accompanying research participants, including going along. This method is a widely endorsed ethnographic practice in all fieldwork's manuals (Kusenbach, 2003) because it facilitates a rapport, clear explanations of complex realities, and a wealth of detail (Wogan, 2004, p. 137). Several notable ethnographies have interestingly adopted the hang-out and drawn the flexibility of this method in addressing personal everyday practices in multi-sited locations, either physically or imaginary, and accompanying participants in their most natural, unplanned outings (Duneier & Carter, 1999; Hochschild, 2010). The term 'hang-out' was first formulated by Clifford (1997) and was later restored by Geertz as a collaborative anthropological method. He added the literal sense of researcher-immersion in a context with an informal manner and relations with participants.

However, there is a lack of literature that demonstrates the definition, practical uses, and a critical assessment for hanging out (Walmsley, 2018, p. 276), regardless of the detailed accounts advocating for how promising it is in terms of locality, the long durations, closeness, and vernacularity (Wogan, 2004, p. 130). Thus, academic scholars have put effort into making it more instructive by presenting methods such as guided introspection (Wallendorf & Brucks, 1993), interactive introspection (Ellis, 1991), and systemic action research (Burns, 2014), as well as different techniques of participatory action research (cited in Wogan, 2004). The rewarding elements of deep hanging out are first that it enables the capturing of multifarious modes and opportunities of exchanging communicative information; second, that it considers participants as co-researchers; and finally, that it allows candid relationships to form (Walmsley, 2018, p. 284).

Mobile methods are being increasingly utilised by researchers investigating the social dynamics of urban environments, although many researchers favour one mode over the other. Mobile methods can be conducted in a range of different and combined modes, such as through walking, driving, or cycling (Ross *et al*., 2009), without escaping the notice of choosing modes that are compatible with the kind of data needed (Jones, 2021). Besides, it is important to consider fusing mobile methods with other research methods so they can supplement each other (for example, by incorporating them with

focus groups by accompanying a group in motion and allowing interactive discussions) (Carpiano, 2009). Another variation to that is potentially allowing two researchers to hang out with one or more participants unless the participant felt uneasy with such a situation (Ibid.). Relatively, Kusenbach (2008) found it productive to allow company with her participants, as it helps to lower the level of discomfort when the participant is without company.

Minimally directing to discussions about the researcher agenda is one technique that is used during outings (Kusenbach, 2008), while using props or inserting verbal prompts is another. Props can notably be images, books, maps, and letters to trigger the less attainable information and non-verbalised areas of participants' thoughts (Harper, 2002; Jones, 2008.). Incorporating perspective prompts when sticking to a fixed route during outings can allow for the discovering fundamental and essential insights from a range of participants (Jones, 2008).

The data collection procedures used in mobile methods vary: the researcher can audio record during the outings, jot down notes, take photos, or even not make any type of data collection on the spot (Kusenbach, 2008). There is not any ideal procedure to use, as this relies eminently on the researcher's preference and the comfort level of the participant, so long as the researcher bears in mind what to document so they can add full details into the fieldnotes or mental jottings and convert them into an expanded description once the outings are completed later (Emerson *et al*., 1995).

4.3.4. Situating Methods in Concepts of Agency and Assemblage

This research, as clarified previously, is concerned with first understanding the roles of the different actors individually through critical ethnographic methods—and, second, understanding the totality of these actors in the form of an assemblage or network. This section builds on the theoretical review provided in the previous section and offers a background of methodological strategies within urban contexts that are of relation to agency and assemblage. This section discusses the methodological strategies depicted from these

theories and illustrates how they inspired the components of this study (see Chapter 1): understand, enhance, amplify, and reflect.

According to Cupers & Doucet (2009), to find the meaning of agency, we need to first adopt network theories and philosophies, such as the Deluzian concepts of effect and Latour's ANT (Active Network Theory); in other words, network theories that are related to critical urban studies function the assemblage approach as an alternative ontology for the city (Farías, 2010, p. 13). Assemblage emerges from the coalescence of different components, arranged to form an operative entity with an agenting quality (Deleuze & Guttari, 1987, p. 164). The understanding of agency has to start through the mapping of its networks and, specifically, through new, fresh, and creative ways of mapping (Lash & Picon, 2009). During the process of mapping, handling distance should be attentive, being both outside or inside (as a participant) the assemblage.

Cupers & Doucet (2009, 9) recommend the in-depth examination of cases, as some agencies are implicit and need to be addressed via a close look. However, they believe grasping agency effectively does not require the complicated theories of agency and structure, but, rather, the investigating of specific cases, taking their contexts into consideration, and apprehending any overlaps. This highly relates to the questions of this research that are within the 'understanding' component (see Chapter 1's RQ1, RQ2, and RQ4).

Mcfarlane (2011) proposes that apprehending these cases can be supported by examining the assemblage of procedures using an ethnographic lens. Hence, this research places high importance on critical ethnographic methods to apprehend the cases of several actors. In accordance with Schnider & Till (2009), the actors studied in this research were brought up as examples and stories that fit into a wider critical framework that is context-sensitive—not necessarily in a chronical manner, but as manifestations of minor narratives. This means that the sequence of Chapters 5, 6, 7,8, and 9 is flexible, and any change of sequence will not change the process of understanding. However, the decision was to start with actors like GAM as major supplier of POS in the city to establish a proper foundation to POS production processes in Amman, before displaying the rich findings of refugees experiences. Yet, this

can lead to an unintentional consequence of prioritising voices of actors over the refuges.

However, the agency group highlights that these different stories (i.e., the stories of the actors in this research) have to be examined within a wider context bearing in mind the possibilities of linking and connecting them, the barriers that can prevent the exercising of agency, and what their needed tactics to operate and succeed are. This can be clearly traced in this research's direction and inquiries, as well as the formulation of its first question (see Chapter 1, RQ1).

Margret Crawford noted a beneficial strategy to grasping agency within a methodological lens: 'We need to take some scissors [and] cut them into smaller pieces to reconfigure the pieces.' (As cited in Kossak *et al.*, 2009: p.10.). The analogy borrowed in this quote inspired the methodology of this research significantly, including the study's process of understanding the pieces separately before reconfiguring the pieces all together. Here, the pieces resemble the studied actors, and the reconfigured pieces resemble the network of studied actors. This understanding of urban assemblage and dynamic fields is seen by Marcuse (2009) as a necessary means of enhancing and articulating alternative futures and better practices. Again, this inspired the second and third components of this study (which aim to enhance the POS sector and to amplify the agency of refugees in POS) (see Chapter 1's RQ5).

The last component of this research (reflect) confirms the belief of the agency group (2009) that a research looking at cases of agency is an act of agency itself in a pedagogical and sociocultural manner (see Chapter 1's RQ6).

I now turn to present the fieldwork's phases, inspired and informed by the aforementioned framework.

4.4. Fieldwork Phases and Methods

The first phase started with the creation of preliminary criteria to identify and choose participants who represent (or are related to) the multiplicity of the actors who produce, authorise, educate, activate, advocate, fund, and use public spaces for sociocultural integration in Amman (see Appendix A, B).

The methodological structure of Phase One was developed in guidance to the previous philosophical, theoretical, and methodological frameworks and in response to several important considerations such as ethics, timeframe limitation, and critical research reflections. The methods were selected carefully in mind of their appropriateness for complying with each phase's objectives, context, and aimed outputs, and guided by Feminist PAR epistemologies and perspectives. The research focuses on three core ethno-cases alongside stakeholder interviews to answer the main research questions.

4.4.1 The Studied Actors and Tailored Data Collection Methods

Studying actors with different practices required crafting a tailored methodology that guaranteed engagement with different actors, sites, and practices. The methodology had a primary focus on providing a rich socio-spatial understanding of the actors; it was practice-led and more concerned with the operational nature of the studied actors' praxis, aiming to advance knowledge about and within practice (Candy, 2006).

The various forms of inquiry required multiple multi-sited ethno-cases. Marcuse (2009) defines moving between the public and the private, the official and subaltern contexts, as multi-sited ethnography, and, accordingly, this research is a multi-sited critical ethnography that constitutes an array of ethno-cases and techniques crafted to depict the operations of several practices and actors. The research included many ethnographic techniques, some being conventional (such as interviews and observations) while others were more tailored, engaged, and practice-oriented (such as the 'researcher in residence' model and the deep hang-out method).

As this methodology was planned to be a primary phase of an action-oriented and Feminist PAR research (as discussed earlier), the feminist critical theories governed and influenced the research framework (see Chapter 1). This can be illustrated in the fourth component of this research (reflect), which focuses on the role of the researcher and my position within the whole network of studied actors. This component required a reflexive stance of the research performance itself, the dynamics of the researcher-actor

relationships, and the researcher as a contributor and actor herself (see Chapter 10).

Hence, a tailored methodology was crafted based on designated criteria, with a series of multi-sited and embedded ethno-cases (Parker-Jenkins, 2018, p. 19). The research is intended to be critical (Reason, 2004) concerning how to enhance and achieve change, be multi-sited (moving between different sites, from the official to the subaltern contexts) (Marcus, 1995), and encapsulates a series of ethno-cases that employ ethnographic practices, yet are still aware of the time and immersion limitations of a PhD study (Parker-Jenkins, 2018). However, the type of ethnography aimed here is far from broad public realm ethnography and has more of an engaging nature, where the ethnographer participates (not just observes or is co-present) (Jones, 2021). However, this ethnography is supplemented with interviews and socio-spatial analysis, depending on the studied actor.

The research aims to explore the multiplicity of the actors who produce, authorise, educate, activate, advocate, fund, and use public spaces for sociocultural integration in Amman. The following Table 2 lists the identified actors in this research, with a description of the role, method used, and where each actor is analysed and portrayed in the chapters of this thesis.

Table 2: The identified actors, with a description of their role and how each actor was studied and portrayed in the chapters of this thesis. Source: Author, 2019.

Identified Actor	Role Description	Method/Aim	Analysed in Chapter…
Greater Amman Municipality (GAM)	Produce, authorise, and fund POS. The primary decision-makers in Amman concerning POS-production processes.	Interviews with a range of different participants to explore the public space production process in Amman, as well as how GAM perceives refugees and diversity in the city.	5.
Researchers and Educators	Educate; research POS.	Interviews with several researchers and university professors to understand the	6.

		academic/research scene in relation to POS and refugees.	
Non-Governmental Organisations	Produce, fund, advocate, and activate.	Interviews with NGO representatives and examining some of their POS projects as case studies. Name of Studied NGOs: UN-Habitat, GIZ, Reclaim Childhood, and the Collateral Repair Project.	6.
Activists	Activate	Interview with an activist. 7 Hills Skate Park as a case study.	6 (an overview); 8 (an ethno-case).
Practitioners	Produce and design.	Ethno-Case 1: The researcher's residency at a practice firm (Turath) to examine the design process of a POS project.	7.
Refugees in a Park	Use	Ethno-Case 2: Volunteering at 7 Hills Skate Park to explore the role of activists running the park. And, second, to explore refugees' experiences outdoors.	8.
Refugees in an Everyday Setting/Neighbourhood	Use	Ethno-Case 3: The hang-out with refugees at Hashemi Shamali Neighbourhood to explore refugees' outdoor and everyday experiences.	9.

It is worth mentioning that an ideal case was to have a fourth ethno-case at GAM to seek knowledge from practice and engagement, but this was not possible given the difficulties in accessing GAM actors for an interview in the first place. Also, the funder of this PhD placed limitations of the duration of my fieldwork in Jordan which made it harder to have more ethnographic requirements, and also meant a smaller sample size in the Hashemi Shamali

Ethno-case (the Hangout). The smaller size made it hard to strongly highlight differences between refugee groups from different ethnicies.

4.4.2. Phase One: The Data Collection Procedures

The following sections clarify the main data collection procedures, including the interviews with the studied actors and organisations and three ethno-cases. The studied actors were either studied and incorporated in this study as individuals (i.e., as researchers, activists, or practitioners) (4.5.2.1) or interviewed as part of a larger organisation that was of interest to this research (i.e., NGOs and GAM) (4.5.2.2). While participating interviewees have consented to have their names stated in this research, the decision of anonymising some of the names and keeping a description of their professional positions was taken as a no-harm approach, as many have critical contributions and quotes of criticism- portrayed in this thesis, towards organisations or other actors. Finally, subsection (4.5.2.3) presents an overview of three main ethno-cases.

4.4.2.1. One-to-One Interviews

The selection criteria of the individuals (as shown in Table 3) were developed early within the planning of this research, the target selection of participants for the actors' interviews being drawn up. Throughout the fieldwork, some participants were either too difficult to contact (i.e., municipal managers) or were uninterested in taking part. In this way, other potential selections emerged, and participants were ultimately selected due to their influential engagements in a range of practices that influence Amman POS. The criteria were designed to be as inclusive and intersectional as possible regarding multiple factors (most importantly gender; women's involvement was very essential). Other factors here included different age groups (to reflect the agencies of different generations), whether they were individuals or within a structure, their educational background, and the type and scale of their influential action (so the research can grasp multiple scales of intervention). The interviews were mainly in Arabic, and sometimes a combination of English and Arabic, or just English, based on the interviewee's preference. Additionally, all the interviews were recorded and the content was

transcribed, not word-for-word, but grasping the main concepts, thoughts, and ideas outlined in each interview. When parts of the interviews were not relevant, the researcher did not transcribe the irrelevant sections, but still kept hold of them in case they were needed in the future. The transcription work was done in Amman and Sheffield when it was possible for the researcher and was revised once to ensure what was transcribed captured the actual content of the recorded speech.

Table 3: The selection criteria of participants. Source: Author, 2019.

	Criterion	**Categories**
Primary Criteria: Aim for a range of different types of project and project role.		
1	Structure	Within an organisational structure, not structured.
2	Educational Background	Academic, practitioner, activist, activist, educated abroad or in Jordan.
3	Type of Action	Physical planning, pedagogical awareness, social events, programs, political, fighting neoliberalism.
4	Scale of Action	City, local.
Secondary Criteria: Aim to include diverse individual characteristics.		
5	Gender	Male, female.
6	Age Group	Adults 20-40, middle-aged 40-60, seniors >60.

For three months (between mid-February and mid-May 2019), sixteen interviews were conducted, seven being face-to-face and in different locations that varied between the interviewees' workplaces and local public cafés, another seven interviews being conducted by phone (as preferred by the participants) and at different times (either during their workday or after their working hours). One participant was out of the country, so we

conducted a Skype call, and one initiative preferred the questions to be sent by email, to which they responded with written answers and attached files that answered some of the questions asked. After the fieldwork, the focus of the research became more specific and narrowed. Ultimately, only 12 interviews were analysed and included in this research. Table 4 illustrates the interviewed participants professional description and further details about the interview location, date, and type.

Table 4: The interviewed participants' professional description and details of the interview location, date, and type. Source: Author, 2019.

	Interviewed Participant Professional Description	Description	Interview Location, Date, and Type
1	Greater Amman Municipality (GAM)	Head of Landscape in the Studies and Designs Department in GAM.	GAM offices, April 2019. Face-to-face.
2	Greater Amman Municipality (GAM)	Director of Engineering at the Public Works Department in GAM.	GAM offices, March 2019. Face-to-face.
3	Local Practitioner (Architecture)	Architect, university design lecturer, and head of the training department in the Jordanian Engineers Association (JEA).	May 2019. Over the phone.
4	Local Practitioner (Architecture)	Architect and head of the architectural branch in the Jordanian Engineers Association (JEA).	May 2019. Over the phone.
5	Local Practitioner (Landscape Architect)	Landscape architect and eco-manager. Head of the design department in a firm.	March 2019. Over the phone.
6	Centre of the Study of Built Environment (CSBE)	Landscape architect and associate director of CSBE. Team member at the 2008 Amman	April 2019. Over the phone.

		Metropolitan Plan.	
7	UN Habitat	National program coordinator in UN Habitat.	UN-Habitat offices, March 2019. Face-to-face.
8	The Federal Enterprise of German Government (GIZ) (Three team members)	Project manager of Improving living conditions in poverty-stricken areas in Amman via the implementation of green infrastructure (ILCA) (and two team members).	One over the phone in May 2019; two face-to-face in the Ministry of Environment offices in May 2019.
9	Local Practitioner / Industrial Professor (Architecture)	Architect and founder of xx an Engineering and Design firm. An industrial professor.	March 2019. Over the phone.
10	Local Practitioner (Landscape Architect)	Founder of xx Architectural firm. Expert in the natural heritage, environment, and geology of Jordan. Team member at the 2008 Amman Metropolitan Plan.	March 2019. Over the phone.
11	City Planner	City planner. Planned the Greater Amman Plan (1987). Industrial professor.	April 2019. Skype Interview.
12	Local Practitioner (Architecture)	Architect in the xx Firm and a designer of ILCA's public space project (GIZ Project).	April 2019.

4.4.2.2. International and Local Organisations' Interviews

The interviewees were part of organisations (either international or local) from municipality departments, grassroot organisations, and multi-thematic projects targeting refugees' integration, giving importance to their experiences in public spaces. These interviews were conducted to obtain an overview of refugees' activities in public spaces, the challenges they (as facilitators) are facing, and the stories of success they have—all with the aim of providing insights and lessons for others to learn from and be inspired by

so they can initiate projects that integrate refugees and introduce them to public open spaces in the city.

At the confirmation review phase, the selection criteria of the organisations were developed (see Table 5) and an initial selection of participants provided. Throughout the fieldwork, some organisations proved difficult to access; finding contacts working in these organisations was not an easy process. These organisations (especially in a context like Jordan) do not allow drop-ins, as they have security gates and guards. Instead, a previously made appointment with an employee or an insider is needed to get in.

The researcher's initial selection developed based on the new contacts established and the new potential selection that emerged, while others were excluded due to the aforementioned limitations. The final selected participants were chosen due to their influential engagements in a range of practices that influence refugees' experiences in public spaces. The selection criteria started with multi-thematic projects (as in, exploring them before finding contacts to recruit accordingly). The criteria were designed to cover several factors, one being both governmental and non-governmental organisations to find projects that target refugees, host communities, or both. Considering the richness of the core programs of these organisations, funding sources were also considered as factors. In addition to the targeted locations of projects, the criteria focused on accumulating a mixture of projects that have been completed, that are ongoing, and are being planned. The criteria also kept in mind whether these organisations had centres in the city or not.

Table 5: The selection criteria of studied organisations. Source: Author, 2019.

	Criterion	Categories
1	Institutional Framework	Governmental; NGO.
2	Projects Targets	Refugees only; host community; both.
3	Core Programs	Economic; women empowerment; youth; natural resources; health and sports; education; social cohesion; children.
4	Funding	Local municipal; international.

5	Stage of Projects	Completed; ongoing; planned.
6	Targeted Locations of Projects	East Amman; west Amman; both.
7	Local Drop Centre	In Amman; in another city in the Middle East; other.

The interviews were mainly in English and sometimes a combination of English and Arabic, or just in Arabic based on the interviewee's preference. Additionally, all interviews were recorded, and the content was transcribed, transcriptions were not word by word, but was grasping the main concepts, thoughts, and ideas in each interview, and when parts of the interviews were not relevant, the researcher did not transcribe that part, although kept the hold of these parts if needed in the future. Transcription work was done in Amman, and Sheffield, when it was possible for the researcher and was revised once to make sure what was transcribed captures the content of the recorded speech.

For the three months (between mid-February and mid-May 2019), five interviews were conducted, four being face-to-face and mainly taking place at the premises of these organisations during the workday. One organisation preferred the questions to be sent via email, to which they responded with written answers. The total number of interviews was supposed to be seven, but two essential organisations did not respond to my attempts to contact them by phone, email, or face-to-face encounters during which they would either reschedule or never follow up. Table 6 illustrates the professional description of the interviewed participants and further details of interview location, date, and type.

Table 6: The interviewed participants' names and descriptions and details of the interview location, date, and type. source: author, 2019.

	Interviewed Participant Name	**Participant Description**	**Interview Location, Date, and Type**

1	Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) (Multiple team members)	Director of the facilities and social programs unit in GAM.	The GAM offices. April 2019. Face-to-face.
2	The Federal Enterprise of German Government (GIZ)	Project manager of improving living conditions in poverty-stricken areas in Amman via the implementation of green infrastructure (ILCA) (and two team members).	The Ministry of Environment offices (the GIZ Team). May 2019. Face-to-face.
3	Collateral Repair Project (CRP) (Three Team members) .	CRP is an American NGO in Amman established in 2006, featuring programmes focusing on community-building, trauma relief, emergency aid, and education. Interviwees were the partnerships and grants officer at CRP, the monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) officer at CRP, and the executive director.	Three meetings, one at the Hayat Amman Hotel in June 2019, two in the CRP offices in July 2019. All face-to-face. Online Interview with CEO early 2020.
4	Reclaim Childhood	Reclaim Childhood is an organisation established in 2008 conducting year-round sports programmes for marginalised women in Jordan, including refugees. Interviewee is the director of Jordan programmes in Reclaim Childhood.	June 2019. Email interview.
5	United Cities and Local Government (UCLG), in partnership with GAM's MC2MC Project	Mediterranean City to City Migration (MC2CM) is a network of partners in different cities in the Mediterranean working on a local level of migrant inclusion. Interviewee was a partner of UCLG and was part of the MC2CM project in Amman.	The GAM offices. April 2019. Face-to-face.

It should be noted that the selection criteria aided in determining when there was an adequate number of participants to develop a valid understanding of my research's objectives in exploring the multifarious roles. However, the

decision of starting the analysis and discontinuing data collection was based on my first realising the saturation of the data, as no new themes could have emerged by continuing, as well as on my prioritising my efforts on analysing rich data sets generated from data collection, respecting the timeline and nature of my PhD study.

4.4.2.3 Ethno-Cases

As knowledge through engagement and practice is a major principle of Feminist PAR, this research involved three main ethno-cases that included an engaged and embedded form of ethnography. This multi-sited ethnography required different sets of method for each context, site, and participant. Hence, each ethno-case will be analysed in a separate chapter (as mentioned earlier), and each chapter will include a detailed review of the data collection methods.

The selection of ethno-cases relied heavily on the finding of sites and practices considered as pioneering and emerging examples in the city, as well as on covering a range of POS-production processes, whether the design process of a new POS (Ethno-Case 1), activating and animating POS (Ethno-Case 2), using and participating in curated programs in POS (Ethno-Case 2), or using neighbourhood POS as a part of their everyday (Ethno-Case 3). The criteria of selection also sought multicultural sites, such as parks hosting refugees regularly or a neighbourhood considered as a refugee hub in Amman, as well as practices that operate within a design process of multicultural contexts and neighbourhoods. All in all, these ethno-cases, together, helped in providing knowledge of several sites and practices and contributed to the garnering of a closer and more in-depth understanding of the POS-production processes. The following Table 7 presents an overview of the ethno-cases included in this study:

Table 7: An overview of the ethno-cases included in this study. Source of table and included figures: Author, 2019, 2020.

Ethno-Case 1: The Application of the Researcher in a Residence Model at Turath Architecture and Urban Design Consultants in Amman, to Seek Knowledge through Practice

In this case, the researcher spent three days a week for six weeks as a researcher in residence at this firm. The experience required involvement as a participant architect in a public space project, a set of tasks and responsibilities thus being handed over to me. The residency also included interviewing team members and the firm founder and spending time at the office library so I could access the project files. Chapter 7 includes more details regarding the methodology of this ethno-case.

Ethno-Case 2: Volunteering at 7 Hills

Park

The researcher volunteered at and conducted six visits (mainly during the weekends) in this case. The park hosts refugees weekly, and the volunteering itself involved informal encounters and hangouts with refugees at the park and tasks such as distributing water to skaters and looking for children playing at the park. The experience revolved around engagement. Before starting the volunteering experience, interviews were held with the co-founder of the park. This ethno-case had a dual focus: to understand the role of the activists who co-founded the park and to have a closer look at refugees' usage patterns of the park. Chapter 8 includes more details regarding the methodology of this ethno-case.

Ethno-Case 3: The Hangout with Refugees at Hashemi Shamali Neighborhood

The researcher accompanied several refugee families in public spaces in a selected neighbourhood and hung out with them while they completed some of their mundane activities, such as buying groceries, walking to work, attending a lecture, and their other everyday routines. This experience was conducted over the span of two months in a combination of public spaces and informal neighbourhood spaces during the daytime in Hashemi Shamali. This experience emphasises the importance of indigenous knowledge in understanding the reciprocal relationship of refugees and open spaces, as well as in exploring the different experiences of refugees in public spaces. Chapter 9 includes more details regarding the methodology of this ethno-case.

It is worth mentioning that in all the ethno-cases, the field notes were written directly after the ethnographic context and setting was left. In each research setting, the focus was mainly on the practice, experiences, engagements, and encounters of the refugees, with formal interviews also being conducted with the team members/founders of Turath and the skate park.

4.4.3. Phase One: Secondary Sources and Grey Literature

The secondary sources were collected through:

1. Researching a defined set of keywords in search engines and sources (such as Google, Twitter, and Facebook) before listing and exploring them. I also kept researching the same keywords once every fortnight so I could stay updated, which helped in gathering random results and not personally predefined ones.

2. Visiting Jordanian Universities Libraries annually and checking new dissertations (and their scope of research).

3. Checking the local and city events agenda monthly.

4. Going to several conferences and events to network and spread the word about my research, which resulted later in many recommendations for my research and, in turn, my finding contacts from the municipality and other organisations. Opportunities for consultancy with major NGOs working in Amman also arose in this way.

5. Developing a list of key social media accounts (i.e., discussion forums and blogs).

4.4.4. Phase Two: An Overview

Sequentially, the second phase (Phase Two) was planned to enable the collective production of knowledge to link both refugees and the network of actors, to contribute to the raising of the voices of the participants. The aims planned were:

1. Maximise the potential of this research by connecting different actors including refugees as co-reserchers.

2. Empower participants through the sharing of different experiences and ideas, from ordinary to expert perspectives, and also local, regional, and western.

3. Embed genuine impact and authenticity in this research (this is integral to the academic work).

The proposed method was to conduct an international workshop paved by the previous two local workshops, the main goal being to facilitate collaborations, apply networking, and take advantage of the researcher's presence in the University of Sheffield to bring experts and academics to Jordan and benefit the country from such a potential. The approach was based

on co-emergence; therefore, the specificity of this phase was planned to be refined after the end of Phase 1. The scale of the planned workshop depended on the number of resources allocated.

During the confirmation review stage, I received positive feedback from my initial investigations with Antipode regarding their international workshop award. Also, possible international participants (PPS and UN-Habitat) were contacted with a brief of this research, and they showed interest as a result. During my PhD's third year, an application to the award was fully prepared before it was cancelled due to the global pandemic situation.

In response to the hardships of the global situation, the decisions to maintain the critical approach and transformative intentions within the phase were made so we could proceed with analysing the rich data set collected in Phase 1, with the overall aim of creating a rich base for future action research and of considering Phase 2 as a potential further step for future research.

4.4.5. Connecting Literature and Research Methods

The following Table 8 links the research phases within the literature and theoretical framework. The first phase focuses on understanding the roles of the different actors relationally and exploring the socio-spatial dynamics of refugees' outdoor experiences in Amman. Meanwhile, the second phase acts as a component of a wider Feminist PAR framework.

Table 8: Research phases in relation with the literature and theoretical framework. Source: Author, 2019.

Primary and Secondary Data Sources/Planned Phases	
Feminist PAR Phases	
Phase 1: Critical Ethnography: Interviews and Case Studies	
Aim: To identify the actors responsible for public space production. To understand the roles of the different actors and find ways to enhance and amplify these roles.	
Roles/Relational Understanding:	**Socio-Spatial Understanding:**
• One-to-one interview transcripts.	• Reflective notes about the research performance.

• Organisation interview transcripts.	• Observations of the different sites.
• Reflective notes about the research performance.	• Ethno-Case 2 (see Chapter 8): Reflexive diary and photographs from the researcher's experience volunteering at a skatepark (7 Hills Park) that hosts refugees regularly.
• Ethno-Case 1 (see Chapter 7): A reflective diary and photographs from the researcher's experience in applying the researcher in residence model in a practice office (Turath Consultancy) initiating a public space intervention project in Amman.	• Ethno-Case 3 (see Chapter 9): Deep hanging out and walks that included observations in the Hashmi Al Shamali Neighbourhood.

Secondary: Novels; reviews of literature; dissertations; satellite maps.

Grey Literature: Conference proceedings; unpublished dissertations; government documents and publications; NGO documents and publications; online documents and blogs; oral presentations.

Phase 2: Participatory Action Research (Planned, Not Completed)

Aim: To produce collective knowledge and contribute to empowering the participants.

Output: N/A allow for co-emergence.

Potential Alternatives for Output: Connecting the actors and refugee participants.

Potential Suggestions: Mentoring; networking; working with intermediaries; using new education courses with refugees as teachers and learners; the refugees as farmers.

4.5. The Analytical Approach

As reflected in Figure 12, this research adopted iterative thematic analysis, which initially analysed actor-by-actor but then analysed the totality of the actors, keeping in mind the positionality of the researcher via reflective notes and auditing analysis. However, there was a preliminary analysis process that preceded writing and included coding into major themes. The act of writing played a vital analytical role, and the process involved revisiting the data more than once.

It is worth mentioning that visual data in this research have multiple roles across different analytical stages. Sometimes it is part of the pre-existing visual data set and is included in multi-modal transcripts (will be further

discussed next) documenting major elements of the research. In this case, these images are placed within a discussion or transcripts that somehow convey how I interpreted the image and reflect both the internal composition of the image itself, and the situatedness of my research and my assumptions. Yet, this does not rule out the fact that some images can trigger various interpretations from different readers (Stanczak, 2011).

And other times, it have the role of recording and interpreting the data resembled in researcher-created visual data with analytical focus. The visual data here is considered as a thinking tool and research practice (Schoepfer, 2014). This role can be seen in a form of diagrams that reflects researcher-centred understanding of content, links, relationships, and gaps.

The role of images as visual data is displayed in the descriptive sections across the thesis, while the role of images as research tools and practice can be displayed mainly in reflective, interpretive, analytical sections across the research. For example, research frameworks, spatial analysis of parks, diagrams summarising literature, and the research components or analytical process diagrams.
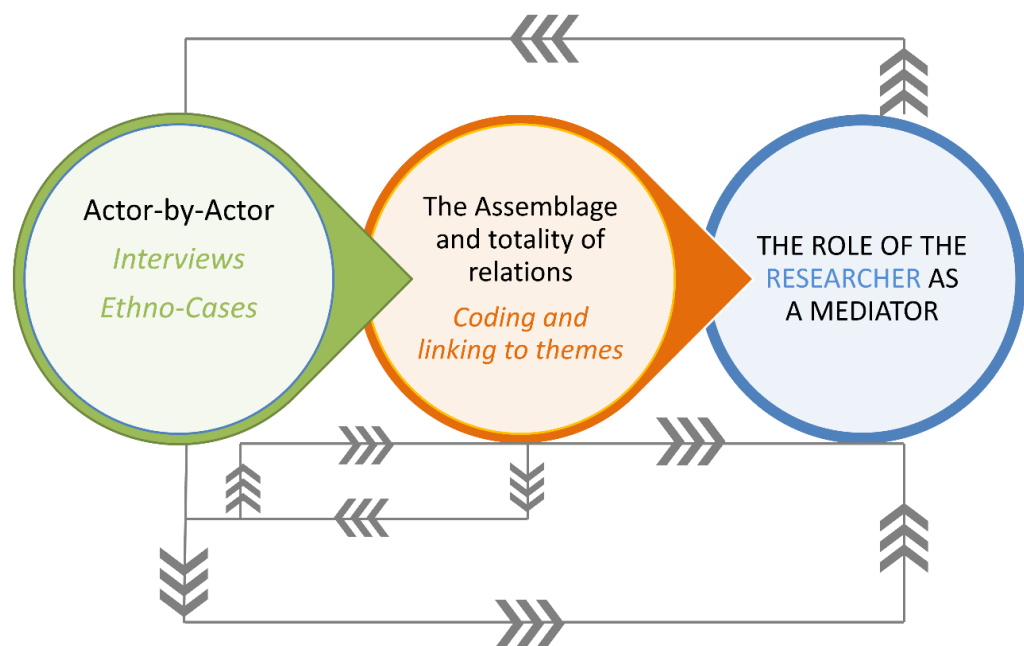
Figure 12: The iterative process of the conducted analysis. Source: Author, 2020.

The general analytical approach was based on Nowell *et al*. (2017)'s step-by-step approach to conducting a trustworthy thematic analysis. However, the phases of analysis were tailored to the research aims and objectives of understanding the different actors, sites, and types of data collected.

4.5.1. Stage 1: Organising, Categorising, and Transcribing the Data

During the fieldwork, separate files of data were dedicated to each actor and the subfiles were organised into visual documentation (i.e., photographs, sketches, and maps) and written documentation (i.e., interview recordings (if available), field notes, observations, research reflections, and the related notes of literature).

4.5.2. Stage 2: Familiarising with the Data

Reading and immersing myself in the data was done more than once, but a thorough reading of the data was an initial step of the analysis. This stage involved arranging the collective and comparative thoughts in a diagrammatic form (see Figure 13), as well as regularly returning to full transcripts and records of the participants to holistically get immersed in them.
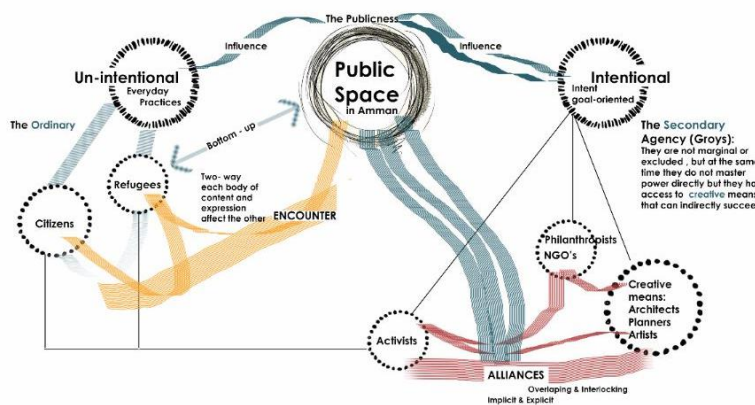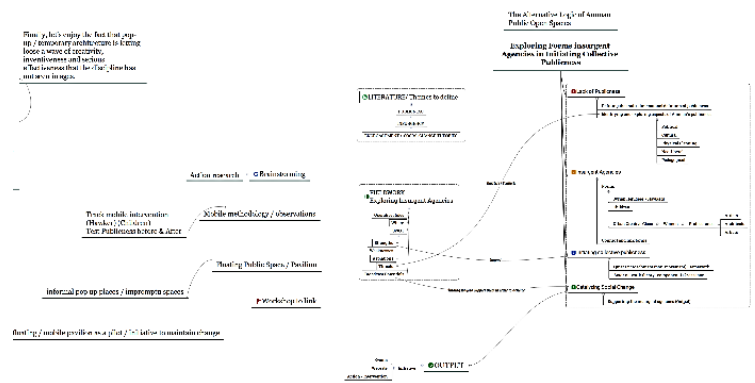
Figure 13: Multiple diagrams as part of the analytical process. Source: Author, 2019, 2020.

Hence, the data was revisited more than once and at different stages. As the ethno-cases did not involve direct fieldnotes from different sites and relied on the writing of the fieldnotes immediately after the leaving of the sites, this stage included writing additional notes by revisiting collective memories and thoughts. Notably, reflective notes were added to the written documentation of each studied actor, familiarisation with the data for each actor separately encouraged such thoughts and reflective notes about the actors in totality and as a network. Thus, a dedicated folder of notes was prepared for the multi-actor analysis.

4.5.3. Stage 3: Coding and Searching for Themes

Separate NVivo files were prepared for each actor, and different types of data were analysed and triangulated. The types of data for each actor included

written forms (i.e., reflective and personal collections from the ethnography, experiences, observations, and transcripts of interviews) and visual forms (i.e., photographs, plans, and sketches).

The analysis was notably a combination of inductive and deductive coding, some codes being data-driven and others being considerate of the epistemological position and research questions underpinning the whole study. The codes included some pre-existing coding frames related to the research questions addressed, such as the barriers and strengths of each actor. Other codes also emerged, such *as* participatory frameworks and perspectives towards refugees. Also, a pre-existing code was defined as 'great quotes' (Cabraal, 2020), and involved highlighting the quotes that must be noted and included. A set of codes were project-specific or setting-specific, such as Hashemi Shamali or the Lwebde Project. Meanwhile, some codes were conceptual and related to themes of literature, such as insurgency, while others were perspective codes that reflected how the different actors perceived each other. The coding process started with open coding that led to finding patterns and clusters of codes that enabled major themes (one example is reflected in Figure 14).

Refugees at Hashemi Shamali OPEN CODING

Socio-spatial / Experience

- **BARRIERS (OR NOT) TO PUBLIC SPACE**
- DAILY ROUTINE / LIFESTYLE
- ETHNICITY
- AGE
- HEALTH
- MENTAL WELL-BEING AND TRAUMA
- PRIOR EXPERIENCES / HISTORY / HOMETOWNS
- INDIRECT NEGATIVE CIRCULATION OF STORIES
- DIRECT NEGATIVE INTERACTIONS/ INVOLVEMENT / EXPERIENCE:
- *Bullying*
- *Exclusion*
- *Racism*
- *Rejection*
- *Anti-social behaviours: swearing, throwing fireworks, drugs*
- REQUIRES MONEY+ COMMITMENT
- LACK OF / RELIANT ON PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF PLACES
- NEGATIVE LANDSCAPES: dirty toilets, lack of tables, bad walkways, no buses, rubbish, vandalism, graffiti, broken swings, not safe at night

- **LET'S TALK PUBLIC SPACE**
- ETHNICITY (SYRIAN TALKS MORE)
- LACK OF KNOWLEDGE AND RIGHT TO THE CITY (IMPLICIT CODING)
- PRECONCEPTIONS
- GAP BETWEEN EXISTING UNDERSTANDING AND PRECONCEPTIONS

- **ACTIVITIES IN PS AND CHOICE OF ACTIVITY**
- **LACK OF CHOICE:**
- FACILITATED BY NGOS (PRIOR PREPARATIONS)
- DETERMINERS:
- COMMITMENT TO ECONOMY
- DAY TIME
- SAFETY
- LIGHTING
- FUNCTIONS
- PERSONAL PREFERENCE: age,gender,lifestyle,ethnicity, mental wellbeing
- **ACTIVITIES TYPE:**
- WALKING CHILDREN
- SHOPPING

Figure 14: Open coding for refugees at Hashemi Shamali. Source: Author, 2019.

Memos were kept while coding in NVivo and throughout the analysis process. Inspired by Vaismoradi *et al*. (2016), a memo file titled 'latent content' was dedicated to the recording of thoughts related to the implicit content compared to what was manifested by the participants. This helped in recording personal points of view and the researcher's perspectives on the sites, actors, and different situations. This also helped in seeking richer and more detailed analysis.

Another memo was created to audit the general analytical process and the codes' development into patterns and themes. Auditing the analytical process was done in an attempt to grasp the intuitive process of the analysis and to increase rigour.

Also, during the analysis, a memo was created to record the insights found in the collected data related to the actor-researcher relationships, as well as any ideas and ethical issues that emerged in the different sites. These memos facilitated the analysing of the researcher's role in the research and were developed into the theme 'reflect'. Figure 15 illustrates one page of memos of personal analysis audit.

21+22/10/2019 Initial Analysis Thoughts	I imported all files to NVivo, went through them all, got immersed in the data, I feel there is alot of data that is unlinked and needs revisiting theory to conect it. Will start with the conceptual framework that I had in mind in the data collection phase and see how the coding process will change that. Mostly, understanding the physical, socio-cultural, pedagogical, political and historrical aspects of PS in Amman. Unsterstanding the SWOT of agencies. The everyday experience of refugees, the influence on them and on ps (Affect), how all these are linked together.
Ideas for Coding Nodes	I will start with keeping major themes and conceptual framework of the study in mind, also combining them with what the data will provide
31/10/2019	Paused the coding for now, as I believe I lost some richness of background data when I was translating- extracting from the arabic book. Will go back to arabic field notes and add a reflexive and thicker descriptions of the everyday, and enrich the tables and extractions to make them my input for NVivo, or alternate them with the richer reports. Clare said you might not want to code and do some reports of what you saw and hear and experience
November	Paused coding, worked in a brief thematic analysis to produce a report for CRP.
January	Worked on understanding the spatiality of spaces first
February	Working on phase III timeline schedule and communicate it with CRP Work on the funding application And a timeline for the thesis
March	Will start the second phase of generalising initial codew

Figure 15: A page of the personal analysis audit. Source: researcher, 2019-2021.

The coding resulted in the emergence of consistent themes for the majority of the analysed actors, except for the analysis of the ethno-cases: the ethno-cases relied on the analysing of the multi-modal transcripts (example illustrated in Figure 16) that included the different sources of data collected, such as the images, reflective notes, sketches, and interview transcripts. The multi-modal transcripts enabled the identifying of themes that were further explained with

the help of the literature, photographs, personal reflective notes, and research experience.
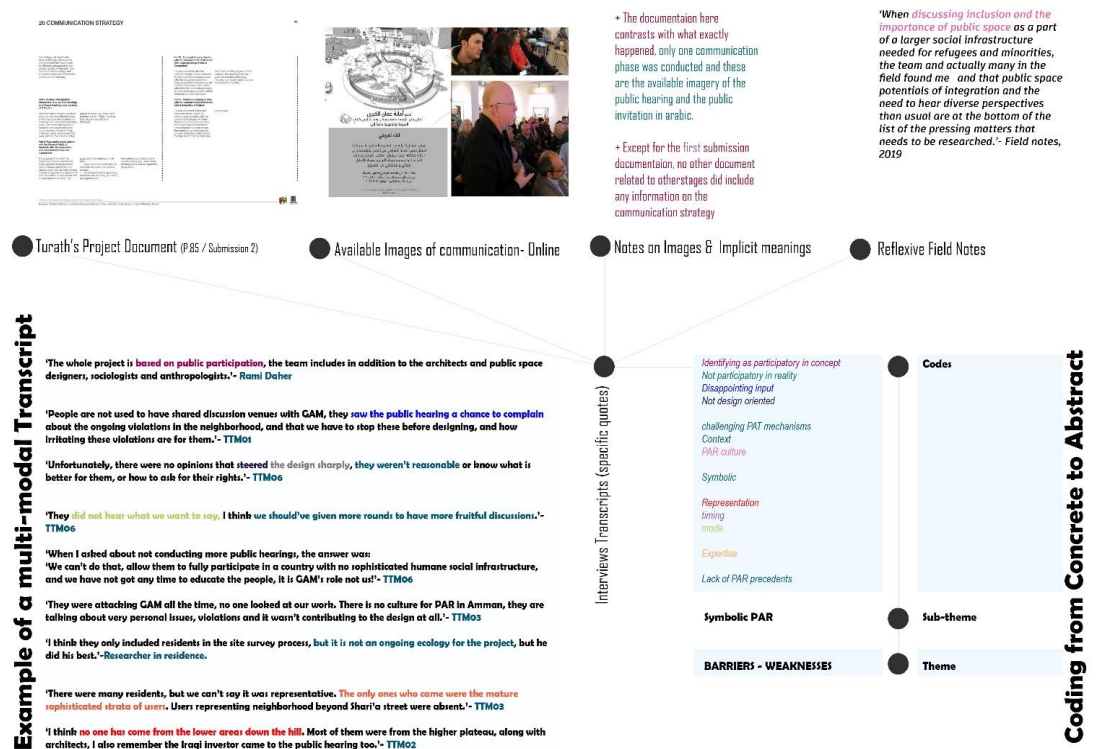
Figure 16: Multi-modal transcript example, to show the coding for one theme in Turath's Ethno-case (See [Appendix C](#)). Source: Author, 2020.

4.5.4. Stage 4: Defining the Themes and Writing the Chapters

This process included the refinement of the themes and naming and supplementing the themes with the literature, photographs, and other sources. A detailed analysis of each theme was written, and the order of themes was decided.

In each chapter and theme, there was an explicit intention to show a constellation of voices of the different actors, as well as a reflection concerning my experience with each actor and site. The writing process intended to emphasise the importance of presenting refugees' experiences and their lay knowledge.

4.5.5 Stage 5: Returning to the Written Chapters and Related Themes

The written chapters and related themes were revisited to transverse the different actors' perspectives and look for any links and gaps between the actors. It was during this stage that new relationship codes were identified and grouped to form new themes in a cross-actor analysis.
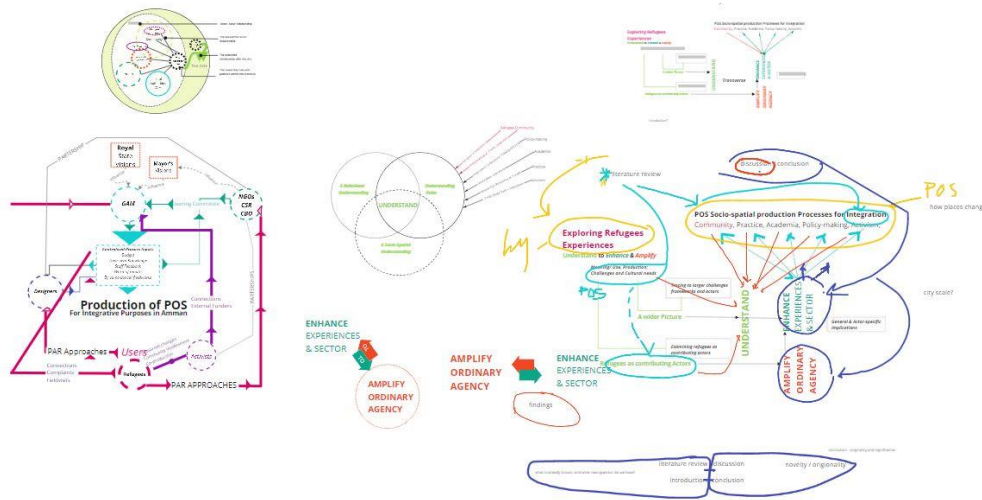
Figure 17: Diagramming as part of this research's analysis. Source: Author: 2021.

This stage started with an iterative analysis of the sections of analysed data in the form of the separate actors' chapters, diagrams of the links and gaps between the actors, and memos of the reflections of the researcher's role. The analysis included the extensive re-reading of the data and written chapters, as well as sketching, diagramming (see Figure 17), and discussions with the supervisor. The defining, modifying, and refining of the themes resulted in a proposed set of themes, which were identified to reflect an overall story about the entire multi-modal data set in relation to the major research questions. Then, a description of each theme and how it fit into the overall story was written and produced as the discussion chapter.

4.6. The Research Ethics and Integrity

The researcher applied for ethics approval right after the confirmation review and before the fieldwork in Amman, along with a risk assessment form. The ethical issues applied were in accordance with the University of Sheffield's guidelines. The key approaches to conducting the fieldwork well are summarised below, but further reference to the emerging issues is given in each chapter, with a fuller account of the emerging ethical dynamics being discussed in Chapter 10, including a reflective account of the researcher in action and in the different sites and the research performance in general.

4.6.1. Recruiting the Interview Participants

For the actors and organisations, an initial (individualised, not generic) email with a cover letter was sent with attached participant information and a consent sheet for them to read, signed on the day of the interview. The information sheet included a precise description of the project and its aims and objectives, clarification that the researcher had an ethical clearance, and information concerning the proposed interview agenda and place of meeting.

To enter the different sites and start the practice-led research (Ethno-Case 1) and volunteering (Ethno-Case 2), I contacted the practice firm and co-founder of the skatepark directly by email and had an informal meeting to discuss an agreement. The meeting covered my research scope, my expectations of this voluntary project, and what I can add to both sites: the firm by adopting the researcher-in-residence model; the park as a volunteer. During the discussion, I was open to suggestions from their side and their expectations. The discussion informed the details of a specific consent later that was developed before starting.

To recruit refugees for the deep hang-out (Ethno-Case 3), the refugees were approached via a local community organisation, who acted as gatekeepers, and then some refugees were recruited through other refugees' referrals (snowball sampling). The children were not approached unless the parents were participants, and after obtaining the parents' consent for their children to

participate, a simple description of the project was discussed with the children, with the help of visual materials such as images so all could feel more approachable to the child.

4.6.2. Obtaining Consent

For individuals and organisations, the consent covered their agreement concerning the agenda of the interview, the use of the participant's/organisation's name and the anonymity of their name in the research output, the audio recording of the interview, and the use of visual material for future dissemination. The consent delineated the fact that they could stop the interview and withdraw consent at any time during the interview or at any later stage of the research.

For Ethno-Case 1 and 2: The consent letter content covered the timeframe, researcher's responsibilities and working hours, researcher's expectations, and the anonymity of the individuals. However, there was also an ongoing consent that covered the confidentiality of the data (i.e., the projects, design and workflow, management styles, their ability to read, access, and feedback provision concerning the researcher's work/output). A separate consent was provided for the use of visual materials related to the firm/park, as well as for the audio recording of interviews with the head of the firm/co-founders of the park.

For the refugees in the skatepark (Ethno-Case 2), a separate consent form was provided for the personal photographic images. A postcard with simple details of the research project for the refugees (both parents/teachers or supervisors of the children) as a notice of the researcher's role was provided. Notably, the refugee children consent relied on visual communication (Vecchio *et al*., 2017). By considering children as co-researchers, I tried to discuss the research in a simplified way, adapted to the child's age and abilities, and respected that the children's assent had three components: simple information, ensuring sure they understand and making them respond freely, without any constraints imposed by others (as cited in Fiona Mayne *et al*., 2015).

For the refugees in Hashemi: Based on Pittaway *et al*. (2010), I was committed to receiving the refugees' consent through a process, and not a formal, one-time-only consent. The consent was ongoing in every stage of the refugees' involvement, and they were able to withdraw at any time and end their involvement.

Notably, a formal signed consent form was limited due to the vulnerability of the participants' situations (a physical signature would have been threatening and stressful to them). Hence, I sought verbal consent only (scripted), with no audio recording in the ethnographic setting. Before providing their consent, I had informal (verbal) conversations with them whereby the research was discussed in simple terms (and using images/diagrams, where possible). A written paper copy was available for them to take away providing details and the researcher's number/email address (dedicated for research purposes only), highlighting the voluntary aspect of their participation in the project and the full details of our hangout (i.e., the frequency and duration). The consent covered their anonymity, the confidentiality of data stored, the usage of the data, and the use of the material for future dissemination.

Approaches to anonymising names of interviewees vary in the different chapters depending on the degree of precision needed in response to different contexts, balanced against the level of vulnerability and exposure of the participants. Names are only included when permission for this was directly given, though even then a precautionary principle of anonymisation was sometimes used. For prominent interviewees in professional positions I have generally retained a named credit, either in terms of the name of the organisations (i.e. GIZ, GAM, Turath), or specifically key people interviewed (Rami Daher, Mohammed Zakaria).

4.6.3. Data Confidentiality

For the individuals and organisations, anonymity was considered with respect to the different levels of sensitivity, and the participants, even after giving their informed consent, had the option to ensure full anonymity at any stage of the interview.

For the refugees in the skatepark (Ethno-Case 2), the fieldnotes were fully anonymised and did not contain any personal data.

For the refugees in Hashemi, the consent process and information sheet clarified the confidentiality of their participation. Their details were anonymised right after fieldnote-writing and were kept digitally on the researcher's laptop, which was encrypted and password-protected. The data was saved in encrypted files and stored in Google Drive, which could be accessed by my supervisor (as a backup person) and was backed up in an encrypted dedicated disk. I did not compromise any parts of the anonymity, and only collected minimal personal data.

4.7. Reflections on the Methodological Approaches and Methods

This methodology reflects, to a great extent, a set of research decisions that I can describe as tailored, crafted, dynamic, and subjective (e.g., deciding the level of embeddedness and engagement for each site and actor and the amount of detail in writing about some cases more than others).

The dynamic aspects of this methodology can be seen in the developing relationships and partnerships that evolved during and after the fieldwork, as well as the emerging situations that necessitated unplanned decisions, discussions, and processes of rethinking to take place (as will be further explored in Chapter 10).

The ethno-cases specifically exploring refugees' spatial experiences helped in overcoming difficulties refugees have in articulating their POS experiences as they often found POS banal, mundane and experiences not all important to share. The hangout method proved a great way in researching participants who cannot articulate their thoughts about POS experiences, especially participants who have many burdens that led to a state indifference towards green spaces unless it is relevant to their own survival and other fundamental aspects of everyday life. This method facilitated exploring what is termed in this research as the gentle insurgency which will be introduced in Chapter 10.

One final reflection is that this crafted methodology was one way to challenge the dominant forms of knowledge-production in the context of Jordan, as well as the fact that research students are trained to be highly objective and armed with quantitative evidence. Not only did this methodological framework help in answering my research questions, but it also created this brave and personal mental space where I valued being subjective and capable of demonstrating a louder critical voice to question what is usually unquestioned and to include 'I argue' and 'I believe' as expressions in my writing.

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Section 2: Understanding Actors

Section 2 provides a closer look at the different actors that shape the public space-production processes, each possessing a different lens, interests, values, and claims. In this section, the findings related to each studied actor are discussed individually—which forms the basis for a collective analysis in Section 3. The scope of these chapters (5,6,7,8,9 address different stakeholders in turn) includes how these actors operate both in general and in integrative public space projects, their views on partnerships and the other actors (including the refugees), what obstacles and challenges hinder their operative roles, their positive contribution, and, finally, thoughts on future improvement potential. Each actor was engaged with through a tailored data collection method, as explained in the methodological chapter.

Chapter 5: Greater Amman Municipality (GAM): The Decision-Making Context

5.1. Introduction

This chapter starts with the actor that was explored first in . It will look at the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM), the actor representing the state (a major decision-maker), and the primary POS supplier (designer, manager, and landholder) in Amman. Although GAM is the central entity responsible for POS in Amman, it has a history of partnership with independent entities, such as experts, local and international designers and consultation firms, research centres, local and international NGOs, the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of notable companies, and, most recently, activists. Hence, the chapter will cover the findings of the thematic analysis of the several interviews conducted, both with the GAM personnel and with the other actors, exploring their perspectives on GAM's production processes.

5.2. The Greater Amman Municipality (GAM): An Institutional Overview

GAM is the main institutional entity responsible for developing and planning all city components, including public spaces, with both formal and informal control on who can contribute to shaping public space-production and the socially integrative processes associated with this.

Leading the municipality is the Mayor of Amman, who is elected by the king, along with half of the City Council; the other half is elected by Amman's citizens as representatives in the council. GAM operates through six primary sectors, each with dedicated units: public works, health and agriculture, environment, social development, economic and financial, and administrative. In the past, there was a dedicated unit for public space matters under the 'health and agriculture' sector, but unfortunately, this is not the case today, as public space responsibilities have instead become distributed

across several sectors, rotating and changing with time. Without any strategised open space system to abide by, any outsider would find it very hard to understand the ambiguous processes of public space production—which drastically reduces the chances of change and channels of collaboration. Hence, the data collection included participants from five out of six of the sections in central GAM. When examining GAM's organogram, one can trace the fact that public space projects are distributed between different sectors, and that the underlying logic to such distribution cannot be grasped easily (even by its own staff). Adding to this complication, understandings of POS differ with each unit, department, and even person. The following Figure 18, shows that five out of six of the sectors are responsible for diverse public space projects (in pink), although some specific public spaces are listed on the organogram as separate departments (in green), such as the grand scale public parks named after royals (i.e., the King Hussein Park and King Abdullah II Park), Amman Sahen (i.e., the older mountains of Amman, including the major roads in the downtown), one random garden in western Amman (the Abdoun Garden), and the Hashemite Square.

'We suffer from hierarchical issues, but at the end of the day, all sectors pour into central GAM, and all POS projects cross the Design and Studies unit and eventually the Landscape department.'

\- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)
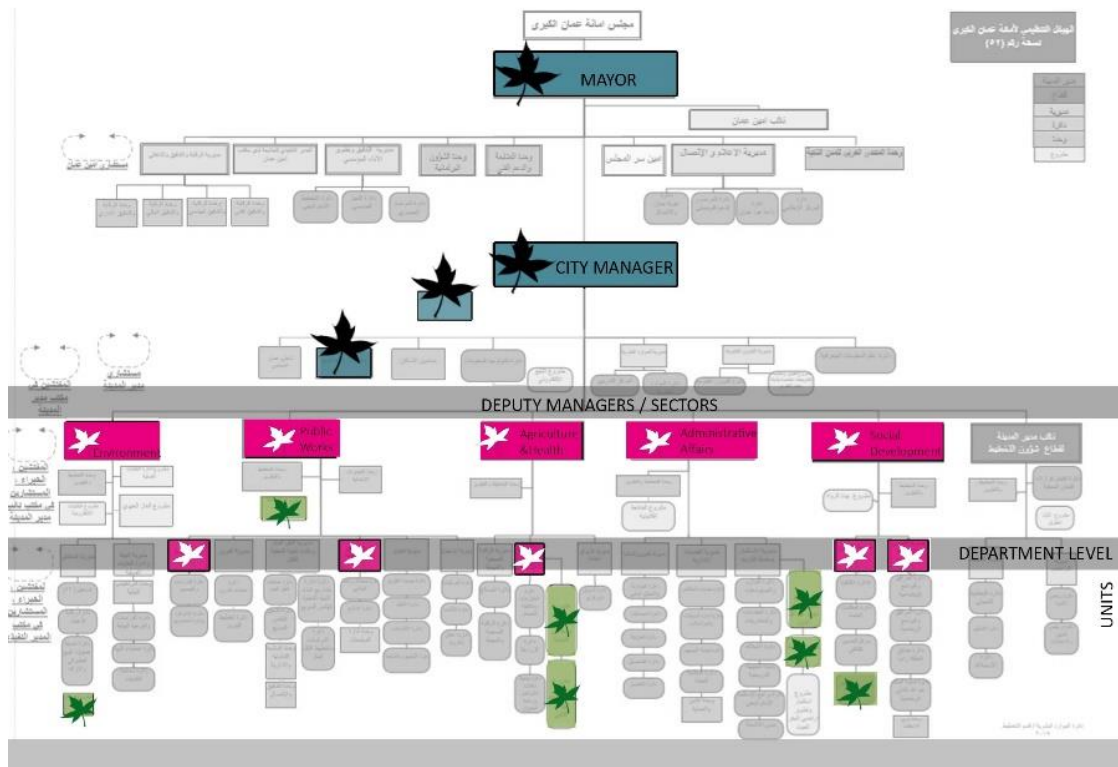
KEY

Individual POS placed on the organogram as an entity itself

All sectors and units involved in any POS production Process

Sectors that are involved in POS production processes that include other collaborators of high influence, a steering committee forming a cluster of intended collaboration on the level of deputy managers and feeding to City Manager..

Figure 18: Tracing POS-production processes in GAM's organogram. Source: GAM, 2019, adapted by the Author, 2020.

5.3. Operation and Roles

5.3.1. What Initiates POS Projects?

The current operative process for public space production in GAM is inconsistent and lacks a clear and transparent strategic framework—and, indeed, the main operative feature being unsystematic leaves the framework highly open for interpretation, meaning the process varies from one area and project to another, often depending on the involved partners or stakeholders in any given project.

Internally, GAM develops a strategic plan every three years and annual budgets each year. The public space projects incorporated in these plans are

not induced based on a systematic process or open space strategy, but are rather pushed to existence by sporadic means and different starting points (e.g., through the municipality's own knowledge of what the community needs; through indirect channels that deliver such needs to them (i.e., word of mouth)). Due to this and partnerships or higher state entities (i.e., royals and politicians), they are ultimately pushed to initiate and address POS projects in the city.

With minimal exceptions, GAM operates with a central top-down process: they base their decisions on their knowledge of what is needed and what is possible within the annual budget. Sometimes this process is mediated by indirect social input from citizens and is sometimes completed in response to the complaints system delivered to the areas' representatives, who advocate for their needs to GAM. These complaints usually vary from reporting a problem that must be managed to requesting the construction of a totally new public space.

The representative's personal ambition to get re-elected again plays a role, as this advocacy may (or may not) support this. Hence, this process does not always necessarily reflect the actual needs of citizens, and in any case, citizens' representatives are mostly symbolic figures with limited power. Plus, not every voiced need is met by GAM.

'The process is very centralised, I have worked for a long period of time in public space projects and even participatory ones, and I have never met an area representative.'

- Local Landscape Architect

Other participants suggested other means that influence these strategic decisions, such as information passing by word of mouth

'We are told Quwaismeh [an area in eastern Amman] needs a park.'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

And sometimes in the form of staff feedback when asked by decision-makers.

'I asked the staff to report me on what is happening there, why are the employees closing the park community centre at 11am?'

- Director of Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

Others mentioned introducing new projects or making POS-related changes after staff field visits or after they established some issues by coincidence.

'I went in field visits, the centres were dull and unattractive, the playing area and furniture were worn out, negative energy circulating everywhere (…) I was passing by the park, I found an elderly woman heading there and carrying her chair from home, I figured out that they need more and better benches in this park.'

- Director of Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

Mainly, public open space projects of large and medium scale are state-initiated or include outsider and higher committees that steer GAM to address socio-environmental problems such as water scarcity, lack of public spaces, and, most recently, refugees' integration (e.g., the Royal Initiative for Public Parks in Amman; the wide city-scale projects promoted by international NGOs, such as GIZ's Green Infrastructure project and the UN-Habitat Minecraft projects).

'What instigates change?' I always keep asking myself how can we start needed projects that we find required? What are the factors? Is it only a royal vision that accelerates everything?'

- Local Architect

From time to time, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) representatives, council groups, or activists approach GAM proposing POS projects with aims such as reclaiming spaces for the community, rehabilitation, or calling them to address certain community and refugee needs. Their calls are met with different approaches depending on several factors, such as whether they have connections within GAM, whether they have a funding entity on board, and if their ideas match the mindset of the current mayor and committee.

The political landscape is not static: mayors and their committees differ with time, including their visions and perspectives on public spaces. While some mayors neglected public spaces for years, others had public spaces as central priorities, proven by the intensity of public space projects at their time. And when mayors change, the continuity of the earlier POS-dedicated budget and vision is significantly compromised—and because there is no active open space system in place or a systematic agenda that one can refer to, POS becomes a collective of contested visions, most usually reflecting the interests of the already-powerful.

'In the last 20 years, more attention is given to public space, starting with Omar Maani's visions till this day with the era of GIZ!'

- Local Landscape Architect

5.3.2. GAM Roles in POS Projects

GAM has multiple roles related to public spaces: they are decision-makers in terms of planning and budgeting, funders, designers, implementers, operators, and organisers. These roles are either performed in-house, commissioned to external local or international actors, or a combined consortium is created

between them and the other actors. Notably, when several partnerships come into play, additional roles emerge and they become enablers, creating specific steering committees for certain projects.

However, successful partnerships (which external actors both fund and implement) yield, with time, a new role of a marketer and promoter for GAM employees. Some employees demonstrate individual trials to attract funding development projects for POS, including projects that address refugees, to other external actors to attract funds; they promote such collaboration in public events, yet this emerging role is still organic and is not institutionalised.

'We spontaneously mediate and spread that we are open for collaboration, we are marketing partnering with the city nowadays.'

- Engineering Director (GAM)

5.3.3. The Process - 'We Know Better'

When a POS project within a certain district is decided strategically and is considered in the annual budget, several factors influence the site selection: first, the land ownership, as the city lacks vacant open areas, which makes finding empty plots of land difficult. To solve that, GAM tends to turn to GAM-owned lands first as the easiest solution, or second into other publicly owned lands, the owners of which they can ask to alternate plots of land with. Land acquisition for creating new POS is a very time-consuming process, is not preferable, and happens very rarely. However, typically, GAM-owned lands are problematic, with challenging shapes and topography, small areas, and tricky soil types. This leads to a constant state of sporadic allocation based on the available plots of land, resulting in random POS that are sometimes provided in areas that do not need them in the first place. This creates lost, misused spaces without consideration to overall green infrastructure provision.

Other factors that influence the site selection within a certain district are densities and demographics, district area, the facilities and area needed, and the available infrastructure.

The Engineering Department and specifically the Studies and Design Unit are responsible for designing POS unless contracted out to external partners. For GAM's Landscape Department, POS projects are purely physical services reflected in multiple elements, components, and furniture, and are closely bound up with the available budgets. When asked about contextual analysis and users' needs, the answer was either, 'It is not our role,' or that they stem the needs from a general knowledge of the social backgrounds and settings.

' (...) but honestly we believe it is not our part or role to find the needs, but there is a department called social development department who must conduct social studies, socio-economic studies, census and analysis and provide it to our department as an input for the design process, but we don't get that from them.'

- Head of the Engineering Department (GAM)

The designs are envisioned by the Head of the Landscape Department during her field visit. Usually, the design is a model prototype directly derived from the designer's knowledge or borrowed from international cases with minimum respect to the users' needs and disregarding the sociocultural, local, and environmental dimensions.

'I start by looking at what they want, I go to the field, check what elements can be added based on area and topography, and based on what is there already if it is a rehabilitation project. Then, I decide the program, send details of park's problems and the suggested elements of design. Also, I plan a suggested budget, send it for the department for approval. They decide if it's for 2019 or 2020 plan for example. If it is on this year, I initiate, if not, I put it in a file for the next year.'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

5.4. The Management of POS

There is no systematic framework for POS, each public space being administered under a different GAM sector and department. Such responsibilities are mostly at the central and city-scale level, none of them being run by the related district and area of POS (the decentralised unit closest to the communities). Tracking GAM's managerial responsibility for each POS is very difficult: for example, grand city-scale public spaces have their own on-site management, while smaller traffic parks have the GAM social department responsible for the community centres and built areas in the park. The rest of the traffic park is managed by the agricultural sector.

'Ironically, the building inside the park is operated by one side, while the outdoor areas in the park is operated by other department.'

- Third Sector Organisation

'Other than the large parks with their own management, public spaces are managed from different departments like social affairs sector, agricultural sector and the sports and culture sector, in addition to a specific department for urban public spaces, it is chaotic!'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

On the other hand, non-managerial technical maintenance and place-keeping are all the responsibility of the agricultural sector, which has a single coordinating manager and is organised into five regional sectors (the northern, southern, middle, eastern, and western districts).

For GAM's interviewees, a successful public space is one that is convenient for them, is less problematic, is always clean and not vandalised, and is even underused or abandoned. There is also evidence of these interviewees

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understanding success as being related to a positive process, a positive partnership, or a positive management by partners, such as parks operated by Zaha's cultural centres. Zaha started as a royal initiative with one cultural centre in Amman, but today, Zaha is an important partner for GAM, responsible for several parks in the city.

5.4.1 Partnerships

As a central institution responsible for public spaces in the city, GAM is the entity approached by all partners interested in projects, including public spaces. Partnerships vary between the funding of the construction of totally new spaces, reconstruction, and rehabilitation, while some partnerships are more strategic, such as partnering with entities to operate and animate parks. Also, GAM partners include consultation offices for design services, research organisations, and groups to conduct participatory projects with the communities.

Usually, public space projects entail a consortium of partners and actors, the majority of the GAM partnerships here giving great consideration to the partner's profile, funding scheme, communication and discussions, design, implementation, monitoring, and operation, though this can vary depending on the partner or project type.

GAM leads the majority of partnerships, and normally, when an external funder approaches with a vision, GAM will investigate the mentioned components sequentially, with all the components being reviewed and agreed to by GAM.

The partner's profile has a main influence on how GAM prioritises any given project: for example, some public space projects that attract the state's and mayor's attention get their own temporary committee. This attention can be brought about due to a royal initiative, a city-scale project, or a donor country's project facilitated by the prime minister and delegated directly to the mayor. The steering committee's main function is to overcome the scattered situation and several institutional issues, as it has employees from different sectors working together.

Communicating with the main partner about the vision is a major step, resembled in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) by which GAM displays what they can offer to the other partner (usually studies, statistics, and a plot of land, or more, if needed). This often includes discussions regarding the partner's logos and marketing. Then, either the individuals in-house or the funder must find external consultancy firms for the design and contractors for the implementation. Sometimes, donor countries bring international firms ready to collate with local firms to conduct the project.

5.4.1.1. Modes of Partnership

There are different modes of partnership, the first mode being the partner as the international funder (e.g., international NGOs conducting a multiple-year project and hiring both local and international firms to work with them and achieve their goals). Here, either one or a combined mode of setting strategies can be used when it comes to conducting social programs and events and implementing wide physical interventions. This mode is steered mostly by the NGO, reducing (to some extent) the centrality of the process, since they bring their own agendas, tools, and techniques to the process, as well as some capacity training for GAM's employees and local entities.

Second is the CSR partner as a funder, with a symbolic flexible vision that is, to a great extent, decided and controlled by GAM. Their role is funding only, as such funders are more into marketing their companies: for example, many banks have their own parks in the city of Amman designed by local architects with their logos on the park entrances and furniture. In such cases of public-private partnership, GAM owns the land and is mainly responsible for any decisions regarding the park, including its management and maintenance; the bank, on the other hand, is mainly the funder of the park's design and construction and can self-promote and place logos on the furniture in the park.

The third mode is the partner as an operator and animator: for example, GAM has an active partnership with the Zaha Cultural Centre, which is today an administrative supervisor to 19 parks in several areas in Amman and

extending to other areas in the country. They oversee these parks, creating events and managing them.

The last mode is the community-led/activists as the funder, designer, contractor, and operator, whereby an activist or community has access and connections, approaches GAM with a vision and a clear funding scheme, and GAM allows them to use a specific land or an existing park to modify it to accomplish this plan. One example is the 7 Hills Skate Park, which was funded, designed, implemented, and operated by a group of activists. The activists of this park are included as actors in this study (Chapter 5). Refugees' experiences in this park are also gone into in an ethno-case in Chapter 8.

The majority of these modes will be illustrated in the following chapters, with the focus on partnerships with integrative aims (see Table 9).

Table 9: Case Studies in this research covering each mode of partnership. Source: Author, 2020.

Partnership Mode	Case study covered in this research	Chapter
1. The partner as the international funder.	The UN-HABITAT Social Inclusion Strategy; the GIZ Green Infrastructure Project; the MC2MC football program.	6
2. The partner as an operator and animator.	Zaha- Bab Al wad Park.	9
3. The community-led/activists as the funder, designer, contractor, and operator.	7 Hills Skate Park	5

5.4.1.2. Perceptions of Partnerships and Other Actors

GAM perceives partnerships positively: they look at alliances as beneficial and rewarding, since the benefits include having partners on-board to address

and fund major city problems that they struggle to solve in the first place, addressing institutional issues through training and capacity-building, and improved quality of designs and outcomes provided by the local and international designers hired and afforded by the funders. The quality of these designs has pushed GAM to adopt Zaha-operated parks as a prototype within a royal initiative project replicated in different districts of the city. However, there are some unintended consequences from this, often stemming from the fact that each region and community has specific and different needs and perspectives concerning the importance of the different forms of service provision. When GAM decided the parks should be rehabilitated as part of the project, they listed parks in several neighbourhoods based on internal criteria, and after commencing in one area, the community complained to GAM and the royal court about the fact that they did not want a park in this area, whether managed by Zaha or not: the idea of having a park in their neighbourhood was not favoured; they wanted either a mosque or a school, and the project was stopped immediately. As mentioned in their complaints, to them, a represented is a hub for bad practices and drug use.

'GAM cannot do all the planned parks, but the partnerships are one step to fund achieve and address the lack of public space in the city.'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

In addition, funders provide tools and elements that can be used in the long-term future, surpassing the project timeline.

'The Un-Habitat provided us with data shows, paint and many other materials to refurbish our park community centres.'

- Director of Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

5.4.2. GAM's Perception Towards Refugee Integration: The 'Open Doors' vs 'We Are Not an NGO for Refugees' Viewpoint

In a wider sense, refugees are perceived as a burden that increases pressure on GAM's already-troubled infrastructure and as a source of friction for a more proactive planning process. By promoting national discourse that tars refugees as burdens placing massive financial pressures on the country, the country can attract as many funds as possible from donor countries.

'I do feel for GAM, and I know that they have a very hard job, a reactive role due to the huge influx of refugees.'

- Urban Activist

Refugees' integration through public space interventions is not articulated at any level as an aim for the municipality, nor in the POS design process, operations, or social programming.

- *'We work in the micro-level of the design, we do not look at what other departments should provide like social studies or certain community needs.'*

- Head of the Engineering Department (GAM)

Since urban refugees are mostly blended in a wider multi-ethnic community, their lack of visibility reduces attention given to the specificity of their situation. Consequently, GAM looks at deprived areas and provide the same services for refugees and citizens. The interviewed employees showed no knowledge concerning the idea that integration should be addressed and discussed across all departments' operations, including in the design process of POS, and that it is not the sole responsibility of the Social Department. There also appears to be no reflection of the barriers of POS-use that may be specific to refugees.

'It is not my scope in the design and studies department to discuss social inclusion, it is more related to the social department, I think they have partners working on that aspect specifically.'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

'Our first concept is open doors; in all of our social programs, we never put a condition of a certain nationality or having a social security number, we do not put that in mind through our programs.'

- Director of the Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

GAM's perspective concerning refugee integration is that it is a by-product of any public space project. Accordingly, the municipality does not prioritise integrative projects and social inclusion programs in their strategies or annual plans unless influenced otherwise by larger organisations. When it comes to such integrative projects, they are always open to collaborating, with the condition that these projects address the local community of Jordanians and do not target one single ethnicity. This fundamental position was formed after several international collaborations that targeted one ethnicity (e.g., the projects supporting Syrian school children, which created more hostility towards refugees from the surrounding local communities that were normally deprived and underserved who felt they equally needed support).

'No, we do not initiate such projects. We are not an NGO for refugees, but we are open for any cooperation.'

- Director of the Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

Their collaborative role is more of an enabler that provides what is needed to complete the project: for example, if an NGO approaches GAM in a project targeting refugees, GAM will provide vulnerability mapping and internal statistics of the refugees living in the different districts.

Some of GAM's departments started monitoring refugee park-users in table forms, as will be addressed further in this chapter. However, the tables show that the numbers of refugee users can be increased, but as a department, they believe it is not their aim or job to work on such an outreach: they see these internal statistics as a starting point, not for them, but for other external NGOs who might be interested in increasing the park's visibility to refugees.

'It is not our scope of work to try to reach specific target groups like refugees, or increase their numbers. Our services target the whole population in the city of Amman including refugees. Our programs are dedicated for the local community surrounding the centre. We accept everyone, and we assume that any citizen in the city of Amman, you have the right to participate in the city programs.'

- Director of the Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

5.4.4. Challenges and Barriers

Examining GAM as the principal institution responsible for POS projects revealed multi-levelled challenges that will be discussed next. Although they are presented separately, these challenges must be looked at collectively to understand the general POS production processes in the city of Amman.

5.4.4.1. Lack of an Open Space System and Integrative Approaches

Although an open space system and hierarchy of POS was suggested in both of Amman's plans (in 1988 and 2008), it was never translated into binding laws by GAM. There is still no implementation framework in place, nor is it a priority. Today, the lack of a clear strategy regarding POS in Amman leaves a vague, unclear picture concerning how POS are produced and used (or not) as venues for integration.

'In the 2008 Amman Master Plan, a definition and hierarchy of POS were introduced. Also, a general policy and system. But honestly these are not implemented in our conventional way of our work, and they do not exceed the written

form. Public space is divided within the different departments, each responsible for certain spaces or responsibilities.'

- Head of the Engineering Department (GAM)

The current production processes are shaped by persistent inherited modes of practice that are no longer up-to-date with contemporary city requirements, such as the waves of forced migration.

'A lot of people who I met in GAM do not know that the 2008 public space hierarchy exists!'

- Third Sector Organisation

On the other hand, integrative approaches and refugee matters are, in one way or another, dependant on the national level decisions and donor countries' agendas. Hence, inclusive socio-spatial strategies with a focus on refugees' integration are not prioritised or even induced by GAM.

GAM reduces these concepts into general discussions and presentations with a local focus now and then, displaying the divide between the east and west of Amman and the unequal distribution of POS on both sides.

However, GAM is indisposed to prioritise POS in general or to initiate socio-spatial integrative approaches—never mind utilising POS as sites for integrative purposes.

To conclude, the combined conceptual understanding of public space and refugee integration is still very new to the city, although it has begun to be developed with the help of alliances and external actors (both foreign and local). However, it is still in its infancy and requires further exposure and facilitation.

5.4.5.1 Institutional Challenges: 'We Work on Separate Achievements'

The distribution of POS' responsibilities between several departments comes with manifold barriers that ultimately make the process flawed: for instance, centrality, bureaucracy, and the conventional lack of structured institutional mechanisms weaken any given project and lengthen its timeline remarkably.

'When you approach them with an idea or a proposal, they delegate and delegate and delegate and voila, it is lost! This is the main problem there, if they need to help Amman, restructuring the city council is a must!'

- Urban Activist

In addition, the majority of the interviewed participants (both GAM and non-GAM actors) mentioned that the departments responsible for POS are detached and lack communication and coordinative platforms;

'I believe managers do not pass knowledge to employees at the department, they do not have direct connection and guidance.'

- Director of the Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

and constantly being an ongoing competition between departments and closed-off attitudes between the sectors.

'If I ask for information from other departments, for example the Social Department, they do not give my work any priority, and would say we are already busy in something else. The idea that this piece of information would benefit another department is what makes them unhelpful. Although we work for one institution, we work on separate achievements!'

'Why would GAM need foreign entities to educate them on the importance of inter-disciplinary work and the need for integration between departments?'

- GIZ ILCA Project Manager

5.4.5.1. Lack of Participatory Culture: 'We Know Better'

With the pressing issues the city faces and citizens missing out on their basic primitive needs, both GAM and the users' communities perceive POS as being of minor importance. GAM doesn't perceive POS as a serious priority to fund, and citizens are not motivated or informed enough to assert their right for more and better public spaces. Both sides are, to some extent, unaware of the benefits POS present.

'Discussing green and open spaces to people who are facing hardships on so many levels can be very counterintuitive, they do not have access to basic infrastructure, as if it's a very luxurious need for them to talk about.'

- Urban Activist

In addition, there is a flawed state-citizen relationship moulded by distrust and blame between both sides: on one hand, citizens are convinced that GAM is filled with corruption, selling POS plots to private investors and failing to take responsibility for the POS deficiency and that this imbalance and vandalism is due to their lack of planning and management.

'People have a history of getting failed by GAM, their transparency is questionable, people do not trust them.'

- Local Architect

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On the other hand, GAM blames citizens for vandalism due to their not feeling as though they belong, as well as due to their lack of a basic POS culture and adequate usage patterns.

'I doubt that citizens realize that public spaces are constructed from the taxes they pay, because if they do, they will at least care and not vandalise [and] feel that these spaces belong to them.'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

'We put [down] the grass to beautify the place, it is not for picnics. It is not our fault they do not know how to use it.'

- Engineer in the Public Parks and Anti-Desertification Unit (GAM)

The interface between the municipal entity and citizens is reflected through the absence of any POS-claiming practices and the overall lack of agency, silently echoed by the indifferent apathetic citizens who tacitly accept what is there and ask for no more.

- *'The main problem is not that we do not offer or change; it is the culture of the people that needs changing.'*

- Consultant to the Mayor (GAM)

'If a park's status is becoming worse, this is not the fault of the engineer responsible for the park. There is a high rate of vandalism. Why? It is just harm and revenge; they don't know that they are paying for these parks from the taxes they pay to GAM.'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

A community that underestimates the importance of its everyday lay knowledge and feels that GAM knows better is naturally going to feel intimidated at the idea of approaching GAM to lobby for their needs. It can also remind them of their previous failed experiences when other citizens who had connections were prioritised. Indeed, with no clear venue for participation and delivering needs, the complaints system can be very problematic for citizens, never mind refugees.

'People believe that the knowledge is with the municipality not with the people, and this can be sensed by people where they go you are the experts why don't you just do it, and here comes this sense of disengagement, they don't have the sense of the belonging, also people feel that they don't have ideas/solutions or knowledge that prevent them to participate and engage even if they are given the opportunity.'

- Third Sector Organisation

GAM has no effective framework for community engagement and participation, except in rare cases whereby GAM has adopted participatory strategies. However, these participatory sessions were not institutionalised, were of limited value, took place in public hearing form (or in the form of invitation-only events), were generally focused on giving information, and seemingly possessed little genuine intention to involve marginalised communities.

'If we want to change, I do not believe they have any real intention to change!'

- Local Landscape Architect

Many barriers face these approaches, but GAM tends to either skip the participatory steps or proceed with staged participatory practices without genuine intentions. While they have been credited with the good promotion of their partners' activities, one of the interviewees also suggested they took more credit than was strictly appropriate:

'Our team conducted all participatory sessions for GIZ ILCA project, in each session GAM posts publicly about the sessions that we conducted without mentioning our team's efforts but made sure to mention the German funders. As if all these sessions were part of their normal practice and some sort of their own accomplishment.'

- Private Practitioner

There is a crucial need to address the participatory culture for GAM and the community: on one hand, a great number of GAM employees have no clear understanding of the rationale behind participatory approaches and lack the training and skills to negotiate with vocal participants opposing new ideas and to find new ways to seek hidden communities (e.g., refugee communities; on the other hand, the passive, indifferent community (if it happens they *are* interested in participating) will expect GAM to instantly meet their needs, potentially due to an initial lack of awareness about POS projects timelines and processes and or lack of experience with and exposure to participatory projects.

'It is not my job to sit with the people and ask them about the design, even if I try to sit, they will be very rude to me……There is no one department that is working on having social input from the ground, or this work is not framed clearly or in a right way as a certain department responsibility. It is unofficially delivered sometimes through the local committee from committee candidate. For example, we are told Qwaismeh needs a park.'

- Head of the Landscape Department (GAM)

5.4.5.2. Deficiency of Resources: 'Nothing Works Without Funding'

The resources allocated to public space planning, interventions, and management are insufficient when considering the current situation in Amman concerning POS. The municipality tends to allocate only publicly owned lands to public spaces despite most of them being oddly shaped and challenging and possessing inadequate plot areas. Overall, these are badly designed public spaces the majority of the time. Notably, public space projects can be postponed for many years based on the annual budget, and the budget allocated to POS differs in response to differing higher council visions yearly.

There is also a lack of adequate knowledge concerning POS design, and the need for experts such as landscape architects to be involved and on-board in designing the city's open areas is prevalent. For instance, the Landscape Department in GAM (which was established in 1988) has no one landscape architect, and the team tends to design based on their general knowledge rather than a detailed analysis of the site and the local community.

'We realised that they have good capacity for design and inspection, yet they tend to jump for solutions, we have a problem and they automatically present the solution based on their personal knowledge and own experience. Few of them take the time to really analyse what and why is this happening.'

- Third Sector Organisation

To some extent, their knowledge of POS design is restricted to formulating physical design elements in a plan or adopting international prototypes that can be replicated (with some modifications) to fit the dimensions of the given location, with a clear absence of a sociocultural understanding of the community's needs. If it is not delegated, it is an internal process within the team to decide for the people, and not necessarily to consider their needs.

'We just can't come up with ideas on a desk and fly them as parachutes to the streets, they need to incorporate all components of urban design.'

- Local Architect

Projects that target social integration are highly dependent on funding mechanisms that vary with time, leading to an inconsistent strategy for social inclusion.

'I have plenty of concept notes for integrative projects that target refugees, but nothing works without funding.'

- Director of the Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

5.4.5.3. Challenges Concerning External Collaborations

In studying how GAM is perceived by other collaborators and agencies involved in POS, many challenges were stated, including the absence of a clear collaboration framework (or any accessible venue for proposing ideas) and the unclear roles and responsibilities of each party (i.e., mayor, actor, project) that change with time. An easy-to-follow method for approaching or working with GAM doesn't exist, thereby reducing the chances of change and the channels for collaboration, especially for actors who have expertise and genuine intentions but lack agency and internal connections (e.g., local activists; community advocates).

In addition to all the aforementioned challenges, the ambiguity and blind spots in the POS production process in GAM is a major challenge faced by actors collaborating with GAM: the weak bureaucratic administration and sporadically distributed POS responsibilities over many sectors made characterise such partnerships by bumps in the road.

'We lost our 15000JD from a foreign embassy, just because of bureaucracy, even the ambassador called the municipality, but it took them more than three months to look at our proposal.'

- Urban Activist

Some collaborators have found GAM's staff to display excessive authority and performative decision-making, which is particularly a problem in situations in which it was agreed the matter at hand was to be the other partner's responsibility. Some actors commented that GAM's employees lack the rationale behind using public spaces as a tool for refugees' integration:

'They all tend to be managers and act like one. My solution we meet with them, was having GAM hierarchical framework printed with me and check how important and what role this employee does.'

- Third Sector Organisation

'Employees at GAM have this authoritative voice when they speak. Although some of them had no specific role in our project they came with a decision-maker mindset expecting obedience.'

- Private Practitioner

Many actors have negative perceptions about GAM, questioning their intentions and how they favour propaganda and screening success over real change. There are perceptions concerning how corruption leads to POS projects being commissioned and consistently delegated to certain actors only.

Moreover, the lack of evaluation and post-implementation management in GAM is a major disappointment to actors whose projects provided new POS interventions. Although many partners address this by going into management plans and evaluation, GAM mostly does not institutionalise or adopt such an approach.

'We hand them monitoring and managing, and it is a disaster! Evaluation is not there, unless we put plans for it and they will conduct it themselves.'

- Private Practitioner

5.4.6. Potential Supportive Mechanisms

There is much potential that can be developed into more successful mechanisms, such as having several knowledgeable employees on-board who are willing to help and change and acknowledge not only the need to work on the community's awareness (see Figure 19) but also to reform and solve the institution's flaws.

One example is a recent campaign named 'Amman Our home' promoting good citizenship practices and belonging to the environment, with slogans all over the landmarks in the city.

'We are focusing on the citizen's awareness to solve the major POS problems.'

- *Consultant with the Mayor (GAM)*
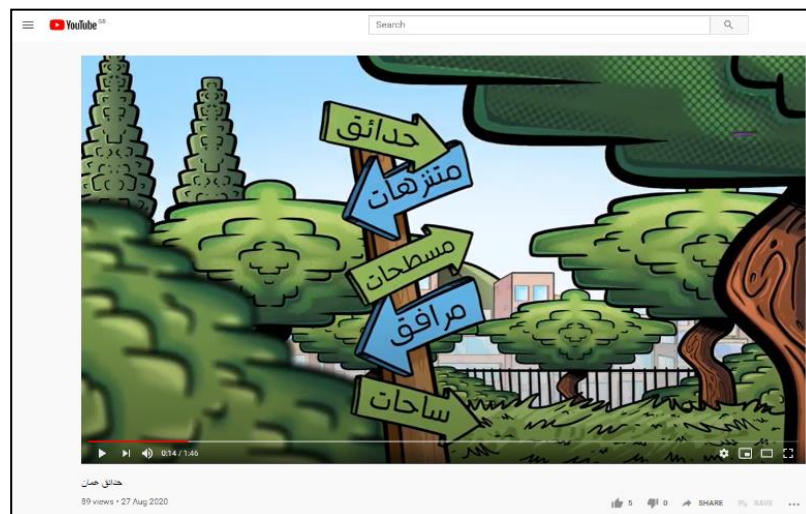
Figure 19: Part of the Awareness Campaign (a Video called Amman Parks Raising Awareness and Clarifying Public Parks' Major Guidelines). Source: GAM, 2020.

In addition, the collaborative spirit and openness to having new experiences and training can be considered a sign of potential, and with several POS integrative projects as precedents, the multi-ethnic lens in POS design practice can be introduced (e.g., the GIZ Green Infrastructure, a country-wide project which will be analysed as a case study in Chapter 6).

5.4.6.1. Successful Partnerships Impacting GAM's Operations

Successful partnerships that led to effective projects have shaped a new environment in some sections of GAM. It is noticeable when projects have a wider influence, as feelings of excitement form amongst staff and their decision-makers when it comes to the thought of qualifying their departments so they can partner with international NGOs or CSR contracts. Departments compete with regard who attracts partnerships and has connections with entities outside of GAM, and international NGOs provide tailored and multi-levelled training for GAM's staff and capacity-building to help in strengthening individual and group skills, in turn allowing them to work collaboratively and, in GAM's case, to help in clarifying each member's responsibilities and areas of speciality. Some NGOs dedicate some of their funds to addressing institutional barriers (e.g., the lack of communication and collaboration between GAM's departments): for example, GIZ hired a foreign institution expert in 2019 to look into the institution and, although ambitious, it resulted in a cross-department collaboration strategy related to developing participatory public spaces.

'When we started the Green Infrastructure project, we had in mind piloting a new system for GAM, for their departments to collaborate. We want to change the competitive and autonomous dynamic. The committee that merges the department should be institutionalised, we will push for it!'

- Third Sector Organisation

Over time, this can influence the institution in different aspects, such as through their overcoming institutional barriers and enhancing POS production and management and adding POS to their priorities.

'After collaborating with many international NGOs, my staff were introduced to an array of training programs. This led to have specialities in each community centre and park. For example, each centre now has an expert for women matters, or childhood. This has an additional benefit of easy monitoring, as you know "everybody's work is nobody's work", so individual specialties mean clear responsibilities for each employee, we have a person now to follow.'

- Director of the Facilities and Social Programs Unit (GAM)

To qualify for partnerships, some departments started doing new evaluation processes that took the form of observation sheets being completed each day, event, and half-year. They started in the form of statistical enquiries that facilitate the work of funders, paying special attention to scopes that can be of interest to funders and donor countries: for example, in 2018, the Social Department (which is responsible for several parks and their related community centres) started monitoring the nationalities of users, and they now have full statistics on the nationalities of each park and event. They also started adopting new tools and techniques learning directly or indirectly from their partners.

'We started open discussions and target groups, we took the idea from a previous NGO that we worked with. We have a page on Facebook now, with 5000 followers, mainly beneficiaries, they send us messages and we take their feedback, I found social media platforms very essential in these days.'

- Director of the Facilities and Social Programmes Unit (GAM)

Partnerships have paved a culture of participatory projects and introduced a shift in GAM's focus, from grand city public spaces to the everyday public space, with an attentive look at refugees and a push for bottom-up approaches (see Figure 20). As GAM has no dedicated department or institutionalised strategy for participatory approaches, their partners *do* have such approaches, which is considered a bonus. Occasionally, when a certain POS project is delegated to a design and consultancy firm, the social contextual input (including site analysis and social briefing) is considered to be an additional benefit for GAM but is never a core priority.

- *'Are you asking me about GAM before GIZ or after GIZ?'*

- Private Practitioner

To summarise, in-house designs lack any social consultation process, and any externally generated participatory approaches are highly dependable on the quality of the firm hired by GAM or the funders of any given project.

'*The participation part is left to the firm as an option, it is not part of the operation, it is not institutionalised, or mentioned in contracts. For our firm focus on inclusive designing by analysing the site. In any project, we go into many details, zoomed in and zoomed out*.'

- Private Practitioner

Figure 20: Part of the GIZ Green Infrastructure Participatory Design Sessions. Source: GAM, 2020.

A major encouragement concerns how community-led and self-managed POS, though few, are celebrated and encouraged by many actors and entities in the city and even by GAM's institutional borders. Indeed, many are trying hard to advocate for these approaches to the decision-makers: for example, 7 Hills Skate Park was funded, built, and run by volunteers that have been referred to positively by GAM employees and have been an example for all advocates and volunteers in the city as a successful example.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter explored GAM as the main institutional entity responsible for developing and planning all city components, including public spaces in Amman. Without any strategized open space system to abide by, understanding how GAM operates is a hard step for any actor involved in the POS sector. With this in mind, this chapter attempted to unpack the processes of public space production in the city, listing the barriers that can be overcome via different steps and highlighting the potential (e.g., the development of GAM partnerships with other actors). Successful examples of cooperation can facilitate more partnerships, if communicated, shared, and displayed while highlighting the steps that are needed to replicate, broadcast, and have influence. This chapter aided in questioning to what extent GAM controls granting, restricting or limiting refugees' agency whether in the lack of participatory mechanism or deficit resources. And this questioning encouraged me to explore other forms of refugees' agency that can be not easily detected, gently or shy due to these mechanisms (see chapter 10).

Chapter 6: The Interviewed Actors: Researchers and Educators, NGOs, and Activists

6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the findings that resulted from the interviewing of the three main types of actor: researchers and educators, NGOs, and activists. First, a background of each practice in Amman will be provided before we explore the issues related to their operative roles, perception towards refugees, funding, partnerships, weaknesses, barriers, and, finally, strengths and potential. Only the activist section (Section 6.4.) will provide an overview of practice in Amman; the remaining themes will be readdressed in detail regarding the 7 Hills Skate Park ethno-case in Chapter 8.

6.2. Researchers and Educators

This section will discuss the role of educators and researchers in utilising (or not) Amman public spaces as venues for refugees' sociocultural integration.

In Jordan, the utilisation of public spaces and refugees' sociocultural integration has been relatively unexplored in academic research compared to the advanced regional and international contexts.

Given this situation, this section will first provide a background of public space research, including how it is taught in higher education. I will then summarise how researchers and educators perceive refugees and their integration processes in research and pedagogy, followed by a discussion of the weaknesses and barriers related to the national practices of teaching and researching public space meaning, design, and usage. Finally, this section will shed light on areas that have potential—promising points by which to start the conversation about the integrative qualities of public space in Amman.

6.2.1. Public Space Research in Amman

Public Space in Local Research

The available research concerning POS is sporadic and fragmented, with very few peer-reviewed articles. It is because of this that Jordanian researchers rely heavily on unpublished and inaccessible resources that are multidisciplinary and non-academic, such as newspaper articles, novels, history books, or their personal knowledge, to frame their literature. Generally, there is a lack of consistency in their terms and citations between the available public space research. The available studies are scattered in nature, covering a wide range of themes and lacking further development and synthesis for previous research. This indicates a need for a robust and sustained research culture around these topics.

Inspection of all the uncovered literature concerning Amman public spaces highlighted that the majority of the research is case-study based (Al Jafari, 2014; Khawaja, 2015), GIS-driven (Farhan & Al-Shawamreh, 2019; Tomah *et al*., 2017), or comparative with other cities (Tawil *et al*., 2019, 2016; Yaghi, 2020). It is worth mentioning that there is no common ground when it comes to all the different studies when it comes to a sole definition of public space; the available research frames public space in the following narratives (See Appendix G):

1. Scant public spaces, planning, and design flaws.
2. Infection of neoliberal practices.
3. Politics of public space: mechanisms of monitor and control.
4. The social aspects and parallel typologies of public spaces.
5. Historical narratives.

6.2.2. Public Space Pedagogy

6.2.2.1 Teaching Public Space in Higher Education

The structure of the higher education departments in Jordan blurs landscape, urban design, and city-planning together within the Department of Architecture, as represented by the joint bachelor's degree. Master's degrees

of architecture concern planning, architecture, or heritage conservation, excluding landscape architecture and urban design degrees, in which one should study abroad to obtain such expertise. Hence, public space projects in Amman are mainly seen as the responsibility of an architect. Landscape knowledge is usually introduced to students in a landscape design or urban planning/design course within the study plan of an architectural engineering degree in Jordanian universities. Landscape is notably taught once for to fourth-year bachelor students and is typically understood by educators as the beautification of the landscape that focuses on tree selection and physical forms. Clearly, this offers students a very limited understanding of what landscape knowledge really is.

'We need more landscape architects in the field, and awareness in the field, people and even the municipality thinks that landscape is agriculture, but if you need more landscape architects, you need more people to teach it.'

- Local Landscape Architect

This pedagogical crux participates widely in creating ill-defined concepts of landscape architecture to students, professors, and future practitioners, mostly resulting in disappointing designs and on-ground public space projects.

Educators rarely think of connecting these micro-projects to larger city urban and societal issues—never mind refugees' integration. As the process of teaching public space in Jordanian universities lacks the addressing of social dimensions to begin with (in turn obstructing chances of understanding what public space can potentially bring to city-wide processes and equity challenges), much less focus gets directed to refugees' integration in a highly multicultural city like Amman.

6.2.3 The Perception of Refugees in Research and Education

The phenomenon of urban non-camp refugees is still understudied compared to the plethora of research concerning refugees in camps (Hawkins *et al.*, 2019). The majority of the available research takes a humanitarian

perspective focusing on profiling and assessing the status quo, or attempts to evaluate their multidimensional impact on the city from the host communities' perspectives. The main narratives addressed in the found literature about urban refugees are displayed in Appendix H.

In urban planning, architecture, and landscape architecture courses, urban refugees are thought of as spatial factors mentioned in courses narrating the historical forming of the city. Again, the idea that students can think critically about refugees and the city is not developed.

6.2.4. Funding and Partnerships

Funding research in Jordan is considered to be very weak, especially when comparing the percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) invested in research to other countries in the region (and the world) (Prieto, 2018). Local philanthropists and the private and industrial sector's investment in research is still very minimal, and international communities and NGOs are somehow trying to compensate for this lack of research in the country. Lately, Amman has witnessed joint research efforts amongst members of local universities with other institutions abroad, as well as with NGOs and international philanthropists and agencies. Fortunately, the majority of city-wide projects have researchers on board, so they contribute to the body of research that is the subject of the project.

6.2.5. Weaknesses and Barriers

Shami (2021) described the research in Jordan and the region as bleak, with deteriorating infrastructures, decreasing resources, shrinking public spheres, and restricted mobility. Researchers and educators in Amman face significant barriers when it comes to researching public space. There are two specific challenges in this context:

1. Finding a common ground for Amman public space in terms of its meaning and typologies.
2. Prominent gaps between academia, practise, and policy-making processes, and even between researchers themselves.

Finding Common Ground for Amman POS Meaning and Typologies: Obstacles in Defining 'Public' and 'Space'

There is a great inconsistency when it comes to the understanding of the term 'public space' in the Arabic language between different educators and Arab countries. A variety of terms are used to refer to public space, even though each one is interpreted individually, depending on the context (UN Habitat, 2016). In mind of this, there is a clear necessity to clarify the understanding of the term itself and to develop a comprehensive clear terminology concerning public space in Arabic (Ibid., as the academic research failed to clearly read their identity Tawil *et al.*, (2016)). In Arabic, multiple translations of space in public space are *Saha or Faraghat*, both translations denoting 'emptiness', and thus does not make any reference to people gathering. Another translation is *Fada'at,* denoting 'placeness' and 'human activity'. People use all of these interchangeably and miss the use of the term 'properly'. What they understand these terms to mean when using them remains a question.

'We have a problem in the term and its translation, we don't have public space in any way that you see somewhere else in the world.'

- Local Architect

'How can we ask and put a question for people so they can integrate all the public space typologies in their answer, because they might include ones in their imaginary (like a park) but not the ones they already use (like the souq), it is a contrast between what is defined and what is used!'

- ILCA manager / GIZ

'While the city looks at public space as a materialistic variable, many researchers are aware that Ammanis have different ideas of what public space is, and the multicultural nature of Amman, as the city of migrants, makes POS definition even harder, complex and highly reliant on socio-spatial aspects.'

- Professor and Practitioner/ Turath

Studies concerning Amman public spaces are scarce and lack public participation, which means that researchers and practitioners work with uncertainty due to their lack of understanding concerning public space from the vantage point of the users. Both GAM's definition of POS and their physically guided typologies contradict what users use and refer to as public space. Hence, researchers find themselves compelled to feed the gap between what is formally defined and what is actually used, socially situated, and interpretive. The weakness of the available research aggravates the challenge for researchers to conduct further research to define typologies of public space: there is a conflict between what is observed by researchers as used public spaces and what is added from users and research respondents. This conflict sheds light on the importance of latent knowledge and the need for a creative stance towards methods that explore the contradiction between what is used and what is articulated.

'Through observations, researchers see people use certain spaces, and when they recruit participants and ask them about what public space is to them, they answer with different spaces than the ones used.'

- ILCA manager/ GIZ

'We are still in need of a discourse focusing on what is public space or what is a successful public space in Amman from a deeper sociocultural interpretation.'

- Industrial Professor

Separate Worlds and Prominent Gaps

As mentioned earlier, public space research seems to be physically distracted from its wider context and disconnected from wider urban issues such as democratic performances or refugees' integration—and one important reason for this is the academic-practitioner gap, which tends to be viewed as dichotomous. In most higher education entities, practitioners are not allowed to run a studio (only researchers with PhD qualifications are allowed to do

this). Hence, the lack of overlapping connection and interaction between research, education, and practice results in a disconnected learning process from real-world issues.

'It has been six years now since most universities had stopped practitioners to teach in universities, other universities have the condition that they have academic master's degree…
…the one who teaches design needs experience, which the masters will not give. We live in two separate worlds: researchers live in a platonic world immersed in theories, while practitioners are very far from theoretical frameworks.'

- Architect/Head of the Training Unit in JEA, 2018

The policy-making arena is mainly top-down, thus relying on internal resources, seeking no external consultation, and, to a great extent, being driven by the individual knowledge of professional authority planners (who themselves are steered by the consent of the politically appointed personnel). There are weak knowledge connections between academia, policy, and activism, as well as a limited impact on debate and policy (Shami, 2021). Decision-makers involved in public space practices perceive public space as a concept of either recreation, mobility, or agriculture highly governed by physical guidelines (GIZ, 2020). Since the 2008 Amman Metropolitan Plan, decision-makers have not sought researchers' help or approached them for consultation.

'The entire profession of academia of urban design and public space cannot survive in business or consultation. They have no clients, government and mayors. They either give them no attention or very tight budgets.'

- Local Practitioner

'Now there is no connection, I haven't been to the municipality for years now, at least if you are not consulting experts, share with them and let them be aware of what you are doing, give them some time if you cannot afford consultation or advice, we can be interested to volunteer.'

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The divide between policy-makers and researchers as public space experts make the municipality's ill-defined concepts resistant to change—and because of this, not only do researchers have to feed the knowledge gaps of formal definitions and typologies, but also produce research that is far from being implemented or recognised, no matter how much of a real impact it may have.

'As consultants, we contributed to both city plans from eighties and the latest 2008 plan. Unfortunately, definitions of public space in our plans are available but not used, or effective, and our recommendations of more public spaces from the eighties till this day are not even addressed.'

-   City Planner

'If we are consulted, and this happens occasionally, we know that it will be written bullet points only, and when it comes to crafting policy, they have different things in mind.'

-   Local Practitioner

Another challenge exacerbating the lack of research-based policy-making is researchers thinking of research as a step for promotion, their research outcomes thus mainly seeking academic audiences rather than being policy-relevant or driven.

There is a common hesitation amongst local researchers to share their research; indeed, the embryonic yet growing culture of open access research is still shaped by fear of plagiarism and institutional regulations (GIZ, 2020). A lack of mobility and circulation for other researchers, the academic faculty, and students makes isolated research communities fragmented across different disciplines and lack professional associations (Shami, 2021). The

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process of not sharing hinders the advancement of research and creates many research projects that stop at a certain point and lose the opportunity of being visible for further development and the creation of more impact. Outcomes other than journal papers are not common within academic societies unless the research is part of a larger project with different partners.

Exacerbating this gap is the problem of accessing knowledge in paid journals; the largest universities in the country face massive financial crises due to their shrinking governmental funding (Fraij, 2017), meaning students are prevented from accessing knowledge in paid journals. Building on previous research is also challenging when the majority of the local public space research is unpublished, usually in thesis form, and cannot be accessed unless university libraries are visited.

6.2.6. Potential Steps to Feed the Knowledge Gaps

Despite the gaps in public space research, the limited views toward achieving refugees' spatial integration, and apolitical stances towards research, some steps are being made to try to overcome these weaknesses: some promising studies are starting to recommend public space as a tool for integration, provoking questions such as gendered experiences and access to Amman public spaces. Although not fully developed to achieve the desirable awareness, with the help of partners like international organisations and funds, researchers and educators can be granted the opportunity to benefit from developed case studies and projects, whereby experiences can be distilled to inspire further research.

The project Reclaiming Public Spaces through Intercultural Dialogue (2015-2017) (an initiative between Amman and Dortmund) is a good example of an international connection between universities: comprised of a combination of workshops, summer exchange schools, and a regional conference resulting in joint output (Reicher *et al.*, 2018), it introduced a fresh conceptualisation of public space as a place to resolve segregation and tension in multi-ethnic diverse contexts like Amman and Dortmund. This has massive potential when

it comes to addressing knowledge gaps and enriching local knowledge about the topic.

Incremental steps can have substantial effects: the Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies Centre (RDFMSC), for example, is seeking to teach courses about forced migration issues as an optional requirement in all academic disciplines in the university. This has the potential to enhance civic awareness concerning the critical issues of forced migration in ways other than historical narration.

Regardless, many steps are still needed to validate the need to research and dig deeper into how different layers and user profiles of the city are experiencing public space differently, as well as to generate conversations about inequality and the importance of tacit knowledge and multicultural articulation. Though denoting small changes, individual efforts can also be considered as potential and have incremental effects.

'This is very difficult because you cannot influence the whole department, but I try in the courses that I teach to deliver how diverse is the concept of public space. I know we have not started yet, but maybe in my next course.'

- Professor and Practitioner/ Turath

Industrial Professors:

Although most universities require PhD degrees from educators, the German Jordanian University requires otherwise and emphasises connection with the relevant industry. It was modelled on the German applied-science model, meaning they hire professors with industrial experience and practical approaches to education. In their School of Architecture, many industrial-driven projects initiated a successful reputation for the school, which can be considered a great area of potential for broadcasting the importance of industrial professors to other universities.

'The industrial professors are a great way to enhance practicality and accentuate processes over the product in design studios. Also, a good way to make them think about real world and provide them an opportunity to think politically.'

- Architect/ Head of the Training Unit in JEA, 2018

'We need to have our studios outside with clients, we need students to read beyond the spatial and grasp the socio-spatial, to understand multicultural facets and the interrelated strata of Amman.'

- Industrial Professor

'I think our universities are pacing to involve students in the community, and let them learn skills from people, but we are far from having them surpass the theoretical form when challenging how we work.'

- City Planner

Awareness of Academic Agency:

A great potential resides in pioneer educators who are aware of their agency and adopt concepts such as critical thinking (Siegel, 1988) and critical pedagogies (Freire, 2000) within their studios. They have been introducing problem-solving and criticality to their curriculum, in turn triggering students to think about urban issues from a democratic and social justice point of view: for instance, Rami Daher starts his landscape urbanism studio by sending students in groups to find neglected and abandoned public spaces in the city, urging them to first use ethnographic methods to reveal their sociocultural layers and seek reasons behind the negligence.

'I do this intentionally to urge students to critically think about spaces around them, inquire about politics of space and geographies of inequality…
…A course on landscape urbanism; the key premise of it is to look at potentials. One of the early exercises is to go and explore abandoned public spaces and think about alternatives and success factors.'

During the first project (which aimed to highlight how effective involving students can be in creating substantial change), 29 students were involved in the Mapping Jabal Natheef Project, socio-spatially reading a refugee camp in Amman (Arini, 2014). The project introduced a fresh methodological reading of space through social layers and was widely celebrated in and outside academic societies.

Lately, professors established partnerships with organisations to involve students with projects, such as those discovering Amman as a walkable city and encouraging the delicate practice of using anthropology for planning and the late ILCA's Gender and Public Space study. This type of active partnership can be considered a great area of potential for research to become a catalyst for social and economic change.

6.2.7. Summary

This section discussed the researchers and educators responsible for the production of public space through research and pedagogy, and who also influence how refugees are perceived and studied. This section further emphasises the need for more research tackling public space and its potential for creating change, with a clear emphasis on refugees. The section has displayed how public space is being taught and researched, showcasing barriers in defining the different conceptions of public space and in abstracting them to a physical container of activities, rather than a multidimensional and relational space. Also, the section displayed several gaps between the community of researchers themselves and between them and other actors (e.g., practitioners; policy-makers). The section concluded with a list of examples of partnerships and cases that are stepping forward, aware of academic agency and appreciative of equal access to knowledge and actively creating partnerships.

6.3. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

6.3.1. NGOs in the Jordanian Background

In Jordan, many international and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) work on focal points such as poverty, employment, basic services, and social protection, and contribute to social capital development and integration. They began in 1912 with charitable and philanthropic intentions (Al Kafawin, 1999) and were formally legislated in 1936 (MOSD, 2020).
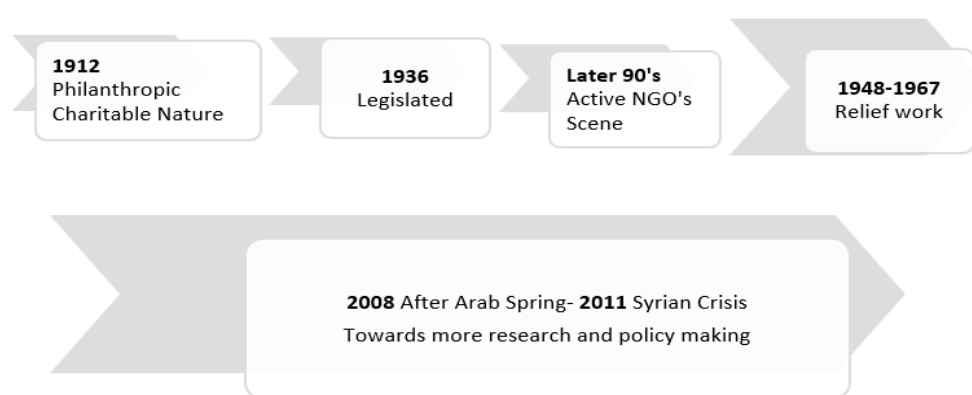
Figure 21: The timeline of NGOs' nature of work in Jordan. Source: Author, 2020.

In the 90s, political liberalisation, women's rights, and environmentalist were dominating the NGO scene (Khatib, 1994), and with time, NGOs' work shifted in its intensity and scope from relieving work during the Palestinian conflict in 1948 and 1967 to more of a research-focused scope in the 2008 Arab Spring (Erakat, 2015). As these risings generated huge interest and funding opportunities that were keen to produce explanations of what happened and what the possible predictions of the future were, Amman witnessed a saturation of new NGOs looking for potential and running multi-scalar projects from the wide region scale and the city scale, including neighbourhood micro-initiatives (Ibid.) (see Figure 21).

Not only did this saturation led the city to host many NGO-led integrative programs, but it also responded to a critical need for work on sociocultural

integration after Amman started to host a larger number of refugees from different nationalities (in particular after the US invasion in Iraq and the Arab Spring in 2008 and exacerbated by the Syrian conflict in 2011) (UNHCR, 2015).

Currently, in Jordan, 40% of the overall population is comprised of refugees (UNHCR, 2015), and multiple studies have diagnosed refugees' everyday problems and barriers for integration (Achilli, 2015; Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018; MercyCorps, 2012) and highlighted the need for holistic prolonged policies of integration with rich sociocultural layers (Haysom, 2013; Johnston *et al*., 2019). Sociocultural integration projects are normally initiated by international agencies in Jordan (Chatelard, 2010). Some of these will be described as case studies later in this section.

Sociocultural integration projects led by international agencies started to include innovative approaches (e.g., working on soft and hard public space interventions with direct and indirect aims of integration) (Bagwell *et al*., 2012; Boston Society of Architects (BSA), 2018; Flemsæter *et al*., 2015; Rishbeth *et al*., 2019; UN-Habitat, 2018), which influenced globally driven initiatives to emerge in the Middle Eastern region, where the intertwining of public space and integration is still not wholly realised (UN-Habitat, 2020)— for instance, the UN-Habitat projects in Palestine and Amman or PPS Placemaking for Peace-making in Lebanon (Jalkh, 2017).

This international influence was accompanied by a slowly growing local interest in public space by insightful decision-makers (2008), the royal vision (2016), and was sometimes forced by donor countries' agendas (2011-2020). NGOs' sociocultural integrative projects (which were mostly indoors) started to move to the outdoors—a step that reflects an emerging realisation concerning the integrative role of urban landscapes and public spaces.

Today, the city has become an active partner of many NGO projects and is aware that such projects match international funders' visions and agendas and that their partnership with NGOs will guarantee benefits, funds, and, eventually, change. Hence, the majority of these projects are incorporating

international-local alliances that include local municipalities and community-based organisations.

With a growing number of NGOs and their projects, a need for more NGO scrutiny in Jordan in terms of their role and impact has become critical (Al Kafawin, 2018, 1999; UNHCR, 2015). Responding to that, this section aims to explore the role of some leading NGOs working in some multi-scalar projects using public space as a tool and venue for sociocultural integration.

This section is comprised of two parts: first, an overview of the key NGOs who are working on a variety of projects that include public spaces; and second, a display of the traced connections, similarities, and comparisons between all the featured NGOs as a whole.

6.3.2. Utilising Public Space Projects to Integrate Refugees

The German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ)

The GIZ is a German governmental enterprise that has sustainable development portfolios in Syria's neighbouring countries, including Jordan. Each portfolio comprises several projects, and within the Environment and Climate portfolio, the Green Infrastructure Project (see Table 10) focuses on the networks of public spaces. It has two sub-projects: a national level project covering four regions in Jordan and eight sites called Cash for Work and a city-level project called Improving Living Conditions in Disadvantaged Areas of Amman via the Implementation of Green Infrastructure (ILCA). As this research focuses on Amman only, more attention will be given to the latter, as Cash for Work is regional and focuses more on economic integration.

Table 10: GIZ's Green infrastructure Project and Aims. Source: Author, 2020.

Project 1: Cash for Work
Aims: Providing work opportunities for Syrian refugees in a form of assignments to set up and infrastructure in the Jordanian refugee camps and host communities. Refugees will be included in building and establishing and repairing parks, streets, sewerage systems, roofs, and schools.

Project 2: Improving Living Conditions in Disadvantaged areas of Amman via the implementation of green infrastructure (ILCA)							
Aims: to improve existing elements of green infrastructure in three selected sites in East Amman hosting large numbers of refugees, creating, and reviving public spaces through the participatory approaches of design and management, in addition to raise awareness on the concept of Green Infrastructure, and supporting the city to respond to national and international agendas.							
NGO Name	**Broader Project**	**Funder**	**Projects**	**Scope**	**Scale**	**Timeline**	**Partner**
GIZ	Green Infrastructure	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)	Cash for Work	Physical Intervention	Middle east / National 4 regions and 8 sites	Ongoing	Ministry of Environment (MoE) GAM Consortium of local consultants and companies
			ILCA	1.Physical intervention	3 sites in eastern Amman	Final stages	
				2.Capacity building			
				3.Knowledge exchange			

To help the overburdened municipal services due to the huge influx of refugees and specifically the pressure on POS in dense areas, ILCA (2017-2022) has three main components:

1. **The Physical Implementation of the Green Infrastructure Networks (2017-2022)**: Mainly targeting networks that connect urban and neighbourhood public spaces, including sidewalks, stairs, and public spaces themselves. Three participatory small projects (see Figure 22) focus on reviving and greening POS as sites and their surrounding networks and improving their walkability and transportation accessibility, in addition to sustainably improving the existing infrastructures.

Figure 22: ILCA's three sites locations and the proposed interventions. Source: ILCA Brochure (2018), modified by Author, 2020.

In 2019, the project started with a baseline study and socio-spatial studies
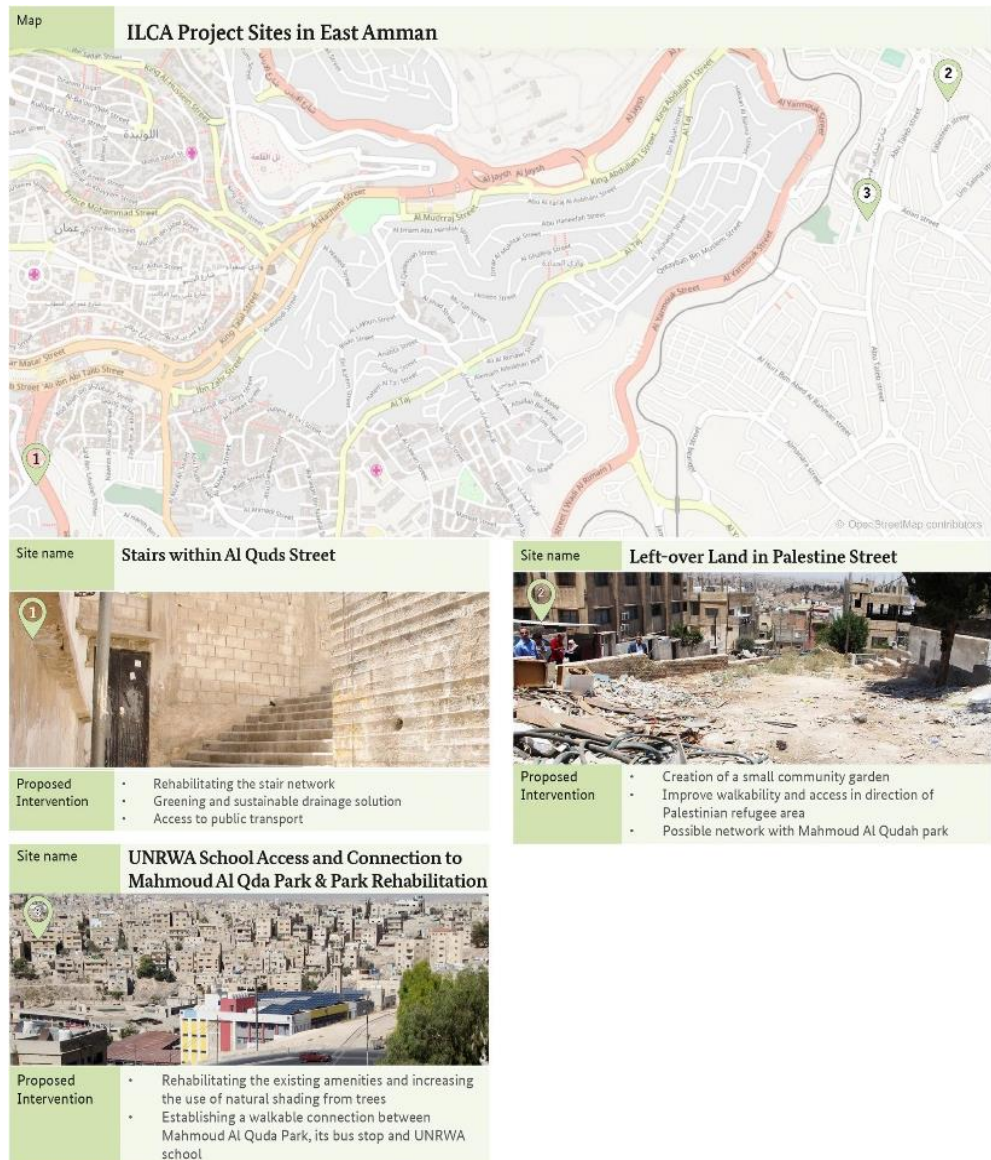
conducted by a leading local firm. The study was called Draw Your Own Hara (neighbourhood*) (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Draw your own Hara event. Source: GAM (2018).

Then, a consortium of local firms was formed, including an architecture consultancy, contractors, landscape architect, and social and economic technical specialist to conduct the participatory and community work. They conducted participatory design sessions for all three sites and focused on community engagement through all the phases. In 2020, the final designs were shared with the community via social media platforms due to the COVID-19 pandemic situation (see Figure 24 &

Figure 25).

Figure 24: The existing condition of one of the three sites (stairs) (Left), and the proposed final design (Right). Source: GAM, 2020.

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Figure 25: The existing condition of one of two sites (Left), and the proposed final design (Right). Source: GAM, 2020.

2. **Capacity-Building for GAM on Both Levels, Central and District:** Three main workshops were conducted: one unpacking the POS typologies beyond the parks; one discussing the importance of participatory research and analysis; and one exploring the technicalities of the green infrastructure as a new concept to the city (see Figure 26).

Figure 26: A Capacity Session Conducted in 2019 about Participatory Research and Analysis. Source: GAM (2018).

3. **Sharing the Ecologically Economic and Social Benefits of Green Infrastructure on National and Global Platforms:** Showing how these local measures can contribute to the sustainable development goals (SDGs), the national agendas, and the Paris agreement, as well as how implementing on a local level can impact these global universal agreements.

However, after the project was given an extension in 2018, the team raised their goal and added an ethnographic study of gender and public space (launched in December 2020), the study covering a city-wide survey and several walk-along excursions with women in five selected public spaces. As I engaged with the project's team on multiple occasions, it is worth mentioning that not much attention was given to the particular experiences of refugee women; rather, the focus was mostly on the experiences of local women in general.

'In one of the training sessions, there was a section about women in public spaces. We thought it would be an interesting contribution to the project due to the lack of resources discussing both public space and gender.'

- Team Member / GIZ

6.3.2.2. UN-Habitat

UN-Habitat is a leading internationally funded NGO working in Jordan. Through their ongoing Regional Public Space Program, which started in 2012, UN-Habitat has aimed to promote transformative change concerning the views and narratives of practitioners, academics, and local authorities towards public space, with a focus on social inclusion and community-led approaches. The program resulted in global projects in scope and locations like Block by Block and the Global Public Space Toolkit.

UN-Habitat, Amman, took part in both projects and adopted both projects locally, with a focus on partnerships with local actors, participatory

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approaches, and enhancing social cohesion between refugees and local communities in Jordan.

6.3.2.3. Block by Block

Block by Block is an innovative partnership between Mojang, UN-Habitat, and Microsoft to get citizens using the computer game Minecraft (a virtual version of Lego) to involve them in the design of public spaces, by using Minecraft to build blocks and create entire spaces.

UN-Habitat Amman implemented one project using this fund outside Amman called the Participatory Design of an Open Space in Al-Ghweirieh Neighbourhood. The project, with an objective to contribute to social cohesion in the area, consisted of multiple participatory workshops with communities on public space elements and Minecraft as a tool. Here, participants from Al-Ghweirieh identified social inclusivity as a prevailing issue. A local committee addressed this and a public space was designed and implemented from the preliminary Minecraft plans provided by the community (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: Participatory Worshops for Al Ghweirieh Park Design. Source: UN-Habitat, 2019.

6.3.2.4. The Global Public Space Toolkit

The Global Public Space Toolkit aligns with the SDGs. In 2016, the program developed a specific regional toolkit for the Arab region and is still in production (2020). This program focuses on partnerships leading to participatory, scalable, and catalytic pilots transforming public spaces. UN-Habitat listed multiple entry points to start from in these pilots, aiming to

transform public spaces. These entry points include cities and refugees (see Figure 28).

In 2018, UN-Habitat Amman became part of this program with pilots that showcased a focus on refugees, youth, gender, national urban policies implementing public spaces, and establishing and strengthening collaborations with local governments and stakeholders. They endeavour to support governments in developing public spaces in terms of capacity-building, securing more funding, and working with them in adapting their pre-existing projects to make them more public space-oriented.
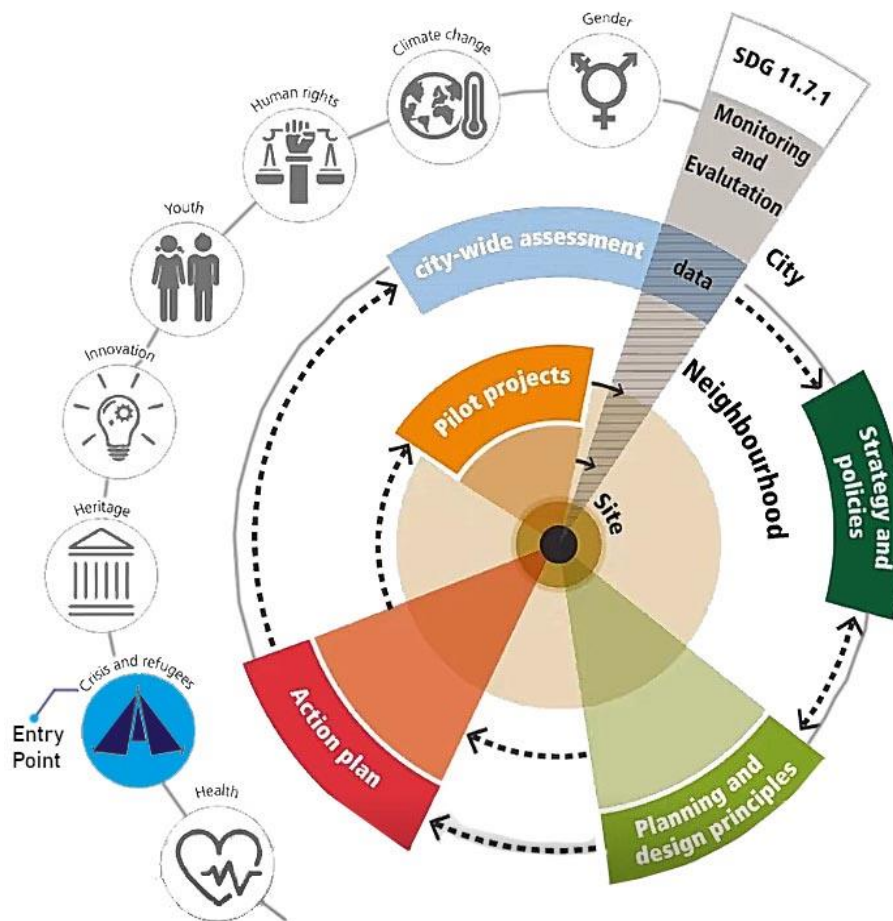
Figure 28: UN-Habitat Project Entry Points. Source: UN-Habitat (2020), modified by Author, 2020.

Currently, there are two main ongoing local projects (see Table 11: UN-Habitat List of Projects and their Aims. Source: Author (2020)): the first is a

national-scale project aiming to prepare a national policy for Jordan with social inclusion and human rights as entry points and public space as a sector. In this project, they established a partnership with the Ministry of Municipal Affairs (MoMA) and technical committee members from all over Jordan, including ministries and urban planning institutions. The second project is smaller in scale—a social cohesion project which UN-Habitat introduced to GAM with two approaches as options. GAM will make the final decision regarding which of the two is selected.

Table 11: UN-Habitat List of Projects and their Aims. Source: Author (2020).

Project 1: Preparing a National Policy for Jordan Public Space							
Aims: To diagnose the current situation and prioritise the key urban issues in the country. To prepare an overarching reference for public space standards and design guidelines.							
Project 2: Social Cohesion Project: The Participatory Design of a Public Space OR Social Inclusion Strategy							
Aims: To address the lack of POS in a refugee-dense area, discussing peace by providing public awareness regarding sexual- and gender-based violence.							
NGO Name	**Broader Project**	**Funder**	**Projects**	**Scope**	**Scale**	**Timeline**	**Partner**
UN-Habitat	The Global Public Space Project	The Block by Block Fund	National Policy for POS	Policymaking	National	Ongoing	MoMA
		MC2MC	Social Cohesion Project	a) Policymaking	City-Scale (Amman)	Ongoing	GAM
				b) Non-Physical Intervention	Neighbourhood Community Centre		

The first option (a) prepares a whole strategy for Amman, including GAM as partners, who will draft the strategy collaboratively with UN-Habitat for them to eventually implement. The first phase will be conducting public awareness sessions regarding SDGs that are related to social cohesion and refugees in cities. The second phase will concern understanding the processes in GAM and how to make different departments work to achieve social cohesion. This phase will include several meetings to prepare the drafts, along with several

capacity-building sessions with GAM members to explain the methodology. The last phases will comprise establishing an action plan and then monitoring and evaluating these plans.

The second option (b) is a soft intervention in a Fatima Zahraa community centre in Marka in Amman, to promote social cohesion in the area. The project will not include any physical intervention but will focus on intangible and actual activities with a combination of sports and art to encourage the local community and refugees alike to interact, in turn promoting social cohesion.

6.3.2.5. The French Agency Development (AFD)

The French Agency of Development (AFD) collaborated with the French Red Cross (FRC) and the Jordanian Red Crescent (JRC) in two micro-initiatives (see Table 12) aiming to strengthen the resilience of vulnerable populations and to reduce social tension between locals and refugees in the Badr Nazzal area (southeast Amman). This project is based on a larger framework of the Mediterranean city-to-city Migration Project (MC2MC), which is coordinated by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and funded by the European Union and Swiss Agency. The AFD, as the main donor, delegated the implementation to FRC AND JRC, who approached GAM to facilitate their partnership with the municipality staff in Badr Nazzal. The local area staff helped them as gatekeepers and gave them access to local committee meetings to achieve active community participation.

Table 12: AFD Micro-Initiatives and their Aims. Source: Author (2020).

Project: Building Social Cohesion in Badr Nazzal District: Bringing the Local Community and Refugees Together							
Aim: To strengthen social cohesion through the creation of public spaces and community-based programmes and dismantling barriers of social exchange.							
NGO Name	**Broader Project**	**Funder**	**Project**	**Scope**	**Scale**	**Timeline**	**Partner**
AFD, FR,	MC2MC	EU and Swiss Agenc	Initiative 1: Park Rehabilitation	Physical Intervention	Neighbourhood	2013-2016	Local GAM (Badr Nazzal

JRC		y	Initiative 2: Football Training Course	Activities Micro-initiative	Neighbourhood	2016	Area)

The first initiative was a physical intervention in two public parks in the area, Al-Shura Park and Jordan Park. The local municipality selected the parks, this process including rehabilitating soft and hard landscapes. Figure 29 shows a before and after of Al-Shura Park. The goal was to create more opportunities for interaction and improve the social cohesion between the refugees and locals in the area.

Figure 29: Al-Shura Park Before and After the Physical Interventions. Source: GAM (2018).

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The second initiative was creating a seven-week after-school football program for 50 local male children from both the refugee and local communities aged 7-12. The aim here was to strengthen the communication between the children, as this initiative was inspired by the government's decision to separate the school shifts between the Jordanian and Syrian school students. The venues were provided for by the municipality and the coaches were from the local nearby communities.

6.3.2.6. Collateral Repair Project (CRP)

CRP is an American NGO in Amman established in 2006 with programmes focusing on community-building, trauma relief, female empowerment, emergency aid, and education. Located in a neighbourhood of high refugee settlement, CRP is a community centre that directly and closely interacts with its beneficiaries. They provide refugees with free activities and learning opportunities to allow them to begin rebuilding the sense of community they lost after fleeing their home countries.

The community centre has courtyards, playing areas, and other outdoor spaces, and is where people meet, socialise, and relax, as well as host the majority of CRP's programs, including yoga classes, children's play, and summer club classes.

Although the outdoor experience of refugees is not within CRP's main scope of work, they do realise its importance for refugees' integration process; hence, they have made several attempts to include outdoor experiences in their routines and sessions (see Figure 30).

Figure 30: CRP's outdoor activities within the premises including trauma relief, summer camp classes, and free time. Source: CRP, 2020.

These have mostly been delivered within their youth program or the men's exercise group, such as arranging transport to take refugees to a playing field for sports. They have also taken groups to a public park for children to play, and in each term, they organise transport to picnics in large parks (see Figure 31).

Figure 31: CRP's Outdoor Activities. Source: CRP ,2020.

6.3.2.7. Reclaim Childhood (RC)

Reclaim Childhood (RC) is an American NGO established in 2008 offering athletic opportunities to women and girls aged between 7-18. RC operates in east Amman and Zarqa during the summer. By this time, the RC programs have been expanded to three year-round programs: after-school sports programs, leadership programs, and summer/fall camp programs. Originally founded to serve the Iraqi refugees, the program now provides coaching and sports practices to refugees from seven countries, as well as the local girls from the host communities, in response to the area's changing demographics. The nature of RC's work relies on providing transportation to practice sessions, which are run by female coaches of diverse nationalities. They train

girls to play together four times a week in each city, including soccer, frisbee, basketball, and dance (see Figure 32).

Figure 32: Reclaim Childhood training days. Source: Reclaim Childhood, 2020.

Their main objectives are to offer a safe space for refugee girls to reclaim their childhood and feel like kids again, to provide interaction opportunities for diverse ethnicities who otherwise would likely not interact, and, finally, to empower and inspire girls by employing the positive effect of sports in achieving socioemotional wellbeing.

These social cohesion aims are additionally reflected in their leadership program, whereby girls are trained in areas such as conflict resolution and positive coping skills. They also work on connecting girls to other resources they may need to thrive, such as mental health resources.

They evaluate the success of their programs by assessing the increased social cohesion levels through focus group discussions and a High Impact Attribute Survey (HIA), a tailored measurement used to assess positive attributes in youth served by sport-based organisations (Edge Work Consulting, 2020).

6.3.3. Connections, Similarities, and Comparisons

6.3.3.1. Scopes

Table 13 collates a list of roles and scopes of intervention for each featured NGO and evaluates the relative strength and impact of these roles.

- All the studied NGOs directly utilise public spaces for sociocultural integration by conducting integrative initiatives and activities in public spaces or/and conducting physical interventions with sociocultural integrative aims.

- GIZ, UN-Habitat, and AFD have multi-scalar projects covering a wider range of processes, covering top-level decision-making processes to conduct community and field diagnosis and urban physical interventions. They advocate for integration policies, have closer relations to decision-makers at GAM, and are aware of the internal processes of integration. A few also have programs to monitor the governmental integration frameworks.

- Although all these NGOs have community-led approaches to the integration developed through micro-initiatives, local integrative activities and campaigns are the main scope of work for CRP and RC. These two organisations are closer to the refugee communities and their everyday lives, and their programs witness active refugee participation.

- No organisation except GIZ has started to implement ethnographic approaches to grasp the daily barriers of integration for refugees in public spaces.

Table 13: NGOs' Scopes of Intervention. Source: Author (2020).

Scopes of Intervention/NGO	GIZ	UN-Habitat	AFD	CRP	RC
■ High ■ Low □ Very Low □ N/A					
Advocacy for Integration Policies	High	High	Very Low		
Monitoring Governmental Integration Frameworks	Very Low	Very Low			
Field Diagnosis	High	High		High	
Active Participation for Refugees in Projects	Low	Very Low		High	High
Refugees' Experiences of the Research/Ethnographic Enquiries	Low				
Conducting Micro-Initiatives and Integrative Activities and Campaigns	Very Low		Low	High	High
Implementing Urban and Physical Interventions	High	High	Low		
Circulating Lessons of Good Practice in Refugees' Integration Field				Low	Low

6.3.3.2. *Project Locations and Site Selection*

Project locations and the site selection processes for the UN-Habitat, GIZ, and AFD projects are mainly GAM's decision. For GIZ, GAM chose the three sites for intervention.

'GIZ chose the sites with collaboration with GAM, where we did multiple site visits and inspections and then they chose from them based on their criteria, and then GAM gave their approval on the selected sites.'

- ILCA Coordinator at GAM

Meanwhile, UN-Habitat has some project locations chosen for them, such as the Fatima Zahraa community centre in Marka. They also have to provide vulnerability assessments for GAM to agree on for other projects. As GAM perceives integrative projects positively if they target local host communities in addition to refugees, they do not prioritise the number of refugees or their socioeconomic status in the selection process, but likely focus on areas that need intervention in terms of infrastructure.

'They tend to choose spaces that already needs renovation and not necessarily fitting into any certain criteria.'

- GAM Employee (collaborator in the AFD project)

With only 10 GAM community centres in Amman, the director of GAM's facilities and social programs unit explained that her criteria aim to distribute these centres to NGOs based on the nature of the program proposed, as well as the structure of the centre in terms of staffing and functional requirements. However, the UN-Habitat vulnerability assessment covers aspects such as the poverty level, social and economic challenges, unemployment rates, household size, and lack of public spaces present. It also includes the number

of refugees as an indicator, as well as social tensions between refugees and host communities.

'We are not driven by the number of refugees as our criteria for selecting these public spaces, criteria have to be designed based on vulnerability assessment that has to be comprehensive enough to enable us to decide the proper space with GAM.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

For GIZ's projects, one of the main factors influencing the selection of intervention sites is whether they are owned by GAM. They also have to have physical, social, and institutional criteria presented to GAM, who ultimately make the final decision of selection.

The area of Badr Nazzal was chosen for the AFD by their local partner (JRC) based on GAM's database. However, these areas are not the areas with the highest refugee populations.

'We were told that Badr area was chosen based on GAM's database, because it has the most vulnerable refugees there. Others have said that the AFD's indicator was the number of Syrian students at schools.'

- AFD

CRP's scope of work is essentially the immediate surroundings of their centre in Hashemi Shamali and Downtown, while RC access refugee girls through referral systems from other NGOs and choose their venues based on the availability, safety measures, and accessibility of the venue.

'We take referrals from organisations who are looking to provide their female beneficiaries with access to sports.'

Generally, the majority of the NGOs studied in deprived sites. Figure 33 shows the locations of these projects based on Ababsa's approximate east-west dividing line (2013). As can be seen here, the projects are located within the deprived areas that lack services (highlighted in blue), not necessarily the areas with the highest refugee numbers (highlighted in yellow). For instance, areas to the northwest of Amman (Sweileh) have large numbers of refugees and lack public spaces and community centres, but they hardly get any attention from the studied NGOs.
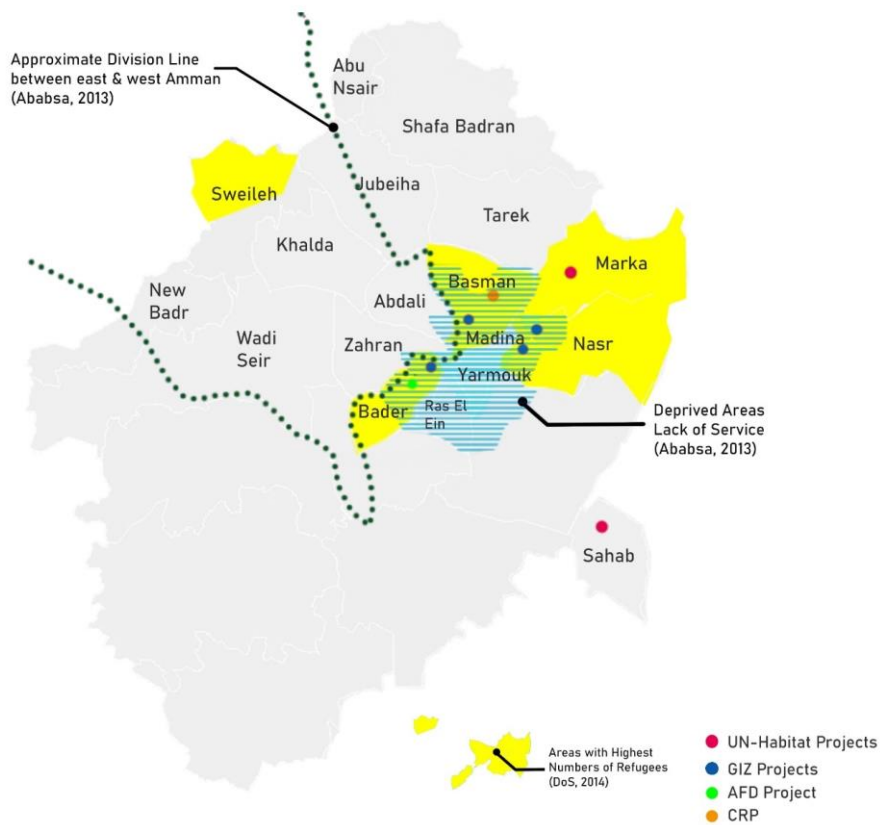
Figure 33: NGO Intervention Sites. Source: Author, 2020.

6.3.3.3. Perception of Refugees

Smaller NGOs (e.g., CRP; RC) are closer in terms of location and interaction with the refugee community and have continuous and direct interaction with them. They perceive refugees as beneficiaries, with a close lens on their everyday hardships. They are flexible enough to respond to diverse profiles within the refugee population, rather than needing to prioritise those of a specific national background.

'With all the funding covering the Syrian Crisis, we started providing programs for Syrian refugees along with Iraqi refugees, CRP grew a lot, we hired more people to write grants and we are now a staff of 35.'

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP

Our program includes eight different nationalities (Jordanian, Palestinian, Somali, Sudanese, Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian, and Yemeni) to play together four times per week in Amman.

- Reclaim Childhood Jordan Director

Meanwhile, larger NGOs (e.g., GIZ; AFD) are highly dependent on donors and global funds, which are commonly tied to responses to specific refugee crises—meaning their projects automatically become dedicated to specific refugee nationalities (see Table 14). Unlike smaller NGOs (who are closer to refugees in terms of location and interaction), they rely on several approaches to access the hidden communities of refugees, and when they are implementing their projects, the majority of foreign and large NGOs rely on GAM and local authorities to steer site-selection processes and to find target refugee populations for their projects. However, GAM has no specific department for locating refugee populations to guide priorities for sociocultural help. Further, the committees in local areas that have been selected before do not necessarily include refugees and have no specific awareness of conditions for inclusivity. In this way, there is a danger that

NGOs perceive refugees in the same way that GAM does: as part of the vulnerable local community. This results in questionable participatory processes and then means they apply their global frameworks involving refugees to projects that don't necessarily involve refugees.

Table 14: NGOs' Site Selection Processes, Areas, and Targeted Populations. Source: Author (2020)

NGOs	Site Selection Process	Perception of Refugees	
		Area	Targeted Population
GIZ	Through GAM. Physical, social, and institutional criteria.	Poverty-stricken areas (previously) changed to deprived now.	Syrian refugees and disadvantaged locals.
UN-HABITAT	Through GAM. Vulnerability assessment.	Vulnerable areas.	Refugees (all nationalities) and locals.
AFD	Through GAM. Statistics on Syrian refugees.	Areas with the highest refugee numbers (GAM statistics).	Syrian refugees and locals.
CRP	Independent process.	Surrounding community: Hashemi Shamali and downtown.	Syrian and Iraqi refugees.
RC	Independent process; ongoing scoping.	10+ neighbourhoods in Amman and Zarqa.	Palestinian, Syrian, Iraqi, and Sudanese refugees and locals.

6.3.3.4. Partnerships, Visibility, and Perception to Other Actors

NGO-GAM Partnerships:

All the studied NGOs realise the importance of partnerships and coordination between NGOs and cross sectors. Notably, larger NGOs have more access to partnerships with GAM, municipalities, and governmental decision-making entities (see Figure 34). Meanwhile, smaller and foreign-led and -funded NGOs such as CRP and RC seem to be distant and unaware of the ways and venues to/for approaching GAM and what such partnerships can provide. Although there is not any interaction or between them, NGOs can still feel the provision and scrutiny of the municipality.

'As far as I know, we don't really use the neighbourhood public spaces, and in fact I don't think we are aware of or feel confident about any outdoor accessible public spaces around… personally, we don't see it, but we are quite confident that it is there, we are absolutely scrutinised, people higher up in our management try to have open chains and channels of communication with the security services.'

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP
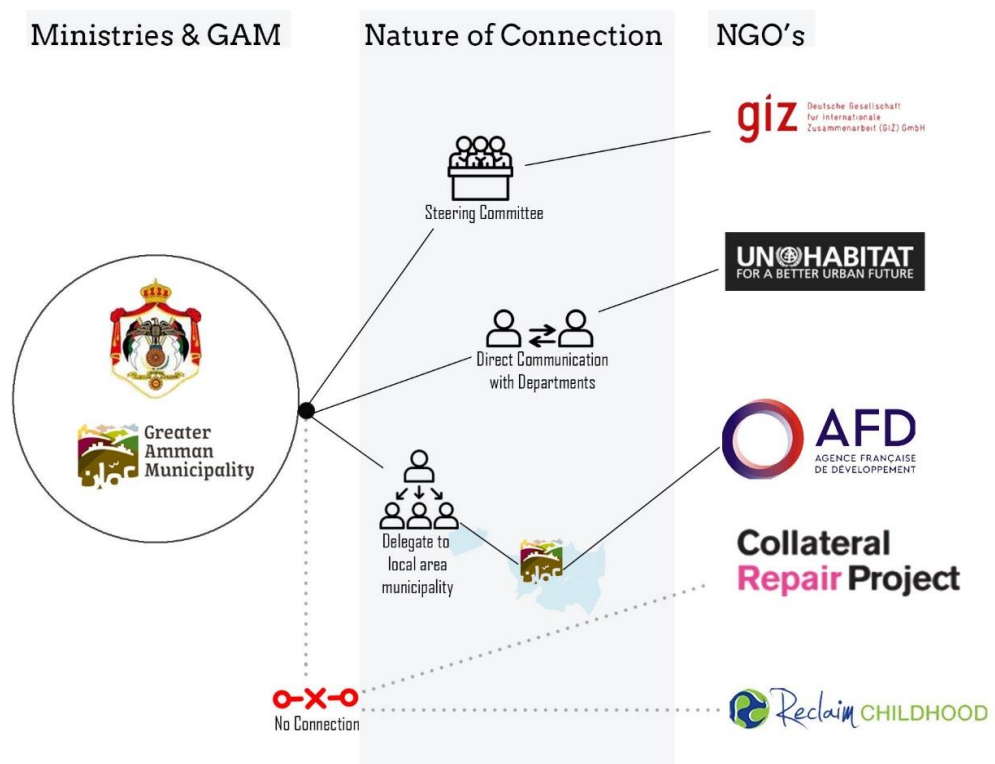
Figure 34:GAM's Nature of Connection with Different NGOs. Source: Author, 2020.

In their partnerships with local authorities, the strength varies from one partner to another based on the scale of the project: for instance, GIZ, with their 20 million-euro ILCA project, have dedicated committees in GAM and the Ministry of Environment, and UN-Habitat has close and direct connections with high-rank personnel in GAM and are thus close enough to apprehend their internal processes—whereas the AFD, with a one million-

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euro project, only have connections with the local municipality of the Badr area.

'In this project, we have a unique powerful status because we have two powerful entities: we have the Ministry of Environment as our political partner, and GAM as our implementation partner. We have three committees in GAM, and our main interlocker is very high in the hierarchy.'

- GIZ Team member

For CRP and RC, although their projects are gaining more funds since the Syrian conflict, they are still not forming partnerships with the local authorities and are unaware of its internal processes. All the studied NGOs showed active partnerships with community-based organisations (CBOs) and private sector entities mentioning various projects.

'We have established strong partnerships with GAM, municipalities, and well-established NGOs who have good reputation records and are active in different neighbourhoods'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

NGO-Activists/Researchers/Academic Partnerships:

NGOs such as UN-Habitat and AFD seem distant for people to approach and hard to access unless the one who is approaching has a certain status or internal connections from the inside.

For this research, UN-Habitat was approached through a contact from GAM. The interview that commenced was formal. They ultimately showed no intention to collaborate, nor did they mention any established connection with researchers, activists, or academics. Further to this, accessing AFD was not

an easy process; it was through email and very succinct before they referred me to their local partners in GAM, who sent me the final reports.

Although all large NGOs stated and publicly celebrated partnerships working, GIZ is the only one recorded in the duration of this research to be actively building collaborations through means such as inviting researchers and activists to their events and including them in projects. When I approached GIZ for this research, they invited me to meetings and open discussions twice concerning their work on gender and public spaces (GIZ, 2020). They also actively engaged with public space activists and academic researchers so they could be included and have a voice, leading to multiple forms of knowledge exchange. This was translated in the form of many partnered micro-projects and, in my case, a consultation contract.

'We are always actively searching for possible stakeholders and looking at who are changing and capable to change from different sectors. We have created many alliances and synergies with many. We started to understand who is in and out of the public space network.'

- GIZ (Program Manager)

For CRP and RC, both were accessible, open to collaboration, and have open communications. RC had specific dates throughout the year in which they allowed research collaborations. Meanwhile, CRP was open to new ideas, potential partnerships, and finding mutual benefits—which translated to me in the form of a memorandum of understanding where we both set responsibilities and rights. They gave me access to refugee communities in Hashemi and, in turn, I shared a report of findings that included recommendations on how to enhance refugees' public space experiences and design recommendations for a potential roof garden project.

NGO-NGO Partnerships:

Smaller-scale NGOs were more active in terms of having NGO-NGO connections. Both CRP and RC have partnered with other NGOs in several ways. The smaller the NGO, the closer they are to the refugee communities, which can be helpful for larger NGOs who want to reach these communities. These partnerships also have the potential to provide refugees involved in smaller NGOs' programmes with a referral pathway to connect them to other resources and infrastructures.

'We found out we are a great referral pathway. We are connecting the girls to other resources they may need to thrive, such as mental health resources and housing.'

- Reclaim Childhood Jordan Director

Larger NGOs are aware of each other's projects, monitor each other's work, and sometimes attend each other's events; they closely monitor each other's new concepts and ideas and learn from each other. However, this generally falls short of meaningful collaboration—plus, here, there is a heightened sense of competition, as they all sometimes apply to the same funders and agencies and have some regulatory barriers standing between collaboration.

'We met GIZ team many times, but as far as I know, they cannot partner with other international organisations. We were influenced by their Green Infrastructure concepts; we added a full section about it in our new proposal.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

6.3.4. Barriers and Weaknesses

To better understand NGOs' roles as actors, unpacking the five NGOs' projects, along with the involved interviews of stakeholders, revealed many barriers that NGOs or their partners face when addressing refugees' integration in their projects. However, some of the following are barriers that

are related to the research topic in general—but as they were consistently mentioned by the interviewed NGOs as major barriers obstructing their work, they are listed here.

6.3.4.1. Cultural and Contextual Barriers to NGOs' Integrative Projects

One major cultural barrier mentioned is women's complicated relationship with public spaces, no matter what the age group. Females face cultural and restrictive barriers when it comes to participating in outdoor experiences and sports, as women's bodily movement is considered taboo in some areas. Further, youth are not used to mixed-gender activities, causing male youth to harass the female youth during the outdoor activities. This led both CRP and RC, who had wanted to work on sociocultural integration using the outdoors, to move their sports activities indoors, adding extra expenses for renting facilities. This move made their programmes safer and more credible in the eyes of their beneficiaries, however.

Other NGOs, meanwhile, completed trials to respond to the issue, like in the case of GIZ's Gender and Public Spaces report and their attempts to have gender-sensitive designs for their interventions. UN-Habitat's meanwhile included sexual and gender-based violence in their public awareness sessions amongst their targeted communities.

'After a certain age, families are not happy that their (girl) child is running around, being seen running and playing sports in a mixed gender group and in public. They can't play outdoor; not easily! Recently, the sport activities were chosen because they can be indoors, we have hopes to run mix gender leagues.'

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP

'In the past when we've used public parks, we have been harassed in a number of verbal and physical ways, and girls have reported feeling unsafe. We now have the budget to use private spaces that have the capacity to prioritise the safety of

participants and staff. We do not intend to return to public outdoor spaces, despite the benefits.'

- Reclaim Childhood Jordan Director

The lack of resources and sometimes the foreigners' lack of knowledge about public spaces certainly form a barrier.

'I am embarrassed to say that if there is a green space in walking distance that I know about it, but I am not a local.'

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP

The existing culture of public spaces (or lack of it) is considered to be a huge barrier to many NGOs' projects in the form of communities resisting change and, in many cases, refusing new public outdoor spaces, as they are seen as sources of hostile activity.

'We lack resources and outdoor facilities, our community centres are in very dense areas, our downtown centre is on the second floor in a very urban area, we only have a very small open to the air courtyard.'

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP

We are aware that some of them might be objecting this public space, some of them have some concerns it will bring outsiders, They do not want strangers conducting unfavourable activities, like sexual harassment, they are a conservative community… to address these concerns and convince the local community that this park is going to be for your benefit, instead of leaving it abandoned, we are increasing the value of your houses, we are providing you with a nice place where you will enjoy…

- UN-Habitat Program Manager, About the Marka Area

'As you know, the rates of vandalism are really high, even toilets and service buildings are closed there, we wanted to make a football field, they said they don't want a field as this might attract bad behaviours to the neighbourhood.'

ILCA Coordinator at GAM, About GIZ's Cash for Work Site in the Badr Area

The hot summers and harsh winters in Amman were also a concern for NGOs' outdoor activities, with its lack of climate-sensitive designs. This encouraged the NGOs to move indoors and have night-time activities.

'In the summer and during the working hours in the summer, it is really hot, we are trying to have night-time sports league...We are having many discussions about running programs in the early evening to involve more men, it is a question of all the expensive staffing and to keep the facilities open and secure.'

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP

'Our budget is to take them in buses to these indoor space venues because it is to some extent climate controlled, and we can be there summer and winter from 10 to 5 (working hours).'

- Reclaim Childhood Jordan Director

6.3.4.2. Procedural Barriers

The timeline and length of these projects is a concern for large NGOs' projects, making the communities who have had negative previous experiences distrust the projects and both GAM and the NGOs responsible for them. For example, the AFD project started its long communications with GAM in 2013, and their micro-initiatives were accomplished in 2016 due to the bureaucracy of both GAM and the international NGOs.

'The processes of establishing the implementation agreement, partnership with GAM, agreement and the internal steering structure were very time consuming, it is because we work across the organogram and cross-departmental collaboration is impossible.'

- GIZ Team member / ILCA

'We informed the people about the projects, then the AFD sent back their implementation plans to their countries, and it took forever and had to go for several checks, the community thought we were bluffing.'

- AFD Local Partner

'People are not believing us because of the slow process. Sometimes when I pass by an individual from that meeting, I keep walking because I have nothing to say, we are still in preliminary design stages, but when they finish, we have to go back to them and show them the updates… Till now, they still don't believe us, the wheel is not moving, the process is very slow, I was convinced that GAM operations and processes were slow and we suffer from bureaucracy, but when you see this project, decisions has to go to the office in Amman then the regional office then to Germany for one signature.'

- GAM Interlocker for GIZ's Cash for Work

In addition to the centrality of GAM's process, UN-Habitat mentioned that GAM underestimates the importance of strategies and only see physical interventions in the ground for the people to see and witness accomplishments. UN-Habitat, who are aware that the city lacks public space and integration policies, tried to overcome this barrier by approaching them with two non-physical options to choose from.

'We gave them two options that does not include physical intervention, because they go after hard intervention and physical change on the ground and underestimate the

value of strategies. On the other hand, we fear that these strategies have limitations of not surpassing the written form and that they will not be implemented. We fear wasting the efforts of making overarching strategies that are not going to be adopted.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager (2018)

In 2020, UN-Habitat Amman issued a call for proposals to conduct a physical upgrade on Fatima Al Zahraa, Marka. This means that they chose Option 2 from the below table with the addition of physical intervention. This example clearly displays the influence of GAM, their control on NGOs' key issues, and their pressure to conduct physical interventions and not soft strategic interventions.

'The key priority issues are prioritised by our governmental partners; it is possible to address them all in policy.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

GAM's centrality and control of baseline diagnosis processes for projects meant that UN-Habitat needed to define the conditions for controlling the key parts of the process that they considered essential.

We have conditions that guide the process like having the condition of only a female landscape architect to supervise the project which has a special focus on youth and women's participation.

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

GAM's capacity, complicated public space processes, and confusing organogram were all considered to be barriers, which led GIZ to ask for steering committees as a proposed solution to simplify the process—and yet

they still find the process and the capacity issues that were solved with much capacity-building training for GAM to be difficult.

We looked at the organogram and we are always looking to understand who is responsible of what… but we are still trying to fit in this chaos of many departments.

- GIZ team member (ILCA)

CRP feels they are alienated from the city's structure and connections, and that the national policies are not helping them.

You are aware that the regulatory environment is not very stable, new laws that are inactive that contradicts old laws, kind of ongoing struggle that just the fact the we are not a Jordanian NGO… We are not extremely well-integrated with the city level structure. We should be. Perhaps it would make our lives easier and not this complicated… The people who are mostly engaging in our courses are, by virtue of their status, excluded from the possibility of formal employment and normal life. Our work is kind of sweeping back the sea. The policies are not on our side.

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP

Capacity concerns for GAM employees were faced during the dedicating of the tailored phases for the NGOs' large projects to enhance GAM's employee's knowledge. UN-Habitat focused on their knowledge about the SDGs, human rights, and social inclusion, while GIZ's attention went on unpacking POS typologies, participatory research and analysis, and green infrastructure. They also funded GAM staff to international conferences to expose them to international agendas, such as the Walk 21 conference in London.

Other issues mentioned were GAM's attitude towards both foreign and local experts: they reported that they felt hindered and tried to display power in

overly criticising design proposals, sometimes even taking credit for their partner NGOs' efforts and works.

Sometimes a GAM employee comes and asks plenty of non-related questions. Then we find out that he has nothing to do with our project… In other occasions when we presented the preliminary designs, some of them were very opinionated to show us how powerful they are and that nothing can proceed without their agreement.

- Architect part of the team implementing ILCA

After implementation, the park's grand opening was postponed. Then, GAM held a bazaar and made the grand opening with the red crescent, taking the credit from the AFD somehow.

- GAM's partner to AFD

However, a major procedural barrier for NGOs is what happens post-implementation. The majority of NGOs blame GAM for poor management, while others blame the lack of funding that restricts them from having management frameworks in place.

I believe GAM has an issue in monitoring and place keeping Al-Urdun Park now in 2019 and after three years of the AFD intervention, [it] is totally destroyed. Exactly after four days of the project's implementation, some of the springs were destroyed.

- GAM's partner to AFD

What happens post-implementation is a big issue that we are always facing. Usually we get a seed and initial fund, but the operation and maintenance should be run by the city itself and local authorities or municipalities. We cannot finance annual budget for operation and maintenance, we have to pay attention to this issue.

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

Both UN-Habitat and GIZ introduced steps such as local committees and site-activation programmes to overcome the issue.

In our project, we established a local committee who are members from the local community who oversee, monitor, and operate the space. It is better for long maintenance and can ensure the sustainability of public space. We could train them how to operate and maintain in addition to our public awareness sessions.

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

Parallel to ILCA's implementation phase, we have implemented site-activation events like storytelling, treasure hunt, and invited 7 Hills team to conduct an organic skateboarding activity. We have a community partner to handle activations, along with GAM, as we need them to secure safety.

- GIZ team member / ILCA

None of these projects have secured a full successful example of their original intentions. No local committees are running their interventions and sites autonomously yet, and the GIZ site-activation activities were not autonomous in the first place, as they were asking for GAM's interference to provide security for the site-activation partners and the community involved in the activities.

Concerning the growing criticism of NGOs' role in official development assistance countries in general (Easterly, 2007; Moyo, 2009) and in the Middle East specifically (Redvers, 2015), many NGOs do not realise the aftereffects of their projects, some of them giving large promises to the communities. The communities then become exhausted from NGOs conducting fieldwork and studies and then disappearing or implementing very small changes that are not sustainable enough to endure the studied context. It is also common for micro-initiatives to be provided for mere weeks before they are interrupted, like the AFD's seven-week football training course.

Who is looking at the side-effects of their projects? We are sick of their fairy tales and promises that are not realistic.

- Badr Resident

6.3.4.3. The Funding and Inclusivity of the Programmes

For smaller RC and CRP funding, their day-to-day activities are a major concern, while larger NGOs are more concerned with extending their projects and securing management mechanisms for their interventions.

Funding is our number one challenge. We have a number of girls on a waitlist for our programme and we are not able to accommodate the full community need.

- Reclaim Childhood Jordan Director

The fund was very limited. This confines the design we want to replicate, but unfortunately the available finding for public space is very scarce. Most of the funding agencies or donors prioritise basic infrastructure and services over public space, which seems complimentary to them.

- UN-Habitat Project Manager

NGOs' training programs are also funder-dependent—a problem considering the funding controls what they can and cannot offer and impacts the sustainability of their offered programmes. This ultimately forms a common understanding that NGOs offer 'hit and go' programmes, whereby nothing happens after the scoping phases (Awbali, 2019).

'Most of our outdoor opportunities for refugees are for the youth as we secured funding for another year, a sports league of concrete spots, we realise the benefits for different age groups like children and elderly, but this depends on our budget and is always a part of our endless seeking budget, and search for funding.'

6.3.4.4. Lack of Routes for Participation with Local Structures

All large NGOs' projects give attention to refugee communities as target populations in their project briefs; however, their reliance on GAM to steer the site-selection process and the poor community representation structures weaken this cross-demographics engagement.

Furthermore, sometimes, refugees' participation in these projects and their published reports do not reflect what is happening on the ground. The celebratory success of including and participating refugees indicates the fact that these projects seek written forms of outcomes and are indifferent to real access to refugees or enhancing their lives.

The foreign sides cannot get directly to the local community without our help. In such projects, GAM's main role is supervision and post-implementation monitoring, and in linking different parties together, also as an authoritative figure this gives them more credibility that these people are having the formal consent of the city.

- GAM's Interlocker for GIZ's Cash for Work

For instance, the AFD proposed to have a participatory session with Syrian refugees in Badr, which was selected by GAM, who advised their normal mechanism of meeting with the local committee. However, the local committee in Badr-Nazal doesn't include any refugee representatives, despite their representing an area with a high refugee population. The formal reports therefore do not tell the full story of the participatory process.

Active community participation has been a key element of the project throughout, and both Jordanian citizens and Syrian refugees were actively encouraged to participate in the project's development and implementation.

- MC2MC Amman City Case Study (Hofer, 2016)

'The local area committee already has an ongoing monthly meeting, we took our AFD partners to one of these meetings and asked the committee to meet for additional two meetings in the next 45 days…..We did not have Syrian refugees in our meetings with AFD, we had many locals discussing tensions and the need for public space in the area. One issue was raised about how Syrian children came and took the right of play from the Jordanian child, and public parks in Badr cannot cover all of these pressing needs and huge numbers……But we informed them how Syrians are known for their love for outdoor areas, you know their country is rich with natural landscapes, parks and greenery and when they came here they added the number of park visitors in Badr noticeably.

- GAM's partner to AFD

As mentioned previously, GAM seeks tangible interventions but underestimates the value in strategies. In the Badr Nazal project, they convinced their partners to create a more tangible effect for their project:

The initial project was to rehabilitate Al Shura Park, I asked them to add Al Urdun park to the project too, it is a very small park, but this addition can create a more tangible effect, quantity wise to us.

- GAM's partner to AFD

Although the Badr Nazal project reports mention the football training course, when all the partners were contacted for this, none had pictures for the seven-week course, nor did they have more details. This lack of interest indicates how the impact of these activities are underestimated and how tangible outcomes and physical on-ground interventions are preferred.

The centrality of GAM's diagnosis processes and site selection influences how NGOs address and define the deprived, marginal, vulnerable, or disadvantaged communities; they lack a clear focus and access to the refugees who form 40% of the population. The lead architect working on GIZ'S three

sites' interventions discussed how hard it was to access the refugee populations in the three sites. Meanwhile, an architect who had attended all participatory workshops said that she had not met many Syrian refugees during the meetings. Despite GIZ's recruitment of a social specialist company to do the work, the architects ended up being responsible for accessing and inviting refugee communities.

'They are labelling projects with refugees but looking closely at the process, you can't really see refugees, where are the refugees, how genuine are they?'

– Local Architect

6.3.4.5. The Foreign Expert

Although NGOs are highly welcomed in the city, one barrier positions them as outsiders. The context of the city and some cultural specificities can, in some cases, form obstacles for NGOs' projects—especially when considering the fact that many project managers of large NGOs are foreigners, new residents in Amman, and, to some extent, have unrealistic expectations, still learning what is appropriate culturally and contextually.

'They look at things in a very perfect manner, and sometimes unrealistic, our role here is to guide them into more realistic ideas and issues which are relative to our context, our rules, regulations and sometimes culture, minding that our culture is the implicit soul of some regulations. I believe this is slowing the process as the foreigners need perfection while it can't happen on the ground. Now they started to understand that.'
- GAM's Interlocker for GIZ's Cash for Work

GAM employees criticise foreign experts for having high wages, accommodation fees, and fancy cars since these are ultimately costs deducted from the project net.

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'In the AFD's project… one million JOD was dedicated for the micro-initiatives, I might say half of it was really for used for the initiatives and real benefits for people'

- GAM's partner to AFD

Awbali (2019) criticised how NGOs discuss hard situations and deprived refugee spaces in the corridors of prestigious hotels.

'The higher the rank of the expert in the NGO the farther from the field and the human voice he/she is, and the closer he/she is to meetings and coffee breaks.'

- From '*About our silenced voices: what do we lose by NGOs*' by Awbali (2019)

She claimed that when locals and foreigners collaborate, there is an instant power gap: the foreigner, who usually comes having a saviour position in mind (though with good intent) is treated as the more knowledgeable one, yet sometimes, foreign experts have prefigured stereotypes about the locals and their contexts.

'They come with their own understanding of our cities, communities and culture. We actually know that they want to frame their projects within certain cliché' titles: framing women as weak who need to be empowered.'

- Local Architect part of the team implementing ILCA

Another example is the ILCA's new added study of gender and public space: they brought in a foreign urban designer and dedicated a large sum to hiring an interpreter and preparing consultancy contracts for local experts, as well as academics to help her to familiarise herself with the culture and the city in the months before submitting a final report—a limitation acknowledged by the researcher herself.

'…. I am having an outsider position, I just arrived here and haven't been in touch with Arabic culture before, I will try to acquaint myself, the timeline of the project is very short, I will need an interpreter and local people to help on my side.'

- ILCA Manager (for the ILCA Gender and Public Space Study, from the ILCA team meeting, 2018)

6.3.5. Strengths and Potentials/Supportive Mechanisms

This section will discuss how, despite the above points, NGOs' projects do have strengths as well as the potential for further development, with the right support.

6.3.5.1. The Start of Effective Partnerships: 'The Open Doors'

The nature of NGOs and other partner relations shows that there is an evident acknowledgement of the need for coordination and comprehensiveness, as well as of the creation of sustainable and long-term effects.

'Our relationship with GAM has evolved by time and has become very effective and essential in all our future steps.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

'The training we are conducting, we have hopes and initiated steps to turn it into a curricula in GAM's training centre.'

- ILCA team member GIZ

In addition, many NGOs are adopting the concept of open doors, such as RC and CRP, in turn opening opportunities for collaboration and building

relationships with several partners to help them with their missions. Partnerships enable smaller NGOs to become accessible points of reference to both refugees and other partners, granting them access to multiple resources that they do not have the capacity for, as RC executive director explains:

Because we have strong partnerships, we became a great referral pathway – connect girls to other resources they may need to thrive such as Mentorship, social cohesion, and strong coping skills We also take referrals from organizations who are looking to provide their female beneficiaries with access to sports.

Larger NGOs such as GIZ expanded that—and not only became easily reached, but started to invite actors from all backgrounds for table discussions, public consultation sessions, and unique partnerships, so they could help in all the project phases, starting from office studies to site activations.

'With CRP, a partnership was established based on mutual benefits, they secure my access to the site, and I produce a report of findings. By time, the report recommendations, which focused on incorporating more outdoor experiences for refugees, became part of their next funding proposal, and now the relationship has evolved, with continuing communications and a constantly opened door for future collaboration.'

- Researcher (March, 2020)

Although UN-Habitat is not easily reached for some actors, the program manager showed huge interest in collaboration when I discussed other actors and projects—and this intention in and of itself can be considered as a strength and area of potential. They are also aware of the other actors involved and are closely monitoring case studies locally and regionally, seeking novel ideas for future proposals.

'GIZ, have public consultation sessions, we take advantage of their proposals as lessons learnt, we incorporated the concept of green infrastructure in proposal, enhance our proposal with ideas of green infrastructure… We reached out for them to have partnership, and this needs a follow-up for both sides, but we both are very busy. But GIZ showed interest in our project, and they invited to discuss more on how we could collaborate. We are open to collaborate with them and learn from them on PS projects.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

6.3.5.2. The Power of Knowledge

NGOs have high levels of expertise, with knowledge that takes on different forms according to context and focus. CRP has a wealth of knowledge about the refugee communities in east Amman and has a strong and daily relationship with the beneficiaries they serve. On the other hand, UN-Habitat and GIZ have great access to international frameworks, agendas, events, and trainings, and benefit tremendously from international expertise, databases, and literature of success stories.

'The international frameworks help in the exchange of knowledge and lessons learnt, we exchange information between different UN branches about urban planning and design, legislation and research and capacity building, land and governance.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

Nowadays, with the start of cross-sector events, a culture of knowledge exchange has emerged, which can be considered as a great area of potential when it comes to helping each to accomplish their visions.

6.3.5.3. Introducing Multiple Shifts

Considered both a strength and area of potential for further development, NGOs have introduced many shifts to priorities, areas of focus, and contexts within Amman. Their projects changed the narrative of public space politically, socially, and culturally.

They helped first in giving the concept of public space and everyday outdoor spaces more attention.

'I think PS started to gain attention from the decision makers lately, maybe UN HABITAT and GIZ and local organization who are working in public space influenced that. It takes time and effort, but you can see that spark.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

Another shift was geared towards creative approaches, such as the UN-Habitat Minecraft, which was introduced for the first time in Jordan and GIZ's ethnographic studies. Plus, an emergent appreciation of strategies and non-physical micro-initiatives has made itself known.

'We want to create opportunities to allow refugees to rebuild their communities, supply information and network of peers to bring people together, we believe in modest steps and budgets, they create substantial impact.'

- Partnerships and grants officer at CRP

'Yesterday they were fighting, today they are having a course together and playing football weekly, tomorrow they will greet each other in their school shifts. I believe this initiative created a sustained impact on the society compared to the rehabilitation of the park which was damaged days after.'

- AFD Local Partner

'We are focusing on a national strategy, as many areas of policy play a critical role in shaping the experiences of migration and integration at the local level, and our first step for creating this strategy is understanding key challenges to integration and social cohesion.'

- UN-Habitat Program Manager

In addition, both GIZ and UN-Habitat are paving the way for more participatory approaches: UN-Habitat is adopting a comprehensive community engagement process based on active and inclusive participatory approaches, replicating the Minecraft project in different Jordanian cities. The out-of-the-box project entails engaging with local communities via workshops to allow the community to actively participate throughout the design process.

' We use different techniques to achieve the full representation of the community; awareness raising campaigns, public meetings, focus group discussions at community level, technical assistance in addition to our Minecraft workshops… This is the first project that addresses public space in this way. We are preparing concept notes to replicate this project in other Jordanian cities.'

- UN-Habitat Project Manager

6.3.5.4. Unlocking Female Power

One common thing about all the studied projects is that the project managers and many team members (sometimes the entire team) are women. This generates even greater attention to gender-sensitive designs and a collective urge to include more female representation in projects. UN-Habitat, for example, seeks female expertise and supported promoting the realisation of women in their final project.

'Our condition to GAM was to hire a female landscape architect to produce the final designs of the projects, we want the designer to be closer to the women in the community.'

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The sensitive discussion surrounding women in public spaces influenced GIZ to start a larger study, producing reports enriching the literature about the topic. Meanwhile, RC's focus is on women and girls' empowerment through sports, while CRP has a dedicated program for women and several support services. In my recommendations introduced to CRP, there was a section devoted to refugee women, displaying potential ways of enhancing their outdoor experiences.

Finally, all the studied projects, with all their strengths, have enthusiastic teams and people who realise how important the outdoors are for refugees' integration. This speaks as a huge area for potential, especially when coupled with the international attention and funds focusing on the social aspects of integration.

6.3.6. Summary

This section started with an overview of the key NGOs who are working on a variety of projects that include public spaces before displaying the connections, similarities, and comparisons between all the featured NGOs as a whole. The previous section has clearly indicated the vital role of NGOs to the public space sector in general, tackling NGOs as active partners of GAM and as powerful and knowledgeable actors introducing multiple shifts. I have highlighted the need to think about participation within local structures and ongoing and meaningful attention being given to how different NGOs perceive and locate refugees in the city.

6.4. Activists and Grassroot Initiatives

6.4.1. POS Acts of Activism in the City

In the last decade, Amman has witnessed a revival of the different forms of activism related to POS and an emergence of a myriad of individuals and

initiatives geared towards urban and social activism. Only some of these practices address how POS is instrumental for sociocultural integration, and are not related to the development or systematic approaches of NGOs and governmental committees.

Amman is also witnessing the emergence of creative activities of different parties, in turn breeding openness and solidarity; they share ideas of redefining public space by inverting the use of technology and social media as an example to empower and create a continuous dialogue that holds potential cultural significance, combining both top-down and bottom-up approaches and resulting in the establishment of a logic of change and alternative publicness.

They are initiating a process of claim-making as a form of resistance to re/claim their rights to the city, which are limited in many ways. Local spatial practitioners, artists, and a new generation of community members are uncovering and reconfiguring the character of Amman POS in an endeavour to claim it and its culture as their own (Daher, 2013). Notably, the number of creative Ammanis is growing (Al-Asad, 2008), with Richard Florida (2002) describing the emergence of the creative class and how its members, who are influential agents of societal change, have dominantly begun shaping the future.

After the Arab Spring of 2008, many forms of activism emerged, ranging from demanding solutions to POS problems to proposing and creating alternatives for the current practices of POS production, resulting in visions, projects, and ambitions. Individual youth activists and architects are introducing ways of rethinking Amman's POS, addressing the lack of POS, and providing innovative solutions on how to rehabilitate neglected city spaces to self-funding public parks (Al Sammarae, 2019; O'Keefe, 2016). Scholar activists also contribute through research projects addressing and highlighting the neoliberal structuring of the city's open spaces (Daher, 2008; Eliana Abu-Hamdi, 2014; Zada, 2014), the excessive policing of POS (Hiari, 2011), and the bodily agency of women in POS (Ababsa, 2017; Elkhatib, 2017).

Contributions are also made through activists who use different platforms and events to create conversations about derelict POS in the city (Amman Design Week, 2017) or to promote and raise awareness of POS benefits, such as the series of the Baladak Street Art Graffiti and Art at the Park events (Freij, 2017). Other initiatives are more focused on mobility, such as Kazdara (Jabal Weibdeh Art Walk) and multiple groups that were formed on social media platforms (Fast walk, Yalla walk for fast walk, and others). All promote walking around the city and lessening the reliance on vehicles. Ma'an Nasel, an initiative that employed tools of research, observations, design thinking, branding, communication, and technology in their urban activism endeavours, designed Amman's first unofficial transportation map (see Figure 35)—the first visual tool that enables citizens to navigate the city via a comprehensive user-designed map of all transportation means.
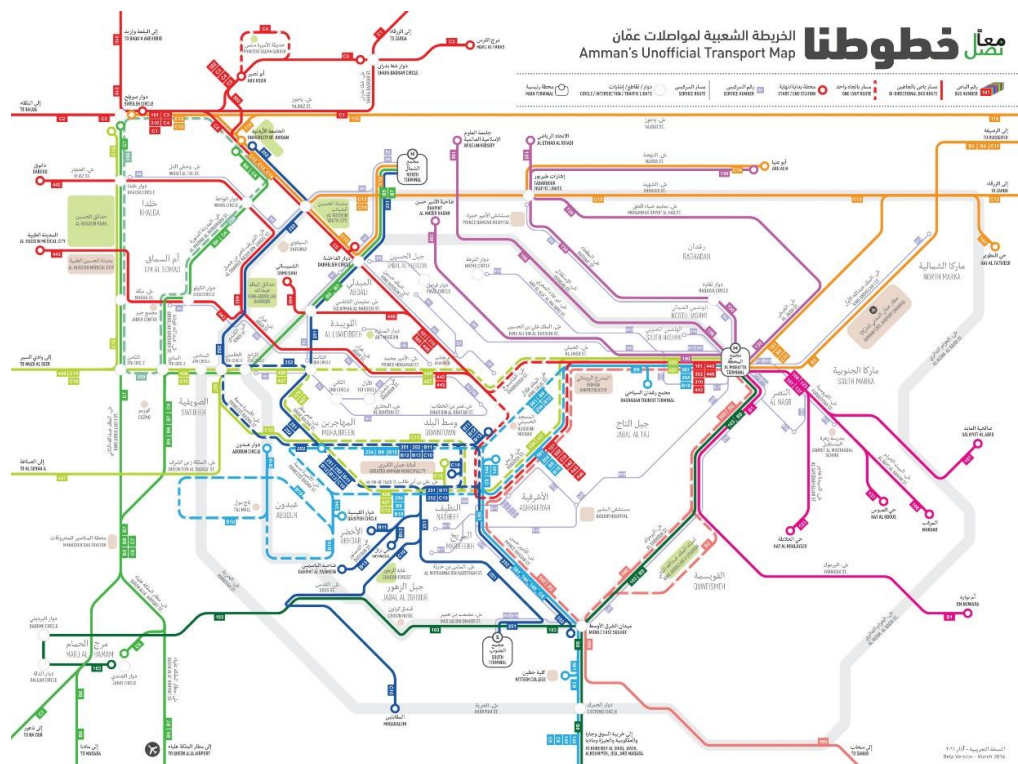
Figure 35: Syntax's Unofficial Transport Map. Source: Humeid, 2016.

There is also an emergence in grassroot initiatives with quite a diverse range of scopes, such as Accessible Jordan and Let's Play Together, focusing on

more inclusive parks for people (especially children with disabilities). Hamzet Wasel is an initiative conducting urban discovery challenges in POS to revive the social fabric of communities, while The Arabic Group for the Protection of Nature transforms neglected spaces into gardens and the Midorization Project focuses on ecosystem restoration and urban forests. The Hara Initiative mediates between the individual and the city, with its urban rehabilitation projects focusing on the renewal of the physical environment of communities, along with developing social and economic schemes.

The collectivity of these initiatives and visions contribute to the enhancement of Amman POS in general and can provide great integrative potential for the multi-ethnic city. However, the intertwining of public spaces and refugees' integration is still very fresh in the city. One example is a group of local and foreign youth behind the recent Greening the Camps initiative: this initiative focuses on providing rooftop gardens in dense areas and camps populated by Palestinian refugees (Figure 36), aiming to reconnect these refugees (who were alienated from their lands) to their historical and cultural heritage of farming. They aim to empower refugees economically by inserting these rooftops for them to grow their own food. Also, they have a vision to address the overall shortage of green open spaces and water scarcity.

Figure 36: Before and After Pictures of the Greening the Camps Project in the Gaza Refugee Camp. Source: Greening the Camps Website (2020).

Another successful example of activists adopting open spaces as tools of integration is the founding of 7 Hills Skate Park (Figure 37), a park that was proposed, built, and animated by local activists and is considered a pioneering sole example of an ongoing Activist-GAM POS collaboration. The park was prioritised in this research and studied as an ethno-case (see Chapter 8), as it sets a precedent for parks that normalise inclusive and multi-ethnic patterns of use, as well as for bottom-up approaches in POS projects. This clearly reflects the scope of this research looking at the integrative potential of POS. The case of the park and its founders were analysed after a series of site visits to the park and an interview with one of the co-founders of the park, Mohammed Zakaria. Chapter 8, an in-depth case study of the park, will cover two layers of understanding: understanding the role of the 7 Hills founders as activists, and a socio-spatial understanding of how refugees use this park, plus more ethnographic findings of the site visits.

Figure 37: Pictures from 7 Hills Skate Park Site Visits. Source: Researcher (2019)

6.5. Conclusion

This section is the last in the interviewed actors' chapter. It has displayed an overview of the role of different activists in the city and the emerging role of the activism scene in Amman. However, Chapter 8 will provide an in-depth case study of the 7 Hills Skate Park and explore how the co-founders of the park utilised the park for integrating refugees. The chapter will cover similar themes to those covered in Sections 6.2 and 6.3: the operative roles, perception towards refugees, funding, partnerships, weaknesses, barriers, and, finally, strengths and potential. This chapter aided in further exploring the forms of refugees' agency and how these studied actors have a role in granting or deciding the limits of their agency (see chapter 10).

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Chapter 7: Practitioners' Researcher Residency at Turath

7.1. Introduction

This section further addresses Turath as an actor producing public space and the barriers, strengths, and potential for Jordanian pioneer practitioners to accomplish inclusive designs that recognise diversity and contribute to refugees' integration.

7.2. Architectural Practice in Jordan: Background

Figure 38: Left: Marka Circle's Garden, Established in 1968; Right: The Third Circle's Garden in the 1970s. Source: Rawabdeh (1986)

Before the Kingdom's independence in 1946, the local architectural scene in Amman was mostly framed by local craftsmen or Arabs coming from neighbouring countries, such as Palestine and Syria (Rjoub, 2016). The concept of public space developed from the gathering spaces at the roundabouts in the 1960s (Figure 38) to the public parks in the 1970s and 1980s (Figure 39).

Figure 39:Left: Roman Amphitheatre Park, Established in 1973 (Renovated in the 90s); Right: Al Rayah Park, Established in 1986. Source: Rawabdeh (1986)

Practitioners' wide interest in public space design projects emerged in the mid 1980s until the mid 1990s (Jarrar, 2013)— when a new generation of practitioners, freshly graduated from the USA and Europe, established the architectural profession in Jordan (Dahabreh, 2020) and mayors started hiring them to design prominent public spaces. The late 1990s and early 2000s witnessed the designs of grand public spaces (Figure 40) (Hammad, 2004) designed by pioneer architects in Jordan such as Bilal Hammad, Farouq Yaghmour, Mohammed Khaled, Ammar Khamash, Ayman Zuaiter, and Rami Daher (Jarrar, 2013).

Figure 40: GAM Celebrated its Grand Public Spaces in the Amman as the City of Culture 2002 Catalogue. Source: Al-Masri (2002).

The 43 architects registered in the 1950s (Rjoub, 2016) quickly grew into about 2,000 architects based on the Jordanian Engineering Association (2020), adopting contemporary and international designs and with a group of such architects trying to define the local and vernacular type of Jordanian architecture and its public space designs.

In this chapter, I present an analysis of my residency at Turath, run by one of the previously mentioned architects Rami Daher. As an embedded ethnographic experience in a high-status office run by an intelligent and experienced person, I am able to give a detailed overview of a rehabilitation project in the area of Lwebde, including the design process and phases, partnership with GAM, team dynamics, and perception of diversity and refugees. The analysis relies on both my practice as researcher and a team member in the project during one month of residency at Turath, and the data analysed includes personal and reflexive field notes, notes about ongoing formal and informal team discussions, and transcripts of interviews for Rami Daher and six of the team members included here as anonymous quotes.

In addition, some of the actors involved in the overall research discussed Turath in their interviews and their perception of the project and Turath in general. These are also included where relevant.

7.3. Turath Architecture and Urban Design Consultants: The Application of the Researcher in the Residence Model at Turath Architecture and Urban Design Consultants in Amman to Seek Knowledge through Practice

Turath ('heritage' in English) is an architectural and urban design consultants providing expertise bonded with science, history, and thorough research on their site or locale. The rationale behind selecting Turath Architecture and Urban Design Consultants in Amman for this researcher's residence lies in its rich and multi-disciplinary scope—while it is not typical of Ammani practitioners per se. They are responsible for core and high-profile design work rehabilitating major urban public spaces in Amman, such as Al Wakalat, the first pedestrian retail street (Figure 41)*,* Al-Balad, the downtown of Amman (Figure 42, left), Rainbow Street, the first pedestrian-prioritised street (Figure 42, right), and, recently, the controversial project of rehabilitating one of Amman's oldest and greenest neighbourhoods, Jabal Al Lwebde.

Figure 41: Al Wakalat Street Before and After Rehabilitation by Turath. Source: Turath Portfolio (2019).

Figure 42: Left: King Faisal Street Rehabilitation Project; Right: Rainbow Street Panoramic Lookout, Designed by Turath. Source: Turath Portfolio (2019).

The founder Dr Rami Daher is a practicing academic who has exceled in linking practical practice with theory. He is also aware of the different political and cultural forces that produce spaces. His expertise covers critical mapping, working through Turath on designing, implementing physical intervention projects, and establishing communications between citizens and government. Not only is his scope of work multidimensional and enlightening regarding neoliberal practices and the geographies of inequality in POS (Ababsa & Daher, 2011; Daher, 2008, 2013, 2011), but he is also considered a spatial agent when performing

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either through his practical firm or through his research and pedagogical practices as a university professor.

As a previous student for Dr Rami, I knew his multidisciplinary works and roles concealed a set of underlying dimensions: pedagogical as an academic, physical as a practitioner, political as an activist, and sociocultural as an active influential citizen of Amman throughout the years and his wide interest in the social history of the city. Applying the researcher-in-residence model in Turath facilitated a closer examination of the Rehabilitation of the Jabal Al Lwebde Project, as well as a closeness to a pioneering practitioner. Lwebde is notably a prominent neighbourhood, attracting people from all over Amman, and is a multicultural neighbourhood, where people from different ethnicities and religions reside.

7.3.1. The Physical Intervention in Lwebde

The historical, distinctive, and famous neighbourhood Jabal ('mountain') Lwebde (alternatively called 'Webde') hosts a diverse array of mixed-use activities of dwellings, retail, restaurants, cultural centres, NGOs, and embassies, with direct connections to downtown Amman. Lwebde also has one of the highest percentages of open green urban public spaces (with an area of 0.8 km2 public space per capita) compared to other neighbourhoods in Amman (with an average of 0.2 km2 public space per capita) (Al Aswad, 2018). Unlike many neighbourhoods in Amman, it is a very pedestrian-friendly neighbourhood, and has no traffic lights for cars, pedestrian stairs connecting to Amman's network of stairs, and many scenic corridors to other nearby jabals (mountains), turning its empty high plots into breathing space plateaus attracting many Ammanis who enjoy the panoramic views (see Figure 43).

Figure 43: Left: Paris Square; Right: An Open Panoramic Lookout in the Neighbourhood Overlooking Downtown. Source: Turath, 2019.

Lwebde has always been known as a hub for culture and art, coupled with the quaint modernity of this residential area. Currently, it is facing a boom in the commercial activity that is attracting a huge number of Ammanis from different parts of the city and of all ages more than ever before—which might be challenging and hindering its historical and cultural character with threats of gentrification.

GAM, as the client, delegated the project to Turath—specifically to rehabilitate and redesign two central streets and their surroundings in Lwebde—more specifically, the Al baouneye and al Shareea streets that both connect to a famous public space called Paris Square (see Figure 44).
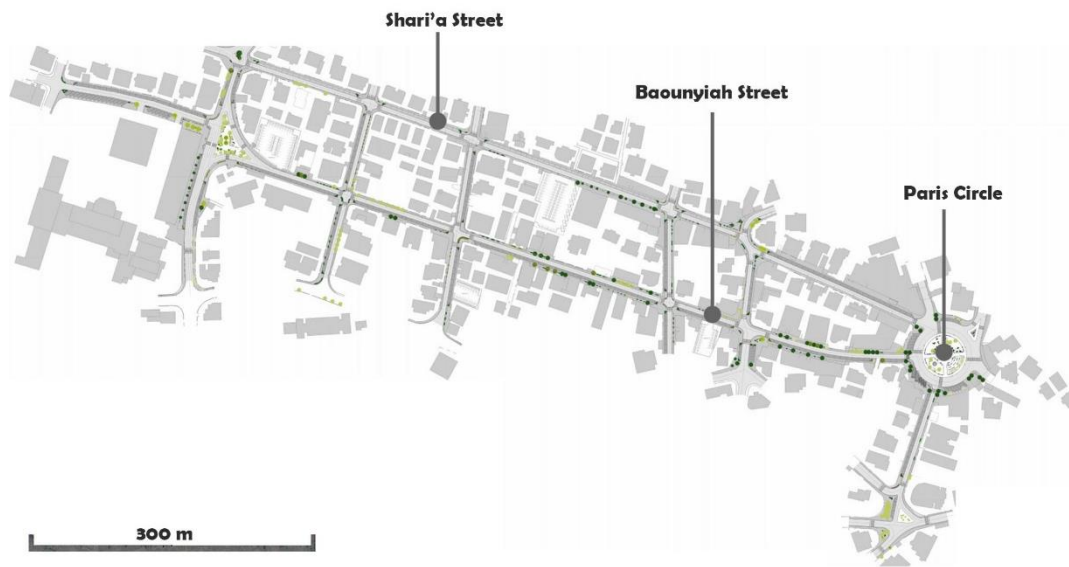
Figure 44: The Map of Al Shari'a and Baouneyah Streets, Connected by the Paris
Roundabout. Source: Turath. Modified by the Author, 2019.

7.3.2. Methodology and Researcher's Role and Involvement

I spent three days a week for six weeks, starting from April until mid-May 2019, and was provided with an empty desk and access to the office library. I followed the working hours and general rules of Turath. Unfortunately, consent for the sharing design outputs of the project was not given, as it had not been submitted to the client (GAM)—and although this fact to some extent limited the output of this procedure, the researcher could analyse the design process and critique it by analysing the process rather than the end product. They were also guided by the reflexive notes that were recorded on a daily basis.

Figure 45 shows the different images taken by the researcher that reflect the several roles and experiences that took place at the Turath residency.
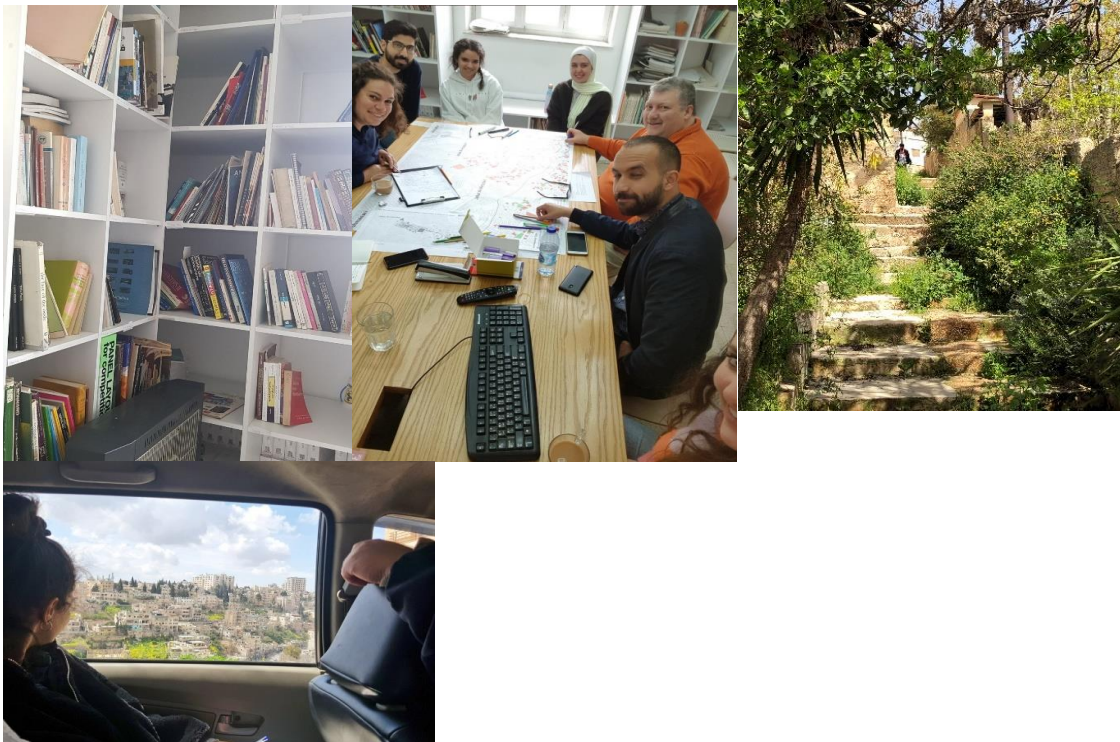
Figure 45: Images reflecting roles and experiences that took place at Turath residency. Source: Author, 2019.

I attended office meetings discussing the design procedures of the project, along with a site tour with Turath founder Rami Daher to discuss the history of the site and to understand the neighbourhood's plateaus and slopes. At first, I was given extensive reading documents about the project to help me to prepare the conceptual and theoretical brief of the conceptual design. During the design stage, I was a member in a team that conducted several site visits to document the natural landscapes of a selected zone to contribute to the early stages of the design. At other times, I used the office library (which has rich resources concerning Amman social history and public spaces).

At the end of this residency, I conducted a face-to-face interview with the founder Dr Rami Daher, as well as multiple interviews with the Turath team members. The interviews were conducted using a combination of English and Arabic, and were designed to complement the knowledge from the researcher's experience with the personal insights of Dr Rami Daher and the team. The interviews involved asking them to frame the design process of the ongoing project, and covered discussions concerning previous urban public spaces projects in Amman (i.e., Rainbow Street; downtown's rehabilitation; Wakalat Street). The interviews also touched on Turath's pedagogical and political agency.

The residency ending point was near the end of the design stage. The project is still ongoing, the final phase having no specific deadline. There have been some issues of postponement from the different actors related to the project.

I created a reflexive diary file for personal notes when I first started the residency. The diary had a table to fill in the time and date and write reflexive notes, interpretations, critique, incidents, or any related ideas to the research. This file was edited on a daily basis at the end of each day, the notes mainly being documented in English. In addition, the researcher created a file for the Lwebde project to help to analyse the project later.

7.3.3. Involvement in the Lwebde Project

The project consists of six stages, and I started the residency during the third stage of the project, the two earlier stages of the project (including understanding and documenting the public space) having already been conducted. I entered during the conceptual design phase and the detailed design phase (see Table 15).

Table 15: Stages of Lwebde Project. Source: Turath. Modified by Author, 2019.

PROJECT STAGE	NAME OF STAGE	RESEARCHER INVOLVEMENT
STAGE I	Place Understanding & Documentation	Not involved- but was handed full documentation of both stages to read before joining the team. (2018-2019)
STAGE II	Assessment & Analysis of the Public Realm under Study	
STAGE III	Conceptual Design Phase for the Public Space Design	Involved- help in preparing the conceptual and theoretical brief of the conceptual design. (2019).
STAGE IV	Detailed Design Phase for the Public Space Design	Involved- Was part of a smaller team to design one zone out of 6 zones of the project. (2019)
STAGE V	Construction and Tender Documents	Not Involved- Ongoing phase (Feb 2021)
STAGE VI	Writing the Terms of Reference for the Contractors	Not Involved

7.4. The Design Process

As this urban project involved multiple layers and aspects for each stage, the following section will only discuss the layers and phases that are directly related to this research and the different stages.

7.4.1. Lwebde's Public Space Layer (Stages I, II, and III)

The early stages of the analysis philosophy included studying the multiple layers and completing orthographic surveys, architectural drawings, and historical documentation (resulting from an extensive exploration of archives, photographs, and personal collections). In this stage, the team identified the public space layer (see Figure 46).

Both streets (al Baouniyah and al Shari'a) have a linear repetitive network of courtyards and garden, penetrated by narrow passageways and steps to nearby valleys and connecting to intersections of commercial and café activities. The totality of these spaces can represent one

of Amman's specific forms of public spaces. Notably, the public spaces along the Shari'a and Baouniyah streets were mapped based on a tailored typology that is divided into four types, as the following Table 16 shows.
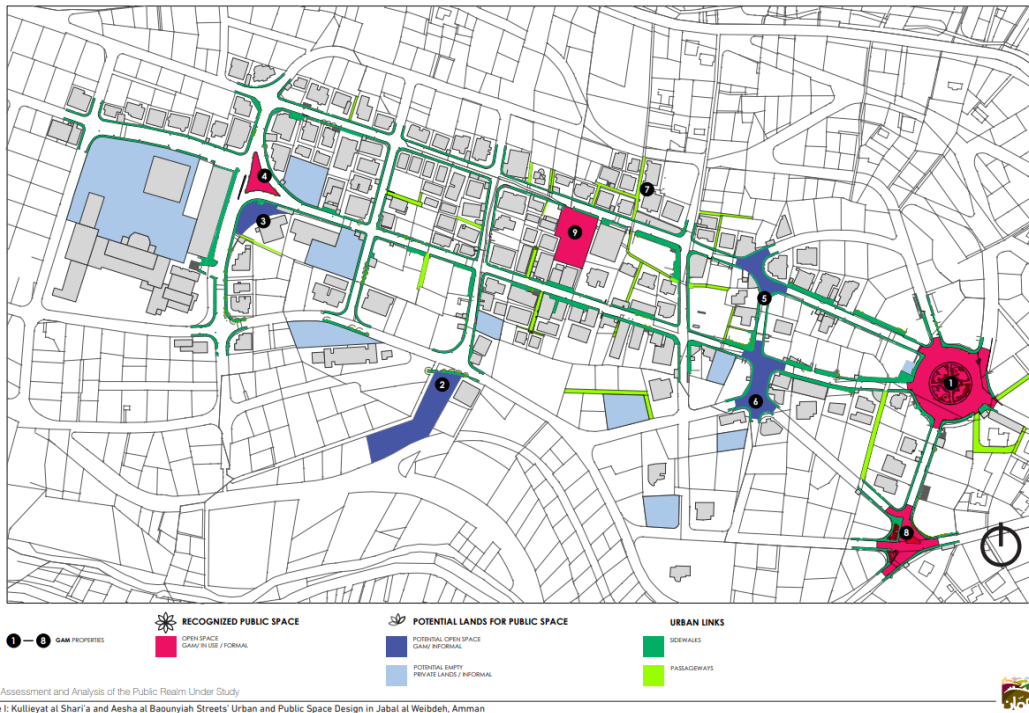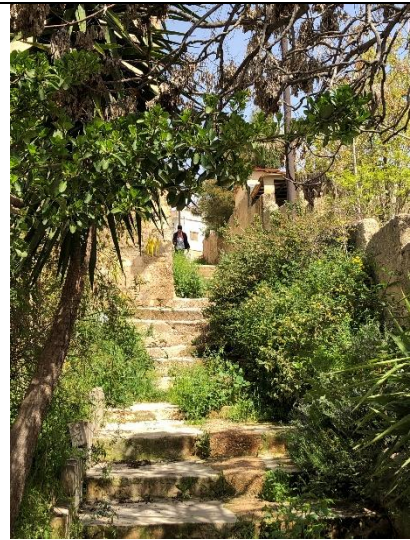
Figure 46: Mapping the Typologies of the Public Space Layer. Source: Turath (2019) (permission given).

Table 16: Turath's Typology of the Public Space Layer in Lwebde. Source: Turath. Modified by Author, 2020.

Turath's Typology of Lwebde's Public Spaces	Pictures

Turath's Typology of Lwebde's Public Spaces	Pictures
1.**Existing formal public spaces:** created and owned by GAM	 Paris Roundabout
2.**Informal potential public spaces (GAM owned)**: spaces that were not created as public spaces but are by use considered public spaces, such as street intersections where people gather, consume meals, and wait for takeaways. Also, empty plots of land that are known for their panoramic scenes are used as public spaces, where people gather in groups, park their cars, and have coffee overlooking the views.	 Panoramic Lookout
3.**Informal and privately owned empty plots with potential:** such as surface parking and school playgrounds.	 Terra Santa College Playground
4.**Urban Links:** sidewalks, narrow passageways, cul-de-sacs and stairs.	

Turath's Typology of Lwebde's Public Spaces	Pictures
	Stairs Passageway Linking

7.4.1.1. The Ethnographic Layers (Stage I)

The early stages involved a dedicated team to conduct what Turath titled as 'ethnographic encounters'. This was in addition to other teams who conducted a full site analysis that included physical analysis and drawings, mapping activities and user needs and desires, and defining land violations and ownership. These ethnographic encounters involved a series of interviews and meetings, and the ethnographic team spent two months conducting meetings with stakeholders, users, and prominent personnel in Lwebde. The meetings were face-to-face (held in the streets, the interviewee's workplace, or Turath's offices in Lwebde). The ethnographic encounters attempted to grasp the different opinions concerning the changes the neighbourhood faced was facing and their main issues of concern.

The team and Rami have an insider and outsider ethnographic position in Lwebde. Rami Daher was born and has lived in Lwebde for many years. Turath's office is in an adapted residence located on al Shari'a Street. This involvement on the site highlights Daher's knowledge of the history of the area and the sociocultural transformations of the neighbourhood. The office's location also means that Turath team members are considered commuters and users of both streets—meaning they have everyday experiences in the project location themselves.

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7.4.1.2. Public Space Strategy (Stage III)

The third stage of the project involved an overall conceptual strategy of the proposed public space, which was based on previous analysis stages, ethnographic findings, and physical analysis. Mainly, the strategy emphasised minimal intervention that aims to maintain and improve the already-successful experience in the neighbourhood, with its gardens and small urban pockets.

The strategy is framed around major concepts: preserving the successful existing harmony between cars and pedestrians; preserving view corridors; creating networks of green spaces; sustaining the existing spaces using native plants; and protecting the historic and cultural legacy of Lwebde 'as a place of co-habitation and tolerance between different groups, religions, and ethnicities (Arabs, Armenian, foreigners, etc.)'.

7.4.2. Communicating Concepts to Public: The Scoping Session

A general scoping session with the local community was organised by GAM and Turath, and was held in The Jordan National Gallery of Fine Arts in Lwebde (see Figure 47), to present the produced documentation and early concept. The 80 attendees included GAM representatives, along with several locals and old residents of Lwebde. Leading architects, philanthropists, and artists attended, too, as the neighbourhood is of interest to the Ammani cultural and art scene.

Figure 47: The Scoping Session Flyer (2019); Right: The Event Hosted 80 Attendees, Including Locals, the Turath and GAM Teams, Multiple Investors, and Famous Architects and Artists. Source: GAM, 2020.

The scoping session is one part of a four-part strategy that identifies the process of communicating the project's components to the wider public, starting from the ethnographic studies and leading to multiple scoping sessions. Table 17 illustrates the four-part strategy purpose and if it was conducted or not. However, only one scoping session (communicating the assessment and analysis phase) was conducted, and there were no further sessions.

Table 17: Turath's communication strategy of Lwebde's Project. Source: Turath. Modified by Author, 2019.

COMMUNICATION STRATEGY PARTS	PURPOSE OF PART	
Part I: ethnographic interviews	Face to face individual/ group meetings	Conducted 2018
Part II-scoping session one	To present concept & documentation, raise awareness regarding Lwebde history	Conducted 2019
Part III-scoping session	To present conceptual	Not conducted

COMMUNICATION STRATEGY PARTS	PURPOSE OF PART	
one	designs and take feedback.	
Part IV-scoping session before execution	To share stages of construction	Not conducted-GAM will implement 2021

7.4.3. Detailed Design Phase (Stage IV)

Before the start of this phase, Dr Rami booked a bus to take the team to tour Lwebde and its surrounding neighbourhoods in a field trip so the participants could see its periphery and relationship with the other neighbourhoods to apprehend its plateaus and appreciate the natural landscapes of Lwebde.

The studies targeted two scales: the overall neighbourhood of Lwebde in the forms of analysis and general guidelines only, and the zoomed-in scale of Al Shari'a and Baouniyah streets, for a complete physical intervention to rehabilitate the area.

First, the overall neighbourhood was divided into zones, each zone being responsible for a smaller team of between two and three architects. Each team had to conduct several field trips to a dedicated zone to document the attributes of the heritage in the neighbourhoods, including its natural landscapes (see Figure 48).
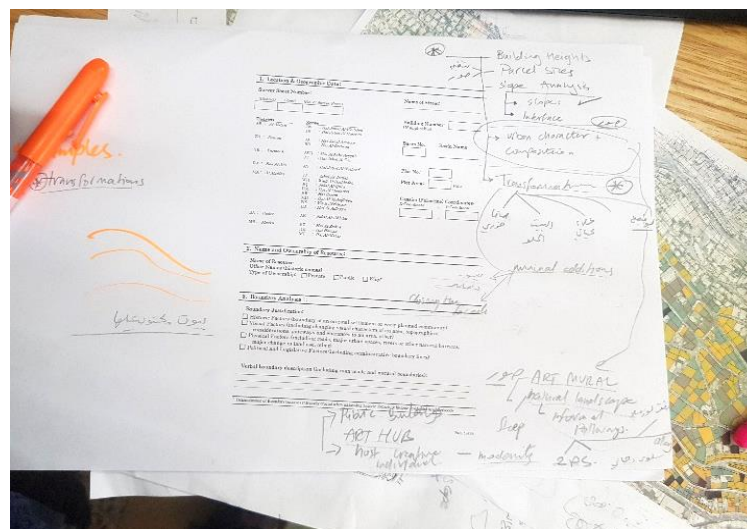
Figure 48: My Field Trip Log to Document the Neighbourhood's Heritage Attributes in my Team's Dedicated Zone. Source: Author (2019).

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On the other hand, the design process of the public layer of Al Shari'a and Al Baouniyah's streets started with identifying nodes and connections as a ground plane (see Figure 49).

Figure 49: The Nodes Identified for the Design were a Combination of Neighbourhood Gardens and Urban Pockets. Source: Turath (2019) (permission given).

Six nodes were identified and distributed to the design teams, one of the three architects in each team working on linking these nodes and the infrastructures of the streets. The main decisions while designing concerned minimal interventions, with the general principles of increasing vegetation and enhancing walkability while also being mindful of car user needs, including parking, accessibility issues for people with disabilities, upgrading the physical infrastructure of sidewalks, and general maintenance.

7.5. An Insider/Outsider Lens on Lwebde's Project and Turath

After providing a brief of the project, this section will expand on a few themes regarding the design process and its relation to the inclusivity and integrative aspects of POS. It will include personal notes and reflections on the embedded ethnographic residency at Turath, combined with the different points of view from Turath's team members, Rami Daher, and some of the other actors interviewed for this research.

It is important to note that six team members were interviewed, each team member is given a number from 01-06, and their quotes are labelled as Team Member (TM 01-06).

7.5.1. Turath's Philosophy and Design Approach

'What is very central in our approach is the different levels of place understanding we seek. We spend a lot of time in the design process understanding the specificity of any public space we are dealing with. Another thing that affects our approach is contemporary trends in PS design, un-volumetric architecture, and landscape urbanism.'

- Rami Daher

The office is well-known for the strong analytical phases it completes before starting any design process, including wide-ranging phases of analysis and documentation.

Turath's design approach is linked to:

- The different levels of place understanding, not only on physical and functional levels, but also on discursive and typo-morphological levels.

- To understand contemporary trends to influence their approach in public space design.

- To allow the place and its potential to steer the process.

- To be realistic concerning what can be implemented, and the budget involved in that.

The studied project involved multiple phases that differed in nature, the progress and transition between the intangible phases of documentation and ethnography producing complex physical outcomes. Reflecting on all the assessment and analysis phases, the user needs and patterns of use, and ethnographic encounters in the design, I found it all to be barely conceivable. These meetings facilitate the transferring of knowledge between the teams who worked on the different zones and areas, and at the end of each meeting, discussions between the team and Rami start, and even extend to after the end of each meeting between the smaller groups' team members. These discussions, combined with the summary of the previous phases,

usually formed a general strategy and understanding of what will happen in the subsequent phase.

'I think our critical discussions with Dr Rami and between teams can be considered major inputs for the design and not the ethnographic study.'

- Turath Team Member (TTM02)

7.5.2. Progressing Through the Project Phases and their Relation to the Design Outcomes

I tried to disclose the links between the phases and transitions in design and understand the process by initiating conversations with the team during the day. They all agreed on the reliance of previous phases in designing to a certain degree; some of them stated that it was the physical analysis and critical discussions in the meetings that mattered the most when it came to guiding the planning and design process.

'The design was inspired by the studies of the areas of Lwebde and their nature, which directed us to minimal intervention. It highlighted the activities that were already happening these days in Lwebde and not an imposed set of ideas.'

- (TTM02)

'Generally, the tangible layers of analysis done in the first phases were taken into consideration when designing the spaces, however, the influence of the intangible analysis on the design was not as elaborate as the physical analysis itself.'

- (TTM01)

'Based on my experience, the daily meetings witnessed a constant feeding process of the concept, each team identified zone concerns and problems, discussed it with Dr. Rami to enhance the overall strategy and concept.'

- Field note, March 2019.

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As an insider, there were many discussions around the change exceeding the physical interventions in a very minimal way.

> *'Parts of the ethnographic studies weren't very beneficial and did not change the design; physical analysis regarding plot areas, violations and land ownership were.'*

> \- (TTM04)

> *'Dr Rami was constantly reviewing the designs of each team, however, there were slight differences in the design languages used by each individual team working on different spaces.'*

> \- (TTM01)

The team describe Rami as flexible, with a passion and attachment to the places he designs. He also gives them space to decide and design.

> *'Rami decides the phases and submissions, we interfere, he is flexible. Till the analysis, he has great input to the process, you know the influence of the theoretical part. In the process, he tries to interfere, but in Lwebde, he only interfered in two nodes, and the rest were mainly based on our decisions. He had a vision about these two nodes, he said he dreamt about one.' - (TTM04)*

> *'We normally design, show him to see if he likes it or not. In the nodes, he contributed to one or two designs (he/she pointed the nodes on the map), I believe the design at the end is mostly an outcome from the team and not Rami.'*

> \- (TTM01)

Members of the team believe Dr Rami strengthen their productivity by his guiding strategies and his minimal involvement in the design, since this makes the tactics of the design their responsibility.

Understanding the process as both an insider and outsider was a useful step in gaining a clear understanding of how inclusion works through practice, and how Turath, as Jordanian practitioners, perceive diversity and refugees while designing.

7.6. Perceptions Towards Diversity, Inclusion, and Refugees

Lwebde is a multicultural neighbourhood that hosts a range of different backgrounds, religions, and ethnicities—and so rehabilitating this neighbourhood is a great project for the purpose of monitoring how practitioners in Jordan perceive differences. The neighbourhood has Armenians, Christian communities, and expats, and is reported to be a place where Sudanese refugees reside. The neighbourhood as a jabal (mountain) has a socially differentiated and divisive terrain (Al Ashqar, 2015), the high plateau hosting high-income families and the downward areas to the foothills hosting low-income families and refugees (mainly the Sudanese) (see Figure 50, Figure 51).

Figure 50: The Transition between the Stone Villas Uphill and the Cement-Plastered Smaller Residences when Descending to the Downtown. Source: Turath, 2019.

'Well, you can see the area around Al Khayam Cinema (See Fig. 51) and lower areas close to downtown, the old cement and brick houses, this is a very deprived area with low-income communities, but the higher area of the jabal (mountain), and areas behind Paris circle where a prime minister lives is a different story.'

- TTM04
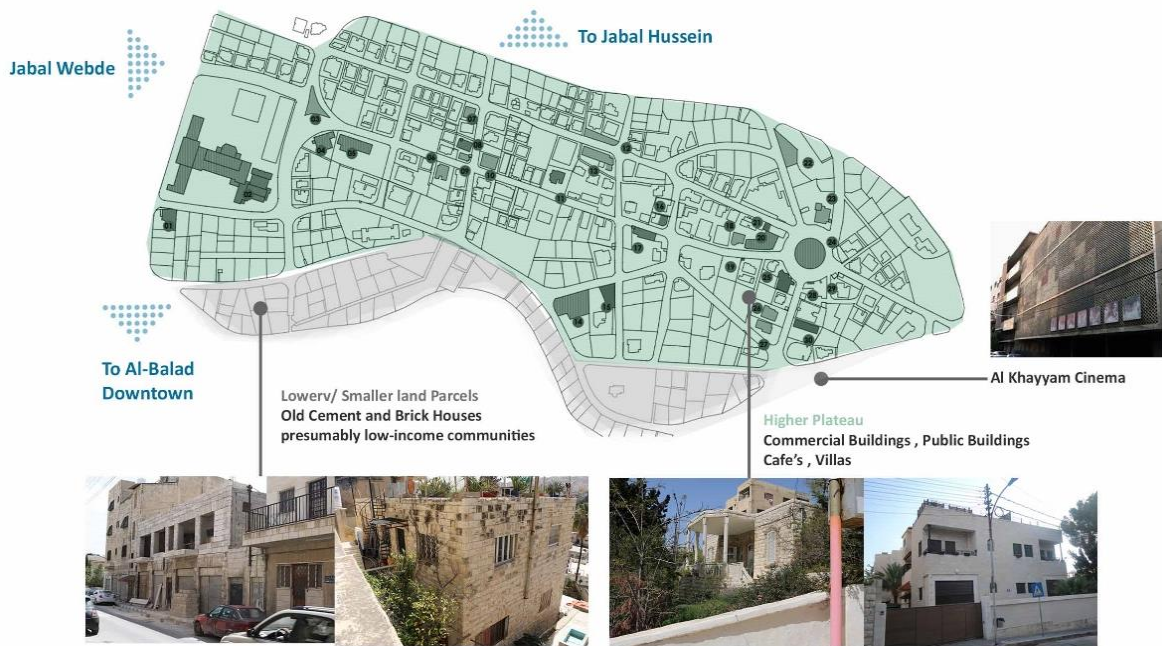
Figure 51: Higher Areas' Residences (Stone Villas) vs the Lower Areas' Residences (Cement/Brick/Plaster Houses). Source: Author, 2020.

Neither the extensive analysis nor the ethnographic layer detected the Sudanese community there. However, Alice Su (2015), in her documentary interviewing the representatives of the Sudanese community in Lwebde, vividly described the bad living conditions they are in.

'Sudanese live in these two rooms with bedbugs, cockroaches and no water, halfway up the Jabal Lwebde, a few minutes from the city centre.'

- Video Description on Alice Su's Documentary

Although Turath's conceptual note included a dedicated section that realises the multicultural context and the cohabitation in Lwebde, it did not appear to guide any decisions regarding the design priorities or to include all the nationalities during the process and within the teams.

'We met Sudanese refugees at Paris Circle, and we saw their children at school times. But we did not feel that they will have an input to inform or inspire, I am talking design wise!'

'I have no prior knowledge about refugees in the area, Sudanese, I am aware of many foreigners, especially French because of the location of the AFD in Shari'a St.'

- TTM04

When asked about the inclusion of Sudanese refugees in Lwebde, a team member said they did not feel they were influencing the project, and added that the issues were addressed or highlighted because the centre of this project only concerned the two aforementioned streets, and not the full neighbourhood. Other members, meanwhile, were unaware of the existence of the refugee communities in the area; instead, they referred to 'deprived areas down the hill'. This clearly indicates how hidden these communities can be and, accordingly, the need to raise awareness and develop skills on how to reach these communities and overcome all the barriers preventing them from being more vocal and expressing opinions about their surrounding environment.

Due to the absence of skills and previous experience in participatory designs, the voices of the Sudanese refugees or minority groups were not fully realised in Lwebde's project. This led to an outcome *delivered to* these communities rather than *designed with* them that had been mostly guided by a single narrative, personal visions, and general physical requirements. This can signify weaknesses in first the project's ethnographic studies that were conducted at the beginning, and second the participatory strategy adopted. Both reasons, along with other reasons, are displayed in the following section as weaknesses and barriers.

For the team, inclusivity discussions were regularly framed as 'satisfying as many user groups as possible'. In the early phases, a section mapping vehicular and pedestrian movements and activity titled as 'user needs and desires' identified the categories of the relevant users, including children, residents, passers-by, institutions, students, shop owners, the elderly, bikers, teenagers, café visitors, girls, families, couples, expats, and mosque prayers—

and yet during the design phase, the user groups were categorised into only three sections: the old residents of Lwebde, the new residents of the artistic and creative class, and Ammani visitors coming from other neighbourhoods to enjoy the old neighbourhood. However, the final design outcomes, according to one of the architects responsible for the final construction drawings, targeted mainly the old residents: 'We mostly looked at old Lwebde residents who are about to leave it. They are residents who are fed up with the café culture expanding in Lwebde.'

'I think we took diversity and inclusivity into account; Dr Rami focused on the old residents of Lwebde, but we had the new residents and visitors in mind.'

- TTM05

Sometimes, 'inclusivity' was defined as 'relating to physical access for people with disabilities', rather than 'inclusion across all statuses, races, classes, and levels of affluence'.

7.7. Barriers and Weaknesses

7.7.1. Wide Public Scrutiny over the Project

Recently, Lwebde has caught the attention of the royal family, with royals visiting the area and highlighting its importance as an alluring public space with much touristic potential. This royal attention was the force behind the initiation of this whole project.

Many Ammanis consider Lwebde as an already-successful neighbourhood, with its own spontaneous nature that shouldn't be subjected to any change. There were fears of gentrification raised due to huge neoliberal investments when the rehabilitation project was announced, not only by some of the Lwebde residents. Many Ammanis who feel they have a right to this public space were also against the project.

An added obstruction was the community of architects who were against intervening in Lwebde and were sceptical about the transparency of GAM. They raised questions about the fact they delegated the project directly to Turath, rather than announcing a public tender or an

architectural competition—especially with the nature of such a project receiving such wide national interest. The criticism, which was voiced online before and during the scoping session, turned into an attack of Turath's persona and its previous projects, and led to questions concerning why most urban public space projects are delegated to the same office.

'Such a project should be given to an independent entity to manage a call for ideas and a decent competition, GAM is not capable and are not up to dealing with such projects of complex mission. Delegation in closed doors means corruption, corruption is not always about money!'

- Local Architect

'I see it hard in giving projects to one person all the time, Rami is creative, but GAM should give other people the chance, they can have different knowledge, new line of thoughts that can benefit the city.'

- A Local Architect's Comment on the Public Hearing Facebook Announcement (Source: GAM, 2019)

I initiated the discussion with both the team and Rami, and their point of view is that it is not the office that is to blame, but GAM, and that the delegation process was not easy or corrupted, as some claimed.

'In order to get the delegation papers ready, it took us 7 months of paperwork preparation, to show that our office is of quality and capable of such projects.'

- TTM03

'They always choose Rami because he offers them quality, great knowledge and is not greedy and is never interested in profits.'

- TTM06

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Rami responded to all the online critique professionally. The following is an extract of his online response, sent in 2019 (a week before the scoping session): '....I welcome all to come and attend the scoping session with the community. Maybe then, people would understand the in-depth place analysis that had been made already. On a related note, some of the architectural community critics assume that "public space design" is the reason always behind places' transformations. Only a critical eye would understand that this is not true, and places transform and change due to many forces.'

The public gaze, amongst other factors, made it very difficult for the team, and influenced them to alter the design decisions accordingly and make minimal changes to the proposed sites.

'It is extremely frustrating to work when many around you are assuming the worse; even before the work has started. Public Space design is not easy, especially in a community like Amman, where there is not much constructive critique that we always welcome by the way, it is a very difficult process specially when the whole town is judging your work!'

- Rami Daher

'And I am already certain that whatever will be done in Lwebde will eventually have people who would support it and others who would not. This is always the case in public projects, and specially within a community that is still new to participatory public space design approaches and is entrenched in non-constructive critique that is not based on facts.'

- Rami Daher

7.7.2. The 'Symbolic' Participatory Public Space Design Approach in Lwebde

'The whole project is based on public participation, the team includes in addition to the architects and public space designers, sociologists and anthropologists.'

- Rami Daher

Although Dr Rami issued that the project should adopt a participatory approach, only one public hearing was conducted, and many of the design team felt it was not directly useful in informing the design. Several problems were reported.

While the public hearing was attended to by many Lwebde residents, many of them took advantage of the time and venue as a very rare opportunity to meet GAM personnel. Consequently, they were easily distracted from the focus of the project and instead put forward all their complaints about the management of the neighbourhood, and even political issues, such as foreign investments in Lwebde. The input from the community for the project disappointed the team.

'People are not used to have shared discussion venues with GAM, they saw the public hearing a chance to complain about the ongoing violations in the neighbourhood, and that we have to stop these before designing, and how irritating these violations are for them.'

- TTM01

'Unfortunately, there were no opinions that steered the design sharply, they weren't reasonable or know what is better for them, or how to ask for their rights.'

- TTM06

No other public hearing was conducted later in the project, although three more were originally planned within the communication strategy outlined in Turath's Stage I submission to GAM. Although the participatory approach was well-intentioned and Turath initiated an ambitious process involving participatory approaches and ethnography, these plans did not come through in the reality of the process—and when the public hearing failed to formulate design inputs for the team (rather than looking for an alternative channel to include the community or initiate an attempt to educate the community in participatory exercises), the team chose to proceed without any other local input—no doubt in part due to hectic deadlines.

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'When I asked about not conducting more public hearings, the answer was: 'We can't do that, allow them to fully participate in a country with no sophisticated humane social infrastructure, and we have not got any time to educate the people, it is GAM's role not us!'

- TTM06

'They were attacking GAM all the time, no one looked at our work. There is no culture for PAR in Amman, they are talking about very personal issues, violations and it wasn't contributing to the design at all.'

- TTM03

Again, this indicates the need to acknowledge that participatory mechanisms are continuous through all the design stages. Notably, there were no participants in the public hearing who were a minority or part of the refugee communities living down the hill.

'There were many residents, but we can't say it was representative. The only ones who came were the mature sophisticated strata of users. Users representing neighbourhood beyond Shari'a street were absent.'

- TTM03

'I think no one has come from the lower areas down the hill. Most of them were from the higher plateau, along with architects, I also remember the Iraqi investor came to the public hearing too.'

- TTM02

Many barriers to participation come into force in terms of timing and mode, often relating to lack of expertise in conducting participatory approaches and flexibility for using varied approaches if problems occur. Such skills can help to bring to fruition the fact that public hearings are not the only channels of communicating with communities. Turath, with Rami's expertise and a very

skilled team, are still operating in a wider local context, whereby concepts of community participation are uncommon and still evolving and architects do not receive any proper training to develop their participatory skills.

The underlying general understanding is that inclusion and diversity when it comes to matters of public space are not a priority when compared to the pressing issues the whole country is facing. This belief is further exacerbated when you combine it with the belief that this is a western matter concerning developed countries only.

'When discussing inclusion and the importance of public space as a part of a larger social infrastructure needed for refugees and minorities, the team and actually many in the field found me preposterous, and that public space potentials of integration and the need to hear diverse perspectives than usual are at the bottom of the list of the pressing matters that needs to be researched.'

- Field notes (2019)

Converting offer-based modes (i.e., public hearings offered for self-selected stakeholder groups) to more active approaches that include going where people are requires a logistical preparedness and more knowledge, but will be made easier to achieve if Turath genuinely strives towards inclusivity.

'We didn't go and ask them specifically, but we announced the public hearing, but they did not come. We are benefiting them more than outsiders; we are making it easier for them to walk and make it more accessible for them.'

- TTM03

Finally, there is a lack of local precedents to learn lessons from. These approaches are rare but not entirely absent: one team member mentioned GIZ's project that was run by local practitioners who conducted several

participatory activities with communities in east Amman at the same time as Lwebde's project. The team member stated that GIZ's project was far more interactive than what they did. Other members do define their approach as participatory, as they consider participation as an initial pre-design process.

'The design was not interactive with the community, comparing our project to PRAXIS & GIZ, their process looks way much interactive in all steps and phases, and you can sense the transparency. I felt this is a great step and can trigger people to participate more, hope we did something similar.'

- TTM01

In an attempt to address the barriers preventing participation, I suggested including the Sudanese community through embedding the team with both a community organisation and an activist who is closer to them. First was a representative organisation named Sawiyyan located at Lwebde actively advocating for Sudanese refugees, and second was the co-founder of the 7 Hills Park, which hosts many Sudanese refugees every weekend.

The first barrier here concerned connecting with them. I tried to connect with the co-founder of Sawiyan, and received no response. The second barrier to taking a closer look at 7 Hills as a great case study to learn from was my timing and my being a part of the team in advanced design stages, since the response was, 'We are done with the assessment and data collection phase, and we must start producing designs now.' This clearly demonstrates how logistics and timelines can sometimes become barriers to change. For instance, the financial situation of the offices leading to rapid turnovers in the team was also an issue.

'We struggle time wise; we already postponed our submissions many times many, and the workload is huge with the rapid turnover of the team.'

- TTM03

7.7.3. The 'Exclusive' Ethnographic Encounters

'In the early stages of the Project, literarily 10s of residents, goers, ex-residents, shop owners, tenants, others were extensively interviewed.'

- Rami Daher

Although the physical analysis covered huge parts of Lwebde and the nearby neighbourhood, the ethnographic findings were geographically limited to users of the Shari'a and Baouniyah streets, and did not encompass the nearby neighbourhood, which hosts potential users of the project sites. The majority of the team members saw that the ethnographic findings were submitted in a report form, but found it difficult to relate this data to the decisions they were making at the design stages.

'We did not rely much on the ethnographic studies, although they were conducted by an expert in the field and supervised by Rami who is also an expert in the field.'

- TTM02

'I think they could've included more users and expanded the geographical scope of their interviews.'

- PhD Student (Heritage) Applying for a Research Residency at Turath

The location of the office and Turath's involvement in Lwebde granted the team a hybrid insider/outsider position with more than one type of insider.

When reading the ethnographic findings, it is evident there is a lack of exposure to different perspectives, a few selected narratives instead dominating the findings. There was notably a focus on old residents who

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were described by one member of the team as 'elitists having exclusionary thinking' and a selected range of interviewees who can certainly be categorised as being more privileged. Many of the more commonly marginalised members of the community did not have their voices included.

'Lwebde's old residents gave us a sense that it is an exclusive neighbourhood. They were not reasonable, they wanted the expats, tourists, foreigners, and investments, but do not want any other Ammani's (especially low income Ammani's) who hang in Lwebde's Paris Square, because they live in neighbourhood that lacks public spaces in the first place.'

- TTM06

Rami as an insider clearly wants to spread the story of Lwebde and his immense knowledge about the place—and perhaps counterintuitively, here, there is a possibility that unintentionally, his enthusiastic ambition will limit the more diverse narratives of Lwebde and the methods by which others contribute to writing that story.

'My aim is to grant voice to my city Amman and to talk about it in a way that others have not talked about it before.'

- Rami Daher

The ethnographic encounters can be labelled as exclusive due to their reliance on selected interviews, the accidental meetings on the limited areas of both streets, and the lack of strategy for reaching less vocal residents.

'...I can tell you that the findings of 49 interviews were very similar and have the same points of view (maybe because they can be classified).'

- TTM05

'I can say they are somehow biased, ok they are diverse, but you can frame them or classify them as bourgeoise.'

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7.8. Strengths and Supportive Mechanisms

7.8.1. The Relationship with the Team and Constant Communication

The relationship between Rami and his team can be considered a major strength for Turath as an actor: openness, flexibility, and trust frame their relationship as he grants them a safe space to discuss their opinions freely. This can be sensed from the team's confidence when discussing opposing opinions. Rami, with his humble personality, has made Turath a friendly atmosphere, where he shares ideas, meals, and laughter with the team.

'The success of this office and the team is the flexibility he endows to his team- Dr. rami is not orthodox in the way of working, they can revisit the project several times with him.'

- PhD Student (Heritage) Applying for a Research Residency at Turath

'...He distributed the roles, the relationship between him and the team is open, and they can freely discuss with him and decide key design decisions most of the time.'

Field Notes (April 2019)

Another remarkable strength is Rami's determination to communicate with his team daily. This has also expanded to the team itself, which has arranged several meetings between the sub-teams to communicate daily and have critical discussions that directly influence the design decisions, leading to homogenous strategies and protocols defining each stage of the project.

'Rami has a great trait that he arranged daily meetings, although it was time consuming sometimes where we repeat ourselves sometimes, but these meetings were very beneficial

specially when he summarises previous submissions and we have critical discussions about
design decisions.'

- TTM04

7.8.2. Extensive Processes of Place Understanding: Linking Theory with Practice

Turath is well-known for its widespread studies, surveys, and analyses that rely on different sources of origins to facilitate better understandings of the public realm of urban contexts.

'The amount of diligent work and research Turath goes through is one of the longest and most thorough processes to understand the place and people.'

- Architect's comment on Rami Daher's Public Facebook Post

'Rami has a great focus on ethnography, but in most projects, he has all-embracing predesign studies, it is his speciality. Even if the office was or was not in the same site.'

- TTM01

Turath clearly merges the theoretical and practical perspectives, identifies the sensitive aspects of any given project, and places great focus on the archival processes that are generally missing in Jordan.

'The fact that I am an academic practitioner plays a role, not in a sense of how people understand this relationship between academic/practitioner, like for example if you are practitioner, you understand details and how buildings are built that's one dimension, the other dimension is you bring visionary thinking to the program, place identification and all sort of things.'

- Rami Daher

Dr Rami has always made reference to his deep interest in linking theory, philosophy, and practice—and accordingly, Turath is a great place for any architect to grasp the link between theory and practice. The office hosts a valuable library that includes many local resources that cannot be found anywhere but Turath. He also encourages the team to read, apprehend, and encompass theoretical standpoints, along with the technicalities of design.

'Our meeting started with recommending a couple of public space books; one of them is public spaces urban places for Carmona, and urban landscape features. One can easily recognise academic side of him, blending practice and experience with knowledge. He mainly wanted them to notice not only theoretical aspects but also the way the plans are technically drawn and be attentive to interesting case studies.'

- Field Notes (May 2019)

7.8.3. The Dream Team and the Parallel Informal PAR

Rami is well-known for assembling great teams. Architects who were previous members of Turath have ended up in great firms and prestigious universities both locally and around the world.

'Once you are accepted to be part in Turath, this means you are an architect par excellence, as Rami would say it.'

- TTM05

In my opinion, the Turath team responsible for the Lwebde project was remarkable for many reasons: first, many of them have higher degrees, and some have double majors in technology, art, architecture, and planning. The team also has a wide range of interests and hobbies and can be considered a sophisticated team with international insights**.**

The majority of the team members had not lived in Amman for several years, either; they had been brought up in different countries or had studied in a different city (e.g., Canada; the USA; Iraq; Yemen). This made the team more realistic and less emotionally attached to the social history of the city. However, the team possesses immense knowledge, attention, and care to the everyday life of Ammanis—especially eastern Ammanis.

Being from different backgrounds helped in their feeding more exposure to diverse views and perspectives. The team is very conscious about inclusion and the right of public space to all, the team members making many statements that acknowledged inequality, and were against elitist views and the exclusivity of areas. They were also very honest concerning who was and was not involved in the design process and showed disagreement towards and desire for better inclusionary mechanisms.

'There is a hidden pattern beyond the physical one, we are trying to be as rich as possible, but you can't get the richness with such people with their elitist thinking (referring to old Lwebde residents) or even GAM.'

-   TTM06

'We were mature enough to know that these interviews are steered in a non-inclusionary way!'

-   TTM02

'After the scoping session I was really concerned from their superior views specially in a country that lacks democracy. As if Eastern Ammani's do not fulfil the image of Lwebde in the eyes of old residents.'

-   TTM06

'Lwebde residents built a higher metal fence to forbid people from setting in this area, it is private property, and you can never play with it, but you can always put another bench or chair for the people. Would it look nicer, may be not! But we are trying to trace patterns of use here.'

They were displeased and attempted to compensate the 'biased' ethnographic inputs and the single public hearing.

'I felt that the ethnographic studies conducted were not enough. Personally, I was always asking the vegetables shop owner, my barber, and people around. You know our office's location in Lwebde helped us tremendously. We are commuters and users, but we kept asking.'

-   TTM04

'When we saw that the ethnographic studies were steered in a certain way that is not including most user profiles, we as a team unintentionally tried to articulate our design based on our own observations and site visits along with these findings.'

-   TTM02

'In our field excursions, when people asked us what we were doing, we tried to open discussions, we heard their concerns and also asked a lot.'

-   TTM06

'My team worked on physical survey, we had many informal conversations and not prepared forms of inquiry or data collection. Many people were always coming and initiating discussions with us, we were happy, we really wanted to hear them.'

-   TTM01

7.9. Potential

7.9.1. The Agency of Rami Daher

Dr Rami has great potential when it comes to educating his students, team, and readers of his academic articles. He has also encouraged many of the architects who worked at his firm to

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pursue higher degrees in many universities around the world and pushed many of his students to think critically about city spaces and to ask questions.

> *'For me, the starting point of my PhD proposal was during my project at Dr. Rami's Landscape Urbanism Course, when he asked us to explore abandoned public spaces in the city, and conduct ethnographic inquires. It was that point in time when I met a Syrian refugee children in a public space and got closer to their outdoor experience, that made me think.'*

- Personal Reflection, Author.

He could become an advocate through his wide access to the wider public. The real potential here concerns his ability to turn inequality into a mainstream debate in the Jordanian community of architects and academics, and even to influence decision makers at GAM by shaping (directly and practically) the public spaces in the city.

> *'In Rami's submissions to GAM, he adds many references to books and authors like Jan Gehl, his Submissions can have an additional influence, educating them and referring them to examples and case studies from the world.'*

- Field Note (April)

7.9.2. An Ambitious Process and Clear Intentions towards Inclusion

Both Rami and his team are greatly committed to inclusion and have taken great steps in acknowledging the issues of inequality. For example, Rami advocates for spatial justice, not only in his articles but even in our meetings at the office. Here, he was always against the neoliberal practices that are emerging in Lwebde and how Lwebde's spaces belong to all and not to a certain class. His perception towards inclusion can be summed up by his following statement about Wakalat St.:

'The shop owners were stingy and so much complaining, because they didn't like people from eastern Amman to come because they don't have purchasing powers, and that is the sad story… I was really happy to see this place as socially inclusive street, they kept pressuring, they removed a lot of public seating, when they changed everything, I was very sad and started having heart problems.'

Rami has been stressing about inclusion and equity for many years now: his vision for Rainbow (his first urban design project in Amman) was to try to create a public space that is inclusive.

The following quote is from 2013 (as cited in Jarrar (2013)).

'Public space is no longer a priority, and inclusive public space is no longer a priority. If there is going to be public space it is very corporate oriented, and it is very elitist oriented, public amenities such as head services, education is no longer a priority and so on and so on.'

-   Rami Daher

Lwebde's design process can be considered an ambitious one, considering the team's commitment to inclusion and its several mentioned strengths. Accordingly, there is great potential for development in the future: the whole process can progress from being supportive of inclusion into acting to achieve it by acknowledging and listen to diverse voices. This essentially needs more attention so to skills can be developed to establish dynamic steps towards inclusion and put policies and participatory mechanisms into place.

7.10. Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the essential role of practitioners in creating and producing inclusive/exclusive public spaces. Although the chapter pinpointed how a general lack of participatory skill can prevent the achieving of inclusive intentions and proposals, it has also stressed on the potential present, whether in the form of the knowledgeable founder and team or the genuine intention to create inclusive public spaces. This raises the question of how practitioners can learn from other actors (including refugees) in creating successful and inclusive POS. The chapter displaying lack of previous experiences in participation, or symbolic participatory mechanisms, to the current state of not fully realising the voices of refugees and impacting their agency and influence in the production of POS and the built environment around them. These questions will be further discussed in Chapter 10.

Chapter 8: Refugees at 7 Hills Skate Park: Volunteering at the Park

8.1. Introduction

This chapter exhibits an ethno-case of a grassroots project, the 7 Hills Skate Park. The ethno-case starts with a background of the park and a plan outlining the park's main zones. Then, the chapter covers two main layers of knowledge: first is the understanding of the role of activists in this case; second is a socio-spatial understanding of refugees' urban experiences at 7 Hills Skate Park.

8.2. 7 Hills Skate Park: Background and Plan

7 Hills is a DIY (Do-It-Yourself) Skate Park, established in 2014. This park transformed an abandoned park in the centre of Amman into a community-built project, and, with the help of online crowdfunding and an international NGO called Life Skate Life. it is the first skatepark in Amman and is one of the very few public spaces that have grassroots influence and managed to achieve successful collaboration with GAM and both local and international NGOs to secure an inclusive space for the community.

In 2016, the founders *Mohammed Zakaria* and Kas Wauters initiated skating programs for disadvantaged youth (both local and refugee). These programs include weekly skateboard classes, a leadership program, and an outreach program. Their vision was to defend inequality on all levels (whether race, gender, religion, or culture) by skateboarding, which they call a 'lifelong tool for empowerment, interaction, and justice'. As years went by, the park collaborated with many NGOs and is always celebrated by Ammanis cultural and creative hubs. It is considered a successful example of an inclusive, secure public space in the accessible heart of the city.

Figure 52: The Central Location of 7 Hills Skate Park, Very Close to the Old Down Town of Amman. Source: Author, 2021.

The park is located near downtown Amman (see Figure 52) and is embraced by Jabal Webde and Jabal Amman. It is about 133 meters in length and its widest point is 65 meters, with a natural slope of 18 meters, offering a natural functional division in the form of platforms. The highest point offers great views of the park: you can see the majority of the park just by sitting there.
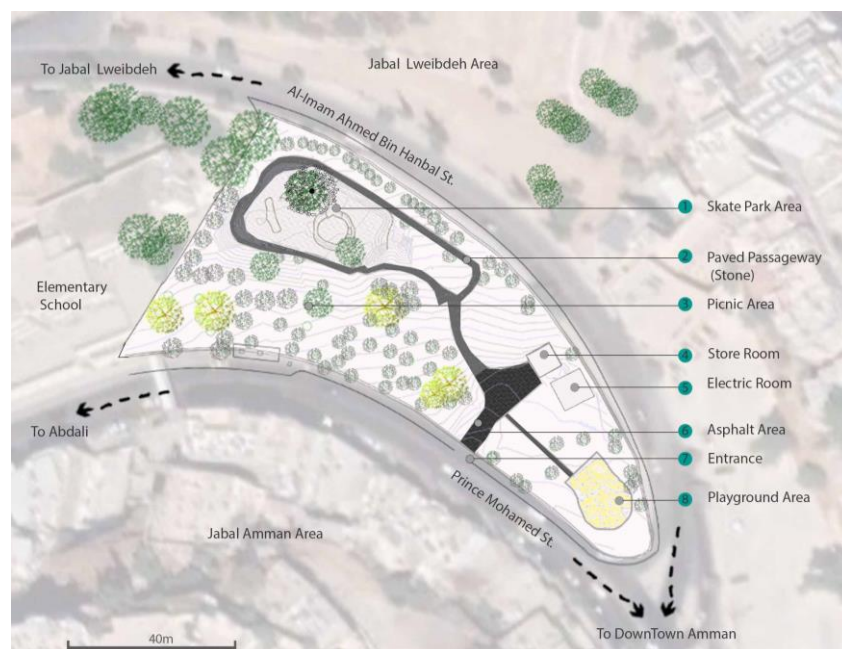
Figure 53: 7 Hills Skate Park plan with main zones. Source: Author, 2020.

Figure 53 illustrates zones of the park, part of the park is cement-covered and dedicated to skating. Next to the skating area is a soft space that has canopy trees and bushes, making it an appropriate picnic spot for users. The lower parts of the park host the storage and electricity rooms facing the park's only entrance, a sand playground, and a small asphalt area for parking for buses transporting refugees to their classes. All zones are connected by stone passageways leading to a circular passageway around the skating area.

The surrounding neighbourhoods (see Figure 54) have many pedestrian stairs pouring into the park site, which acts as a connection point for both neighbourhoods and the downtown.

Figure 54: Left: 7 Hills Skate Park from the Jabal Amman Side, Showing Prince Mohammed St. Leading to Downtown (Taken from Al-Imam Ahmed Bin Hanbal Street); Right: View from Prince Mohemmed St. Showing Jabal Lwebde Houses that Overlook the Park. Source: Author, 2019.

Figure 55, illustrates the park plan linked with images of different functional zones.

Figure 55: 7 Hills Park Plan and images of different functional zones. Source: researcher, 2019.

8.3. The 7 Hills Skate Park Scope of Activism

This section will explore the practice of the co-founders of the park, expand on activists as studied actors in this research (see Chapter 6), and discuss their operative role, perception towards refugees, funding, partnerships, weaknesses, barriers, and, finally strengths and areas of potential.

8.3.1. The Starting Point

Influenced by international visions, 7 Hills as an initial idea was 'building the first skatepark in Jordan'. Concepts of refugees' integration came later when the idea was proposed to funders. Then, the founders approached GAM with the idea, who was on-board and excited.

'We introduced the idea as a favour to the city, or a way to collaborate and help them.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

Before the skatepark, Zakaria worked as a photographer running a small shop for skating materials. He then met Kas, who was a foreign student at the time. Together, they started with the idea of an internationally funded skatepark— and when they saw how the surrounding spaces were being used, they realised the integrative potential of this park. Henceforth, their vision was expanded to embrace inclusivity and refugee integration—and with the help of other interested organisations, the park scope evolved and encompassed a focus on gender equality.

Nowadays, it is a meeting place for the Sudanese community, hosts a dedicated training program for children from the *Jerash* Palestinian Camp, and is reached by many NGOs for skating programs for Syrian, Iraqi, Somali, and Yemeni refugees. It is also a well-celebrated place as a result of the creative communities of activists and artists.

8.3.2. Roles

The activists in 7 Hills had multiple roles from the beginning of the process: first, they had connections with international skating NGOs, communicated tailoring the idea of the skatepark into the Jordanian context, sought and started the fund mechanism, designed the park, and even constructed it collaboratively with the local community.

Additional roles were added after the park's establishment, and today, they operate the park and conduct a weekly plan for programs, including skating and local community meetings. They are always reaching out for local partnerships, networking with local and international NGOs to promote the skating programs to refugee communities from different ethnicities and age groups and expanding their influence by connecting with the city and working on POS awareness.

8.3.3. Funding, Resources, and Partnerships

The 7 Hills small community was successful in securing different funding schemes: at first, this came in the form of crowdfunding that secured them with more than they asked for in constructing the skate park. After securing the crowdfunding, the team was confident enough to apply for international funds to implement the skating program, which was genuinely contributing towards refugees' integration.

Primarily, the activists were always involving the municipality when applying for funds and taking permissions for any change, but over time, they became more independent and started applying for separate funds and grants without having GAM on board for each step and with no prior mutual agreement with GAM—and because there are limitations in GAM's POS management, they were able to start conducting small changes to the park under the radar of the municipality. They found this helpful, as before, the long bureaucratic processes forced them to miss deadlines and the funds from the first place. For example, they completed a small extension of the skating area, which was funded by the public-private CSR, who asked for their logo to be painted on one of the walls as a mural (Figure 56).

Figure 56: The Extension of the Skating Area Funded by CSR; Brand Logos can be Found on a Bench as well as Painted on a Mural Beside the Extension. Source: Author, 2019.

However, they seek two types of funding: one concerns the annual costs for running the skating programs, the transportation for refugees from all over the city, skating equipment, and water; and the second is on a larger scale (to improve and conduct physical interventions). However, there was not a clear plan for improvement and the funds applied for were for sporadic use up until 2018.

Figure 57: The Skatepark during Field Work and Before any New Additions. Source: Author, 2019.

In 2018, the team's personal connections with Amman Design Week led to a city-wide launch of a design competition in partnership with GAM to propose ideas for designing the remaining areas of the park. The park formerly had no designated area other than the built skating area, a small old playground, and a storage area (Figure 57).

With time, a new grant officer was added to the team, and today, the team is constantly applying for funds from both international and local organisations, embassies, and companies. Lately, the team has been trying to build as many elements as possible from the final winning design by Synergy Designs (Figure 58)—and so far, they have succeeded in building a basketball court (funded by an American family), providing a sandpit donated by Amman Design Week, and providing a picnic table donated by a local philanthropist (Figure 59).

Figure 58: Plan and Conceptual Shot of Synergy Designs' Winning Design

Source: Amman Design Week 2018 Website.

Figure 59: The New Basketball Half Court, the Sandpit, and the Picnic Table. Source: 7 Hills' Instagram Page, 2019.

8.3.4. Perceptions of Refugees

From the beginning of the project till this very day, both Mohammed and Kas have been trying to break the cultural and socioeconomic barriers of the city and have kept integrating refugees in mind.

'Our community in large forgets that we are humans, we judge each other from the dialect, we have a difference between Jordanian tribes, then between Jordanian and Palestinian, then together against Syrians, and then all of us together against Sudanese. We forgot that we are all human beings, and we are all Arab.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

At first, the founders acknowledged they incorporated refugees' integration with the concept of the city's first skateboarding park for the international attention they might get when using the word 'refugee', as Mohammed Zakaria said, 'When we started, the word "refugee" was a very trendy word to use when asking for funds.

When the team secured the fund and received official permission to commence, they decided to choose a central and accessible location for both the refugee and local community. They also maintained their integrative intentions during the process of building the park. During this time, the team was open to local communities' ideas and collaboration. This openness led the park to be visible to the residents in the area, including urban refugees who are not registered with any NGO.

To increase the park's visibility to different refugee communities, they also reached out and connected with several organisations. For example, they have active collaborations with *Sawiyan* to involve Sudanese communities and with CRP to include Iraqi and Syrian refugees' children in the skating program (Figure 60).

Figure 60: Left: Sawiyan Community Meeting at 7 Hills; Right: CRP's Article on their Collaboration with 7 Hills. Source: Author (2019); CRP Website (2020)

When they cannot reach certain refugee communities or find any involved organisation, they initiate and try to establish connections with refugees themselves. For instance, they addressed the lack of attention given to non-Syrian refugees (like Yemenis and Palestinians) by reaching out and collaborating with an individual *Jerash* refugee camp to transport groups of Palestinian refugees weekly to the park.

'We also have other refugees than Syrian refugees in Amman!'

- Mohammed Zakaria

They wanted the locals to be involved as well, so they added a day for sessions called 'loner sessions', where many local skaters could pay for skating training sessions. This led to a full week of different sessions hosting a myriad of ethnic backgrounds, including locals from different social classes.

'You can see here children from the local community skating with expat children, with Sudanese, Yemenis, and Palestinian children and with sons of the royal family, all mingling and sharing spaces of this park.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

The team's experience with different ethnicities throughout the week helped them in understanding that this park means different things to different people, and led somehow to the creation of the first multicultural and miniature model of what this city represents (Figure 61).

'It is children skating day for Palestinian and Syrian children, but it is a family day for the Sudanese.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

Figure 61: 7 Hills Park Hosts a Range of Activities and Users from Different Ethnic Backgrounds. Source: Author, 2019.

8.3.5. Barriers

Many barriers were faced by the founders at different stages and points in time. The initial barriers concerned reaching GAM through connections, the process of seeking the funds, and the bureaucratic process of receiving the funds. However, ultimately, having internal GAM connections added to the foreigners on-board, in turn granting them more credibility and status for GAM and making funding more accessible.

'Having (white people) around really helped in achieving the idea, it gave the project more credibility in the eyes of the city. We had connections with a board member of the city, he took the project under his wing which was totally okay with us, if that is needed to get it build, why not!'

- Mohammed Zakaria

While implementing, the team was opposed by the community; their equipment got stolen more than once.

'The kids used to throw rocks at us at first. We understood that new cultures are always resisted at first. It was hard, but we were always trying be nice to people, and by time they accepted us.'

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- Mohammed Zakaria

With no prior cases of GAM-activist partnerships, the rights and responsibilities of both parties in such relationships were vague. The founders did not have (nor do they now have) a formal agreement with GAM. Zakaria referred to how convincing the municipality is tough, additional hardships only being faced when it comes to convincing the council of new ideas.

'We want to formalize ourselves, because GAM can come and destroy anything at any time, we want to do an official contract with them. You can see the different approaches between us and the city. When we first approached the city about the competition of the design, they said we already have a design in our minds for this park, I figured out that their design was to renovate the pathways and storage building only without any other thing touched or with no added facilities, they think renovating is designing.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

Operating the park comes with challenges, such as issues of racism, safety of children (as many come without parents), and the rebellious age group of some users.

'We sometimes notice racism among the kids, some of the kids will not skate with others because of their skin colour. What we did is we put a condition for them: you cannot play if you do not share the space with others.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

It is worth mentioning that this case is not representative of the other activists in the city, as they had multiple factors in their favour (e.g., enough cultural capital; having fresh ideas such as skating programs; connections with the

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city; already-established links with international funders and skating agencies).

8.3.6 Positive Contributions

The 7 Hills Skate Park is a pioneering model and multicultural public space. The park normalises the concept of city public spaces as spaces that are shared by different ethnic backgrounds and promotes the vast array of benefits of POS to refugees' lives and their integration.

'This space translates the multicultural spaces; I believe it is an actual public space. Skating as a sport combined with this open space is helping with their traumas, many Sudanese refugees told me it's a different space from school or work where they are not welcomed and called names about their skin colour. Racism is so deeply embedded in our culture, it was embedded in them, but we tried to stop that, and we saw a step-by-step change.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

Additionally, the team's trials to address the lack of pocket and neighbourhood parks extended to addressing safer public spaces for girls. They are introducing girls-only classes with their partner NGO Reclaim Childhood (Figure 62), with gradual attempts to break the taboo of having girls skating and acting freely in front of boys, having them take the role of empowered trainers for boys and ensuring they are respected in the space that is shared by them equally. We always ask our partner NGOs to bring an equal number of girls and boys to classes, and today, 45% of the classes are girls (Figure 63).

'7Hills is an exceptional organization, we are very grateful to work with them, we share mutual goals of empowering girls through sports.'

- Reclaim Childhood Jordan Director

Figure 62: Left: Female Trainer in the Leadership Program; Right: Reclaim Childhood Girls Only Skating Classes. Source: Reclaim Childhood Instagram Page (2020).

'*When the bus transporting refugee arrived, and they started getting down from the bus. I turned to Zakaria surprised and said: oh my god, girls! He nodded and said proudly: 'girl numbers are increasing day by day, and if you notice they are sent without their parents, they trust us now.'*

-Fieldnote, 2019.
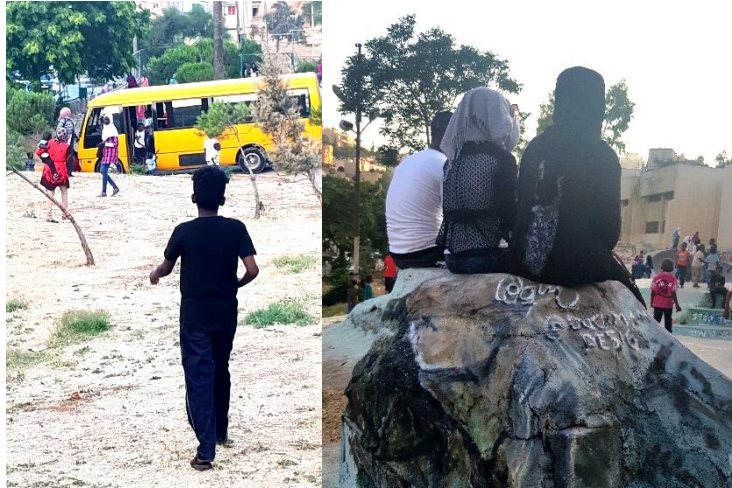
Figure 63: Female Users Constitute a High Percentage (About 45%) of the Total Number of Seven Hills Skate Park Users. Source: Author, 2019.

'The boys at first were shocked and were not very civilised in the girls-only classes. But now, they became friends, skating together, having fun together, and we are.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

The park is also beneficial for male teenagers and boys from all ethnic groups, giving them a safe space where they do not feel rejected, as the majority of the city spaces are, to Zakaria, discriminating towards boys of a certain age and class.

'All the spaces are rejecting these boys, their feelings of rejection turn into wasting free time in nothing, in the street making problems and without encountering women they start sexually harassing women, they have energy that is wasted. Boy youngsters from a certain class are labelled badly by the city, I do not want that here! there has to be a welcoming space for them.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

It is worth mentioning that the founders' personal connections and partnerships added to the success of this park, artists choose it as a venue for

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their murals (Figure 64), and the majority of organisations are now reaching out to collaborate and be part of this effective model.

Figure 64: Artists Painting New Murals on the Park Surfaces. Source: Author, 2019.

'We work with creative activists such as 7 Hills folks to activate public spaces and stage them, we are inspired by their collaborative approaches.'

- ILCA Team member / ILCA

'The murals are opened; we see the park as an open canvas.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

Nowadays, 7 Hills collaborates in producing an international sound project, 7 Hills the Movie, photography programs, a gardening program, and many other short-term programs supported by NGOs, research articles, and TV channels such as National Geographic and Al Jazeera. Newspapers also write about the park (Figure 65).

'We consider 7 Hills Park an inspiring practice, for its social diversity, bottom up design, community engagement, high community agency, and the inclusion of both tangible and intangible activities.'

- UN-Habitat Project Manager

Figure 65: Left: International researchers conducting a sound project in the park. Source: Author, 2019. Right: Media reporting on 7-Hills as displayed on 7-Hills Website.

The park can also be considered a precedent for its bottom-up approach in POS projects, and the rare collaborative relationship between the municipality and its citizens. Also, the park is a rare example of the community-engaged method in action—a method that in this case has succeeded in building lasting relationships with the surrounding community.

'The word community is really important to this park. We build the skate park in 3 weeks, do you see that kid over there (pointing on a teenager who is (now) a youth leader training others) he is from the local community, he was here from day 1 of construction- he volunteered- he lives in a building overlooking the park.'

\- Mohammed Zakaria

Now, the park is running independently, without the need for any sort of intervention. The skating program is operating in the park autonomously and without the help of the founders, who assigned a group of locals and refugees (both girls and boys) as trainers in the leadership program.

'The leadership program is super cool because the kids are passing on their skills, but they're getting paid with skateboards which keeps them coming and keeps a sustainable skate scene. When we are not in Jordan. the leaders were operating and

running the classes and took care of any invoice that needed to be paid. This organization is now able to run itself autonomously.'

- Mohammed Zakaria

8.3.7. Potential for Future Improvement

Being endorsed by the council, the people and the organisations consider the park a successful case of multicultural celebration. This can promote a new nature of community-led and integrative public space.

'We are at GAM very happy with this collaboration, and we encourage such partnerships.'

- Engineering Director (GAM)

'Younger generation of arts and urban activism, to bring up issues to highlight POS as economic engines and places for happiness.'

- Local Landscape Architect

Concepts like more girls being outdoors and a park that runs itself can encourage the replication of this model somewhere else in the city. The founders narrating the full story step-by-step and being open to collaboration would make it easier for the communities to venture and propose new ideas, taking into consideration the factors behind 7 Hills' success (see Figure 66)—regardless of whether its success is down to the involvement of the community, the local scale of the project, or the fact that it is by and for the community *without* having the municipality involved.

'We would love to replicate this elsewhere, but first we still have many steps to do here in this model! We do want to start somewhere else, make it sustainable and pick

a new starting point. But do not forget 7 Hills is successful because we are still monitoring and managing it. We want to model for CSR companies to replicate space adaptation projects. We would love to share the knowledge of constructing 7 hills to others and enrich our grand vision of enhancing Amman public spaces.'

- Mohammed Zakaria
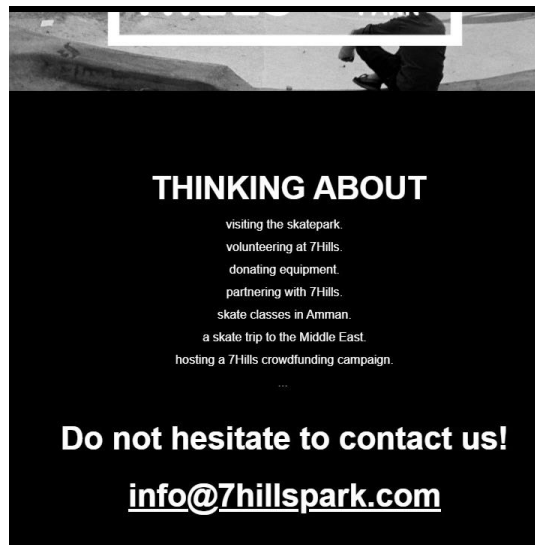
Figure 66: 7 Hills Calling Other Actors to All Forms of Collaboration on their Website.
Source: 7 Hills Website (2020)

8.4. Refugees' Urban Experiences at 7 Hills Skate Park

8.4.1. Usage Patterns

The park hosts many different users, including refugees, weekly for skating lessons, including residents from Jabal Amman and Jabal Lwebde and local skaters from all over the city. With time, the park has also started attracting researchers from different disciplines, artists, and ex-pats.

The park users vary in terms of age, gender, and ethnic group, and this variety is reflected in the different simultaneous usage patterns. Figure 67 shows one ethnographic scene captured in one of my visits in June 2019: during the skating class for Sudanese refugees, boys and girls gathered at the skating area while their parents picnicked beside them and supervised toddlers, who

were climbing the juxtaposed skating edges. Teenage girls meanwhile gathered at the higher border of the skating area, dancing freely to their large speakers. Other male and female teenagers were hanging out and sitting at a raised cement area, viewing the skating lessons. Some girls brought homework. Other teenage girls were supervising their siblings at the skating area. The skating area has an elevated canopy tree, and some Dutch researchers were conducting a sound project there. At the highest end of the picnic area, Sawiyyan (an NGO representing Sudanese refugees in Amman) held their community representative meeting under camphor trees, which some children were collecting leaves from and bringing to their mothers at the picnic area. The storage area was simultaneously being freshly painted with murals by a local artist. Behind the storage and electricity room, boys were playing hide-and-seek and climbing the store area, running to and from the playground, where the girls were queuing to play. The soft area beside the playground (being the first thing you see when entering the park) was a strategic spot for Sudanese women to offer their local products for sale and celebrate a child's birthday at the same time.

An Ethnpgraphic Scene
Simulatenous Activites at 7 Hills Park

Saturday, 22nd of June, 2019.

Girls listening to music

Dancing

Sounds Project by Dutch researchers

More Refugees Arriving

Climbing

Sitting and observing Passers-by

Doing Homework

Collecting Camphor Leaves

Artist spray painting the storage walls

Sawiyyan (NGO) Weekly meeting

Free Skating

Elderly Sleeping

Boys playing hide and seek

Picnic

Skating Lesson

40m

Sudanese Products for sale

Birthday Celebration

Playground

Figure 67: An ethnographic scene at 7 Hills showing simultaneous uses of the park. Source: Author, 2019.

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An implicit spatial distribution of usage patterns across different age groups and ethnicities can be traced from these observations (see Figure 68). Teenage girls mostly hang around at the edges of the skatepark, while younger girls are either skating or in the playground and women are in the picnic areas. Teenage boys meanwhile mostly skate in the skatepark, and the smaller boys either skate or free play beside the playground.

It is worth mentioning that this is not a single or composite recording, but is rather a visual representation of common patterns of use observed in the park over time.
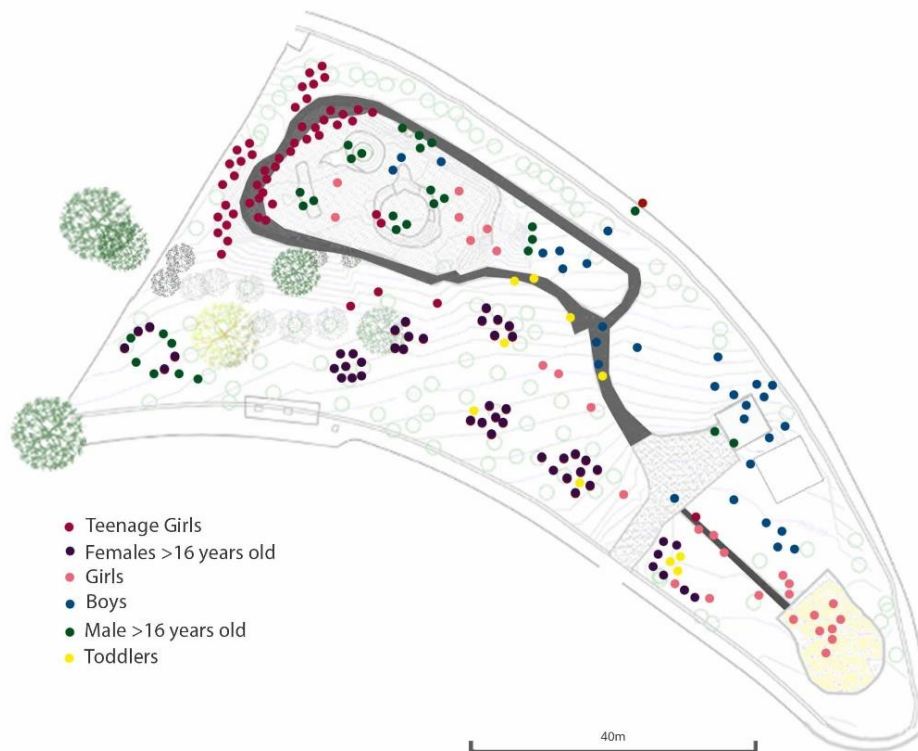
Figure 68: Approximate Spatial Distribution of Users across Age and Gender. Source: Author, 2020.

It was not only the materiality of the park or the programmed activities of skating that facilitated these patterns: it was also the objects brought from home that created the experience I observed in 7 Hills. Women bring floral picnic mats with mugwort tea (famous in Sudan) and dates. The Sudanese products they bring (such as Henna and

Musk Dalka) add colours and scents to the entrance area, which contributes greatly to the sensory experience in the park, complemented by the camphor leaves collected by the children, which arouse nostalgic feelings. Add to the scene sounds of tripping skateboards, and you are reminded that this skating represents life as an experience and trial and error—as does the music coming from the loudspeakers and the chatter from the different groups. Celebratory objects like balloons and cake portray the eventful sides of the park, as does the appropriating of objects brought from home (see Figure 69), such as a bamboo chair or a large pavement tile to create benches that compensate for its paucity.

Figure 69: A Collage Showing the Different Objects Brought from Home to the Park, Including Sudanese Products, Balloons, Bamboo Chairs, Collected Camphor Leaves, Music Speakers, and Mugwort Tea. Source: Author, 2021.

8.4.2. Meeting Akifa: Reconstructing a Conversation at 7 Hills

This section is dedicated to a fleeting conversation that took place during my third visit to the park and was worthy of mention.

During my last visits to the park, I started to look more familiar to the Sudanese refugees attending the Saturday classes regularly. While walking around the picnic area, Akifa (thirty-two years old) invited me and my friend to drink tea with her and her neighbour Natheera (eighty-three years old). They brought a floral blue picnic mat with them and mugwort tea. Figure 70 illustrates my tea at 7 Hills Park which included conversations about traditional cuisines led to personal discussions about backgrounds, politics, and what 7 Hills Skate Park means to Akifa and her family. Later, Mariam (thirty-seven years old, a Sudanese committee member at Sawiyyan) followed when her meeting was finished (as mentioned in the previous section, Sawiyyan conducts committee meetings regularly at the park).

Akifa, who fled from Darfur's civil war to Amman six years ago, lives today in Jabal Webde with her husband and three children. She works as a Henna painter at parties (applying Henna involves dying skin in artful ornaments as part of cultural celebration). Her husband is a cleaner who works informally. She avoids talking about his work in detail.

She came to know about 7 Hills' skating lessons from her Sudanese neighbour working at Sawiyyan. The company for her children and the frequency of her visits made her a regular visitor who has built relationships with much of the Sudanese community.

Now and then, Akifa invites Natheera with her for tea at the park. She thinks walking down the hill to the park is a great exercise for the old lady. Akifa discussed her happiness when she looks at her children learning and spending great time outdoors. She perceives the park as an opportunity that is free of charge yet enjoyable.

'I always bring extra teacups to invite people who approach us for conversations, to us 7 Hills is an event, and when lessons are cancelled sometimes, we still come. We love to see fellow Sudanese, it is like the meeting point of the two Niles. I feel comfortable here, we take our shoes off as if we are home, see!' (Pointing to their shoes on the side of the mat). - Akifa

Tea at 7 Hills Park

Hala   Farah   Mariam

Natheera   Akifa

7 Hills Park, Amman
June, 2019

Figure 70: Meeting women at 7 Hills Park. Source: Author, 2019.

Natheera loves the fresh air. She prefers to take her shoes off, feel comfortable, and have her outdoor naps under the tree, as this reminds her of her garden back home (See Figure 71).

Figure 71: Left: Natheera Napping at the Picnic Area, where Akifa's Children Keep their Belongings Around Her; Right: Akifa is Serving us Mugwort Tea. Source: Author: 2019.

While talking about the tea and how different ethnicities have different herbs infused in their teas (see Figure 71, right), Akifa mentioned her Syrian neighbour and said it would be great if she could join them next time. Apparently, the Syrian neighbour is not aware of 7 Hills' existence, and when I asked Akifa about it, she said, 'Saturdays at 7 Hills is more of a Sudanese space and bonding time. Talking with you two [referring to me and my friend, both Jordanian] nudged the idea of inviting her. This place is for everyone!'

To Akifa, 7 Hills Skate Park and this model of locals managing the park reminds her of neighbourhood parks in Khartoum, where she lived before moving to Darfur, and how they were managed by active community participation.

'Akifa is a very warm person. She is talkative, open, and comfortable while talking. She wanted to share her experience. She was very happy when she talked about Sudanese recipes, she is very proud of who she is. Natheera, was very sceptical at first. She was very calm and did not speak much. She smiled on my jokes, as she understands Arabic really well. But when she speaks, she only addresses Akifa and with their second language (Daju). Mariam was very confident, strong, she talked with us, she seems stronger than any other woman in that park.'

- Field Notes (2019)

8.4.3. The Meaning and Perception of POS to Refugees

To the refugees that I have met, 7 Hills is considered an accessible space. For some, it is a walking distance from home, and for others, it is a destination with available transportation provided by local NGOs, who collect them from local neighbourhood points, such as a famous bakery in Jabal Amman or a major circle in Jabal Lwebde. It is a free-of-charge place, an event in its own right, and a place where they belong and feel equal. The park is their own friendly space—a place that is representative and where children can see trainers who look like them and successful role models who

work as members in an NGO that is responsible for their community in many ways. It is the place of economic activity, where their agency appears in the form of objects brought from home and collected from the park. It is a place that feels like a theme park for children, and they receive training via curated sessions that have much value. Here, a non-gendered atmosphere, where female movement in the presence of any male is not stigmatised and is normal, is cultivated, as is a diverse place where they meet refugees, ex-pats, and locals from different areas in Jordan and the world.

8.4.4. Values Given to Outdoor POS Experiences

The park constitutes a major part of their life and weekly routine: they socialise and spend time with family and encounter new people from different ethnicities there (whether Syrian, Sudanese, Jordanian, Palestinian, Yemeni, Iraqi, Filipino, German, or American). The park provides a space where people are not perceived as refugees, but as different and multicultural, and where they can have the opportunity to discuss differences and culture. The skating lessons for refugees add great value to the park, empowering children with skills and new hobbies, and a leadership program that can be inspiring for many children. The park as an example inscribes many emancipatory values for women and lauds acceptance and inclusion. Scenes of girls dancing freely, women sleeping comfortably, and all children being trained equally (by a teenage girl, too) populate this space.

At 7 Hills Skate Park, refugees demonstrate a great sense of belonging and ownership, meeting their own communities, translating Ruffin's (2020) description of 7 Hills as an 'Open Wall' that anyone can tag or paint without permission. 7 Hills granted refugees the boldness to treat the park as their own, running birthday parties, selling products, and cleaning the litter from the park.

To refugees, the park compensates for the inadequate homes by being a great space for fresh air and exercise, or a potential place where they can grow local plants from home. Relatively, the camphor leaves in the park instigate nostalgic feelings with their unique scent.

Many parents at the park discussed the high rates of bullying against their children at schools, and how the park is a place that normalises children of different ethnicities playing together.

8.4.5. Obstacles and Problems for Refugees' Outdoor Experiences

The refugees mentioned the need for toilets, more and better playing facilities, swings, and canopies for the sun. One major problem is that children tend to leave the park and dangerously cross the street to go to the supermarket to get things to eat and drink. Hence, the need for barriers from the street for younger children and a pedestrian zebra line for them to cross and road bumps to decrease the cars' speed is a great one.

Many refugees discussed that the park has the potential to offer more than skating. They accordingly voice the need for richer activities for all age groups. It is worth mentioning that when I met them in 2019, they all mentioned basketball, a sandpit, and benches for picnics—and all these needs were met in 2020: the park today has these facilities.

One major obstacle preventing refugee communities from knowing of the park either is that they must hear of it through a collaborating NGO or word of mouth. Hence, there is a great need to address the lack of the refugee community's knowledge about the available opportunities for them, such as those presented by the skating program at 7 Hills.

Finally, although Zakaria acknowledges that 'the tragedy of Amman's diversity is that its diaspora communities often do not get to know one other', the classes at 7 Hills segregate different ethnicities each in a separate day. This may be due to capacity, but other measures could be put in place to integrate different ethnicities per session.

8.4.6 Detected Forms of Agency

The park hosts patterns of use that are fresh and sometimes unexpected. These patterns emerged with the help of the predefined programs to curate activities and sociabilities. For example, the creation of the Sudanese open-air market to sell products, or bringing bamboo furniture from home, collecting aromatic leaves and planting some trees. Such practices are contributing to the socio-spatial production of the space. Activists at 7 Hills play a major role in granting refugees the boldness to

treat the park as their own, running birthday parties, selling products, and cleaning the litter from the park to keep it clean for next time. These practices are reflecting new forms of agency that will be explored more in Chapter 10 as forms of *Gentle Insurgency*.

8.5. Conclusion

The previous chapter provided in detail an ethno-case that gave an account of the role of activism in changing specific outdoor places in the city. It has also provided detail regarding how this is experienced by the visitors of the park. In particular, I focused on socio-spatial understandings of usage patterns and meanings for refugees of different backgrounds and ages through exploring the ethnographic insights about their experiences at the skatepark.

In reflecting on my visits to 7 Hills Skate Park, I found myself drawing on the work of Low's (2017) *Spatializing Culture*—in particular how refugees in the park are part of social construction processes that encompass the cultural and symbolic dimensions of placemaking. Also, this ethno-case relates to the work of Lownsbrough & Beunderman (2007), who dubbed spaces like 7 Hills Skate Park as spaces of potential that enhance social capital. Therefore, this ethno-case can be a good potential addition as a case from MENA to Aelbrecht & Stevens' (2019) book, which presents worldwide case studies that combine public spaces and social cohesion.

7 Hills Skate Park ticks all the boxes of Rishbeth *et al.*'s (2019) 'curating sociabilities': the park provides regularity, activity, and purpose to refugees, and, in turn, influences their integration process. This ethno-case also demonstrates the two types of agency mentioned previously (see Chapter 3): the secondary intentional agency of the co-founders' role (they have the knowledge and creative means to create and manage different park activities), and the unintentional agency of refugees and their ways in shaping their integration.

In the discussion (Chapter 10), I discuss the developed ideas and approaches that have been informed by this ethno-case—in particular refugees' forms of agency in the park and how 7 Hills Skate Park as a curated park provides much potential for them to amplify their agency. I also expand on how these gentle practices and forms of agencies are of potential.

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Chapter 9: Refugees at the Hashemi Shamali Neighborhood: The Hangout

9.1. Introduction

This section displays the findings of an ethno-case conducted in Hashemi Shamali Neighborhoud to understand refugees' urban experiences in public outdoor spaces (POS). The chapter provides a closer look into Syrian and Iraqi refugees' everyday urban experiences of neighborhood POS. It is important to note that the weight of analysis for each ethno-case differs due to the data collection method used, its extensiveness, and the scale of each site: the Hashemi case is multi-sited and -scalar, while the 7 Hills case is bounded in the park's periphery. Whilst the case in Hashemi involved curated encounters with refugees, in 7 Hills, I was able to actually sit down on multiple occasions and have fleeting (and sometimes extended) conversations with the refugees in the park.

The main accounts added in this chapter are of places and spaces that emerged as important to refugees through the course of the hangouts. Here, I organise them by typography (see section 9.3), but what is notable is that in many ways refugees valued places that are complex and nuanced with regard to usual descriptions of public – private space, and of non-bounded understandings of the urban environment. The accounts aim to describe these places from the perspectives and voices of refugees, reflecting what is of interest and value to them, but are in most cases places which are essentially multi-cultural, used by local residents Jordanians, migrant and refugees.

What emerges is an insight into the everyday lives of refugee residents of Hashemi as taking place in a range of mundane urban spaces, capturing something of their usage patterns in these spaces, the meaning and perception of POS to them, the values given to POS experience, and barriers they find in their outdoor experience and connecting with POS.

It should be highlighted that the findings related to the Hashemi case helped in forming a report of recommendations to Collateral Repair Project (CRP) as a community centre on how to enhance and facilitate refugees' everyday experience in their neighbourhood and connect its outdoor spaces to them (see Appendix D).

9.2. Methodology and Context

This ethno-case study, which involved studying Syrian and Iraqi refugees' perceptions of local public outdoor spaces (POS), seeks to understand their everyday experiences in their neighbourhood Hashemi Shamali, with a focus on social encounters in these spaces. The research took an ethnographic approach, 'hanging out' with refugees from different age groups, ethnic backgrounds, religions, and gender. 10 participants in total were recruited with the help of a community centre in the neighbourhood. As such, the findings are not comprehensive and should not be generalised. However, they *do* provide a deeper insight into this topic, and in doing so, highlight some connections with other themes of refugee integration and other neighbourhoods within Amman.

9.2.1. Neighborhood Selection

The selection of the neighbourhood was dependent on the concentration of the urban refugees living there and relied heavily on the ease of access to the neighbourhood and simplicity of refugees' recruitment. Accordingly, the Hashemi Shamali neighbourhood was selected, since it is a neighbourhood located in the Basman area. Basman is an area with the highest number of refugees in Amman based on the most recent Greater Amman Municipality census (2015). It is one of the most vulnerable and dense areas in Amman, with a total area of 13.4sq km. The total population in Hashemi Shamali is about 100,000, 35.7% of which being non-Jordanians, Syrian refugees constituting 12.95% of the total population (see Table 18).

Table 18: Basman's (Hashemi Shamali) Population of Jordanians and non-Jordanians. Source: DoS, 2015.

Jordanians	Syrians	Other Nationalities	Total Population
65,957	13,256	23,443	102,656

The Department of Statistics (DoS) (2015) also produced a heat map (see Figure 72) that shows the high concentration of Syrian refugees within Amman subdistricts—specifically the Basman subdistrict, including the Hashemi Shamali neighbourhood. The red colour indicates the highest intensity, while the green indicates lower intensity.
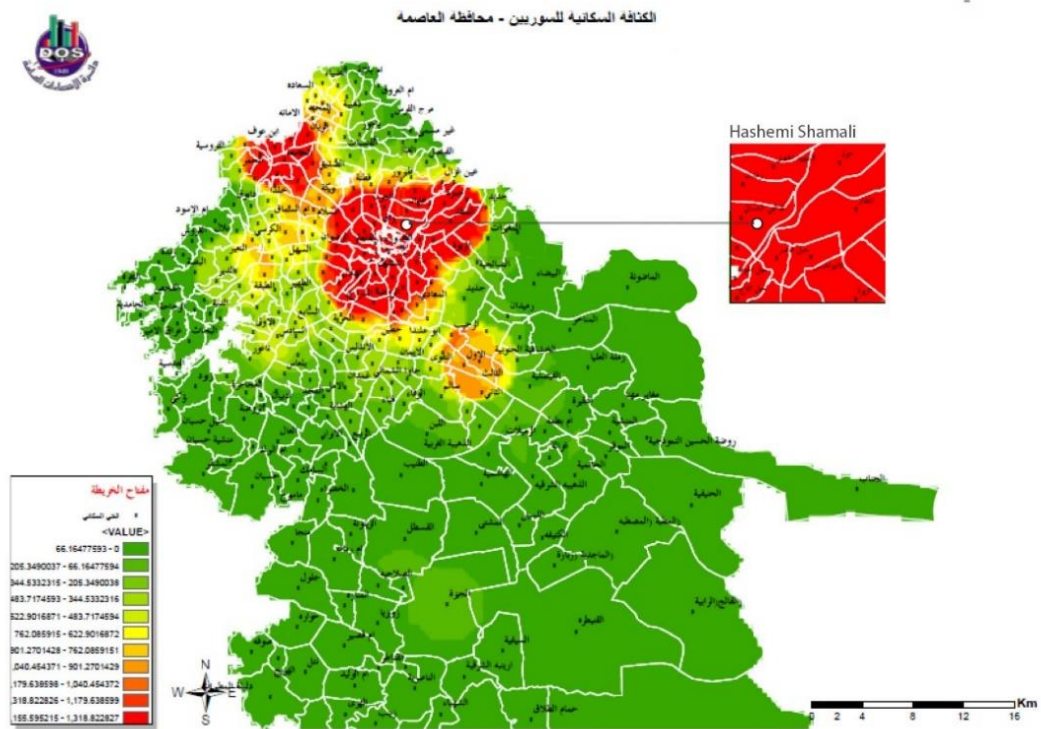
Figure 72: Heat Map for Syrian Refugees' Intensity in Amman. Source: DoS, 2015.

Hashemi Shamali is a low-income neighbourhood in the eastern part of Amman (see Figure 73), with a very high population density that is identified often by the national authorities as a 'poverty pocket' (Habersky, 2016). The word 'Hashemi' is notably derived from the Hashemite royal family, and Shamali indicates the north position of the mountain (Jabal). Although its weather of heat and sunshine resembles the desert in the summer, it has freezing winters, with considerable levels of snowfall. Famous for its numerous markets and small malls, it has been considered a refugee hub in recent years.

Refugees agglomerate in Hashemi for the cheap rent in the derelict multistorey cement blocks. Hashemi hosts disadvantaged Jordanians, Syrian refugees, and had

already hosted deprived Iraqi refugees before the Syrian conflict (Pavanello &
Haysom, 2012). Offering access to a high level of services with low costs, it has many
schools, a hospital, several health centres, mosques, and a church. Also, it is
considered as an NGO cluster, with many organisations, childhood centres, and
community centres offering help to nearby communities and refugees. These services,
which are available within walking distance, are major drivers in refugees ultimately
deciding to reside in Hashemi.

Figure 73: Left: Hashemi Shamali's Location in Amman; Right: The Hashemi Shamali
Neighbourhood. Source: Author (2019).

9.2.2 Gaining Access

Access to the neighbourhood was gained with the help of a community centre, located
in the centre of Hashemi, called the Collateral Repair Project (CRP) (see Figure 74).
CRP is an American NGO in Amman that was established in 2006, with programs on
community-building, trauma relief, emergency assistance, and education. After
several meetings and discussions with the partnership officer and the monitoring and
evaluation officer, a memorandum of understanding was formed (see Appendix E). In
this collaboration, CRP helped me in gaining access, facilitating contact, and
recruiting participants, while I kept updating them throughout the hangout period in
August 2019 about the details about the hangout, such as time, location, and routes of

movement—and in November 2019, a detailed report about the findings of the hangout was sent to them.

Figure 74: CRP Community Centre in Hashemi; Right: An Alleyway in Hashemi Shamali. Source: Author, 2019.

In July 2019 and before the collaboration, I conducted an onboarding course to understand the main regulations of the facility and staff and their philosophy. Afterward, I gained access to one class called 'volunteering and social initiatives' at the community centre in Hashemi Shamali. The class was hosting adults who were either vulnerable Jordanian or refugees (mainly Syrian and Iraqi adults). At the class, I was given some time to explain the nature of my research and the details of the hangout, highlighting that this research was done in a separate manner than the body of CRP, and asked if anyone is interested. At the end of the class, a paper went around the room, and I received eight interested participants in my study, two of them ultimately being excluded as they were not refugees.

I started with these six participants, and later on, they referred to others, the careful selection of the remaining four participants coming about as a result of the intersectionality and the concentration on women, families with younger children, varying nationalities, the elderly, and teenagers needed in this research.

To manage anonymity and confidentiality but keeping the personal nature of this study, pseudo names are used, not participant numbers, for the participants. Table 19 shows here the details of the participants, including the number of times we met and how they were recruited for participation.

Table 19: Details of the participants, number of times we met, and how they were recruited to participate. Source: Author, 2019.

Participant name	Nationality	Gender	Age	Children	No. Of hangouts	Recruitment nature and day
Buthaina	Iraqi	F	32	Single mother of three	1 time + exercise	CRP
Akram and kholood	Iraqi	Family	47 and 41	Four children (8 and 14 years old)	2 times + exercise	CRP
Nayef and ebtissam	Iraqi	Family	40 and 38	Two children (6, 8, 11, and 13 years old)	3 times	CRP
Amjad	Iraqi	M	37	-	2 times + exercise	CRP
Amer	Syrian	M	55	Two sons and two daughters (12, 27, 24, and 26 years old)	1 time	CRP
Maram	Syrian	F	42	Mother of three (18 and 22 years old)	2 times + exercise	CRP
Hanan	Syrian	F	60	Mother of five (19, 22, 28, 35, and 42 years old)	1 time	Referred by a participant
Raya	Syrian	F	20	Mother of three (4, 6, and 8 years old)	2 times	Referred by a participant
Mira	Syrian	F	18	-	2 times	Referred by a participant
Yaman	Iraqi	M	14	-	2 times	Referred by a participant

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9.2.3 The Hang out Method

The deep hanging out and accompanied walks was a localised, long-term, close-in, vernacular field procedure (Geertz, 1998) that provides a wealth of detail to a body of research. During August and September 2019, I hung out with three families and seven participants in a combination of public spaces and informal neighbourhood spaces during the daytime in Hashemi Shamali. I hung out with them while they completed some of their mundane activities, such as buying groceries, walking to work, attending a lecture, etc (see Figure 75).

I intended to hang out with them all at least twice, except for three participants. The starting point of all the first hangouts would be the outdoor garden of CRP community centre, then to the different parts of the neighbourhood : whether it is a nearby park, the souq, another community centre or a park recommended by the participant.

Figure 75: Pictures of Some Hangouts in Different Places (the Souq, the Park, and the Vegetable Shop at the Mall). Source: Author (2019)

During the second hangouts with the participants, the focus was their daily visits to mundane informal open spaces. Sometimes this was their own garden or roof, or to their near grocer.

Some participants were not open to a second hangout, while others invited me more than once to hang out in the places they like in the neighbourhood—or sometimes to their homes. In addition, due to the limitation of not being able to hang out during the night for safety reasons, I developed an exercise for the refugees who were willing to participate to help me in picturing the settings and nature of the participants' night outdoor activities. During the exercise, some participants sent images while they were out *without* describing it.

During all the hangouts, different discussions about life unrelated to the research took place, as the research was not outcome-oriented but rather prioritised keeping it natural, though I tried to raise questions about emerging incidents or places as probes to discuss more topics within the scope of research. Reasonably, I did not take any type of recording equipment and has completed all field notes directly after the hangout when in the car. The field notes were a combination of notes and sketches, and sometimes, I went back to the same place to take photos of the place. The initial field notes were mainly in Arabic and unorganised manner, with the exception of my personal reflections, which were recorded separately from the collected data from the site of participants. Later, the notes were desk-transcribed and saved in a safe drive.

9.3 Settings and Places Framing Refugees' Experiences in Hashemi Shamali

The hangout provided a way to discover and generate local knowledge and understandings concerning how the participating refugees perceive, use, and see POS in their neighbourhood. This section covers the places that prominently framed the narratives of the participating refugees and were bonded with their everyday practices, ranging from urban spaces to transitory neighbourhood spaces such as sidewalks and stairs and including semi-private spaces such as their domestic gardens, balconies, and shared roofs. It is important to state that the places exemplified here are not equally rich, and some will be more detailed depending on what was used and discussed more by the participants.

Figure 76 illustrates the different urban spaces used by refugees and the hangout zone, which included (local market). Other spaces were the Bab Al Wad and Prince Hashim parks, NGOs' outdoor areas such as CRP's courtyard and Queen Zain Al Sharaf Institute for Development (ZEIND) outdoor facilities, the Abu Jassar football pitch, the neighbourhood outdoor communal areas (*Al Hara*), and the connected network of sidewalks, alleyways, and stairs.
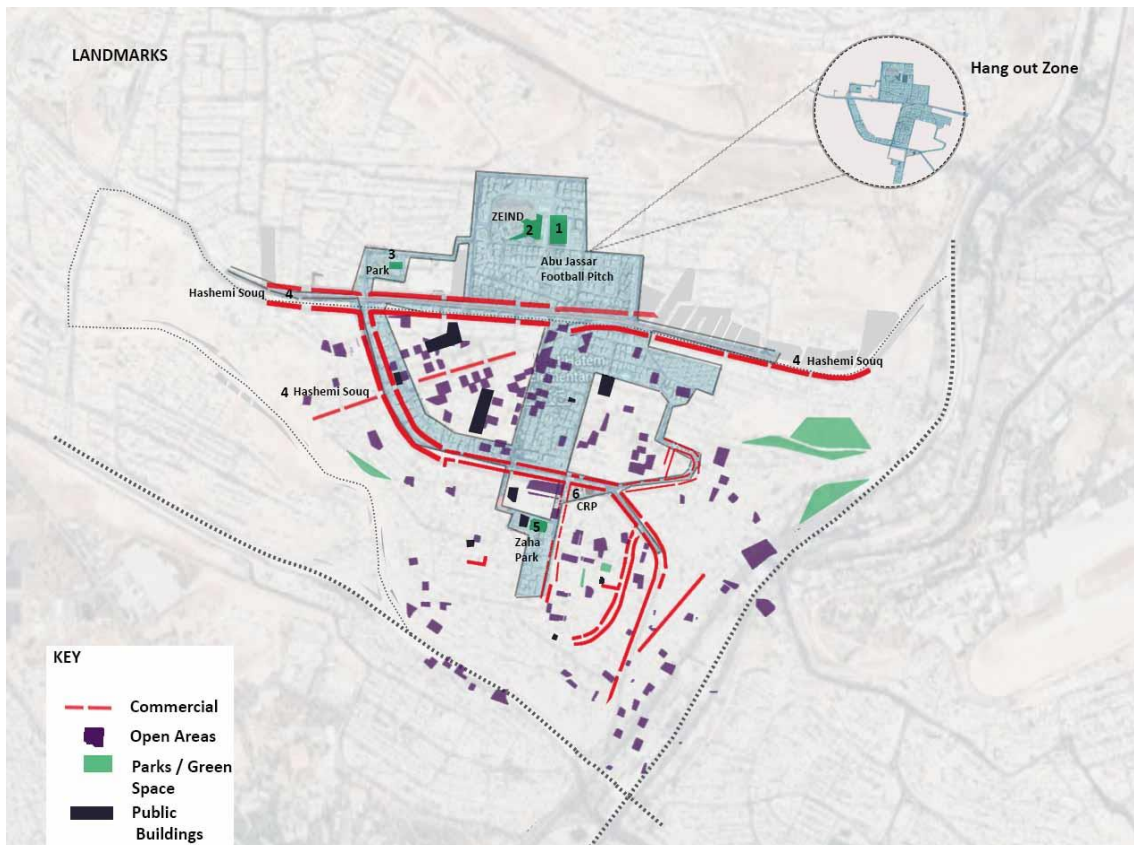
Figure 76: Hashemi Shamali Neighborhood Map; the Areas Highlighted in Blue were Visited During Several Hangouts, Including the Parks, Streets, Sidewalks, and Markets; the CRP Community Centre was the Starting Point of Many of these Hangouts. Source: Author, 2021.

Hashemi Shamali is bordered from two sides by main roads like Al Jaish and Al Istiqlal, connecting it to surrounding city areas such as downtown, Marka, and Tabarbour. It is also bordered by one of its main shopping streets that create the souq (Al Bathaa' Street), along with the main road cutting through the neighbourhood (see Figure 77). This souq is formed by these strong intersecting edges penetrating and defining Hashemi Shamali, and with their continuous form, they hold together a

network of secondary roads and alleys leading to different districts (smaller neighbourhoods) with varying importance to refugees and locals but that can be only recognisable to people familiar with Hashemi.

Figure 77: The Hashemi Souq; Left: Prince Rashid Bin Al Hassan St.; Right: Al Batha'a St.

Source: Author (2019)

Neighbourhoods are organically integrated within the souq and can be distinguished by the gradation of publicness when moving from the souq towards them. Neighbourhoods notably, vary in terms of their openness and tolerance to strangers, and each has a distinctive identity and implicit borders only insiders know, defining it as a hara of its own. The most prominent districts are the Old Iskan (the Old Housing) area, and several residential areas such as Nayfeh, Abu Jassar, Al Atrak, the areas surrounding Service Line 15, and Hay Al Zaghateet (see Figure 78).
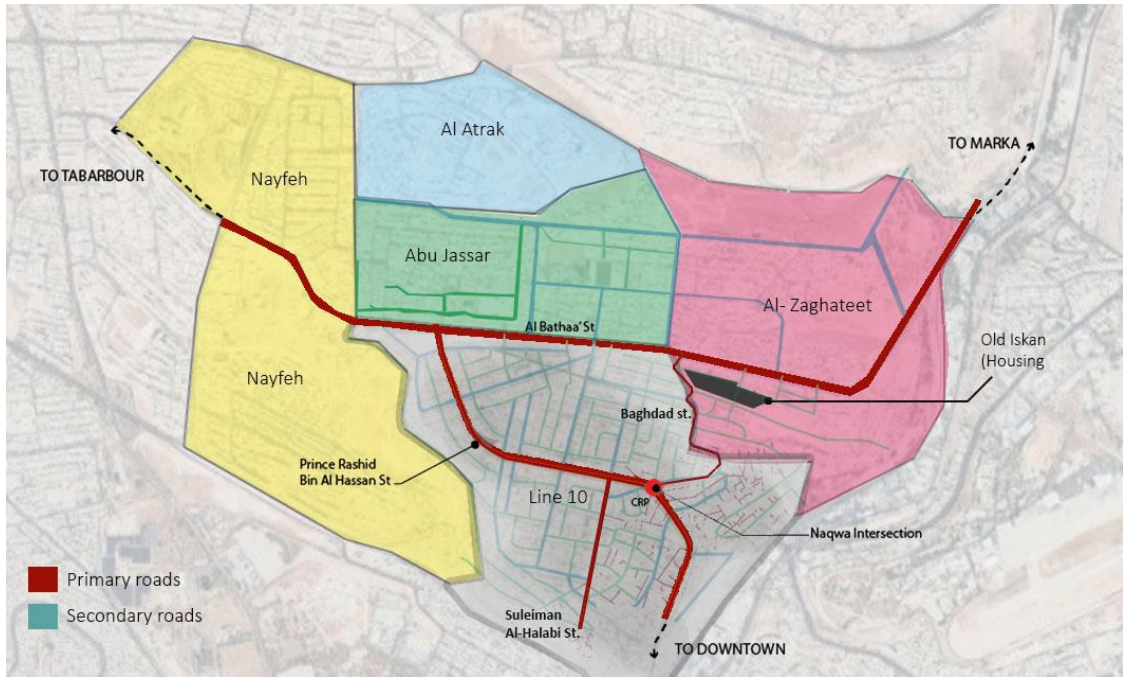
Figure 78: Neighbourhoods in Hashemi Shamali. Source: Author, 2019.

The boundaries of districts have no beginning or end; they highly overlap with other neighbourhoods. Districts are formed by a network of secondary streets connecting to the main borders of Hashemi, tertiary roads, and alleyways. In secondary streets, the majority of these areas are commercial, with residential apartments at the top and single houses generally located in territory streets and alleys. Both secondary and territory streets have slower car speeds, while alleyways can only be accessed by pedestrians.

The main landmarks in the area are mostly key buildings in the souq, such as shopping centres, health centres, and large governmental schools, or certain streets that have an idiosyncratic identity of their own, like the non scripted street recognised to many migrants as Baghdad Street, famous for its Iraqi shops.

The souq, which is the main shopping street, hosts many famous restaurants which are clearly landmarks to refugees, such as the famous Hum Hum, and Al-Haneeni. Some malls like Izmir Mall and Jaber Mall are also considered major landmarks, as they act like self-contained destinations with a huge number of commercial activities and commercialised play areas for children. Shops like Tufaha Bakery and Anabtawi Sweets are notable landmarks in the souq. Refugees also tend to use them as journey-starters and ending points on their journeys.

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Public services such as health centres, schools, and municipality buildings are very accessible and located along secondary roads. Non-governmental organisations are clustered within the neighbourhoods, some being distinguishable from the large signage and high fences that maximise their introversion (CARE, for example). Others are more local and implicit, with no clear signage to indicate that they exist, and take residential houses as their venues (such as CRP).

The Naqwa intersection, which was formerly a roundabout (and till this day is called 'Naqwa Roundabout') is an intensive foci to most residents and, to some degree, is considered a defined strategic node in a variety of daily journeys for refugees and a point of reference in their journeys, therefore granting it a functional significance. There are two municipal parks and one football pitch in the area which are not centrally located or visually permeable.

The majority of the aforementioned places are the settings of this research's fieldwork.

This section attempts to introduce these places from both my perspective (in the form of field notes) and the participating refugees. The settings are described, analysed, and sometimes narrated using my field notes, along with direct/non-direct quotes from the participating refugees.

9.3.1 Hashemi Souq: The Linear Heart of Hashemi

Upon hearing the word 'souq', many people bring to mind the traditional, narrow, open-air market—but what most refugees at Hashemi term as 'souq' is a space created by a parallel strip of connecting building interfaces, forming an edge that penetrates the space and enables two interconnecting streets to transform into an open-air enclosure. Buildings on the street are mainly commercial, and range in height, from one to four storeys, with upper floors possessing a range of commercial units, small offices, and some residential uses.

The visually dynamic streets offer diverse route choices, in turn influencing the physical and visual permeability of the souq. Both Al Bathaa and Prince Rashed Bin Al Hassan streets intersect and start with a high topographic point and continue descending slowly, giving an indication of the direction of downtown (Al Balad). The

long and wide streets have wide sidewalks, and are about 1800 meter in length each; you would need around 50 minutes to walk in the souq. These two main streets connect Hashemi altogether and interweave other paths leading to inner residential neighbourhoods or smaller somehow hidden souqs (see Figure 79). The souq is considered both the place of arrival and departure in the neighbourhood; there is no defined starting or ending point for it. It spreads from these main streets to the inner secondary and tertiary streets and creates small-scale retail locations (or what Maram called sub-souqs). On our way to the best herbal shop her neighbour recommended, she expressed that a newcomer would need a couple of years to know which souq is best for what type of product or experience.

'If you want to have an enjoyable walk the inner sub-souqs are not as hectic as the main souq.'

– Maram *(Syrian, f)*
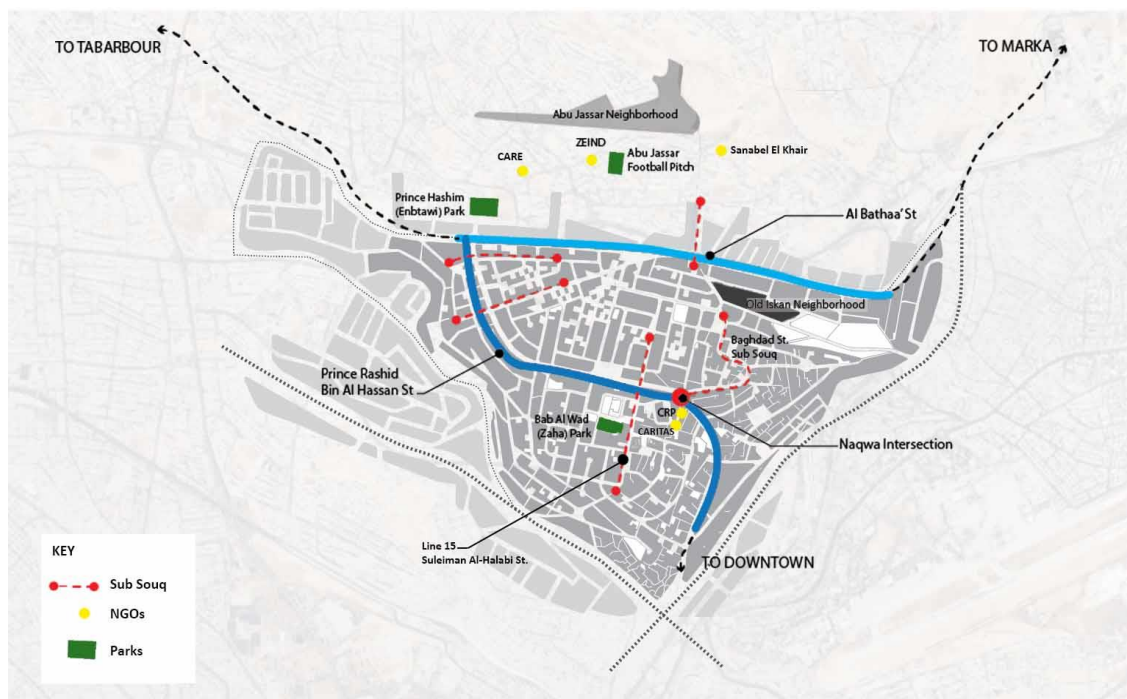
Figure 79: Locations of the Hashemi Sub-Souqs, NGOs, and Parks. Source: Author, 2021.

One of the most famous sub-souqs is located on Suleiman Al Halabi Street, locally called Line 15 (see Figure 80). This street witnesses a continuation of the main Souq's vibrancy and has a huge superstore Carrefour.

Figure 80: Suleiman Al Halabi St., Known as Line 15. Source: Author, 2021.

The souq's streets are not designed for walking, though a huge number of pedestrians walk in the streets; the souq has some sort of tolerance for accommodating all modes of circulation. The pedestrians' circulation through the space is clearly what connects the storefronts and activities in the souq, in turn altering the streets into social, multipurpose spaces that well-integrate driving, walking, sitting, socialising, and shopping. The social and economic exchange reinforced by the pedestrians facilitates the dominance of the social realm over the vehicular. Hence, there is a boosted sense of locality and attentive driving here. Although the sidewalks of the streets are wide, there is no proper space to walk in—and yet pedestrians manage to fit in and find ways to overcome the many obstacles and disruptions they face while walking there (see Figure 81).

Figure 81: Pedestrians Walk on the Streets for a More Desirable Experience. Source: Author, 2019.

The walking experience is interrupted frequently by products jammed right in front of the shops and by the empty cartons used for storing the products that are thrown away on the edges of the street (see Figure 82). For shop owners, these practices have the additional benefit of forbidding cars to park in front of the store and block their customers, making it impossible for people to walk on the sidewalk or even on the edge of the street. This rugged experience pushes pedestrians to develop the needed skills to walk on the street and somehow compete with the vehicular traffic for a more desirable (yet risky) experience. Amer (Syrian, m) summarised the whole process of walking in Hashemi as a penalty for human beings.
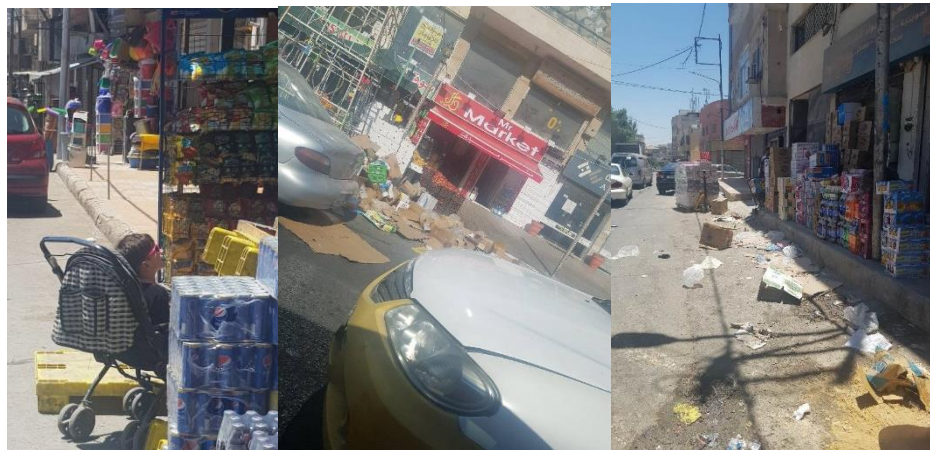
Figure 82: Empty cartons used for storing the products thrown away on the edges of the street, products jammed on sidewalk making it hard to walk and access the area via prams or wheelchairs. Source: Author, 2019.

However, mothers are well-versed in the art of successfully managing to walk, shop, and enjoy these streets with their prams, shopping bags, and several children. Equally, Hashemi children can surprise you with their ability to cross the street and their lack of fear of vehicles or strangers, to the extent where they can transform a busy street into a playground. They have a high tolerance for interruptions during their football matches when a car crosses.

'I am walking in the centre of the street, looking at the totality of the souq, the sidewalks, the circulation rhythms, the interfaces, the diversity of what the souq is offering, and the totality of the canvas. It is one desirable but risky experience!'

- Field note

The perception of the souq involves a unified array of sensory and kinaesthetic experiences, with its visual imageability filled with rich flows of nuts, sweets, and speciality food smells, along with the soundscapes of traffic, loud conversations, laughs, and recorded messages played through the speakers of local trucks roaming Hashemi and selling gas, vegetables, or plants (see Figure 83).

Figure 83: Trucks in the Souq Selling Vegetables and Domestic Plants. Source: Author, 2021.

The majority of the refugees positively perceive the souq, endowing the souq with positive meanings—the souq that already has a distinctive identity of being an attractive market for locals and citywide. Buthaina (Iraqi, f), who lives in an apartment building in the souq, expressed how the stating of the daily vegetable prices through the speakers is integrated into her morning coffee routine.

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The souq is more than just a material commodity for refugees: it is endowed with many social and restorative meanings, including the immediate shopping function of the souq. It is looked at as an alternative for their inadequate homes; an escape from reality; a place where conversations start; an opportunity for stress relief. Although it does not have any green views except for some scattered neglected trees here and there, the souq manages to have some health benefits in promoting active walking.

'People like us who are living in a basement with no ventilation, feel that this is an enjoyable experience.'

- Amer (Syrian, m)

'In Iraq, I always hated shopping or wandering in the souq, and I would tell Ebtissam (wife) to do that by herself. Since we came here, I started to be entertained by accompanying her to the shops, he laughed and said I also discuss which shops have better prices or styles, like Ammouri*, he is the best, Syrians have this magical way to sell you quality products with good prices. But do not forget, we do not work here, and wandering in the souq can be a major event in our lives and we talk about it in our conversations through the week.'

- Nayef (Iraqi, m)

(Ammouri is notably the Syrian clothes shop that was mentioned by 3 three participants in this study. This shop tends to be famous for both Iraqi and Syrian refugees for the bargains they offer and the good prices for school uniforms.)

The souq is populated by all everyday forms of sociality: sitting, watching passers-by, consuming foods, gossiping, shopping, and playing cards. Evening social activities are also very common: Akram (Iraqi, m) takes his youngest child to ride the bike in the souq, while his wife Kholoud (if she is not with him) stays at home with their older children, who likes to draw and sculpt. On the other hand, Yaman (Iraqi, m) grabs a bite from Hum Hum with his friends after playing with his friends at the video game shop. Buthaina (Iraqi, f) loves to walk and check the shops for new fashionable items, although she cannot afford them most of the time. This also offers many affordances of social interaction and contact, such as the displayed products, which

offer strong invitations to browse and linger, and food stalls encouraging consumption. The edges of the streets in the souq are active social spaces, and sometimes, the edges are interlocked with niches, creating sub-spaces that stimulate certain activities, like the one Amjad (Iraqi, m) goes to with his friends in the evenings (see Figure 84) shows Amjad's favourite spot for playing cards, which is the stairs leading to a bank in the souq, which offers a perfect, uninterrupted spot to overlook the souq and play cards). For refugees, it is their first choice not only to shop or socialise but to change their mood.

Figure 84: Amjad's Favourite Spot for Playing Cards with Friends at Night. Source: Amjad, 2019.

Although socially active, the souq abounds with issues of safety: along with car incidents resulting from the mentioned pedestrian behaviour, occurrences of children being kidnapped circulate in the majority of conversations with Hashemi parents. Some parents still allow their children to play outside, but many are becoming more protective and forbid them from being outside. Refugees coming from warzones tend to comprehend risk differently and show more fear regarding open space experiences and safety. The issues of safety discussed also include sexual harassment and racist encounters with the locals, especially between teenagers. Akram and Kholood (Iraqi, family) believe that only local Jordanian children can play outside with ease; they do not allow their children to even walk to their nearby schools alone.

'We come with fear built in our mind-sets, we have become very protective over whom we love, we choose to keep them at home safe, even if that is making their childhood boring.'

-   Raya

Women at the souq can be seen in the mornings, afternoons, and early evenings, while at night, they can be seen with their families, rather than alone. Most women visit the souq regularly for daily groceries and shopping, but refugee women exhibit more fear and try to reduce risky endeavours (see Figure 85).

Figure 85: The Hangout with Women of Different Ages at the Souq. Source: Author, 2019.

Their fear not only embeds in their restricted patterns of usage but also influences their personal clothing: Buthaina (Iraqi, f) said women in Hashemi souqs tend to wear darker clothing, as if they do not want to attract attention, believing that bright colours stimulate men and hence harassment. Nevertheless, the souq seems to be a preferred outdoor space for women from all age groups, as its diverse functions cater to them all.

A factor worth mentioning regarding the souq is the appropriation that happens to compensate for the lack of proper designated street furniture: locals bring movable plastic chairs, stairs of major buildings, and sidewalks, and build edges and metal

borders for main seating areas (see Figure 86). This appropriation takes place naturally to make the surrounding conditions satisfactory for them.

Figure 86: The Lack of Benches is Compensated by Appropriating Edges and leaning on Metal Borders. Source: Author, 2019.

Amer (Syrian, m) said, 'After the sunset and our (sunset) he ones in front of Ezmir Mall. We bring nuts from home or sometimes we buy ice-cream from Bekdash*, we set, look at passers-by, we talk about what we see and then go home.'

*Bekdash is a very famous ice cream shop in Syria. After the war, many shops in Jordan opened, including Hashemi Shamali.

For refugees, the appropriations in the souq offer a wide range of prompts that create triangulated discussions of external stimulus and eventually bring people together (see Figure 87). When Amjad (Iraqi, m) found a boxer prize vending machine, he was very excited to see such a thing, and took a picture of it.

Figure 87: Left: Amjad Took a Picture of this Boxer Prize Vending Machine; Middle: Buthaina Mentioned This as a Funny Thing at the Souq, where Shop Owners Display their Fashionable Pieces High on the Lighting Fixture; Right: Stall at Hashemi. Source: Amjad (2019); Author (2019); Author (2019).

These prompts sometimes help in catching the knowledge of the local culture in Hashemi and in enforcing conviviality, like when he found the turmus (lupin) stall (pickled snack foods) and described how new this was to him and how trying turmus for the first time created a conversation with other men buying from the same stall, who described the taste.

The flux of Syrian refugees to the neighbourhood brings an influence to the food scene citywide. This influential presence came about somehow incrementally, organically, and fragmentedly. The robustness of the Hashemi souq forced this change so it could add and adapt to the existing character of the souq without an emphasised difference. Syrian Shawarma, Arabic sweets, fruit cocktails, bakeries, and cheese shops mushroomed in the souq as a result, and signs like 'Ebn Al Sham' (the son of Sham/ Syria) are testaments of such influences. This blend creates an unforgettable smell that embodies this souq.

Raya chose one of the hangouts to be in the souq so we could enjoy a meal from a famous Syrian restaurant. She described it as the best Shawarma and cocktail place ever. While sitting on the plastic fixed chairs that were shared between the two shops, one will notice that customers of the restaurant were not only Syrians but also Jordanians. Locals at Hashemi usually describe the Syrian food as clean and delicious.

Traces of Iraqi food can be also seen in the souq, like in the famous Samoun bread and Masgouf Fish sold in a few shops. With Jordanian, Syrian and Iraqi shop owners, the souq is an intercultural space reflecting multi-ethnic identities.

Many forms of appropriation shaping the souq can be distinguished. These are usually made by shop owners and sometimes hawkers to support their commercial activities—primarily to maintain the commercial flow between the indoors and outdoors of their shops (usually different modes of product display take over the sidewalks, such as kiosks, wooden stalls, and metal partitions with hangers). For restaurants, appropriation can include both fixed and non-fixed chairs and tables to accommodate customers outdoors (see Figure 88).

Figure 88: Fixed and Non-Fixed Appropriation of Chairs and Stalls. Source: Author, 2019.

Extending their territoriality to the outside is also very common by using metal pipes, lighting fixtures, or small pots of trees to define their outer borders or to enhance the aesthetics of the shop.

The temporal dimension in the souq is manifested clearly by how it is used differently at different times of day, week, and year. The souq has achieved a spontaneous synergy between different activities happening at the same time, incorporating overlapping patterns of smell, sound, and movement. In summer mornings and afternoons, the souq seems calm and spacious, with a low number of users, despite rush hour (when people commute to and from work). However, the souq grows very

crowded in the evenings (remarkably so on weekends), with a huge number of users who are not only shoppers but families and individuals who are walking, socialising, hanging out, and spending time outdoors. In contrast, winter mornings are the only time when people spend time outdoors to enjoy the limited hours of sunshine. They only go out for short periods, however, and for necessary activities, including shopping. On winter nights, people tend to head for malls and alternative indoor spaces. Unlike during weekdays, the souq becomes stiller and calmer until the Friday Prayers Adhan (call for prayer). After the prayers, men congregate to buy from the trucks parking outside the mosques.

In religious seasons like the holy month of Ramadan (one month of the year directly before the Al Fitir Eid holiday), the souq shows a different desired rhythm: it turns into a festival of colours, smells, lights, and noises. The mornings during Ramadan are very calm as the opening hours are shifted until noon due to the pattern of activities stretching to late at night. At night, the souq is vivid and active, especially after the sunset, when people have their Iftar meal (when they break their fast). In this holy month, walking to prayer is very common, especially when it comes to the Al Taraweeh and Al Qeyam prayers (prayers that remain until midnight). After and between the prayers, the souq is very active for shopping for Eid sweets and new clothes. Sweet shops install stalls on the sidewalks to prepare fresh Ramadan sweets like famous Qatayef and Eid Maamoul (desserts made from dates). During the final days of Ramadan, temporary playing structures are built and placed at empty plots for children to play during Eid Al fitr. They call it the Eid Theme Park (see Figure 89).

Figure 89: Temporary Eid Playing Structures Left at an Empty Plot to be Reassembled at the End of Ramadan . Source: Author, 2021.

'My mom and I prefer to go to the mosque near the souq over the nearer one, as we love to pass by the souq at night, enjoy the ornaments and light bulbs decorating the facades, it is the best time of the year to visit Hashemi!'

- Mira (Syrian, f)

9.3.2 Municipal Parks

There are two main parks in Hashemi and one football pitch, all provided by GAM. Both parks were the main venues of the hangout.

9.3.3 Bab Al-Wad Park (Zaha)

This neighbourhood park is situated within a residential neighbourhood that is non-centralised nor connected to a clear network (see Figure 90). This recently renovated park was part of the royal initiative, executed with the help of a royal grant that incorporated the execution and renovation of several parks in Amman, with the main goal of creating family-friendly and safe parks. Although established by GAM, it has been being operated by the Zaha Cultural Centre since 2018—which justifies why it is now called 'Zaha' between locals. Zaha was established in 1998, and by royal patronage, started as one donated park in western Amman. Today, Zaha is an administrative supervisor to 19 parks in several areas in Amman, extending to other areas in the country.

Figure 90: Bab Al Wad- Zaha Park. Source: Author, 2019.

Bab Al-Wad Park is about 6000 square meters in area and includes children's playing areas, a football field, a traffic park, and a community centre administered by Zaha (see Figure 91). Meanwhile, the community centre hosts events, training sessions, and an educational training course for school students called Zaha Time. The majority of events and lectures are free, but some courses and camps have registration fees.

The newly renovated park is well-kept and -maintained and has bright facilities with planted trees and flowers that cannot be seen elsewhere in the neighbourhood. However, the design of this park (and particularly the distribution of the furnished elements) shows a lack of consideration for environmental comfort: the shading materials are placed over a very limited dead area that is mostly unused. The majority of the benches near the playing areas are not shaded, restricting the use of the park in summer, and compared to the majority of Amman's municipal parks, the microclimate is neglected, and the parks are not comfortable throughout the different seasons.

Figure 91: Left: Football Field at Bab Al Wad- Zaha Park; Right: Security Room Showing the Surveillance Cameras There. Source: Author, 2021.

Although very close to many of the participating refugees, the park is not easily found by new arrivals. It lacks both social and physical connectivity. Buthaina (Iraqi, f) mentioned that her Jordanian neighbour told her about it, while Amer (Syrian, m) said that he found it by coincidence when he was buying his groceries from the superstore nearby. Even so, this park is not a preferred spot for refugees, as many are not familiar with its existence in the first place. The blank-coloured frontages and two-meter-high fences likely make it less visible, contributing to its sense of concealment and protection, rather than one supposed to convey the openness of public space.

The majority of the refugees have been to Zaha only once before its renovation and did not know that it had been renovated since. When asked about it, they described the old layout instead of the new one ('brownish-yellow piece of land with two swings; a barren landscape; a dirty spot in the neighbourhood'). Amer (Syrian, m) gave an extensive description of the park before its renovation:

' It was not a park, but an open space of rubbish, with no fences, broken benches, and some locals renting rides on dirty horses for children.'

- Amer (Syrian, m)

However, all the renovated royal initiative parks are very similar; they resemble a repeated branded prototype copied and pasted across the city, with slight variations in

terms of the facilities provided. As the majority of the park design processes in Amman, the renovating of Zaha did not include any sort of local participation, nor did it receive any social input from the community to feed the design process. This has always led to there being a justified gap between the designers and the users, including refugees: GAM's deterministic view is that an aesthetically pleasing, clean park communicates a fixed message to all users equally, without bearing different cultural, gender, or age differences in mind and in turn treating the Hashemi neighbourhood the same as any other neighbourhood in eastern Amman, despite it being different on so many levels (specifically in terms of its demographic structure). Clearly, GAM's intentions and Zaha's operations attempt to convey a different message to the one received by local refugees in the neighbourhood.

Surprisingly, refugees attribute negative meanings to this park, not only criticising its physical layout and amenities (describing them as dysfunctional and not catering for their needs) but also associating it with fear, making it a less preferred destination that lacks meaning. Buthaina (Iraqi, f) criticised the size of the toilet taking a huge area and noted that an area for barbecuing should be added. Also, with the lack of experiential qualities of hometown parks, comparisons were steering some of these negative perceptions.

' It is different than what I am used to in Syria, parks are larger, have water sounds and vast green areas not just paved areas garnished with a couple of trees.'

- Maram (Syrian, f)

Hanan (Syrian, f, 60 years old) was the only regular visitor among the participating refugees. She takes care of her grandchildren daily while both parents are at work. Nonetheless, she voiced negative feelings about the park.

' *I really dislike this park, but it is my only free, in a walking distance option to take the children outdoors and play.*'

- Hanan (Syrian, f)

Unlike the parents, the participating children know Zaha very well, as they are taken to Zaha several times because the football field there is sometimes rented as a venue for some of the local NGOs' summer camp activities. The majority of them have positive feelings towards the place—specifically the ages that can play in the playing areas provided. On the other hand, teenagers highly criticised it.

'It is designated to children from 3 to 9 years old, what about us? It is anti-teenagers, and it has zero facilities to my age group, and specifically for male teenagers.'

- Yaman (Iraqi, m)

The park is safe and attractive, yet not engaging or comforting to refugees. It communicates power explicitly, embodying daunting patterns of control and hindering the sense of security and freedom to refugees, in turn influencing their psychological comfort. Akram (Iraqi, m) says he does not feel welcomed there and that he cannot fully act freely. When asked why, he answered, 'It is alienating but not clear why, well it is just my feelings towards the place.' Zaha's management of the place, although suffocating, successfully entrenches control in the locals' every day. This power communication is so deep-rooted that it has not been included in the array of reasons the refugees added to justify their feelings. Regardless, there is a combination of explicit power signals, such as closing the park sometimes mid-day, or implicit unwelcoming signals that can be felt when park is visited.

'Sometimes the guard open it, and immediately close it after one hour.'

- Mira (Syrian, f)

'This morning, I gathered two Iraqi families in Zaha Bab Al Wad, first time to have six people including me in a hangout. After walking around, we decided to sit, but found no shaded areas at that time of the day. We decided to move some plastic chairs from the community centre reception and located it in a shaded area. Some sat on chairs and others sat on the

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raised borders of planted areas. We shared jokes and laughs, and ten minutes later, a guard came and started interrogating us. They all looked at me with fear, as if we are doing something wrong. I stood up, showed him my facilitation letter from university. He made me call the manager who was not there apparently. The manager was informed that we moved the chairs and that I am accompanied by non-Jordanians. After discussing my research to him, his hostile voice tonality changed, saying that he is ready to help in any future research matters. I believe they are not used to see this large number of adults (we were 5) in the morning at THEIR Park.'

- Field note

Adding to the deterministic aspects of the park design comes issues of management. Zaha park is reduced to a place that is managed to be an ornament—a neat, clean expression of control, rather than a used social space for the community. Amer (Syrian, m) **explained**, 'They want zero upkeep and maintenance, they keep it closed most of the time, and when it is opened, football field is always rented.' The designated functional program of the park is just another catalogue standardised one, without comprehension that they have needs and patterns of usage that can vary between locals. Nothing specific or customised to the neighbourhood's needs is present here, and it also lacks the flexibility to cater to the functions not included in the strict program.

The municipality highly appreciates the new management of the park, as before Zaha was on board as the operator, the park had one municipal guard in the premises and faced high rates of vandalism. It has been rehabilitated many times through the years, yet Zaha can sometimes fail in promoting it to the actual potential users of the park. Further, the good intentions of the activities can be doubted when compared to the numbers of attendees and waiting lists for other events facilitated by local NGOs, such as ZEIND and CRP. Also, the minimal program advertising, timing of the activities, and nature of them do not necessarily suit the locals' needs.

'This morning, I met Buthaina (Iraqi, f) at Zaha. While we were setting on the benches supervising her children who were playing. An employee from the community centre came

and asked us: 'Are you Iraqis or Syrians? We have a mental awareness lecture, please join us' Buthaina liked the idea, and we agreed to attend. To our surprise, we were the only attendees. After the lecture, which had no clear intention to help but rather for the sake of adding our names to their register list and taking pictures to add it to their social media feed of activities. I was urged to ask why we were the only ones and asked if this lecture was announced. The answer was yes, but it was announced in the Facebook page which covers all Zaha centres all over the city.'

- Researcher Diary (July 2019)

'After my conversation with Khulood today, she mentioned that they only hear about the activities and events taking place at Zaha once they are finished. Many questions crossed my mind when thinking about the low-key activities provided there, their timings, and the non-uniform opening and closing hours that can change without prior announcements.'

- Field note

Visually, the upkeep, order, and forced civility in Zaha were not enough for refugees to feel it to be a visually appealing place. Ali described it as 'adequate'. As the management of the park is highly visible, he added that sometimes, he feels his nationality or identity will be questioned there. The patterns of the park's opening hours are also not very responsive to the community's needs—specifically, in the summer, the activities are clustered in the morning and midday, when it is very hot, instead of shifting the program hours to the afternoons and evenings.

'I believe they have a strategy of having minimal usage of the park to save it from vandalism and keep it new. Sadly, their evaluation criteria of the park might be limited to how clean and not vandalised it is, and nothing related to the number of users, their experience there, or their satisfaction.'

- Field note

9.3.4 Prince Hashim Park (Anabtawi)

This is the first municipal park established in Hashemi in 2007 (see Figure 92). Locally called Nayfeh Park (relating to a nearby neighbourhood name) or Anabtawi (as it is behind the famous sweet shop Enbtawy), the park is managed by the GAM social affairs sector and, specifically, the department of amenities and social programs. This famous park among Hashemi locals was rehabilitated several times due to the high number of visitors and high rates of vandalism increasing the need for maintenance in such a dense area. In 2008, a famous telecommunication company cooperated with GAM and initiated a rehabilitation project of the park as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) focusing on making playing areas safer for children.

Figure 92: Prince Hashim Park (Anabtawi) from a Nearby Building. Source: Author, 2021.

This spacious park is about 15000 square meters in area and includes a football field, green areas of pine trees, children's playing areas, multiple seating and picnic areas, a municipal guard services room, and a community centre run by GAM. Figure 93 illustrates hardscapes and paved areas at the park. The activities in the park are not only limited to children playing in their facilities or to picnic areas along the fenced borders and under the pine trees: the activities taking place are flexible enough. Youth skate (despite the prohibition signs at the entrance), dancers perform dabbke (a local national dance), and it is also a famous park for teenagers. In addition, it is one of the very few parks in Amman that is accessible for the handicapped. Then again, the playing facilities and benches provided are insufficient considering the high number

of children and families visiting. Besides, this football field, along with the Hashemi football pitch, is only open if reserved, and both are reserved for free, unlike Zaha's football field.

Figure 93: Hardscapes at the Prince Hashim Park. Source: Author, 2021.

This park is a popular venue for the majority of local initiatives and NGO events. Many activities are hosted there regularly as a result of the community centre's active cooperation with organisations, or as part of the GAM citywide events program. The program is planned to conduct similar events in around 14 of the GAM community centres across the eastern parts of the city, in addition to schools and social development centres.

Based on the annual report of the social programs department, Prince Rashid Park hosted 98 events in 2018, and 18% of the beneficiaries were refugees (mainly the elderly and children). The citywide program does not focus on catering to refugees' needs in particular but does consider overall integration while designing the social programs.

Unlike Zaha Park, refugees know this park and its location well, and although both parks were designed by the same department and have noticeably resembling features, the management in Prince Rashid (as one factor of influence) excelled in terms of cooperating with local NGOs, who in turn played a role in making this park an accessible and well-known venue for refugees. This can be attributed to the physical proximity of this park to the cluster of other NGOs, such as ZEIND and CARE.

Socially, different meanings were attributed to this park by the participants; some compared the spaciousness of the park with the parks in Sham and Baghdad. In general, the Syrian refugees emphasised the importance of spacious parks to accommodate their picnics, which consist of large congregations of extended family and friends.

'We go to Anabtawi every fortnight, we take nuts, coffee, and tea there.'

- Hanan (Syrian, f)

'I went with Maram (Syrian, f) to Anabtawi today, she entered the park and headed directly to a certain spot that apparently was her favourite spot. She chose that we sit under a pine tree in a high point where we can view most of the park areas. The highlight of our chat was her narrative imagination of Al Jalaaˊpark in Syria, pointing how Anabtawi (although drastically different in area and design) instigates the same feelings of place, and have a resembling experiential experience.'

- Field note

For Amer (Syrian, m), he links his positive experience to the topographic altitude of the park, which he thinks makes its air fresher. He appreciates the restorative qualities it provides and believes Anabtawi can boost his mood. Similarly, Maram (Syrian, f) said, 'I take my mom there most of the winter mornings before buying our daily errands, this little bit of sun, makes us happier.' Nayef and Ebtissam (Iraqi, family) love to sit under the pine trees and look at their girl playing.

Other negative perceptions concerned how busy this park is on the weekends. Akram and Khulood (Iraqi, family) said, 'On Fridays you cannot find any bench to sit on, we

started bringing a blanket so we can sit anywhere.' Also, they complained about the limited playing areas that don't cater to the huge number of children visiting the park. Raya meanwhile hates sending her children there: 'Anabtawi is like sending your children to get dirty and fight for their turn, I prefer them staying home than going there.' Hence, this limited capacity can intensify tensions between parents, and are aggravated sometimes to include conflicts between locals and refugees.

Unlike the majority of the city parks, this park hosts many teenage groups who skate, dance, and hang out in groups—yet Yaman (Iraqi, m), who knew where the park was located but not its name, described it as boring and dedicated to younger kids. He added that teenagers who sit there are bad boys who only make trouble. His mother expressed that he is in a critical phase of isolation, and not having friends to hang out with has influenced his perception of the park.

Then again, women and teenage girls expressed their frustrations towards this park, too: Mira (Syrian, f) feels unsafe going to the park alone, as the number of male teenagers outweighs the females, which heightens the risk of harassment. Her parents also believe that Syrian girls face more sexual harassment than local girls. She only goes there with her family on the weekends, but she says that even with her family, she doesn't feel comfortable or like she can totally act like herself.

'…They recognise we are Syrian from our looks or our accents, they keep gazing, and looking at me if we are not accompanied by men.'

- Mira (Syrian, f)

9.3.5 Al Hara: Spaces of Vernacular Intelligence

9.3.5.1 Definition of Al Hara

Al Hara ('Quarter' in English) as a word captures the essence of the residential neighbourhood and is the local way to talk about a spectrum of all local places with familiar faces that cater to everyday needs and is the heart of appropriation. The term

is ultra-local across Jordan and coined, interpreted, and used differently in Arab cities. Synonyms to Al hara are Al Hay and Al Zuqaq (see Figure 94).

Figure 94: One Hara at Hashemi Shamali . Source: Author, 2019.

It is a culturally embedded public space and socially constructed with tacit dimensions, as it is centred around people's understandings of space. It is all the common in-between spaces in the neighbourhood, with a spontaneous balance between highly territorial spaces and spaces of non-verbal communing. It has implicit boundaries based on a common understanding between locals and is the heart of appropriation.

To elaborate, it is a dynamic flexible description of several types of space and can cover the accumulation of sidewalks, alleys, stairways, cul-de-sacs, abandoned buildings, leftover spaces, SLOAPS ('Fadleh' in Arabic) (spaces left over after planning), derelict sites, informal desired pathways, and even the body of the street and the walls themselves (see Figure 95).

Figure 95: Alleyways in the Hara. Source: Author, 2019.

Al Hara can form the most prominent informal public space for most neighbourhoods in Amman, full of vernacular intelligence exemplified by the appropriation of its spaces to cater to a variety of mundane needs—although Al Hara has a higher importance in eastern Amman, where the population density is higher, private domestic outdoor spaces are fewer, and the general physical proximity of the buildings and bodies is closer. Sometimes, Al Hara can define the invisible spaces that suffer from negligence and lack of infrastructure.

9.3.5.2 Al Hara in Hashemi Shamali

Al Hara in Hashemi has its implicit nodes and landmarks, only recognisable for locals and frequent visitors. It has no distinctive physical boundaries and is not mapped or officially named by the municipality—and yet with time, locals granted it a sense of identification and named it. Some haras have a thematic distinction of reputation, such as being a drug hub, while others have a physical distinction of bad infrastructures and some unpaved streets. Others have dimensions of social distinction such as a general decline in civility or having the cheapest shops. Some inner haras in Hashemi have irregular narrow paths that make them highly illegible and with minimum permeability. This mysterious complexity heightens the sense of exploration.

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'Before having lunch together at the souq, Mira (18 years old, Syrian, f) suggested that she will show me her old neighbourhood known as Abu Jassar area. On our way she discussed her family's happiness when they moved out of it.'

- Field note

'Seven years ago, we came to Amman, rented the cheapest apartment that we could afford then. We had no idea what was waiting for us. We lived in this neighbourhood for two years. It took us only a couple of weeks to figure out its reputation of being the drug hub of Hashemi and maybe Amman. Hala, I used to see 12-year-olds selling and consuming drugs there, teenage girls being sexually harassed, and all sorts of gangsters (Zoran in Arabic) anti-social behaviours you can imagine.'

- Mira *(Syrian, f)*

The hara's environment is a repository of symbolised meanings containing a variety of integrated symbols. They signal power and territoriality, steer the informational qualities to be interpreted as either dangerous or safe, and contribute to the overall perception of the place.

'Entering the neighbourhood, I definitely sensed the difference, the density of the buildings, the deteriorated environment, and the hostility. The people standing outside were very close to the car windows. Their gaze meant knowing they are not used to have outsiders nor cars in this territory. I think today was the scariest hangout ever, although I tried to show Mira (Syrian, f) I am in control, I locked the car doors and closed the windows, but Mira's feelings of fear were instantly infectious. I just wanted to find a way to drive out of that place and sacrifice knowing more about this place. I just wonder why she wanted to show me Abu Jassar from the first place. Was it because she felt more empowered that she was accompanied by a local (Ironically, I was not!) and in a car? Or was it her urge to visit this place as an outsider who is not living there anymore, and in a relatively better place now? Or was it because she just wanted to show me this place as a favour that I might have interest in this rich environment and potential material for my study.'

- Field note

Although many hara spaces have active frontages reinforcing social interaction, some zones (such as the incidental in-between spaces, building thresholds, or informal pathways adjacent to derelict sites) are less supervised and riskier. Risk and danger at Al Hara are discussed by refugees extensively: stories are always circulating about drugs, sexual harassment, child abuse and kidnappings, car accidents, racial conflicts, and theft. Nevertheless, safety is perceived differently by refugee groups and different groups of gender and age within the same refugee community, in addition to the protective refugee parents afraid of car accidents, abuse, drugs, and health risks. Generally, as Al hara is less car-dependent and main services can be navigated by foot, the presence of people there is relatively higher when compared to other neighbourhoods. This presence generates more outdoor activity and can influence feelings of security among them. However, it is a highly gendered environment, and a spatialised gender binary is clearly manifested within different time patterns. Relatively, degrees of safety vary in different zones and times of the day.

In addition, the hara is mostly a loose space that signals flexibility and an open invitation for personalisation—although this is often the case with the locals (not the refugees). Refugees see that locals can personalise the neighbourhood with ease, but do not feel they have permission to create a place of their own in the common areas of the neighbourhood. On top of that, they lack a sense of belonging. Hence, refugees' appropriation in Hashemi neighbourhoods is limited to using surfaces like walls and fences to express themselves (see Figure 96). They write their country names, quotes, calligraphy, poems, and quotations of love or dissatisfaction. A quote with Iraqi wording was written on a wall very near to CRP, saying, 'It has been 10 years since he/she has been told that tomorrow will be better.' A process of erasing and layering what is written on the wall can be traced when words are layered over each other. Plus, refugees compensate for the lack of personalisation in the domestic outdoor areas, which will be discussed later.

Figure 96: A Quote with Iraqi Wording on a Wall Very Near to CRP Saying, 'It has been 10 years since he/she has been told that tomorrow will be better. Source: Author, 2019.

Generally, life in Middle Eastern cities moves inwardly, towards the private households, creating a strict duality between public and private and a firm boundary of ownership and territoriality. There is widespread use of high solid walls and fences due to the importance of privacy as a structural element for the urban areas in Al Hara. Edges, if not fixed and already built, are added later as a filter (see Figure 97). However, fixed barriers are usually offered by designers, as the physical determinant of privacy is entrenched in the designers' and builders' culture.

Figure 97: Filters Added to Secure More Privacy. Source: Author, 2019.

Edges in Al Hara hold feelings of anticipation and discovery, offering invitations for self-expression, as discussed earlier. Few edges made space for greenery to become a locus of prominence next to the house entrances, lined adjacent to Sabil, a small water fountain that holds Islamic and civic significance (see Figure 98). People place it directly outside their homes or local mosques to dispense water freely for passers-by.

Figure 98: Sabil (Small Water Filter). Source: Author, 2019.

Some areas in Al Hara provide views showing topographic foci and major landmarks (see Figure 99).

Figure 99: A Topographic Foci Offering Views to Major Landmarks. Source: Author, 2019.

Like the majority of the eastern Amman neighbourhoods, Hashemi hara substantially lacks greenery, bushes, and shrubs. Trees, if found, are scattered, and are normally oak and pine trees. Some plants are deliberately planted, but usually, they are self-grown native ones that do not require maintenance or watering. This can be due to water scarcity in Jordan: the water is distributed to neighbourhoods once a week and fills people's tanks for their usage of the week, and on that day, they tend to do all their activities that require water, such as showering, washing their clothes, and watering their plants.

'It was10 am in the morning in the Hara surrounding CRP's centre, I still had an hour to hang out with Amer (Syrian, m), the sun was burning hot, I could not find any tree to hide under it, even stores have no sheltering structures over the sidewalks, some stores have them, but they are mainly to shade their products. I noticed that the vegetables shop has two display areas, which have similar products with the difference that the products inside are the fresher and newer vegetables, while the ones outside and covered with a simple shading gazebo are cheaper and older (see Figure 100).*'*

- Field note

Figure 100: The Outdoor Display Area at the Vegetables Shop. Source: Author, 2019.

9.5.3.3 Activities in Al Hara

This outdoor space works in parallel with other formal and free designated public spaces, and, to some extent, compensates for their lack and quality, yet it has a loose nature with a flexible, non-planned program catering to all age groups. It hosts a range of activities, in turn allowing more social connection, personal expression, and play, forming a new space that is more community-led. In Hashemi, Al Hara is the everyday place of communication between the community members, where the spontaneity of the everyday animates the place. It is a popular playing area for children, where they fly kites, ride their bikes, and play traditional games like Glool (see Figure 101). It is a place for celebrations, temporary events, and many other unexpected activities. It is also a place of noticeable territoriality and identity formation for youth, and a collective place that instigates a sense of belonging, familiarity, and social cohesion. It is a place where familiarity transforms into potential alliances and conflicts.

Figure 101: Children Sitting Under the Tree at One Hara in Hashemi. Source: Author, 2019.

On the other hand, Al Hara is a venue that provides opportunities for youth to access drugs and many other illicit activities. It is also where children must develop skills regarding how to use the street safely and avoid isolated places that attract the wrong kind of groups. It is also where females get harassed daily. It is the main conflict and encounter arena between the host local community and refugees from all age and gender groups. Like the souq, Al Hara witnesses many temporal scenes that reinforce the role of the every day in being a spontaneous infrastructure compensating for what is missing in the hard infrastructure.

In summer, the streets and alleyways become places to gather, where neighbours meet and socialise. Guests are hosted outdoors, plastic movable chairs are moved to the sidewalks, and children who are off school play on the streets for many hours flying kites.

In winter, fewer outdoor activities occur, and they are mainly midday activities. On weekdays, schools with the double-shift system animate inner streets with flocks of Jordanian students leaving their shifts, replaced by their Syrian counterparts. This shift has underlying facets of encounters and conflicts. Fridays, with its holy significance, is a day dedicated to family, so here, Al Hara witnesses busy pedestrian movement and remarkable smells and sounds. At breakfast time, each householder carries an empty plate to get it filled in the houmous and falafel shop, or with the homemade mixes of cheese and zaatar (oregano) to have it spread on their manaa'eesh (pastry) by the local baker. A varying pulse in Al Hara is created regularly through the temporary infrastructures established by locals to celebrate a wedding or a funeral, and usually, such infrastructures are established on empty plots of land, and sometimes they sprawl and appropriate full inner streets and alleyways (see Figure 102).

Figure 102: Temporary Structures for Weddings. Source: Author, 2019.

'Passing by one of the houses, I found an edge of green foliage planted in empty and used olive oil tanks and lined parallel to the fence (see Figure 103)*. The view was alien to me, I was delighted to see some plants! Surprisingly, they were caged in a fence to protect this humble endeavour from theft and vandalism.'*

-Field note

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Figure 103: Green Foliage at the Edges of the Street. Source: Author, 2019.

9.5.3.4 Venturing beyond Al Hara

In the city of Amman, navigating the streets using a map is more difficult than it seems (see the following section); the transportation routes, stops, and networks are not clear nor systematic. Hence, people depend highly on personal skills to navigate the city—so when participants do venture beyond the Hashemi locality, it gives them a sense of discovery and empowerment. Refugees who know about navigating the city, use public transportation, and know places outside Hashemi felt much more confident to me and showed a sense of personal pride concerning the fact that they had visited high-income, prestigious neighbourhoods like Abdoun or Amman's downtown (Al Balad), or grand city-scale parks, like the King Hussein parks.

9.3.6 The Old Iskan: Hashemi's Open Air Exhibition

The old housing (Iskan) of Hashemi is part of the Al Zaghateet neighbourhood and originally hosted a large number of Palestinian refugees. It is called the old housing as the evidence of time manifested in the neighbourhood's physical form. Nowadays, it is called 'graffiti neighbourhood' (Hay Al Graffiti), defined by its distinctive physical character—a thematic continuation of plaster residential buildings that have a cluster

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of meaningful murals. Figure 104 displays mapping of this neighborhood, a tourist destination today that has been a venue for an annual street art festival called Baladak ('your country') for the last three years. The Baladak festival started seven years ago to empower citizenship through the introduction of collaborative efforts of local and international artists in the forms of colourful murals across the city with annual themes that touch critical and taboo subjects in a city like Amman, such as citizenship, empower women, ownership in the city, resistance, and inclusion. The festival, which targets the local community as an audience and aims to empower the creativity of the artistic youth, resulted in dozens of colourful murals. This yielded the need for efforts to map them in a project called the Amman Street Art Documentation Project.
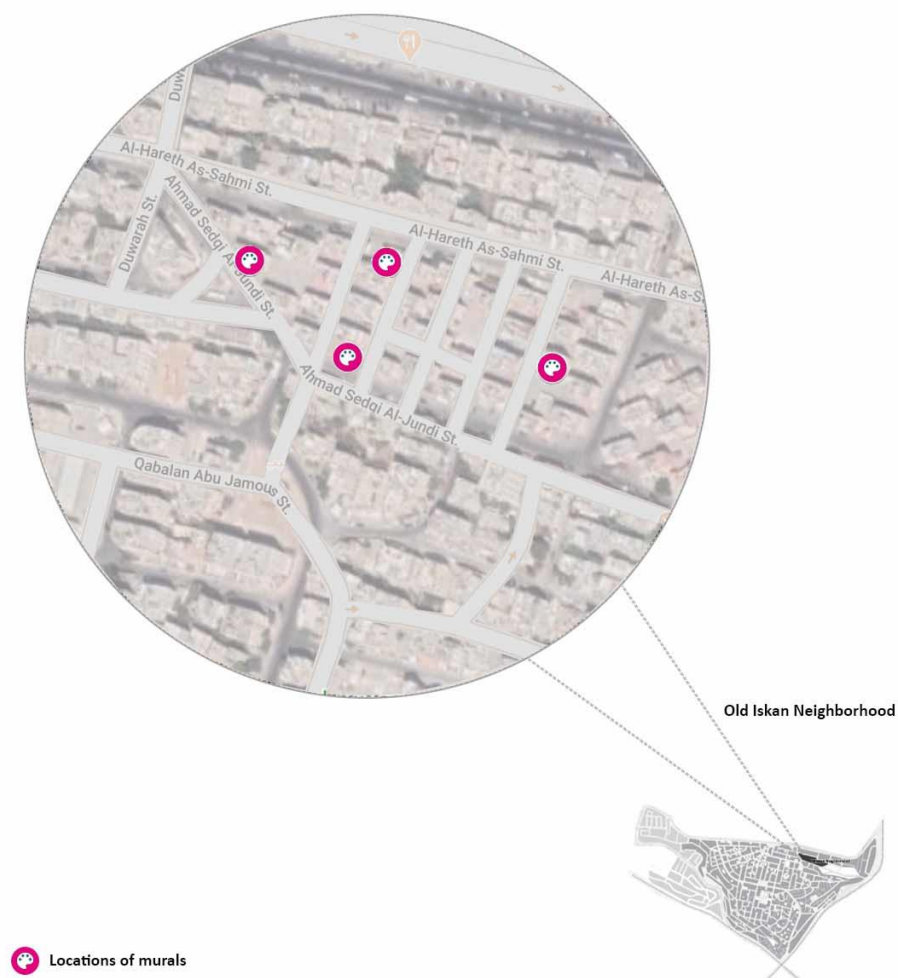
Figure 104: Location of the Murals at the Old Iskan. Source: Author, 2021.

Although street art and murals are usually related to practices of resistance, this festival is politically censored and differs from the unauthorised art that exists elsewhere in Hashemi and the city. This festival is held annually in partnership with the municipality, private Jordanian companies, and international agencies. Hence, each mural must be sketched prior to implementation and agreed on by the municipality, in turn limiting their output. Locals also participate in this censorship and judge if the murals are appropriate. If not, they paint over it or simply destroy it. One example of that was when a mural focusing on a woman's body was painted over by residents.

In the last three years, this old housing was chosen, as it offered a variety of sandy beige walls as canvases for artists to draw creative murals. Plus, the visibility and accessibility of these urban surfaces increased the eligibility of the Iskan to get selected for the Baladak Festival. With about half a dozen of murals in Hay Al Graffiti, the majority of them are portraits representing different kinds of people, rich unique stories, and the public-personal manifestations of the artists.

The murals improved the quality of the neighbourhood experience: they turned the street itself into a prompt for active engagement in addition to the already-created passive engagement resembled in the walls' public art as a type of street furniture, bringing colour and activity to the neighbourhood that is otherwise dominated by beige.

'I remember when they painted one of the murals, my son and other children in the neighbourhood became friends with the artist, me and my neighbours sent them meals and cups of tea. They shared with our community their ideas of the murals and we had long conversations about our daily lives and stories.'

- Buthaina *(Iraqi, f)*

She also explained how the murals are shifting the focus on Hashemi and the struggles and hardships faced by its residents. The murals' concepts facilitate a new bond between the residents and environment, and people interact with the art, creating new symbolic meaning to the place, as well as a sense of pride.

Mira (Syrian, f) explained how the murals made her feel more attached to the area, and that the murals communicate the problems they already face. On the other hand, the Graffiti Neighbourhood became an alternative open-air park—a walking destination and a desirable route to work and school. Raya explained how she changes her daily walking walk route to work to pass by and enjoy looking at the murals.

Figure 105: Left: Disney Refugee Mural; Right: Two Walls to Walk. Source: Author , 2019.

Some murals have social aspects related to refugee status which participating refugees feel attached to, including the Disney refugee mural by Fintan Magee (2018) (illustrated in Figure 105, left). Here, the artist envisioned a Syrian refugee in a camp or a street, and asked, 'Will the Disney jacket protect her?'

The other murals highlighted by participants were those called Two Walls to Walk (illustrated in Figure 105, right), whereby artist Mateo extended his art to the urban surroundings and the murals communicate with one another, showing how walls here unite rather than separate. The mural on the left resembles a refugee looking at the future, and on the right is a portrait of a local artist from Hashemi focusing on inclusionary ideas (including that residents can always find common things between them).

Other murals in Graffiti Neighbourhood inspire people to imagine and seek their inner reflections. The Imagine mural, done by Sourati (2019), encourages people to dream and imagine their believing in themselves beyond limitations (see Figure 106, left).

The Reflections mural done by local artist Saadi (2018) meanwhile illustrates one's true reflection of self (see Figure 106, right).

Figure 106: Left: The Imagine Mural; Right: Reflections. Source: Author, 2019.

'When I entered the old Iskan area, and as an outsider, I had no prior knowledge of the graffiti. I was surprised how this beige buildings from the outside turned to be an open-air exhibition. The mystery and sense of surprise urged me to keep looking for more murals and walk between the alleyways searching for more and enjoying the messages behind them.'

- Field note

9.3.7 Baghdad Street: The New Home for Iraqis

Naqwa Circle (roundabout) pours into an important landmark for the participating Iraqi refugees: Qablan Abu Jamoos street (see Figure 107). Known informally as Baghdad Street due to the dense Iraqi population living and commuting there, this narrow, eight-meter-wide street has a combination of residential and commercial buildings, with not many differences from the other streets in Hashemi in terms of

function, architectural structure, or aesthetics. It is its social ethnic profile and its experiences alone that brings new meaning to the street.

Figure 107: Baghdad Street. Source: Author, 2019.

This street has a cluster of Christian Iraqi refugees due to several urban drivers encouraging them to reside there—and largely due to the street's central location and proximity to four nearby churches, each within a 15-minute walk away. In addition, a private Latin school is located on the street and a religious organisation targeting Christian Iraqi refugees is just a five-minute walk from there. All these qualities qualify the street to be branded Baghdad Street. The street hosts Baghdad Bakery, selling Samon bread (a famous Iraqi bread), a car rental company specifically for Amman/Baghdad travels, and shipping goods. While passing by the street, a Jordanian merchant was practicing his Iraqi dialect with an Iraqi man, and Akram (Iraqi, m) laughed and interrupted their conversation with a joke—'He will have his Iraqi passport soon'—indicating again the role of Baghdad Street in celebrating the Iraqi culture and creating trans localities to imitate their hometown as much as possible.

'After spending the morning at Zaha Park, Buthaina (Iraqi, f) wanted to run some errands from Baghdad St. Although we were closer to Hashemi souq, but Baghdad Street seemed to be her

usual shopping preference. Once we arrived, I felt an instant confidence boost in her, Buthaina was cheerful and greeting people sitting outside, they were familiar to her. We went to Abu Anas shop, where she bought her vegetables and we met other Iraqi women there. Buthaina introduced me and we had a chat about several issues, but most importantly how this street feels like home to them.'

- Field note

9.3.8 Domestic Balconies, Roofs, and Gardens

The majority of the Amman population lives in apartments, and with the limited public space provided, they are generally disconnected from the natural environment. Similarly, many refugees have no access to the available outdoor spaces, as some roofs are blocked by building owners to limit their usage. Meanwhile, many apartments have no balconies or gardens at all. However, the hangout provided a chance for me to see some of the domestic outdoor spaces used by the participating refugees on daily basis, such as the shared roofs, balconies, and (rarely) ground floor gardens.

Generally, the refugees seemed distanced from greenery and had less access to nature, as most of the domestic outdoor spaces were arid, if not paved, surfaces. The greenery in their gardens varies from a single plant pot to a dedicated plot of land. This can be a result of the limitation of space, water scarcity, economic hardships, and lack of belonging. Hence, outdoor domestic places, if not deserted like Ali's Garden, are dedicated to several uses excluding planting and urban agriculture, such as hanging laundry, socialising, playing cards, and a children's play area.

9.3.8.1 Akram and Khulood's Garden

Akram and Khulood's (Iraqi, family) longitudinal garden is divided into three descending platforms bordered and connected by a long wide staircase leading to the house's inner entrance to the left (see Figure 108). From the outside, the garden is fully fenced by metal perforated sheets and bordered from the other side with a high

fence separating the house from the juxtaposed school. Atop the fence, there is barbed wire that was installed after they complained that schoolchildren trespass into their garden during schooltime.

Figure 108: The Platforms Connected by a Staircase and the Wired Fence Placed to Prevent Schoolchildren from Trespassing into their Garden. Source: Author, 2019.

The highest platform is their winter area, a paved empty area with an additional fenced filter that covers the other two lower platforms. It has barbecue equipment lined on the borders, with palm leaves to use as hand fans when they grill fish. This is roofed by a canopy of a metal structure, covered in winter by an old piece of carpet shielding winter rain. At the side, a mattress is used as a seating area to consume food. At the side of the stairs, many items are stored, such as a large wooden ladder and some empty paint containers.

The middle platform is an elevated planted area, where previous tenants planted olive trees, a grapevine, and some fruit trees (see Figure 109). Some of the remaining and extra tiles found in the garden were organised diagonally by Akram (Iraqi, m) in a trail to form a designated path (see Figure 110).

Figure 109: The Grapevine. Source: Author, 2019.

Figure 110: Akram's Designated Path, the Ladder, and the Vine at the Third Platform

For them, this zone is for children's play only; they do not use it much for anything else, even though the previous tenants left several pieces of gardening equipment, such as a fork, a trowel, and a wheelbarrow (see Figure 111).

Figure 111: Gardening Equipment on the Highest Platform. Source: Author, 2019.

Both Akram and Khulood (Iraqi, family) did not show any interest in looking after the trees or planting new ones; even though Khulood has a degree in agriculture, she expressed that looking after the garden is an extra burden they cannot afford.

The lowest platform is a paved area that hosts the majority of their activities and bears the entrance to their apartment (see Figure 112, left). Centrally, there are plastic movable chairs placed around a wooden circular table, and due to the lack of indoor space, many household activities take place there. There is an electric washing machine, laundry baskets, four laundry drying ropes extending between the walls, and a sweeper. This area is considered their summer seating area. It also has the water *zeer (*a clay pot cooler that keeps the water cool during the summertime) (see Figure 112, right), which they sometimes put herbs and lemon slices in so they can have cool flavoured water. During a visit to their garden, they served grapes collected from the vine. The surrounding environment instigated conversations about trees, food recipes, and poetry.

Figure 112: Left: The Lowest Platform Dedicated to Laundry; Right: The Water Zeer Made from Clay.
Source: Author, 2019.

9.3.8.2. Hanan's Garden

The hangout provided a chance for me to spend some time in Hanan's (Syrian, f) garden, which has a seating area canopied by trees extending from the neighbouring garden. The entrance and windows of her apartment are all covered with planting pots, creating a vivid atmosphere for the seating area (see Figure 113, left). In the walkway leading to her garden, laundry drying ropes indicate the domestic use of this space. This bare concrete floor is also a space for Hanan's exercise (see Figure 113, right).

Figure 113: Left: The Windows Covered with Planting Pots; Right: The Entrance to the House and her Daily Walking Path. Source: Author, 2019.

'I walk in this spot every morning, I pace back and forth, and enjoy the sunlight.'

-   Hanan

Hanan dedicated an area for gardening and created a zone with aromatic and medicinal plants with species like Thymus, Lamiaceae, and Artemisia, in addition to some endemic flower species (see Figure 114, left). Plant pots are a combination of recycled paint containers and old olive oil tanks elevated by a row of old tiles. She uses many of these for domestic use, including as dry materials in her tea or to chew fresh. Bordering this area, a group of water containers covered by plastic sheets is filled with water once a week for the watering of plants and other household activities.

Figure 114: Left: An Area for Gardening at Hanan's Place; Right: The Seating Area. Source: Author, 2019.

9.3.8.3. Raya's Balcony

In an apartment building overlooking the souq of Al Bathaa' Street, Raya *(Syrian, f)* lives with her husband, three children, and mother-in-law. With minimal outdoor space and narrow balconies, many tenants retreat and use the building roofs or entryways. Raya's children enjoyed playing in the building entryway and spending time there until the building landlord closed the roof, installed cameras in all common spaces, and put pointed metal fences on the edges of the entryway planter to prevent them from sitting there and using the communal spaces (see Figure 115). The narrow balcony henceforth became their only retreat.

Figure 115: The Communal Spaces at Raya's Building Apartment; Metal Fences were Installed to Prevent Residents and their Children from Sitting There; on the Far Right are Two Signs (at the Entrance) Indicating the Site is under 24-Hour Surveillance. Source: Author, 2019

Entering their balcony with a sliding door, the long-fenced balcony offers panoramic views to the souq and residential neighbouring mountains, with the smells of Shawarma (chicken sandwiches) coming from the adjacent Syrian restaurant (see Figure 116). At the corner is a small wooden table beside a laundry drying rack, which is fixed there.

Figure 116: Raya's Mother Showing Me her Balcony View and the Shawarma Shop. Source: Author, 2019.

Centrally, an old sofa is placed and is considered the seating area. At the windowsill,

a pair of two hubbly bubblies (Hooka) is placed instead of the old dry plant pots, stored for the nightly family gatherings (see Figure 117).

Figure 117: Left: Hookahs Placed at the Windowsill, Replacing the Plant Pots; Right): Her Family Sitting on the Balcony's Sofa Overlooking the View. Source: Author, 2019.

In contrast, Maram (Syrian, f) shared some pictures from her balcony showing her interest in gardening.

'If you want to see flowers here, you must plant it yourself, and we cannot always afford to buy planters, soil, and flowers, and do not forget water, water Hala! Do you know that municipal water comes once a week?'

- Maram (Syrian, f)

She places several plant pots on the balcony's panels to make room for a wooden table and several plastic chairs. She also uses the hanging and climbing potted plants on the edges to create some green foliage crawling along the walls.

9.3.8.4. Nayef and Ibtissam's Roof

Figure 118 depicts the spacious roof of a building that contains several residential apartments rented for Jordanians and Iraqis overlooking part of Al Bathaa' Street's souq. The roof is made of rough concrete, unfinished surfaces with extended steel bars, and exposed pipes.

Figure 118: The View from Nayef and Ebtissam's Roof. Source: Author, 2019.

Many activities take place on this roof. It has plenty of laundry ropes for all the neighbours to dry their clothes, electrical fuses, and large water containers. It is considered the main gathering place in the summer for all the neighbours, as their apartments have no balconies. This roof acts like a melting pot and witnesses many conversations concerning different religions, cultures, and politics between the tenants coming from different backgrounds and countries.

The seating area is located at the corner (se Figure 119, left). It is mainly a wooden handmade table and bench, with plastic movable chairs and a mattress for the Arabic Majlis floor seating. A leather circular cushion is added on top of an extended column, creating an additional seat, and the edges of the roof are used to put food and tea down when the table is being used for playing cards (see Figure 119, right). The roof is a daily destination for Nayef and Ebtissam (Iraqi, family): there, they prepare their hooka, video call their parents in Iraq, and meet their neighbours.

Figure 119: Left: The Seating Area with a Wooden Bench, a Mattress at the Side Ready for Use, and an Extended Column Transformed into a Seat by Placing a Leather Cushion on Top. Source: Author, 2019.

The roof offers panoramic views of the neighbourhood and has no privacy: it is visible to the adjacent roofs (see Figure 120). This limits the freedom of the women in this space: they cover their heads when they are there and act in the same way they would in a public space. In Ramadan, the roof is the place where neighbours have their Iftar meals. They bring their cooked meals from their apartments and share a bite together.

Figure 120: The Panoramic View at Night. Source: Author, 2019.

9.4. *Thematic Findings on Refugees' Urban Experiences in Hashemi Outdoor Public Spaces*

9.4.1 Usage Patterns in these Spaces

The participating refugees undertake many different activities outdoors, including grocery shopping, walking their children to school, and attending classes at the local community centres. These outdoor activities are often limited to the neighbourhood of Hashemi, and they move in the city rarely for reasons such as immigration applications, visiting relatives, or a planned trip or picnic.

Outdoor activities that are recreational rather than functional usually take place during the evening in summer and midday in the winter. These activities increase in popularity during the weekends and festival times, like Eid and Ramadan.

There is a strong social focus on many of the activities that take place in the public realm. Many participants enjoy sitting and observing passers-by in the souq, consuming food like nuts and fruits (mostly brought from home), hanging out in the forecourts of local community centres before or after classes, playing cards while sitting on the sidewalks, enjoying shisha on the sidewalks of the souq, or going to nearby restaurants for some shawarma, fruit cocktails, and ice cream.

The participating refugee families (mostly Syrian refugees) also plan group picnics in nearby parks every couple of months, or during Eid.

9.4.2 Differences in Usage Patterns across Gender and Age

There is a range of different uses found. The participating male refugees congregate outside mosques after Friday prayers, buy from temporary stalls, and walk together back home with their neighbours, also spending time outdoors at night-time sitting with friends discussing politics and life issues while observing what is happening around them.

On the other hand, the participating female refugees spend time outdoors alone during the daytime and with family (or in groups) in the evening. Their activities are mainly

shopping for their daily meals from the stalls on the streets or the malls and shops in the souq, shopping for necessary items for their children, walking their children to parks, walking in groups in the inner quiet neighbourhoods to exercise, and shopping from Syrian or Iraqi shops within the area. Some participating women are not allowed to go outside as much as they want without permission from a male family member like a husband, father, or brother. Regardless, domestic outdoor spaces are regularly used by women to hang their laundry, water the plants, sweep the floors, enjoy shisha, and host female groups for coffee in the morning and families in the evenings.

Unlike the local children, the outdoor activities for the participating refugee children almost entirely took place with direct parental supervision: they are always accompanied when playing in parks, bike-riding at the souq, or flying kites. A few children who are considered a proper age to recognise strangers, navigate the neighbourhood alone, and understand how to stay safe, were playing outdoors unsupervised in narrow streets and cul-de-sacs. They spend time together in groups and play different types of game like football, hide-and-seek, and Glool (a traditional game where the children play in small glass balls of different sizes). They also walk to the nearby markets and buy confectionery items to consume under the tree and on the sidewalks. They share jokes, plan their next game, and even fight on the streets.

The participating teenaged refugees like to spend time outdoors in groups, usually going to restaurants, sweet shops, and video games shop in the souq. Teenage girls, if they are not out with the whole family, are accompanied by a male member of the family, like a younger brother or any male relative.

9.4.3 The Meaning and Perception of POS to Refugees

POS, to the participating refugees, concern the mainly local, everyday, banal, and unpretentious outdoors, in addition to the designated POS (like parks and gardens). To them, public outdoor spaces are free spaces that can be accessed easily, are within walking distance from home, and allow them to feel equal, and not like guests. The POS they mainly use range from urban spaces to parks to the transitory neighbourhood spaces of sidewalks and stairs. They extend their outdoor experience to private spaces such as their domestic gardens, balconies, and shared roofs.

The participating refugees perceive POS differently based on different factors, such as their culture, history, individual life situations, age, and the degree of POS differences between their home and host country. To Syrian refugees, Syria is greener, has better weather, and has more POS, while to Iraqi refugees, Amman is greener and has better weather. Their perception of POS was highly influenced by the national power structures and the social, political, and economic processes shaping their everyday lives. They tend to prioritise social affordances in POS over physical aesthetics: for example, they felt less connected to the Hashemi Shamali parks, even though compared to the majority of eastern Amman's parks, they are well-designed and - maintained, with many amenities provided. Regardless, the refugees believe they do not cater to their needs, nor do they represent what they envision for ideal POS.

9.4.4. The Values Given to Outdoor POS Experiences

Hanging out with the refugees also revealed, to a great extent, how important their outdoor experiences are to them and what different meanings they attribute to different outdoor spaces. For the participating refugees, spending time outdoors helps in their stress and trauma relief. Some regard the outdoors as a place to clear their minds. Outdoor neighbourhood spaces provide a free-of-charge experience where it is possible to spend time with your family, socialise with friends, and meet new people.

They also discussed how they discovered many new things about the Jordanian culture through these spaces, like the new types of street food and outdoor wedding ceremonies. Outdoor places are also valued as places for play and exercise and are seen as locations where one is considered equal, not a guest or a burden. These places facilitate encounters with the locals, exchanging greeting gestures, conversations, and sometimes fights in return. Many different conversations often get initiated here, including those concerning their memories and the weather of their home countries, war, food recipes, their feelings about missing home, and the common economic concerns they face together. Each meeting appears to be a major incident of the day to many participating refugees, even if it was a very short encounter. They discussed these short-lived occurrences with excitement, and sometimes resentment.

In addition, outdoor spaces are considered alternative places to enjoy the sunlight and fresh air that are not found in their homes, which generally have inadequate and unhealthy conditions.

Some of the outdoor spaces are of high importance and considered special to them. These are often spaces that remind them of places in their home country, either because of their similar physical design and materials, scents, water features, or a combination. The availability of one factor of these is enough to grant them this image of home.

9.4.5. Obstacles and Problems for Refugees' Outdoor Experiences

The participants experienced some parks as unwelcoming. Sometimes, this was due to dissatisfaction with the design quality and facilities but was also sometimes related to the uncomfortable encounters they endured with municipal staff. However, some participants did not want to visit places of leisure, such as parks, as doing so felt incompatible with their state of deep grief.

While many NGOs facilitate outdoor activities, funding and capacity issues mean that these activities are not regular and have long waiting lists, making it difficult for refugees to book them or repeat them. Information is also a problem: many participants did not know about the free events available to them, such as summer camps or community classes held in the neighbourhood municipal parks. They were not aware of the advertisements posted on social media and missed the information signs inside the park because they were not frequent visitors. Also, the timings of the activities targeting refugees were not managed in a way that ensured the presence of refugees, as their schedules clash with the proposed times.

As mentioned earlier, the participants described their struggles with moving around the neighbourhood—and the city in general. Some have health issues or previous injuries that prevent them from walking easily, and besides, travelling outside Hashemi requires insider knowledge about the vague networks and systems for the bus minibus and the walking shortcuts that are common knowledge to the local people. Many refugees (despite their having been in Amman for many years) give up on the trial-and-error process here and dismiss the whole idea of outings outside the neighbourhood—and when there are essential trips, they tend to use taxis, although expensive and considered a financial burden to them.

Adding to this physical immobility is a lack of social confidence in their exploration due to their being vulnerable and depressed. This can also be coupled with a belief that they have no future in this country, in turn leading to a lack of motivation to explore.

Also, some participating women and teenage girls are not allowed to go outside as much as they would like to, as they need permission from a male family member (such as a husband, father, or brother) to do so. There are also implicit conflicts between different refugee groups underpinned in part by the experience of unequal funding and permission to work according to nationality.

Another obstacle relates to the poverty that can limit one's ability to go out and about. Parents worry about whether they can afford snacks or the toilet if they make longer trips to parks. Plus, some of the refugee participants feared outdoor public spaces and avoided specific spaces because they had faced hostile behaviour in public before, or because they were influenced by many stories circulating within the refugee community that highlight its dangers, such as car hits, sexual and ethnic harassment, and theft.

When I approached them with questions about their outdoor experiences, the majority of them felt that access to public spaces is a ridiculous subject to talk about and that we should be discussing their basic physiological and safety needs. Also, at first, it was hard for them to state or articulate how important these spaces are—but during our conversations, signals of this tacit knowledge emerged.

9.4.6 Detected Forms of Agency

The patterns of use for refugees in Hashemi outdoors are rather gentle and shy, they are rather part of coping mechanism and avoidance of encounters. They do use a number of public spaces but all entrenched with patterns of use that are deemed necessary for survival. There is an evident lack of contribution to processes of spatial production in the neighborhood. These practices are sometimes transformed into contributive practices that are gentle but are one step forward. Such practices are explored more in Chapter 10, and prompted forming the concept of gentle insurgency as one form of refuges' spatial agency.

9.5. Conclusion

This chapter provided socio-spatial insights that resulted from hanging out with refugees in Hashemi Shamali. The chapter exhibited settings and places framing refugees' experiences, with a focus on refugees' voices describing these places that ranged from public to private and domestic places. The chapter concluded with an overview of thematic findings that covered refugees' POS usage patterns, perceptions of the used POS, values given to outdoor experiences, and obstacles they face outdoors.

In reflecting on my hangouts in Hashemi Shamali and thematic findings, I found myself drawing on the work of Castells (1977) and Cancellieri (2017), in particular how refugees inscribe social meanings to particular places through home making processes and how these processes can expand from domestic places to public spaces as discussed by Rappaport (1981) and Relph (1976).

In the discussion (Chapter 10), I address how refugees use spaces of Hashemi Shamali in ways that express new forms of agency. I also theoretically link studied spaces in Hashemi to concepts of loose (Franck & Stevens, 2006), smooth (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 399), and procedural public spaces (Iveson, 2007).

Section 3: Transversing Perspectives

Chapter 10: Transversing Perspectives: To Enhance is to Amplify

10.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an integrated analysis to the understanding of refugees' experiences and the roles of diverse actors as presented in Section 2, with a focus on Research Questions 4, 5 and 6:

RQ4: Situate refugees' agency within the network of studied actors

RQ5: Transverse relational and socio-spatial understandings to enhance & amplify refugees' outdoor experiences, and POS sector in general

RQ6: Situate the researcher agency within the network of studied actors

The chapter will first provide a conceptual framing of the findings by proposing theories of agency and assemblage to comprehend the diverse roles of the studied actors as a network (10.2.1). Secondly, it will continue to introduce 'gentle insurgency', adding to the proposed conceptual framing (10.2) to answer what constitutes refugees' agency and situate them as actors within the assembled network (10.3). Third, it will interweave frameworks by transversing perspectives to enable the links and reveal the gaps across the actors while attempting to foreground that with the everyday experiences of refugees (10.4). The main goal of transversing interdisciplinary perspectives is to polish the 'understanding' component of this research and to move towards wider possibilities.

Section (10.5) builds on the previous section and provide recommendations to both enhance refugees' POS experiences and the public space sector in general, as well as to amplify their agency as actors in the proposed assemblage. The final section (10.6) presents a reflective personal stance on my role as a researcher within this network, conveyed in the form of reflections about the performance of the research itself and its expansion to the city.

10.2. A Conceptual Framing of the Findings: Proposing Theories of Agency and Assemblage to Understand Socio-Spatial Clusters and Processes

Identifying actors and environments where they operate is considered to be a powerful tool when addressing integration effectively, with aims to change and inform (Lixi, 2020; OECD, 2018, 85). This study of sociocultural integration via public spaces identifies and examines a snapshot of a network of actors who are involved in POS projects that help and sustain integration. Such actors are identified as 'suppliers of POS' who may be committed to social justice (Mady, 2018), trying to produce inclusive spaces to facilitate habitual spatial experiences between different publics, leading to acceptance and sociocultural integration (Ibid.).

This research has identified actors who are not only responsible for completed POS projects, but also for actors who are responsible for processes at the beginning, throughout, and after completion. A conceptual framing of the findings is utilised here to identify the range of the different roles and to comprehend the totality as a network and a process.

Employing agency in this research came about due to its being a rich concept that encourages rethinking critically about how things work, but still questioning the meaning and intention of the role of each actor and the built environment (Schneider & Till, 2009). Doucet & Cupers (2009) encourage adopting Deluzian concepts and network theories to find the meaning of agency altogether. This research, considering its focus on ongoing and emergent integration processes (Astolfo *et al*., 2020), required a different approach to understanding—and in this way, assemblage thinking (Delanda, 2006; Dovey, 2010; Farías & Bender, 2010) introduced much methodological potential and aided the understanding of an everchanging network of actors. By proposing agency aided by assemblage, this research not only emphasises the goal-oriented actors, but also considers the unintentional agencies affecting the assemblage of actors (Doucet & Cupers, 2009). Furthermore, it also interprets the multiplicity of the studied actors as an incomplete network that is constantly evolving (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This conceptual framing ultimately enabled the recognition of some implicit and not obviously detected agencies, meaning here, refugees' (as actors under the radar) with unintentional roles of micro socio-spatial changes.

To amplify these implicit roles, an understanding of refugees' roles, along with the multiplicity of actors here, is evident. As agency can be followed by stories (Schneider & Till, 2009, 100), the component of understanding in this research assisted in developing two main interpretations of the studied network: forms of agency and the incomplete diagram of actors.

10.2.1. Forms of Agency: The Intentional vs the Unintentional

The studied network of actors comprised an array of roles and modes of operation as well as many interrelated understandings of refugees that could be drawn, since the role of agency can take various forms and is transitional across forms (Schneider & Till, 2009). While there is the dichotomic understanding of agency as either intentional or unintentional (Doucet & Cupers, 2009; Lash & Picon, 2009), Kossak *et al*. (2009) list three types of agency: intervene, sustain, and mediate.

Kossak clarifies that intervene as a form of agency demands action, stepping in and affecting any given process. While mediate acts as the intermediate between various structures of power to influence any given process. Sustain holds a tendency of being prescriptive and deterministic and revolves around maintaining structures and processes.

Table 20: Studied actors' modes of agency. Source: Author, 2021.

Studied Actor	Intentional		Unintentional
	Primary/Top-Down	Secondary/Middle-Out	Bottom-Up
GAM	Sustain		
NGOs		Intervene	
Activists		Mediate/Intervene	
Practitioners		Mediate/Intervene	
Educators/Researchers		Mediate	
Refugees			+ Gentle practices of insurgency (Section 10.3)

The studied actors in this research demonstrate the transitional nature of agency, and they can be understood and framed in the forms listed by Kossak *et al.* (2009) (see Table 20): for instance, GAM's roles range from decision-makers for planning and budgeting to funders, designers, implementers, operators, and organisers—but when partnerships come into play, additional roles emerge and become enablers, in turn creating specific steering committees for certain projects. However, their agency is mostly intentional and sustains rather than intervenes or mediates. As rigid and central institution that mostly sustains the system and perceives refugees' integration as the role of others.

Along with GAM, all the studied actors (including the NGOs, activists, practitioners, and educators) are goal-oriented, with an intentional agency. When looking at the roles of the studied actors in terms of integrative POS-production processes, it appears that their positive roles either combine intervention (initiating new proposals) and mediation (working alongside proposals initiated by others) or shift between these. To illustrate, NGOs like GIZ and UN-Habitat intervene, while CRP and RC mediate. Activists, for instance, are mediators who transition into interveners in some of their practices (such as, in the context of this study, when they initiated spatial changes by building new sections of the skating areas, independently and without formal notification, to avoid the long bureaucratic process of GAM). Turath, on the other hand, sustained the normal production processes, their meditation emerging when the team addressed the flaws in the ethnographic input of Webde's project, in turn leading to the utilisation of alternative means of participation using their personal skills. Notably, educators and researchers are mostly mediators—specifically when their agency expands to include critique, which is the starting point of agency when it comes to resisting hegemonic practices in teaching, pedagogy, and academic events (Charley, 2008).

Another perspective is added when attempts to understand intention like Schneider & Till (2009) are brought into the mix. Schneider & Till (2009) define intent as the preceding step to openness to adaptation and development over time. Indeed, this openness to change is exhibited in some of GAM's partnerships with creative actors, whereby incremental changes have been witnessed and their role somehow shifts to mediate and change accordingly.

Noting that GAM's agency is an intentional primary and hegemonic agency, the other studied actors have indicated what Groys (2005) defined as 'secondary positions and agencies': here, they have access to means and other actors to create change indirectly, yet they do not have or use power directly (Vais, 2009). In this way, although they freely and creatively operate, they must adhere to GAM's structures (the notable levels of creativity in the activists being the introduction of the skatepark idea to decision-makers, CRP's skills in supporting their fund applications, the innovative ideas of the German Jordanian conference's reports, and the alternative practices of the participatory mechanisms in Webde's project). All these actors possess different forms of capital, connections, and knowledge, and are not considered to be marginal or excluded, and yet they all have access to creative means that have the potential to indirectly intervene and mediate. These secondary actors within the studied network, when interacting with GAM, contribute to outcomes in an indirect, situational, and delegatory way, and Vais's description of such outcomes is mirrored in the 'understand' component of this study—specifically when the hiccups of the partnerships with GAM are addressed (which will be revisited in Section 10.4).

These secondary positions place less importance on the often-understood distinction between top-down and bottom-up, which are recognised by Nonaka (1988) as optimal processes led from the 'middle-up-down'. Such processes (i.e., those coming from the middle outwards in accordance with Mady (2018)) have been witnessed in this study through different facilitating actors.

On the other hand, processes led from the bottom-up have been witnessed by refugees in this study, who in this context are considered as actors with unintentional agencies creating change through their everyday practices. According to Margret Crawford (Lash & Picon, 2009, p. 16), examining the absence of intent in these practices—that is, this unintentional agency—allows for insight regarding new possibilities that are notable and thus worth studying (Lash & Picon, 2009, p. 16). This will be further explored in Section 10.3 through defining the term 'gentle insurgency'.

10.2.2 The Incomplete Evolving Diagram: Understanding the Process

This research identifies the actors involved in multiple POS-production processes that are there for integrative purposes, whose examination was aided via the previously

explained forms of agency since this allowed the looking at them as an assemblage of operative entities. This assemblage embodies the intricacies of the status quo and gives clear insight into how things are working (Lash & Picon, 2009). Mapping the process demonstrates the assemblage in effect, shows all the possible points of emergence (Delanda, 2006, p. 30), and is a great way to understand agency (Lash & Picon, 2009).

Figure 121 represents a diagram of the studied actors and their roles in the studied POS-production processes, also briefly describing the actual process (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). It aims to identify both the possible and impossible conjunctions to reveal potential areas that, if addressed, could enhance the process. This diagram clarifies to a great extent what has been noted as being the vague, unclear, and understudied process of POS production in Amman. It is important to note that this diagram is incomplete, does not reflect the full process, and only represents snapshots of the process and an illustration of the empirical findings garnered from this specific study.
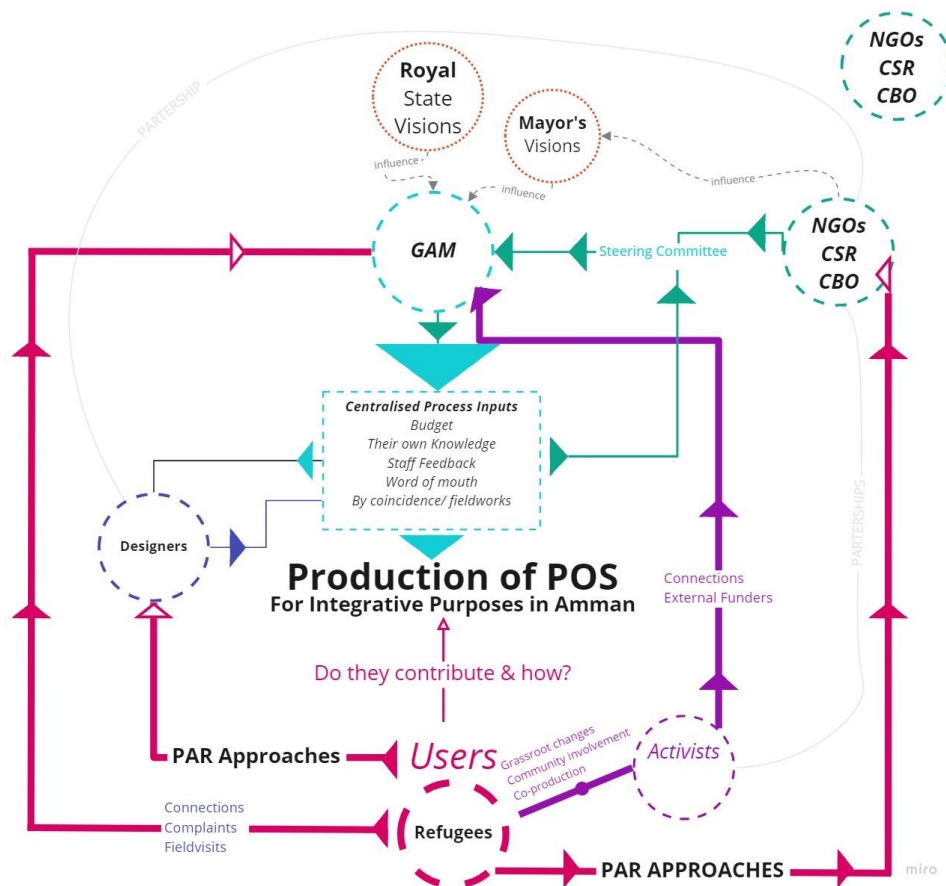
Figure 121: A diagram of the studied actors' roles in POS production processes. Source: Author, 2021.

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The assemblage portrayed in the diagram (illustrated in Figure 121) shows the following directions:

- the starting point of any public space produced—whether for integrative purposes or not—starts and ends with GAM (coded in blue).

- It clearly indicates the centrality of the process, inconsistency, and lack of participatory mechanisms.

- It shows actors working from the middle-up-down (Nonaka, 1988), such as Turath and the NGOs. However, the openness to adaptation mentioned earlier can be seen in the indirect influences of actors with secondary positions. For example, some international NGOs (coded in green) with capital and large funding have a powerful influence on GAM, so when activists (coded in purple) partner with NGOs, this indirectly empowers activists' ideas and feeds the process indirectly, reducing the centrality of the process to a certain extent.

- As participatory approaches are used by NGOs and practitioners and not by GAM, the diagram places importance pinpointing on how production processes are including inputs from end-users and how these inputs are processed and played out in the produced outcomes when they are delivered and managed by GAM.

- The lack of a distinctive and straightforward process as well as the informality in the relationships and inputs guiding the process means that the community's interaction with the process varies considerably (Calderon & Chelleri, 2013).

- The diagram prompts the question of how refugee communities (coded in pink) are of influence in the process—specifically in this context and the context of this research's specific ethno-cases, which will be addressed next.

10.3 Socio-Spatial Understanding: Refugees' Experiences of Survival, Indifference, and Unexpected Social Encounters

This section elaborates on the previously proposed conceptual framing to answer the question of what constitutes refugees' agency and situates them as actors within the assembled network through their outdoor experiences—experiences ranging from the specifics of their survival, indifference, and unexpected social

encounters/sociabilities, all manifested in a new form of agency termed here as 'gentle insurgency'.

10.3.1 Gentle Insurgency

A major research question in this study concerns understanding refugees' agency and how they have come to form part of a larger network of actors who are involved in several POS-production processes for sociocultural integrative purposes. In this way, this research has endeavoured to achieve a thorough understanding of how refugees use spaces as a means to illuminate spatial attributes and the impacts of their agency (Gotham, 2003, p. 729). In mind of this, this section will begin with a general overview of refugees' POS experiences before answering what constitutes their agency and role, closing with what this research proposes and terms as 'gentle insurgency'.

The findings of the refugee hangout correspond strongly to what Eastmond (2007) found: refugees are still 'amid the story they are telling'; it is a lived experience that is not about 'progression' or 'ending'. Their state of 'refugeeness' and their being part of forced migration is a non-linear and complex process (Blachnicka-Ciacek, 2020) placed in a wider sociopolitical and cultural context—a fact that should be paired with the reminder that although integration processes stretch beyond the first months (OECD, 2018), findings show that authorities consider refugees' situations as temporary, and act accordingly. Hence, this research looks at the possible ways of amplifying their enduring spatial agency in their integration processes that surpass the initial emergency and welcoming infrastructures.

The findings display the daily routines present here and how a general state of instability regulates their experiences. This state of non-linearity and intertwining between past and present was reflected by how many of the participants perceived the POS around them. In turn, the findings are context-specific, individual-specific, temporal, and intersectional, involving a myriad of local and global dynamics that are constantly subject to change.

Their narrated everyday experiences conveyed a spatial situatedness that signified, to a great extent, their differentiated sense of belonging (Datta, 2009). Belonging as a process—an unstable one—is scale-dependent (Huizinga & van Hoven, 2018), so

some of the participating refugees showed a great sense of belonging in Hashemi but not in the wider Jordanian nation; to the 7 Hills Skate Park but not to the whole neighborhood of Lwebde. The majority of them showed a multifaceted belonging to their home countries beyond stable boundaries (Van Liempt, 2011) manifested in the trans-local spaces like Baghdad Street and the Syrian shops and the trans-local materiality of products reminding them of home; even some plants in the park aroused nostalgic feelings of home (Rishbeth & Finney, 2006), like the Camphor tree at 7 Hills Skate Park.

Their experiences are influenced by, first, the external politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006) and the interrelation of the wider processes involved in socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion (as discussed earlier); and second, by individual personal matters of history, personal culture, relationships, and economic and legal factors (Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Although many relational and personal dimensions of belonging implicitly shape the way they narrate their POS experiences (or lack thereof), a shared perception and understanding of POS govern refugees' articulation. The majority of the participating refugees are not used to talking about public spaces and find it hard to articulate their experiences in the outdoors, one key reason for this being that POS are not a priority to them, given all the hardships they face—especially considering their general deficit of knowledge concerning POS and their wide range benefits.

One additional reason for this disinterest is many places they perceive as POS are mundane, banal, part of their habitus (Harvey, 1996), and are deemed a practical functional dimension for their everyday use (Egoz & De Nardi, 2017). POS are engrained in their every day to an extent where they see them as normal, take them for granted (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007, p. 127), and do not feel the need to question or think critically about them.

The findings aligned with different studies about refugees and POS in other contexts; they pointed to the refugees' general state of indifference about the surrounding POS within their communities and confirmed several conditions that perpetuate indifference, such as unsatisfaction, physical and social immobility (Yu, 2016), effortless 'nodding relationships' with others (Kohlbacher *et al*., 2015), 'parallel lives' (Valentine, 2008), dreams of resettlement to a third country (Hiruy, 2009), and

'stranger danger' (Watson, 2006). This may also be due to their being part of a broader city-scale landscape injustice reflected, in the poor provision of POS in Amman's deprived neighborhoods, where refugees normally reside—not by preference. This should be considered, along with the social capital that has been influenced due to a prominent lack of 'vertical links' (Putnam, 2000) between refugees and state authorities that are exacerbated by a flawed participatory system that is not institutionalised and suffers from a culture of tokenism.

Apathy and a significant lack of interest regarding POS. This is maintained by flawed POS access mechanisms, including knowledge, technology, identity, relationships, capital, and opportunities (Peluso & Ribot, 2020; Ribot & Peluso, 2003), resulting in a general avoidance of POS (Barolsky, 2016). Refugees' state of indifference, coupled with the poor actors responsible for mediating and granting these mechanisms in Amman, clearly illustrate the absent interplay between seeking and granting belonging (Visser, 2020).

Aligning with Mitchell (1995, p. 124) (who stated that excessive control of public spaces is one main reason why people refrain from going to them), the findings indicated the extent to which state control hinders any brave acts of insurgency (Hou, 2010a). Harb (2013) argues that cities with controlled and less dynamic and interactive public spaces tend to then see diminished collective action, meaning little opportunity for citizens to debate, disagree, or even make claims.

The findings also showed that the state perceives loose and open-ending spaces (Franck & Stevens, 2006; Stevens, 2007) as hazardous, so it regulates activism and considers order and predictability as a preferred means for sociocultural integration (Pl⊘ger, 2006). Cancellieri (2017) frames this noting refugees' spatial rights as 'not fitting' and being 'out of place' and against the 'taken-for-granted expectations of minorities' (Cresswell, 2004). This is further backed by Hage (2000), who discussed how relations of power and wider political discourse interplay with their everyday.

This hegemonic role of state (as portrayed in the findings) is supplemented by a lack of public space culture in Amman: public spaces are considered sites of avoidance rather than encounter (Al Jaajaa, 2018: p. 152)—and I argue here that all the aforementioned factors are augmented by refugees' general indifference, resulting in patterns of non-use in some of Amman POS, avoidance of spaces or certain spatial

activities, a lack of contribution and processes of spatial production in what is deemed unnecessary for survival, and limited participation in the public realm.

Central to Freudian concept is the idea that humans tend to avoid things they cannot face (Watson, 2006, p.17), and many authors, in different ways, address this state of indifference for diverse societies (Vertovec, 2007) and the avoidance tactics of ethnic minorities (Clayton, 2009; Powell & Rishbeth, 2012). Kristeva (1991, p.96) in her book *Strangers to Ourselves* portrays how outsiders are usually defined negatively, leading to a demeanor of indifference used as a shield to protect oneself from experienced rejection. Sennett (2005, p.2) meanwhile listed indifference as a dominant mode in coping with difference in cities. Also, describing it as 'art of the weak' (De Certeau, 1984, p.37), one researcher notes ethnic minorities develop tactics to segregate themselves—but such tactics and strategies are hard to trace (Selim, 2015). Madanipour (2004, p.271) attributes their limited capacity to encounter and deal with others to their struggle for basic needs, which notably highly applies in the studied cases, where refugees struggle for the lower levels of Maslow's (1943) Hierarchy of Needs: their physiological and safety needs. This amplifies the need to question the patterns of non-use in public spaces, as raised by Byrne (2012), who questions factors like exclusion or unwelcoming environments as determinants of non-use.

In this way, the findings challenge one key theory concerning the importance and openness of 'bottom-up' experiences of POS in similar contexts—in particular the key points of Aelbrecht & Stevens' (2019) recent book discussing the idea that POS' changes in the global south have been driven and initiated from the bottom and are open for negotiation. Here, it questions to what extent POS in Amman can change from the bottom when looking at power as a multidimensional thing, whereby all actors have power, including the refugees, but interact in different ways (Carmona *et al.*, 2010, p. 334).

Though this research argues that the refugees' situation ultimately results in a lack of contribution, the spatiality of their agency is still recognized here (Gotham, 2003, p. 724), as well as the fact that their struggles, through their urban experiences, can, in some ways, redefine belonging and reshape cities (Sandercock, 1998, p. 14). We can draw on De Certeau's idea of city walkers (1984, p.337) here, which speculates on public spaces as sites of potential, where everyday practices, such as walking

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(although very simple) can hold capacity for producing difference and new public spaces. Saunders (2012) looks at arrivals as survivors who have hidden intelligences (Amin & Thrift, 2017) that can unexpectedly surprise us and inform our strategic views. We can also draw from Bayat's theory that recognises the encroaching power in the non-movement of the ordinary (Bayat, 2010).

This research addresses an agency of a similar nature—a rather gentle and shy nature—and believes this nature of adaptation and survival, entrenched with intelligence, can inform several practices of POS production in Amman, and are valid and present key input to enhancing POS' role in integrating refugees across several practices: decision-making, urban design, education, and activism. Although described as gentle here, it can be considered a delayed agency serving as a crucial source of inspiration for future forms of action (Ghorashi *et al*., 2018, p. 377).

10.3.2. What Makes the Gentle Unexpected and Bold? What Enables Boldness?

Space, as an object of political struggle and a component of human agency, can facilitate spatial insurgencies, yet it can constraint actions, too (Gotham, 2003, p.729). This negates the fact that space only facilitates insurgency, as some spaces convey constraints towards and attempt to change, resulting in modest and gentler forms of insurgencies. In Hashemi and beyond the curated sites, the practices of insurgencies are gentler and related to what Castells called the 'urban symbolic' (1977): they come about by giving social meaning to particular places, such as Baghdad Street. Cancellieri (2017) relates this meaning to processes of 'homemaking' that emerge outside domestic space boundaries and into the public space (Rappaport, 1981; Relph, 1976).

Although spaces like Al Hara, with its looseness, provide ample potential for homemaking and insurgencies, refugees' voices being reflected in the graffiti on the walls, often, sites of insurgencies in Hashemi are more of a domestic nature, with simple practices reflecting their respective cultures: this can be seen in Akram in the garden, grilling Iraqi fish and using the water zeer; in Hanan planting herbs for Syrian dishes; in Raya transforming her balcony to a large seating space after her children were not allowed to sit in the shared space of the apartment building; on the rooftop of

Nayef and Ibtissam's apartment building and its appropriation to accommodate several affordances and patterns of use, transforming this space that previously was 'out of sight' for residents (Watson, 2006) to a visible place hosting unexpected and diverse sociability.

The latter encounters on the roof comprise the recognition of sameness, coupled with discussions of difference, contributing to the ongoing process of refugees' social cohesion (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019), though developed agonistically (Mouffe, 2005). The hangout witnessed discussions concerning different religions, food recipes, perceptions of POS, hidden transcripts (Scott, 1990), and an offstage critique of power and dominance. I believe these socio-spatial relations unfold beyond scripted and organised encounters in refugee community centres or the skatepark. Refugees, as producers of unexpected sociability, can be agents of micro-social changes (Grabowska *et al*., 2017), as they use outdoor potential in introducing changes to their communities, resulting in diffusing social remittances (Levitt, 1998).

Discussions of gentle insurgencies can address the lack of attention in academic work to the role of the ordinary in migration processes (Bakewell *et al*., 2012), and add to the body of work that captures the role of individual agency within migration (King, 2012; Kochan, 2016) and that is attentive to migrants' everyday spatialities (Ley, 2004; Schiller *et al*., 2006). Through their everyday spatialities of urban spaces, not only do they transform themselves, but they also mould the social-spatial fabric around them (Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015).

However, this shyness in POS' patterns of (non-) use and gentle insurgencies are transformed into unexpected sociabilities (Schaller & Guinand, 2019, p. 249), with and without the availability of carefully provisioned or designed 'props' (Franck & Stevens, 2006). For example, these sociabilities appeared mostly in POS that have predefined programs to curate sociabilities (Rishbeth *et al*., 2019), such as the 7 Hills Skate Park: in the park, Sudanese refugees use it as an open-air market to sell local products, bring bamboo chairs from home, plant some trees, and collect camphor leaves for home. Eventually, they contribute to and are part of the socio-spatial production of the space, or what Low (2017) defines as social construction processes, which encompass the cultural, symbolic, emotional, and affective dimensions of placemaking. They demonstrate a great sense of transnational belonging (Huizinga & van Hoven, 2018) and ownership in this way, translating Ruffin's (2020) description

of 7 Hills as an *'Open Wall that anyone can tag or paint without permission'*. 7 Hills granted refugees the boldness to treat the park as their own, running birthday parties, selling products, and cleaning the litter from the park to keep it clean for next time.

The findings showed a combination of factors that aided this shift: the different zones of 7 Hills Park, the empty roof space at Hashemi, and the multiple territories at Al Hara provide a range of social encounters—passive and fleeting, and, with time, the 'strengthening of weak ties' (Granovetter, 1976) can make it meaningful (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019). However, this does not negate the risky and unpredictable nature these encounters can have (Askins & Pain, 2011). Although hard to trace or detect (Selim, 2015), neither adaptation nor resistance can capture their full agency (Gotham, 2003, p. 728). The refugee experiences in this study may not reach the point of becoming critical counter publics (Fraser, 1990), but they can produce great lessons regarding the richness of everyday interactions and understanding the meanings refugees invest in spaces, and how these meanings are then used for actual change, informing theory and practice and even challenging inequality (Gotham, 2003).

This belief facilitated this study's investigation of the success of the spaces' hosting and the actors facilitating these unexpected sociabilities, turning the gentle into the bold and unexpected. This is supported by Tonkiss (2014, p.11), who considers all forms of agency and informal activism within city-making processes, as well as the conceptualisations that value ordinary urbanism in relation to public space, such as guerrilla urbanism and insurgency (Hou, 2010b; Miraftab, 2016; Sandercock, 2003).

The following section will attempt to disclose the gaps and links between the totality of the studied network, the success in spaces, and the actors witnessing and aiding the shift from gentle insurgencies.

10.4. Cross-Actors Analysis: Transversing Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Transversing perspectives across sites and actors in this research is looked at here as a step for critical action and reflection developing out of the interface between the practical, the theoretical, and the every day (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014). Looking across the totality of the assemblage and network of studied actors and understanding the refugees' outdoor experiences revealed gaps and links in the POS sector and the studied actors—and so a key

subsequent step was to undertake a cross-actor analysis—an attempt to transverse relational perspectives and interweave different bodies of knowledge. The analysis is a preceding step to producing practice-oriented recommendations and theoretical interpretations enriched by the everyday micro-practices of integration. These will be presented in the next section.

10.4.1. Revealing the Gaps in the POS Sector and Across the Actors

The assemblage of studied actors revealed that there are major gaps between the actors which lead to an overall weakness concerning action and impact. The integrative projects and programs of sociocultural integration are scattered—not coordinated under one large umbrella or abiding by one national plan. Rather, they are dependent on individual endeavours.

An authoritative and well-informed perception of refugees as users of POS is not the same thing as treating them in the same way as citizen residents or only as vulnerable people or temporary guests. Perceptions towards urban refugees vary greatly from one actor to another, yet this is subject to change—especially through partnerships, which can influence partnering actors' perceptions. At times, refugees are perceived as an extra burden on the already-exhausted infrastructure and as agents attracting donor countries' funds. On the other hand, while some actors perceive them as interesting subjects for socio-spatial research and useful labels for funding applications, many actors perceive them in rather sensible and humane ways. At best, actors consider the different ethnicities in all production processes of inclusive POS and are attentive to the different needs and sensitivity needed when producing such spaces.

The assemblage also showed how the POS production processes are not consistent: even when partnerships are established, the accompanying roles are often unclear, the rights and responsibilities indefinite, and the statement 'not our role' surfacing whenever actors are asked about integrative projects that involve refugees and amplify their role. To illustrate, all departments in GAM believe that it is 'not their role' to engage with people or address the equal access of local parks. The skatepark founders struggle to find a practical way to introduce their ideas to GAM.

Even for secondary actors who have levels of creativity and means to initiate change yet cannot have or use power directly, they find it unclear how to start collaborations or apply for

funding. CRP has no connections to GAM, which only exacerbates this continuous problem of funding insecurity, and they are, to a great extent, disconnected from local parks and the resources around them. Major actor-actor gaps appear often when interests are not aligned, some actors establish partnerships despite their interests not being compatible with cohesion. Even refugees themselves have different interests.

Another general weakness across the assemblage is that the production processes are often temporary attempts, lacking thinking about the sustainability of the project and the complexity of the place-keeping processes (Dempsey & Burton, 2012, p. 11). There is a common underestimation of the need for long-term outcomes that surpass the welcoming infrastructures for the everyday integration processes of refugees. Site activation programs and local committees are introduced in some projects as an add-on, and the capacity of cross-sector partnerships (Dempsey *et al*., 2014, p.96) is not understood, and sometimes as theoretical concepts lack clear methods of application and are usually overlooked by actors.

Also, the assemblage shows many gaps between actors from the same discipline due to competition or lack of connection, making alliances harder and channels of collaboration and knowledge transfer weaker—for example, the researcher-researcher gap (resulting from fear of plagiarism and institutional regulations), NGOs' competition with each other, and GAM's departments seeking separate achievements.

Across interdisciplinary actors, knowledge connections between academia and practice, policymaking, activism are minimal, and in Amman, they have fewer impacts on both policy and public debates than they should (Shami, 2021). Mutual points of knowledge exchange are deficient in the context of Amman and the studied actors. Some disciplines like design already tend to alleviate such exchanges (Griffiths, 2004). Actors have different languages, varying priorities and incentives, and different success metrics: for example, NGOs place high importance on outcome reports, while GAM is interested in physical interventions. Some actors are unfamiliar with academic language, meaning summarised reports of findings can be of more interest to them than peer-reviewed publications (Lokot, Michelle, Wake & Caitlin, 2021).

Most actors (primary and secondary) lack a connection to and an appreciation of laypeople's (including refugees') spatial experiences and how ordinary can provide rich input, whether

through producing research, designs, policies, or spaces. Actors who are not representative of the wider users (Dempsey *et al.*, 2014), understand public spaces with a degree of abstraction (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019) that leads to 'a stage-set visual space, and not as socially rich entity or realm, and less as a process' (Lehtovuori, 2010, p. 5)

A general culture of tokenism and ignorance can be detected, as many of the participatory approaches are celebrated in the form of shiny reports—when in reality, they play out as symbolic acts, rather than meaningful engagements. The findings display a range of possible reasons for this culture; one is the lack of genuine intent behind several hegemonic top-down approaches (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019, p. 326; Dempsey, 2019) to bring the ordinary up the 'informing and consultation' rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation. Another reason is that practitioners, although designing the participatory components in advance (i.e., in the Webde Project) (as recommended by Balazs & Zein, 2019, p. 94), do not make enough effort to learn about the local community and skip the participatory process instead of adapting the methodology of the PAR process in response to local circumstances. This general lack of participatory culture transverse all actors and expands to include refugees as users who are unfamiliar with such mechanisms. They showed hesitance to lobby for their needs, especially considering they had no clear and institutionalised venue for participation.

The sole actors conducting the participatory approaches that feed into GAM's production processes are large NGOs and practitioners—yet the NGOs who are closer to refugee communities (i.e., CRP; Reclaim Childhood) are also those who are most distanced from GAM, in turn reducing the chance for benefits being garnered from their rich and direct knowledge and access to refuge communities and beneficiaries.

On the other hand, several actors like practitioners and some of GAM's staff have no clear grasp of the rationale behind the participation processes of minority communities. This exacerbates the 'professional-layperson gap' (Carmona *et al.*, 2010, p. 333) because professionals feel they 'have nothing to add or to be reflected in the design', as quoted directly from one of Turath's team members. Described by Tornaghi & Knierbein (2014, p. 5) as the 'incapacitation of locals', professionals are held accountable for instances of indifference and lack of agency when they adopt narrow perspectives in engaging in POS, instead of being agents who are responsible for the spatial aspects of social change. This indicates a general lack of knowledge of POS' potential for integration and the wide range of

benefits for both users and actors. This also implies a lack of training, resources, and skills to negotiate, seek, and involve communities—but again, even skilful teams like Turath's are still operating in a wider context, where concepts of community participation are still uncommon. Hence, there needs to be more widespread awareness concerning POS culture and usage patterns to overcome the cultural and gendered barriers of POS, as well as open channels of communication between actors and refugees by transforming the open-door concept into operation and practice.

One important note here is that the 'middle-outwards' approaches, shaped by secondary actors like NGOs, still produce effects very similar to the top-down ones, and have less influence on the way GAM, as a central primary actor, defines deprived, marginal, vulnerable, and disadvantaged communities. To elaborate, GAM controls the diagnosis processes and site selection criteria for all projects, which, in turn, influences and makes the outcomes inaccessible to the 'hidden communities' of urban and informal refugees. One example is the stairs rehabilitated by GIZ as part of the ILCA project, whereby refugees were considered the main priority for the project—and yet they were not involved in the participation process one bit. One reason why the stairs are not regularly used by refugees is that they are not located near dense refugee communities as a result of failed diagnosis processes steered by GAM. Another reason for this is GAM's lack of PAR venues or systems; they complete this part in accordance with the preferences of their partners.

In practice, design is considered a technical, neutral, and physical production of space. In part, this can be linked to a lack of instruction in practitioners' education in Jordan concerning the transformative potential of urban design and the means of practical application. This general state of environmental determinism affects the use and interpretation of public space (Dempsey, 2009), leading to the formation of ill-defined concepts of landscape as beautification (Makhzoumi, 2016). It also leads to inclusive public spaces being perceived as spaces sensitive to differences like gender, ability, age group, and class, but still 'ethnic blind' (Carmona *et al*., 2010; Kant, 2019; Rishbeth, 2001), as stated by Nielsen (2019), who notes that including some groups in design processes can result in the exclusion of others. Instead of educating designers to become enablers and mediators, education normally neglects social and behavioural knowledge (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2015, p. 1).

A final but important perspective in terms of cross-actor understandings is that the findings highlighted the importance of language in understanding space and place (Low, 2017). The processes used here to understand refugees' usage patterns of public spaces and what spaces they perceive as POS has highlighted the gap between the formal typologies of POS, considered by GAM and handed to partners like international NGOs to work on, and the spaces that are actually used. GAM defines public space as a physical entity, and yet this definition is socially situated and interpretive to different people and is politically affected. The multicultural nature of Amman makes this definition even harder and nonuniform, nonlinear, and complex for socio-spatial reasons.

Notably, during this research period, refugees tended to refer places that fall outside the conventional 'public space typologies' when asked about the outdoor spaces they use every day. However, when the language of the question changed to 'what public spaces do you use', the answers referred to a park—yet some refugees have been there either rarely or never. This shows how public spaces in contemporary cities do not fit in canonical typologies, such as squares and parks, or within the public and private spectrum, but rather involves hybrid spaces with joint everyday uses (Brandão & Brandão, 2017). Also, this emphasises the need to shift the focus from topographical public spaces, designed as such and usually under the management and ownership of the state, to what Iveson (2007) called procedural spaces—spaces that host practices and experiences but have no formal categorisation as 'public'.

10.4.2. Revealing the Links between Actors and Refugees' Everyday Experiences

While there are many gaps detected between the actors and perspectives in the assemblage, many links and shared perspectives can be detected.

Many of the studied actors are linked with their commitment to change and their acknowledgment of inequality, despite the many wide contextual barriers and lack of skills and resources to overcome that. Great links and partnerships with many forms and capacities link these actors in a way that involves dynamics of trust-building, power-breaking, and the conflict of interest-resolving (Carmona *et al.,* 2010, p. 334). Links exist in the form of advocating and moving upwards through barriers of

bureaucracy in existing frameworks, finding alliances, funding mechanisms, and solidarity (Calderon & Hernández-García, 2019, p. 327).

One main link between all the studied actors is that they affect refugees' everyday socio-spatial experiences—and their influence, whether positive or negative, filters through and leaves tangible and intangible traces (Mady, 2018). National policies and GAM's frameworks, both conceived abstractly at the national and city-scale respectively, are affecting refugees every day. However, there is a perceptible inattentiveness towards what effects their frameworks can place on refugees' daily socio-spatial experiences in the city. The link between these frameworks and refugees is evident in the national designation for some ethnicities as temporary 'guests' and not refugees (Souilem *et al.*, 2008). As 'guests', being not allowed to work can decrease their self-esteem, disturb their wellbeing, and create parallel timeframes with locals and refugees from other ethnicities who can work to an extent they rarely meet (Khalifa & Krzysiek, 2008). Also, unregistered urban refugees, when deemed illegal, face limited access to public spaces and limited ability to walk freely in the city.

Notably, refugees who feel unwelcome in parks due to the hostility of locals or wardens can be traced upwards, to GAM's influence, since educating citizens is not deemed a priority for them, nor is the proper development of culture capacities for their wardens and staff, which *would* lead to inclusive, tolerant, and respectable POS.

Small NGOs have positive influences that are traced to the every day, however. Many refugee participants expressed how CRP's programs are considered events and changed their lives tangibly, such as in the case of small children who grew up in warzones realising there were spaces called parks during a CRP trip to the nearby park. The access RC grants to many young girls to safe public spaces has remarkable influences on their everyday socio-spatial experiences, health, wellbeing, and perception of outdoor sports. Activists creating environments like 7 Hills that offer potential and alternative spaces for inadequate domestic settings allow them to do homework, sleep, or drink their daily tea.

On the other hand, some academics and educators are distancing themselves from the everyday socio-spatial experiences—and by not representing or addressing the every day, they tackle completed projects and conventional typologies that are not necessarily relevant to the context at hand and are mostly adopted from the more

advanced western theories (Makhzoumi, 2016), leaving out the hara and alleyways from their studies. They are also inattentive to their role in public pedagogy to enhance users' POS culture, usage patterns, and ability to articulate latent concepts of POS.

A predominant practice and mutual belief that links most of the studied actors (including myself) is our hope to enhance or amplify (or both). This is manifested in GAM and Turath's ambitious team in their hope that a socially conscious environment can create a better society (Broady, 1968, as cited in Dempsey, 2009, p.318), NGOs' perceiving POS as a 'beacon of hope' (Mady, 2018) in such unstable regional contexts, or in activists' and academics' 'social dreaming' (Freire, 2000), whereby they enrich their practices in the hope they'll be able to distribute such practices to those unable to hope because they weren't taught or allowed to think in this manner (Synder, 2002) or to have the capacity to think positively about the future, but only to 'negate the negative' (Moltman, 1970, p. 32).

To conclude, as assemblages can generate new understandings and concepts (Schneider & Till, 2009), the studied assemblage of actors and sites generated a new understanding that I argue for here. POS production processes in Amman have witnessed a shift due to the influx of refugees it has received in recent years and the role of refugee-orientated NGOs. With developed countries paying more and more attention to POS as tools for sociocultural integration, a shift in priorities is sure to take place. More POS projects in the eastern side of the city focusing on everyday spaces are being initiated by NGOs or activists who have secured international funds in line with Delanda (2006), who highlights the unintended consequences of intended actions (meaning here that integrative POS projects with specific intentions to integrate refugees generate unintended outcomes that enhanced the POS sector in general). Notably, there is a plethora of strengths and potential discussed in the findings in how these different actors (with refugees' sociocultural integration in mind) are generating byproduct enhancement in the sector as a whole—for instance, GIZ's introduction of ethnographic methods to POS design, the new participatory tools of UN-Habitat, and NGOs' capacity-building as components of their projects (meaning tools and links are transferred and used by GAM elsewhere). 7 Hills Skate Park, as an endeavour to amplify refugees' voices, enhanced the sector by paving a new type of community-led public space to GAM, a pioneering precedent of GAM-

activist partnership, and a multicultural public space. These endeavours address the lack of role models and highlight the need for the establishment of mechanisms that assign rights and responsibilities for future partnerships and any potential upcoming self-managed POS.

10.4.3. Revealing Remarks of Success: Enabling Gentle Insurgencies

This section aims to identify what characteristics and qualities make POS a space of potential, as well as to dip into what the dimensions of space that enable the transition from gentle practices of insurgency to more unexpected spatial boldness and sociabilities. What lessons can be learned from cases like 7 Hills and Al Hara? What are the circumstances that can encourage this shift on a broader scale?

Below are points of success I argue for these spaces that can enable gentle insurgencies.

- **Not Owned by Anyone.** While 7 Hills Skate Park is implicitly run by GAM, there is no clear presence of any formal governance mechanisms (i.e., wardens; CCTV); there is just the community of skaters. On the other hand, the Hashemi roof (Nayef and Ibtissam's roof) is communal, and residents, through their conversations, expressed implicit permission between residents to use this space. This relates to Deleuze & Guattari's (1987, p. 399) two contrasting spatial logics: the 'striated space' as a highly governed space, and the 'smooth space' that is 'occupied without being counted'. Here, in different scales and circumstances, both spaces are smooth, and what is of interest is how the transition between the two spatial logics is enabled and supported.

- **Sites of Expressing Difference**. There is a common vibe across the sites of unexpected sociability, whereby differences are encountered, accepted, and celebrated. These sites are perceived as diverse and reflect what Watson (2006) defines as 'enchanted difference', and also present new ways of social integration and cohesion that are formed by difference based on Mouffe's (2005) concept of 'antagonism'. In these sites, users do not feel the need to assimilate, but rather perceive these sites as places where difference is acceptable and they can be themselves.

- **Sustained Encounters.**

♦ **Staged Activities.** The sustained, free, and accessible program at 7 Hills created consistent playful and potentially transgressive encounters that facilitated the exploring of new social relationships and contributed to more cohesion (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019) between refugees and locals—and, importantly, across different refugee groups. The regular encounters at 7 Hills with the program facilitating the hosting of different ethnicities proved successful in supporting these encounters. A combination of factors also contributed, such as the location and accessibility of the park, ticking all the boxes of curating sociability 'invitation, intention, activity, purpose, and regularity' (Rishbeth *et al.,* 2019). The park, with its focused activity, can be considered as an 'activity space'—one type of space of potential identified by Lownsbrough & Beunderman (2007). Its focus on sports and skating programs and the children-oriented nature proved to suit and respect the cultural and ethnic differences across the Sudanese, Syrian, Palestinian refugee groups, along with the local community, hence contributing to bonding and bridging relationships (Granovetter, 1976) and enriching their social capital (Putnam, 2000). This aligns with Lownsbrough & Beunderman's (2007) recommendation of having the indirect approaches fostering and not promoting interaction to transform spaces of potential into spaces of interaction.

♦ **Organic/Necessary Activities.** The roof, on the other hand, witnessed many sustained encounters out of habit and necessity. The lack of domestic spaces made the roof a necessary compromise, and accordingly, Nayef started to take his hooka upstairs to call his family in Iraq. The laundry ropes on the shared roof forced the residents to meet Nayef, who eventually liked the idea of this extra outdoor space with great sunset views and regular meetings—and so the space was eventually transformed into a melting pot of many conversations about different religions, cultures, and politics, the tenants coming from different backgrounds and countries.

It is important to state here that the studied actors (with their success stories and barriers explained in the previous sections) provide a plethora of lessons to learn from. These lessons, combined with the remarks of success, aided in the production of

recommendations to enhance the sector, refugees' outdoor experiences, and refugees' agency to change.

These points confirm the well-established urban design principles that encourage socially cohesive public space, accessibility and reachability, and a less regulated nature permitting adaptability (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019, p. 336). Also, the abovementioned remarks address principles that Aelbrecht & Stevens (2019, p. 336) argue have not yet been examined: such as the congested uses of the park and multiple usage patterns (discussed in chapter 8).

Informality as a design principle and the richness of unregulated use of the skatepark further emphasise looking at the global south as a place for transferring lessons to the global north, making such remarks of success important to adhere to. This also relates to Franck & Stevens' (2006) 'looseness', which is also considered as a recommendation for interactive spaces of potential (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007). In addition to looseness, different texts tackle creativity and spatial novelty as key aspects of social interaction in parks. This can be clearly detected in 7 Hills Park, which embraces different forms of creativity (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019; Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007). Harb (2013) discusses how the less a public space is carefully planned and designed as an abstract space, the more potential it has to witness practices of spontaneity and appropriation.

10.5. Actor-Tailored Recommendations

The enhance and amplify, the components in this research are looked at here as supplementary of one another. One key finding is that enhancing the POS sector is an effective way of amplifying refugees' contributions to POS (and vice versa, meaning that refugees' amplified contribution to POS is one way to enhance the POS sector). Employing sound participatory mechanisms would be one way to enhance the sector, yet they are ingrained with amplifying potentials. Such mechanisms are aware of hidden communities and utilise means to access these communities to serve rather than represent them, and can serve the sector by amplifying the voices.

Enhancing also means working on improved access mechanisms to POS in all forms, whereby refugees have enhanced knowledge about the public spaces near them, can

access them freely, and can use POS to influence their social capital and generally normalise multi-ethnic uses of POS.

Hence, the following are recommendations that intend 'to amplify refugees' and agency in POS to enhance the POS sector and 'to enhance the POS sector to amplify refugees' agency'. However, these recommendations are produced here with the following points of departure:

- Conformity to theoretical concepts of spatial justice (Low & Iveson, 2016; Soja, 2010), relational perceptions of POS (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014), schemes of curated sociabilities (Rishbeth *et al*., 2019)*,* the vernacular intelligence of the collective (Simone, 2014), and recognition of the power of the ordinary (Bayat, 2010).

- A belief that to amplify is to enhance and vice versa, and both components need a wide relational understating of POS production processes' context, and foreground with a multi-scalar understanding of refugees' everyday socio-spatial experiences to enrich this enhancement.

- The need to find ways of transversing interdisciplinary perspectives to link sociocultural needs with practice, theory with education, and decision-making with policies.

- Recognition of the potential of gentle insurgencies in informing interdisciplinary recommendations by seeking remarks of success in the studied actors and sites that hosted and witnessed such insurgencies.

The following recommendations (see Table 21) are tailored for the studied actors, but this can be of use to actors with similar roles, professions, or institutions in the context of Amman. These recommendations are made through the learning gained through all aspects of the research process, the aim of presenting them being to highlight, clearly and practically, the priorities and actions for different actors in such a way where they can enhance refugees' outdoor experiences and the POS sector in general, with the ultimate aim to amplify refugees' agency as actors involved in the socio-spatial production of POS.

Table 21: Tailored recommendations for studied actors. Source: Author, 2021.

Potential Actor	Recommendations
GAM: **Decision-Makers**	• Establish means and clear venues for the actors who are willing to partner and collaborate with GAM. Assign rights and responsibilities for different modes of partnership. • Develop an institutional approach to community-led management to enhance sustainability and improve POS management. • Adopt (and adapt where necessary) the participatory tools to each neighbourhood's context. • Learn to benefit from small NGOs' and activists' closeness to the community to access hidden communities, to gain a better understanding of their everyday socio-spatial needs. • Enhance GAM's role in public pedagogy and increase awareness to inform people of their lawful rights to POS, usage patterns, and participatory culture. • Establish voluntary programs to include refugees within public space programs. • Establish a free access digital repository platform that holds research outputs from several partnerships (i.e., space and place studies and archival work, plans and drawings, research publications, and master's theses) to support synthesis and knowledge exchange.
Turath: **Practitioners**	• Develop PAR skills, modes, and active roles in accessing hidden communities. • Ensure that PAR is fully operated as a procedural tool and used effectively to shape processes. • Develop cultural capacities and deepen understandings of the multicultural nature of the city to incorporate in the design.
Academics and Educators	• Appreciate alliances and interdisciplinary knowledge exchange. • Find ways to analyse, value, and operationalise lay and latent knowledge. • Focus on the synthesis of previous studies. • Promote open access.

Potential Actor	Recommendations
	• Provide non-academic outcomes.
	• Educate and research expanding disciplines to include transformative potentials and influences on social dimensions.
	• Adopt roles to develop public pedagogy on issues of POS culture and patterns of use.
CRP & RC: **Community Centres;** **Small-Scale NGOs**	• Encourage autonomy by planning more outdoor opportunities which start from a known base. These can lead to picnics in the nearby outdoor spaces, walks within the neighbourhood, and, later, trips to other recreational spaces in the wider city.
	• More regular and meaningful communication with the municipality and the neighbouring NGOs, particularly considering the collective advertising of a variety of events run by different parties.
	• Prioritise supporting refugee skills in travelling across the city and enhancing mobility skills.
	• Be creative in how to use outdoor spaces as part of therapeutic programs and classes.
	• Prioritise and improve women's access to public open spaces.
	• Appropriate POS as useful venues for several activities to support refugees with higher education and lifetime hobbies who are unemployed (often due to legal constraints), and help them to utilise their free time and help build self-worth.
	• Actively address the issues of antisocial behaviour and segregation. This can mean peer support and work with other community leaders.
UN-Habitat- GIZ: **NGOs**	• Collaborate with smaller NGOs and community centres that are closer to refugee communities during the diagnosis and project scoping stages.
	• Support alternative PAR routes for projects that include GAM partnerships.
7 Hills Skate Park: **Activists;**	• Normalise the multi-ethnic use of POS.
	• Represent refugees by actively inviting and accessing

Potential Actor	Recommendations
Public Space Entrepreneurs	refugee communities and employing them as volunteers.
	• Address micro-challenges and barriers to the outdoors (i.e., availability of snacks; accessibility; childcare).
	• Initiate changes in POS by benefiting from gaps in the system and abandoned public spaces.
	• Help refugees to initiate change; create urban think tanks that provide free access to resources (i.e., the Internet; outdoor spaces; funds; knowledge) to enable the ordinary to be creative and to establish partnerships and local/international links.
	• Train refugees with the skills needed to communicate, initiate partnerships, and seek funds.
	• Inspire refugees by seeding hope and delivering their right to change and being vocal when asking for change.

This research represents an active attempt to enhance and amplify, and many of the aforementioned recommendations were adopted during the research.

The next section illustrates my role as a researcher within this wider network of actors.

10.6. Situating the Researcher within the Assemblage: Reflections on the Research Performance

'Turning the ethnographic gaze inward on the self, while maintaining the outward gaze of ethnography looking at the larger context wherein self-experiences occur.'

- Denzin (1997, p. 227)

As this research looks at ethnography as an approach that includes multiple methodological inquiries (Crowley & Henry, 2009), it relied on a combination of conventional qualitative inquiries, along with an embedded set of ethno-cases (Parker & Jenkins, 2018) that are multi-sited, moving across different spheres of practice,

including the formal and mundane (Marcus, 1995). These inquiries, focusing on a multiplicity of actors, have expanded beyond specific sites or scales, and have contributed to this research's messy ethnographic processes (Law, 2018). The description of 'messy attributes' to the emergence of methodological dynamics (Clark *et al*., 2007) provoked the need for reflection recognition of this research's performativity (Plows & Law, 2018). Therefore, this section will reflect on the performance of the research itself and the emerging methodological dynamics (see Figure 122) by examining the many dynamics that emerged *before, during, and after* data collection, and presenting a set of thematic reflections about…

- The researcher's role and position within this network of multiple actors and the recognition of power.

- The researcher-actor (emerging) dynamics.

- The extended relationship of researcher and the city.

The previous sections in this chapter addressed the elements around the relationships between the actors (actor-actor)—and now, this section reflects on the researcher's position and the researcher-actor relationship dynamics and how they are expanded to the city as part of my commitment to look inward and have a negotiated stance (Fine, 2004), whereby I explicitly portray identities and dialogue. These themes were further explored and presented at the AHRA PhD Symposium 2021, titled *Researching in the City, Embeddedness + Collaborations.*
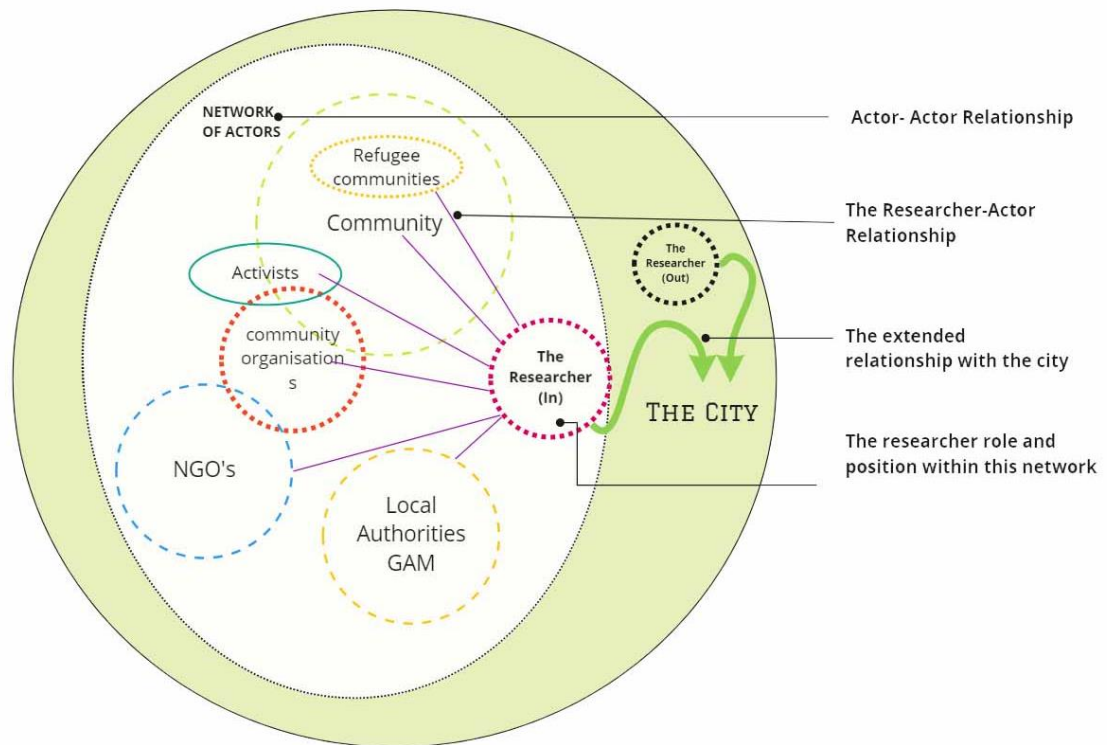
Figure 122: Reflection on the research performance and different relationships involved. Source: Author, 2021.

10.6.1. The Researcher's Role and Position within this Network of Multiple Actors

Drawing from feminist scholars' emphasis on reflection, voice, representation, and power (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1987; Monk *et al*., 2003; Wolf, 1996) and after analysing each ethno-case of the different actors, a reflection on my role and position within this network of actors seemed important. This reflection will start with the recognition that I chose this network of actors as the focus of this study and assembled this snapshot of a network to be investigated in the first place (Law, 2002) based on the accessibility of the actors and the general research objectives (McDowell, 1998). Notably, my being positioned in and out of this network multiple times during the life of this study also helped in my conducting such reflection.

During the research, I shifted between different roles: I was the architect at Turath, the volunteer at 7 Hills Skate Park, the expert and researcher with the NGOs' interviews

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and discussions, and an ordinary woman with multiple positionalities (Ryan, 2015) with the refugees.

Within the network and across the multiple cases, other roles emerged, such as a mediator, facilitator, and contributor, along with the main role of an investigator. This will be displayed in the following section.

The multiple positionalities are of importance to reflect on in this research, as I surpassed the dichotomy of an insider-outsider relationship (Nowicka & Ryan, 2015) and tried actively to look 'beyond the ethnic lens' (Schiller *et al.*, 2006) to apprehend what Dwyer & Buckle (2009) named as 'the space between' being an insider-outsider in research.

During the hangout with the refugees, I was not neatly fixed as an insider or an outsider; rather, the encounters themselves were shaped by the different components of ethnicity, age, religion, gender, ability, language, and social class. I shifted between being an insider and an outsider based on the encounter and set of communications that took place. For example, in one single situation, I was an insider with a participant as a woman and a mother, an outsider in terms of ethnicity, but an insider in the language (we both spoke Arabic).

Depending on the participant, I shifted in the same hangout through multiple positionalities, depending on the participants' interpretation. Sometimes, with the group hangouts, I represented different positionalities to different participants. In my meeting with two Iraqi refugee families on a domestic rooftop, one of these families were Catholic Christians, and I was to both families an outsider hearing Iraqi politics and recipes shifted to being an outsider to some—and yet I was an insider to others when the discussion turned to the need for tolerance between religions.

The components of my positionality were not static, and revolved around being a middle-class woman in her early thirties, a mother of one child, a Jordanian but a third-generation Palestinian, and a Muslim not wearing a headscarf (hijab). The interaction of these boundaries differed from one participant to another, and sometimes helped in facilitating others' engagement—and other times, it hindered this capacity. These multiple positionalities contributed and influenced my role and constructed both my identity to them and our relationship. I was perceived by some as a friend, or reduced to an outsider researcher researching at a foreign university. Some

hangout participants sought continued connections with me, while at least one indicated he/she wanted no further interaction.

As Hashemi Shamali is an over-researched context, many of the participating refugees in this research have experience of previous research, and have a predetermined answer to the majority of the questions, allowing them to hide their real thoughts and match their answers to the mainstream stream of thoughts. I tried to benefit from my identity components to highlight the similarities between me and the refugee I was meeting with to reduce what Scott (1990) termed as the 'hidden transcripts' of subordinate groups. Some refugees, on the second visit, changed some pre-set answers related to their financial and work status, or the fact that they were not officially registered.

My methodological decisions as an investigator were perceived differently amongst the participants, and again, this differed depending on my role and position and the relative status of the participant group. For example, my decision concerning the path and the location of the hangout was not based on my convenience or proximity, but rather was undirected and based on the participants' selections. Some participants felt that choosing the path we took was an empowering moment, while others felt I was intruding on their everyday life.

In the skatepark, my positionality evolved from an outsider to an insider. On my first day there, the park's regular refugee visitors directly recognised that I was a new user—but with time, I went from being considered as a strange face and 'the Jordanian volunteer' to one they would meet the following week to share a cup of tea with. Suddenly, other components of positionality came into play here; specifically, with conversations about what am I doing there (education).

In Turath, I was the architect who was researching practice, but was considered a part of the team from the early beginnings, the line between insider and outsider immediately being blurred. I must acknowledge that this insider status was easier for me to achieve here, as I already had previous personal connections within the team and was a previous student of Dr Rami.

While interviewing GAM and the other organisations (and because most of my interviewees know each other), I was perceived as the outsider researcher who had

connections with other actors—and this, to some extent, helped me to gain some respect and open doors.

The positionality and perspectives of the insider/outsider convey and relate to ideas of power (Collins, 1999) and the need for explicitly stating researcher privileges and how these impacted the research design, processes, and knowledge creation. I acknowledge the multi-layered power dynamics across the whole process, starting from my choosing the network and extending to the fieldwork itself and even to the analysis and writing. I recognise the power of choosing these actors to study and not others, and also being the one who translates and represents this network in academic written work—the one who decides the weight of representation of each actor in the produced work, which is not necessarily interpreted equally by the actors involved. I also acknowledge that my interpreted work represents what McDowell (1998) called 'a single narrative told at a particular time to a particular audience', and there could be an array of potential and alternative translations not necessary to what is interpreted here in the form of a dissertation.

I also acknowledge and accept that I am privileged to be able to access these connections and have the advantage of being included in one room with some of these actors, as well as my being able to facilitate alliances between them. I have always tried to keep asking myself, 'Who is not in the room?' and, 'How can I change that?' I tried to assure that the analysis involved the voices of the actors without them being overly analysed, and to include their voices equally.

I am also privileged in being part of a reputable academic institution that provided me with a wealth of resources and a supervisor who supported my attempts to change and contribute to this network. Being a student in a foreign university facilitated many of the elite interviews I would never have had if I were a student from a local university.

10.6.2. The Researcher-Actor Emerging Dynamics

Inspired by feminist scholars' commitment to reflecting the underexplored perspectives of the 'working relationships' between researcher and participants (Fine, 2004; Monk *et al*., 2003), this section reflects on the dynamics of my relationships with the actors of this research that emerged before, during, and after the fieldwork.

10.6.2.1. Entering the Sites

I relied on different mediators to access the different sites—gatekeepers who had the knowledge and access to organisations or communities. For example, I entered Turath through a friend working there, who conveyed the idea to Dr Rami. Some interviewees were contacted directly, and the entering of 7 Hills Skate Park was done through communicating with the co-founders directly.

On the other hand, entering the sites led to an emerging partnership that made the hangout in Hashemi Shamali possible. The partnership with CRP facilitated my access meant creating a win-win situation, and required communication skills that I worked on and gained during the process, with the help of constant supervision from my supervisor, as many arising situations were new to me. I was granted access to CRP's classes in the community centre in Hashemi only after they had discussed my engagement directly with my supervisor and I had completed a boarding course to understand their codes of conduct. Communicating with CRP involved discussing mutual benefits. They offered access to refugees' recruitment, and I offered to hand them a short report of my findings after leaving the site (see Figure 123). They asked to include a question in my hangout with the refugees about designing a potential roof garden in the centre, and a dedicated section answered that.
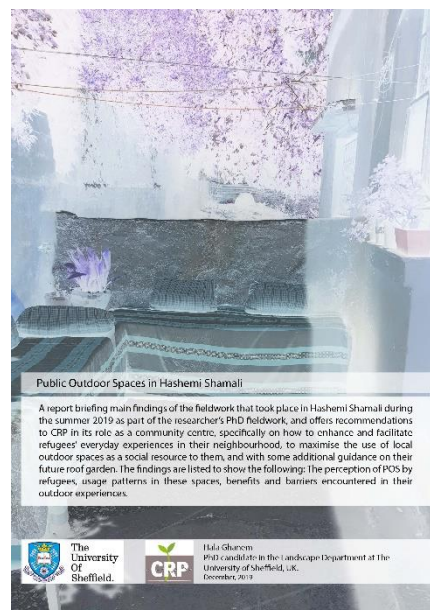
Figure 123: The Front Page of the Report Titled Public Outdoor Spaces in Hashemi Shamali Presented to CRP in 2019. Source: Author, 2019.

Some sites were hard to enter, with no clear contact information available regarding access. For instance, entering GAM to interview the managers and head of the departments was hard: I had to rely on a chain of contacts to lead me to the phone number of one manager. Once I had the contact info for one high-rank member in GAM, it snowballed from there.

10.6.2.2. Relationship Development

'Be sensible, my research for some people is not a priority, it is not about my research all the time, talking about politics and 'what herbs are best with tea' is important too!'

- A Footnote I Wrote in my Fieldwork Notebook to Remind Myself to be Sensible (2019)

This research relied immensely on my building relationships of trust with the different organisations and people. This required flexibility from my side to adapt to different personalities, contexts, and egos.

Developing these relationships was most critical in the sites that involved refugees, being frequent subjects for research who bear the burdens of participating in research without any reward and are considered over-researched groups (Omata, 2019). Neal *et al*. (2016) showed how forging deep links with over-researched groups can strengthen involvement and lead research projects to success. For instance, CRP shared an upfront concern about how refugee beneficiaries faced some negative situations with previous researchers that led to misunderstandings and hostile feelings, which their staff had to clean up. These negative experiences perpetuate a 'research fatigue' that can be reflected in the community's indifference towards any further engagement in research (Clark, 2008).

This dynamic of embedded research made me realise that no matter how prepared I am knowledge-wise for the fieldwork, the process is organic and requires flexibility and dynamism. I found that such processes require training that has a different nature

to the conventional training normally offered to researchers. With each site and participant, relationship issues like creating warm environments for interviews, being an appreciative guest when being hosted (see Figure 124), being a team player and an ally, and having authentic relationships and a decent interference in each site, mattered to the extent that I found that arming myself with sensibility, integrity, and cautiousness to accountability and others was equally important to any other training I had.

Figure 124: Being Hosted in Domestic Settings Held an Added Responsibility for Being an Appreciative Guest. Source: Author, 2019.

'Because I understand my otherness in these sites, the gesture of bringing sweets with me felt like an easy way to access sites and to show appreciation for participants. In Turath, it all started with donuts, in hashemi it was oriental sweets, and it was chocolate croissants in 7 Hills Park. To me, food sharing not only assisted my site entry, but created reciprocal routines that had implied and meanings to them; it was a way of taking tacit permission to sharing experiences and a way of developing relationships. I had the chance to try Sudanese traditional herbs in tea, Iraqi desserts, and was able to join Turath's breakfasts and lunches at the meeting room.'

- My Thoughts on Food-Sharing (2019)

10.6.2.3. Emerging Ethical Considerations

First, starting the fieldwork had to be done in the form of different treatments across different actors. Ethical consent forms were accordingly tailored for each actor separately (e.g., ongoing, verbal, and non-formal consent for refugees; a consent form for interviews; tailored researcher in residence and volunteering forms; an assent form for children (see [Appendix F](#))). Here, an ethical consideration emerged and led to a new understanding for me: after having a round table discussion with GIZ as an international NGO conducting a national project in Green Infrastructure, we detected commonalities between our research endeavours. Hence, they offered a consultation contract whereby I become part of the team and co-produced research outcomes. The situation required direct advice from my supervisor and the university director of research, who clarified there would be a conflict of interest between my PhD requirements and the contract's research. The solution was to keep the lines of communication open by finding multiple data exchange settings.

Some aspects mentioned in our discussions were reflected in their published report on Gender and Public Space in Amman. These emerging considerations of embedded research came with many grey areas that needed constant discussion with my supervisor and other actors.

10.6.2.4. The Afterlife of the Partnerships and Relationships

Sustaining my relationship with the different actors was an initial aim from the beginning of my involvement in the different sites, as a simple withdrawal from them was not acceptable. I am still friends with many of the refugees involved in the research; we check in on each other occasionally (see Figure 125). My relationship with CRP also expanded: they presented the report to a number of their funders to implement some of the recommendations mentioned in the report to enhance refugees' outdoor experiences. Also, NGOs such as GIZ and UN-Habitat are still in touch, often sending me invites to attend their events.

I was invited to partake in UN-Habitat's Regional Public Space Workshop and GIZ's study event launch. Finally, 7 Hills Skate Park shared with me the great news of their replicating the park in another site in eastern Amman.

I believe the development of these relationships reflects exactly what it means to be *in* the field genuinely, and not just a 'hit and run' researcher. I will also be based in Amman in the near future, which means I will return and continue to be part of the city networks.

Figure 125: Updates sent to me from different participants. (right) Buthaina shared the news that her son was accepted in the football team in Hashemi. (Left) 7 Hills sharing news of replicating park in another location. Source: Author, 2019.

10.6.3. The Extended Relationship of the Researcher and the City
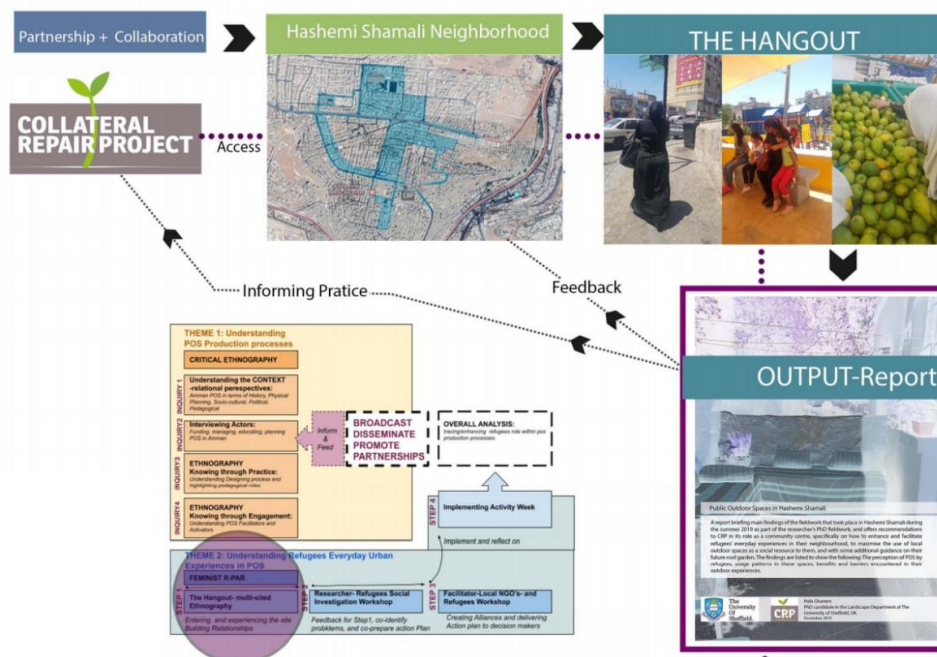
Figure 126: An Action-Oriented Planned Framework Aiming to Inform Practice and Link Different Actors Together. Source: Author, 2020.

This research intended to expand to the city by contributing and initiating attempts to change. To illustrate, an action-oriented framework to nurture local knowledge and inform practice was planned as an important output for this research (see Figure 126). This plan, which was paused due to the outbreak of the global pandemic, involved a set of collaborative workshops that aimed to first portray the challenges refugees face in their everyday experiences in Amman public open spaces, and second, to focus on providing neutral spaces of mutual learning between the refugees and actors involved in this research to enable synergy and co-production between them.

A fund application was prepared to be submitted to the Antipode Workshop Awards of 2019 (these were then cancelled due to the pandemic), partnering with CRP and with the consistent goal to challenge the hierarchical relationships between the involved actors and to disseminate and broadcast the research in different outcomes (see Figure 127).

Figure 127: The Prepared Fund Application and Cooperative Drafts of the Details Communicated with CRP. Source: Author, 2019.

10.7. Conclusion

This chapter started by polishing the 'understanding' component of this study by first providing a conceptual framing of the findings by proposing theories of Agency and

Assemblage to comprehend the diverse roles of the studied actors as a network. It then went on to introduce gentle insurgency in a way that depicts refugees' agencies and situates them as actors within the assembled network. Then, we examined transversing perspectives via explaining links and gaps across all the actors. Then, the wider possibilities and recommendations were explored to enhance refugees' POS experiences and the sector in general, and to amplify their agency as actors in the proposed assemblage. The chapter concluded with the 'reflect' component, and provided a reflective personal stance on my role as a researcher within this network resembled in reflections about the performance of the research itself and its expansion to the city.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

11.1. Introduction

The research delineated in this thesis has explored the various users involved in POS-production processes where there is some stated intention (however peripheral) to integrate refugees. This concluding chapter is organised into four parts: the first (11.2) revisits the components of the proposed research framework in relation to the research questions; the second (11.3) summarises this research's main findings; the third highlights the significance of this research (11.4) and its overall original contribution to the knowledge, practice, and contribution involved in Middle East and North Africa (MENA) debates; and the fourth (11.5) provides concluding reflections by discussing some of the limitations of this research before positing recommendations for future research in the field.

11.2. Reviewing the Process of the Research Framework

As this research was based on a framework of four main components (understand, enhance, amplify, and reflect), it is essential that we revisit all the components as a whole.

Figure 128 brings together the components of this research with the related research questions and illustrates the 'understand' component (involving an investigation of how a set of practices, along with refugees' outdoor practices) initially helped to garner understanding regarding the wider challenges that form refugees' everyday micro-challenges [see Section 2: Chapters 5-9]. This understanding ultimately aided in providing a set of implications (see Chapter 10) tailored for each of the actors studied in this research, with the overall aim of enhancing refugees' meaningful POS experiences and the public space sector and second to amplify refugees' agency in both using and changing public spaces. The framework is supplemented by a reflection on my role as a researcher within this network by informing research and practice within the field.
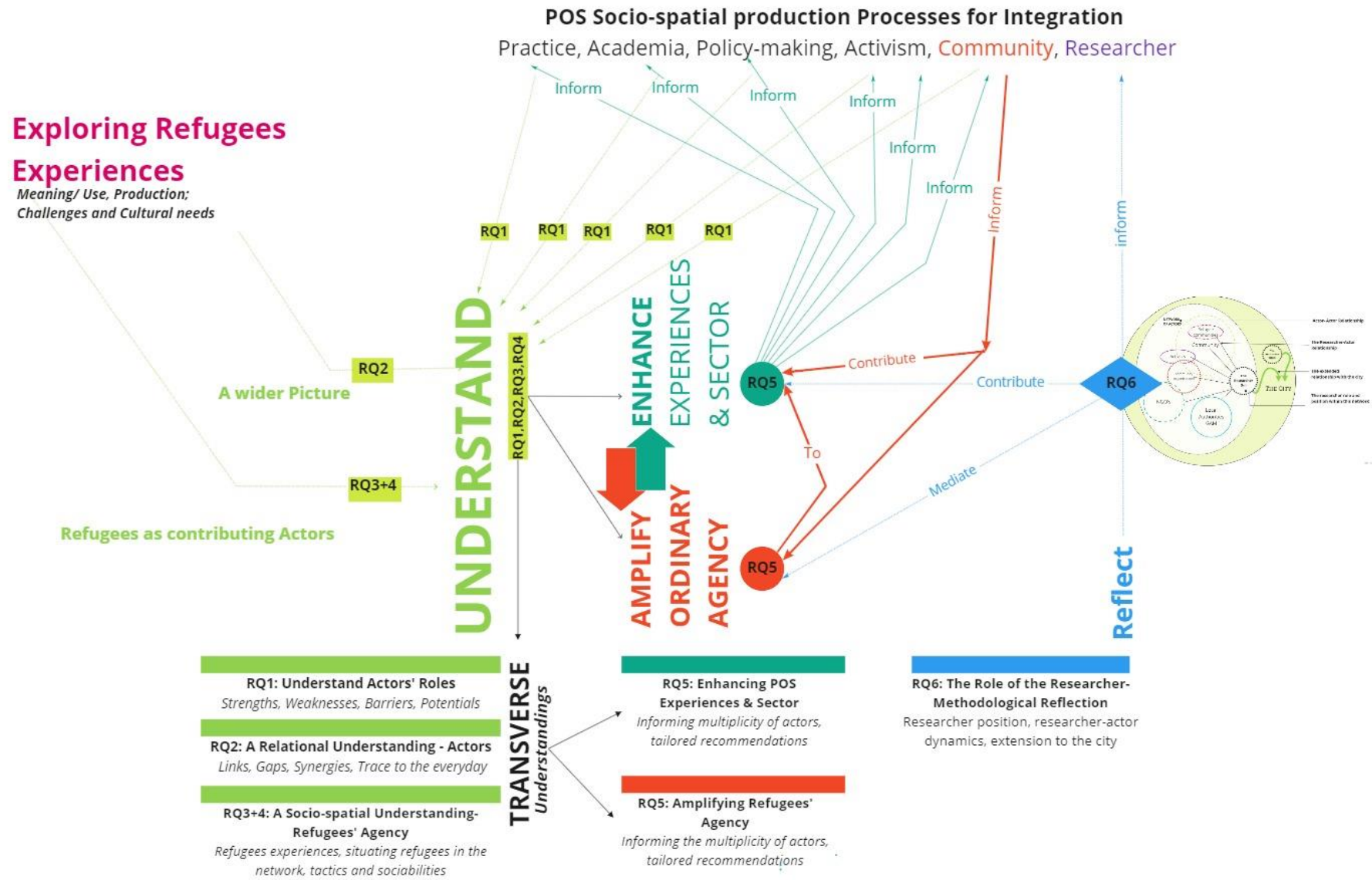
Figure 128: The Components of this Research in Relation to the Research Questions. Source: Author, 2021.

The theoretical approach taken within this thesis is that public space is constructed by different kinds of knowledge that overlap, a relational approach is adapted to public space (Lehtovuori, 2010; Tonkiss, 2005; Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014). Therefore, the 'understand' component of this framework has attempted to build three layers of knowledge, each layer relating to dedicated research objectives and research questions (Figure 129). These layers are as follows.

1. **Understanding Actors' Roles.** This fundamental layer (represented in Chapters 5-7) has provided both an individual and a multilevel understanding of the indirect effects of wider socio-historic, political, and cultural contexts by exploring the multiplicity of actors who produce, authorise, educate, activate, advocate, fund, and use public spaces. The outcome of these actions has potential to support sociocultural integration. The tailored data collection methods have helped to garner an understanding of how each actor normally operates, how they perceive refugees and diversity in their practices. Also, it summarises the strengths and weaknesses of their practices, their barriers and potential.

2. **A Socio-Spatial Understanding.** This layer examined refugees as a part of the wider network of actors by presenting an ethnographic understanding of refugees' outdoor experiences (represented in Chapters 8 and 9), examined their agency and to what extent they contribute to the network (see Chapter 10).

3. **A Relational Understanding.** This layer (see Chapter 10) has provided a collective understanding by linking different actors' roles to a wider network of production processes and highlighting both the tangible and intangible traces affecting refugees' everyday dynamics (Mady, 2018).
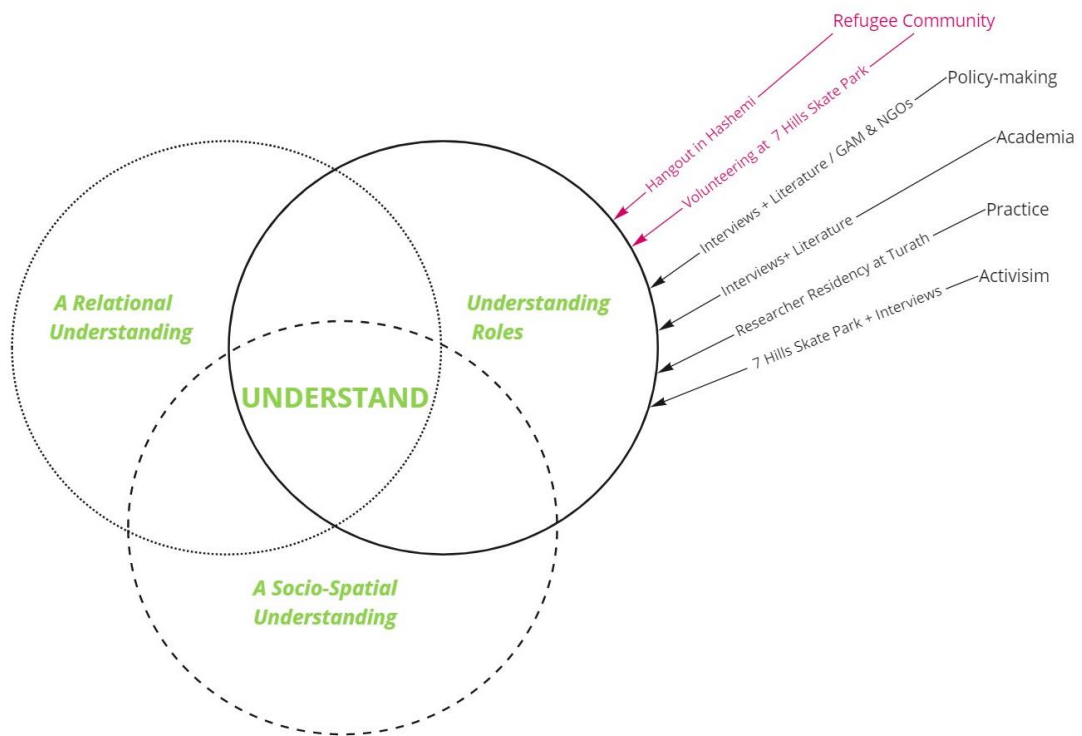
Figure 129: The Understand Component of this Research and Related Layers of Knowledge. Source: Author, 2021.

The 'understanding' component introduced perspectives from a range of different disciplines, and the transversing of these perspectives (see Chapter 10) highlighted the fact that enhancing POS and user experiences can amplify refugees' agency, and vice versa (Figure 130). Hence, the research, embracing the phrase 'to amplify is to enhance' (see chapter 10), found that practices should intend to amplify refugees' voices within their practices to enhance the POS sector, and vice versa: meaning that one way of enhancing the POS sector is to amplify refugees' access to POS. Since each component reinforces the other, the research has put forward actor-tailored recommendations to both enhance and amplify (see Chapter 10). Thus, the components utilised here have answered the research questions related to exploiting relational and socio-spatial understandings to inform different practices.

Figure 130: Enhancing POS and User Experiences can Amplify Refugees' Agency, and Vice Versa.
Source: Author, 2021.

Meanwhile, the 'reflect' component positioned the researchers' agency within the network of studied actors and placed emphasis on reflection, voice, representation, and power (see Chapter 10). In response to the final research questions of this study, it provided reflections regarding the research process, the produced reflective themes addressing the emerging dynamics between the researcher and different participating actors, and potential ways of extending this research to benefit the city.

11.3. Summary of the Research Findings in Relation to the Research Questions

> *'The world is not flat, and it is time to produce a more contoured knowledge of its cities'.*
>
> -   Roy (2009b, p. 829)

The research, considering its relational, contextual, and intersectional nature, has produced an array of findings applicable to a variety of different disciplines and

practices and in a context-specific manner. Some of the findings cannot be generalised, but rather constitute rich lessons that can be transferred to other contexts (with caution). The research's movements across scales, sites, actors, and disciplines ultimately highlighted that different forms of knowledge exist and are of equal importance and that there is no straightforward way of understanding experiences in public spaces. In mind of the above, the following presents a summary of the research findings in relation to the three components of the study and their related research questions.

11.3.1. Understand

The findings indicated that the outdoor experiences of refugees are not always associated with pleasure, but are shaped by a range of issues like safety, undesirable encounters, and feeling unwelcome. Notably, the places that were defined by participants as 'public spaces' were not necessarily addressed in the formal designated public space typology that is adopted by the actors from different disciplines. Further, the findings related to the studied disciplines reflected that some professional practices are framed within a culture of tokenism and ignorance and are outcome-oriented in nature. Refugees' lack of representation and flawed nature of PAR processes in place change are indeed detected in several practices, where lay and tacit knowledge is not recognised for several reasons. One major reason for this is the cultural and political context of design values in Jordan, where landscape is considered as 'beautification', and public space is not considered to be a priority.

Moreover, the discussions leading to refugee-related decisions do not usually include refugees; indeed, here, the public space sector proved to be distant from refugee communities themselves, as well as actors with responsibility for social integration the social integrative sector. Many actors influenced by the national Jordanian agenda perceive refugees as temporary guests, even if history and current circumstances suggest otherwise, and they believe that it is not their 'role' to integrate refugees into their community. Hence, the sociocultural integration of refugees in Jordan is mainly an issue concerning the foreign being imported from donor countries via practices of international NGOs, activists, and research projects. Exacerbating the issue of segregation between public space and integration is the limited number of multisector

partnerships found, and the lack of know-how when it comes to activating partnerships.

11.3.2. Enhance and Amplify

The findings shed light on the actors whose practice promotes public space as a tool for refugee integration, no matter how limited their resources. However, in some cases, it also showed that good intentions are often not enough in these situations; creativity and some form of capital and connection are needed to initiate change and establish alliances. The research found that that within this network, actors possessed varying levels of agency, power, and visibility. In a wider context that considers refugees to be hidden and informal actors within networks, the findings showed that refugees do engage in gentle practices that are deemed visible and can lead to tangible change.

Because the findings highlight that integration occurs on a daily basis and stretches beyond welcoming and arrival infrastructures, this study places great emphasis on supporting mechanisms and developing enabling contexts so that refugees can gain benefit from outdoor places in Amman and fully participate in city-making processes. Accordingly, these findings are interpreted to indicate that refugees' visibility, no matter how mundane (whether it be sleeping or selling cultural products outdoors), is one step further to unexpected social encounters, or 'gentle insurgencies' (see Chapter 10) that have latent spatial potential for local environmental social change. The general understanding garnered here of the different disciplines and actors and ways in which they operate has clearly helped in endorsing practical steps for enhancing the sector and amplifying refugees' agency within the sector.

11.3.3. Reflect

Finally, the findings related to the reflective research question concluded that change needs to be done collectively rather than collaboratively, particularly by actors who are trained in participatory processes and are continuously questioning, 'Who is not in the room?'

This research endorses the recognition of how multiple positionalities shift across different sites and encounters, and has also listed several emerging dynamics between researcher-actor relationships such as entering the sites, relationship development, emerging ethical considerations, and the afterlife of partnerships.

11.4. Research Significance

11.4.1. Contribution to Theory and Academia

11.4.1.1. Public Spaces and Integration

This research contributes to many well-established discussions concerning spatial justice, democracy, and power hierarchies in POS (Agyeman, 2012; Low & Iveson, 2016; Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007; Mitchell, 2003; Soja, 2010), and conforms to Low's (2018) argument that public space has inherited benefits to social justice and democratic practices and influences issues of social inclusion, belonging, and representation. In particular, I build on the findings of several studies that have examined public space as a tool for social integration and cohesion between different publics (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019; Ercan & Memlük, 2015) and responds to Hawkins *et al*. (2019) by citing the first-hand experiences of urban refugees and studying the aspects of their sociocultural integration in Amman.

This research's contribution to the field lies in its responding to calls for exploring public space integrative potential in new contexts—particularly in the global south (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019) and the need for culturally sensitivity (Dempsey, 2009). It also sheds light on the different types and mechanisms of refugees' access to public spaces (Ercan & Memlük, 2015; Peluso & Ribot, 2020), examining refugees' physical and social access to nearby public spaces and activities in Hashemi Shamali. The research has also documented the lack of access to information refugees have by examining the different processes of POS-production at Turath and GAM, also showcasing the lack of refugees' voices and participation in the design and management of POS. The ways in which different spaces in Hashemi could potentially enhance refugees' social capital was also investigated here (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007), and a list of places that refugees consider to be a 'public space' was provided.

In line with the calls for procedural perspectives in spatial practices (Lehtovuori, 2010), the research perceives space as central to the process (Harvey, 1978) and calls for an academic approach advocating for a relational praxis and perspective toward POS (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014). Because POS integrative interventions require the collaboration of different fields (unlike common practice by municipalities and city management) (Dabaj *et al*., 2020) it was important to move beyond a flat static definition and understanding of public space. This study focused on processes and partnerships, looked at the different types and production processes of POS, and examined their intrinsic potential for initiating and furthering social action. The relational approaches adopted in the PhD is a mode of learning which can be especially helpful in connecting research and practice, and aid learning about everyday public spaces (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2014). 7 Hills Skate Park in particular captured moments of success and promise and can be identified as a space of potential (see Chapter 10), which though of course specific to a geographic and cultural context has lessons which can be useful in other circumstances in the global south. Remarks of success mentioned in Chapter 10, added some contextual information to the existing recommendations concerning transforming spaces of potential in line with the goal of enhancing interaction and integration (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019; Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007).

While I draw on notions of integration through use of public spaces, it's important to distinguish these findings from a theoretical lens regarding encounters (Valentine, 2008; Wilson, 2011) and 'Happy Togetherness' conviviality (Wise & Noble, 2016, p. 425). While these may be important at different time and places, the emerging focus has been on what makes 'the gentle' bolder, and how refugees can be included as active contributors, practically and politically, to the public realm, maximising their potential as active residents transforming the city.

11.4.1.2. Actors: Their Agency and Assemblage

This research has also provided a methodological mobilisation of the assemblage theory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) in the content of social science and public space studies, with a particular focus on actors who are termed in literature as 'public space entrepreneurs' (Mady, 2018) or 'intellectuals' (Ng, 2014).

The methodology for this research reflects a dynamic melting pot of tailored methods, ranging from embedded and engaged to rather conventional. The combination of these ethno-cases with their different inputs and methodological inquiries can be of interest to many qualitative researchers since it has provided many insights concerning actor-researcher dynamics (see Chapter 10). Here, the exploration of actors focused greatly on how each actor operates utilising the theory of agency in the context of Amman, and underscored forms of agency in terms of the intentions and power dynamics that emerged in the studied socio-spatial assemblage.

11.4.1.3. Refugees' Spatial Everyday Experiences in Public Spaces

This study appreciates the importance of the everyday spatial experiences of refugees and how such experiences demonstrate several dimensions of social integration and public space usage and design. The 'hangout', as a method to discover and generate local knowledge concerning how refugees read, use, and perceive open public spaces, revealed the contradiction between what constitutes POS to ordinary people like refugees in their everyday lives and what constitutes POS to experts, NGOs, and authorities. Adding new perspectives about POS provides a reminder that public spaces are no longer constricted with conventional models of public space—and, indeed, the links between these different perspectives aided in shedding light on POS that are out of authoritative sight and full of potential.

By researching refugees' experiences in public spaces, I concur with Hage's argument (2000) concerning how relations of power and wider political discourse influence the everyday. It also contributes to the overlooked social dimensions of migration (Blachnicka-Ciacek, 2020) and provides spatial situatedness in public spaces that indicate insights concerning belonging (Datta, 2009), inclusion and exclusion (Spicer, 2008) and encounters (Valentine, 2008).

11.4.1.4. The Collective Vernacular Intelligence

Engaging with emerging scholarships in the global south that appreciate the collective intelligence of the ordinary (Bayat, 2010; Simone, 2004), this research proposes the construct 'gentle insurgencies', which actively challenges the act of perceiving

refugees as nothing but a number or statistic (Owens, 2009), burdens on infrastructure (Hawkins *et al.*, 2019), or even as temporary guests (see Chapter 3). It also highlights refugees' positive contributions and unexpected social encounters they help in creating by capturing how they use space to create a better life of security and trust (Gotham, 2003), and exposes the intricacies of the daily hardships and struggles they experience outdoors, linking these findings to broader actors and disciplines.

One major point of significance this study presents is the idea of considering refugees as actors within a network of multidisciplinary actors and valuing their potential just as much as that of other actors. An added significance here is the recognition of the potential value that is embedded in gentle practices in such a context, which had not been explicitly expressed elsewhere. This construct is presented in a way that encourages a shift from the gentle to the bold in line with many studies that have detected this potential (Bayat, 2010; Mady, 2018)—but here, the construct exceeds detection by its being supplemented with remarks and ways that can support this particular shift, signifying how collective action and individual agency matter.

11.4.2. Research Significance for Practice

While others argue that the applicability of the dual concept of public space and integration remains unclear (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019), this research has provided applicable recommendations, demonstrating meaningful and achievable ways to put these values into action at the local and national level. This research offers a provocation to start the conversation about this topic in Amman by depicting the city as a base for further local research and collaborative work on sociocultural integration via public spaces. Actors using POS projects for refugees' integration practices can use this study as a way to understand the status quo of Amman POS-production processes, as well as to examine case studies that exhibit the process from both explicit and implicit sides (see Chapter 10). Herein, they can find information about partnership and collaboration dynamics that can be helpful in their integrative interventions which usually necessitates collaborative nature, as assured by Dabaj *et al.* (2020).

During the data collection phase of this study, some partnerships generated practical outcomes that were of significance for those involved. For instance, the 'hangout'

with refugees offered snapshots of their experiences that revealed inequalities and broader displacement practices and the opportunity for them to articulate their own culture, integration, adaptation, and resistance. These findings were analysed and utilised to produce a practical guide to CRP (see Appendix D). This guide, in the form of a report, applied the ways of curating sociability (Rishbeth *et al*., 2019) in a practical, context-specific form, and was shared with the main funders of this community centre. In this way, a discussion was opened concerning the applying of the report's recommendations and the supporting of new initiatives inspired by the report. This report has the potential to increase the effectiveness of CRP's future projects, as well as to support other potential actors with international or local funds targeting POS and refugees.

Meeting GIZ led to a series of meetings concerning data exchange, recommendations, and alternative ways of consulting for the public space and gender project, in turn influencing the depth of their ethnographic methods' adoption and their inclusion of *Al Hara* as a valuable everyday public space to include in their research scope.

The research took a holistic and intentionally eclectic approach to learning across disciplines and sectors, and through this gained findings which are of interest for actors working across the fields of landscape architecture, urban planning, urban sociology, migration studies, geography, anthropology, and development studies. This research also has the potential to be greatly beneficial to academics and students researching Amman public spaces, providing positive case studies and revealing what some of the 'behind the scenes' in a range of projects. It also highlights successful partnerships and the emerging typologies of public spaces that have particular of potential for social integration, such as the 7 Hills skatepark.

The lessons learnt here include insights concerning how the ordinary can initiate change (see Chapter 10) and how this can inform several actors, including practitioners of urban design, concerning how to host and enable such practices.

This study additionally promotes the taking of practical steps towards changing how several practices operate and can be a seed for many non-academic and non-written outcomes, one being the practical guide for CRP that encourages funders to create new projects that are of different natures. Thus, the findings of this research can help

in creating more practical guides tailored for each actor concerning how to adopt a variety of ideas.

This research also paves an approach to transversing different disciplines and presents an exploration that stems from hope, embedding vocabularies and pedagogics of hope across a wealth of disciplines.

11.4.3. Research Significance for Debates in the MENA Region

Public space research in the MENA region has faced rapid growth due to the series of conflicts and protests in cities' public spaces since 2011. This has resulted in the conducting of a plethora of studies that tackle publicness in the MENA region and public spaces as a venue for protest and claiming rights. However, this research introduces a shift from the revolutionary perspectives of public space to the more consensual and gentle aspects of it. It responds to calls for more context-specific studies of social integration research in the global south (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019) by highlighting the potential and benefits of public spaces as tools for sociocultural integration and by displaying the intricacies of this dual concept in the context of Amman, in turn adding to the very few cases in the region that address the role of public spaces in socially integrating refugees (Boston Society of Architects (BSA), 2018; Jalkh, 2017). In this way, this research serves as potential baseline or introduction for other studies in the region to adopt such a dual concept and promote practical outcomes.

The research complements studies across the region that recognise the enabling potential of public spaces in local cities (Mady, 2018), such as the UN-HABITAT regional public space project, located in Lebanon, Kuwait, and Palestine (see Chapter 6). An insight that might be pertinent for other cities in the MENA region is on debates to focus efforts on collective action that is not necessarily revolutionary but is incremental and ordinary, or on public spaces with the aim of revealing barriers and accentuating integrative potential.

Finally, this research, conducted in an unsettled region with a large population of urban refugees, responds to the calls for attentiveness towards non-camp refugees by displaying the lives of urban refugees in the city of Amman. One significant

contribution to the field that this study makes is the provision of regional research that appreciates the agency of the ordinary to Amman, which is normally provided to north Africa (Bayat, 2010) or east Asia (Simone, 2004).

11.5. Concluding Reflections

Drawing from Pillow's (2003) 'reflexivities of discomfort', where she encourages researchers to discuss their failures as well as their successes, I acknowledge that sometimes, my good intentions in this research collided with circumstances that ultimately led me to fall short in some areas with regard to changing practice or actively contributing to the network of studied actors. For instance, skipping the participatory phase of this research due to the pandemic situation obstructed my intentions to conduct impact activities that, if implemented, would have exemplified active contribution and collaboration between the network of studied actors.

One important reflection relates to working with a vulnerable population of refugees meant being exposed to marginalised experiences that needed some sort of awareness and support when it came to self-care. This required extra consciousness with regards treating the refugees ethically, pressure to understand the ethics of conduct when near refugee communities, and partner protection of me as a researcher (CRP here).

The limitations of this research include the actors who were unwilling to participate or were hard to reach, the constraints the wider context (lacking previous studies and without a culture of knowledge-exchange) placed on the research, and, of course, the global pandemic that ultimately made returning to the 'hangout' site and communicating the findings with the refugee participants nearly impossible. The planned participatory phases had to be cancelled (though further funding for this is being sought). Some limitations influenced methodological choices, for instance difficulties accessing GAM made an ethno-case there impossible and interviews were chosen instead. Also, the funders placing limitations on the fieldwork duration meant a smaller sample size during the hangout, this has decreased a stronger highlight of different spatial experiences of refugee groups from different ethnicities. However, this point was discussed as a recommendation to CRP in the briefing report to be

attentive that refugees from different ethnicities should not be considered a homogenous groups.

Due to the pandemic, restrictions were placed and funding sources and mechanisms were cancelled, greatly disrupting the research process and leading to temporal changes that led to individual and collective disappointment. However, all of this only served to further resilience and self-care.

Going forward, the kind of change I envision for the public spaces in Amman is much wider than the scope of this research. Nonetheless, this research fundamentally believes in the transformative potential of connection, detecting constraints, and proposing ways to accentuate strengths. I believe this research to be a point of departure and a step towards a nexus between the compartmentalised sectors of public space and integration in Jordan.

My next step is the already-planned stage that includes a second action phase that aims to enable further alliances between the studied actors, with the overall objective of initiating incremental change. The intended change supports egalitarian participation, curates social contact through normalising multi-ethnic outdoor experiences, produces outcomes of relevance to different sectors, and, finally, creates mutual dialogues between who is practically intervening in the present day and who is researching what is better for future advancement. Fortunately, The Centre of British Research in the Levant funded the upcoming stage, that will be conducted in summer 2022 and will include a series of collaborative workshop between many of the studied actors in this research and in collaboration with CRP.

I recommend that additional local and regional research be conducted to actively integrate both sectors and to find ways of achieving this in an alternative, 'bottom-up' way. In agreement with Roy (2009a, p. 85), insurgencies cannot challenge or question the status quo to implement a just city, but rather help in imagining one. Therefore, I would recommend the conducting of more studies that focus on detecting practices of gentle insurgencies in different contexts to produce visualisations of how cities in the Middle East can be more enabling. By doing so, they can look to achieve dual ambitions: to encourage actors from different disciplines to appreciate gentle insurgencies; and to work with refugees themselves and instil them with hope

regarding the potential of their socio-spatial agency, no matter how gentle and shy they are—thus putting hope into action and allowing for the envisioning of a city yet to come (Simone, 2004).

To conclude, I hope my translation of this network can be mobilised by other actors in the network (or elsewhere), making this representation powerful and capable of change. I also recognise that this whole process has been one step forward, and that intentions matter.

'The study might be finished, but the experiment goes on.'

- Latour (2005, p. 135)

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Appendix A

Matching the Interviewed Participants (Individuals) with the Criteria / Methodology

The interviewed participants' names and details of the interview location, date, and type. Source: Author, 2019.

Identified Actor	Role Description	Method/Aim	Analysed in Chapter …
Greater Amman Municipality (GAM)	Produce, authorise, and fund POS. The primary decision-makers in Amman concerning POS-production processes.	Interviews with a range of different participants to explore the public space production process in Amman, as well as how GAM perceives refugees and diversity in the city.	5.
Researchers and Educators	Educate; research POS.	Interviews with several researchers and university professors to understand the academic/research scene in relation to POS and refugees.	6.
Non-Governmental Organisations	Produce, fund, advocate, and activate.	Interviews with NGO representatives and examining some of their POS projects as case studies. Name of Studied NGOs: UN-Habitat, GIZ, Reclaim Childhood, and the Collateral Repair Project.	6.

Activists	Activate	Interview with an activist. 7 Hills Skate Park as a case study.	6 (an overview); 8 (an ethno-case).
Practitioners	Produce and design.	Ethno-Case 1: The researcher's residency at a practice firm (Turath) to examine the design process of a POS project.	7.
Refugees in a Park	Use	Ethno-Case 2: Volunteering at 7 Hills Skate Park to explore the role of activists running the park. And, second, to explore refugees' experiences outdoors.	8.
Refugees in an Everyday Setting/Neighbourhood	Use	Ethno-Case 3: The hang-out with refugees at Hashemi Shamali Neighbourhood to explore refugees' outdoor and everyday experiences.	9.

Matching the interviewed participants with the initial criteria. Source: Author, 2019.

| | Gender | | Age Groups | | | Number | | Structure | | Educational Background | | | | Type of Action | | | | Scale of Action | |
	M	F	20-40	40-60	>60	Individual	Groups	within	Not	Academic	Practitione	Policy ...	Activist	Physical	Pedagogic	social	political	City	Local
1		*		*		*		*				*		*		*	*	*	
2		*		*		*		*				*		*		*	*	*	
3	*		*			*		*		*	*				*				*
4	*		*			*		*			*			*	*		*	*	
5		*	*			*			*		*			*					*
6		*		*			*	*			*		*	*	*				*
7		*	*				*	*			*			*					*
8		*	*				*	*			*			*		*		*	*
9	*			*		*			*	*	*			*	*				*
10	*			*		*			*		*			*	*				*
11	*				*	*	`		*	*		*		*	*			*	

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Appendix B

Matching the Interviewed Participants (Organisations) with the Criteria /
Methodology

The interviewed participants' names and details of the interview location, date, and type. Source:
Author, 2019.

	Interviewed Participant Name	Participant Description	Interview Location, Date, and Type
1	Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) (Multiple team members)	Director of the facilities and social programs unit in GAM.	The GAM offices. April 2019. Face-to-face.
2	The Federal Enterprise of German Government (GIZ)	Project manager of improving living conditions in poverty-stricken areas in Amman via the implementation of green infrastructure (ILCA) (and two team members).	The Ministry of Environment offices (the GIZ Team). May 2019. Face-to-face.
3	Collateral Repair Project (CRP) (Three Team members)	CRP is an American NGO in Amman established in 2006, featuring programmes focusing on community-building, trauma relief, emergency aid, and education. Interviwees were the partnerships and grants officer at CRP, the monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) officer at CRP, and the executive director.	Three meetings, one at the Hayat Amman Hotel in June 2019, two in the CRP offices in July 2019. All face-to-face. Online Interview with CEO early 2020.
4	Reclaim Childhood	Reclaim Childhood is an organisation established in 2008 conducting year-round sports programmes for marginalised women in Jordan, including refugees. Interviewee is the director of Jordan programmes in Reclaim Childhood.	June 2019. Email interview.
5	United Cities	Mediterranean City to City	The GAM offices.

	and Local Government (UCLG), in partnership with GAM's MC2MC Project	Migration (MC2CM) is a network of partners in different cities in the Mediterranean working on a local level of migrant inclusion. Interviewee was a partner of UCLG and was part of the MC2CM project in Amman.	April 2019. Face-to-face.

Matching the interviewed participants with the initial criteria. Source: Author, 2019.

Interviewed participant	Institutional Framework		Projects Target			Stage of projects			Funding			Targeted Locations of the Projects		Local Drop-In Centre		
	Governmental	NGO	Refugees	Host	Both	Took Place	Ongoing	Planned	Individual	Local	International NGO's	East	West	In Amman	Middle east	Other
1	*				*		*			*		*	*	*		
2	*				*		*	*			*	*				*
3		*	*				*	*		*	*	*		*		
4		*	*				*				*	*				*
5	*	*			*	*					*	*			*	

Appendix C

Example of Multi-Modal Transcripts used in Analysis

20 COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

لقاء تعريفي

+ The documentaion here contrasts with what exactly happened, only one communication phase was conducted and these are the available imagery of the public hearing and the public invitation in arabic.

+ Except for the first submission documentaion, no other document related to otherstages did include any information on the communication strategy

'When discussing inclusion and the importance of public space as a part of a larger social infrastructure needed for refugees and minorities, the team and actually many in the field found me   and that public space potentials of integration and the need to hear diverse perspectives than usual are at the bottom of the list of the pressing matters that needs to be researched.'- Field notes, 2019

● Turath's Project Document (P.85 / Submission 2)   ● Available Images of communication- Online   ● Notes on Images & Implicit meanings   ● Reflexive Field Notes

Example of a multi-modal Transcript

'The whole project is based on public participation, the team includes in addition to the architects and public space designers, sociologists and anthropologists.'- Rami Daher

'People are not used to have shared discussion venues with GAM, they saw the public hearing a chance to complain about the ongoing violations in the neighborhood, and that we have to stop these before designing, and how irritating these violations are for them.'- TTM01

'Unfortunately, there were no opinions that steered the design sharply, they weren't reasonable or know what is better for them, or how to ask for their rights.'- TTM06

'They did not hear what we want to say, I think we should've given more rounds to have more fruitful discussions.'- TTM06

'When I asked about not conducting more public hearings, the answer was:
'We can't do that, allow them to fully participate in a country with no sophisticated humane social infrastructure, and we have not got any time to educate the people, it is GAM's role not us!'- TTM06

'They were attacking GAM all the time, no one looked at our work. There is no culture for PAR in Amman, they are talking about very personal issues, violations and it wasn't contributing to the design at all.'- TTM03

'I think they only included residents in the site survey process, but it is not an ongoing ecology for the project, but he did his best.'-Researcher in residence.

'There were many residents, but we can't say it was representative. The only ones who came were the mature sophisticated strata of users. Users representing neighborhood beyond Shari'a street were absent.'- TTM03

'I think no one has come from the lower areas down the hill. Most of them were from the higher plateau, along with architects, I also remember the Iraqi investor came to the public hearing too.'- TTM02

Interviews Transcripts (specific quotes)

Identifying as participatory in concept
Not participatory in reality
Disappointing input
Not design oriented

challenging PAT mechanisms
Context
PAR culture

Symbolic

Representation
timing
mode

Expertise

Lack of PAR precedents

● Codes

Symbolic PAR   ● Sub-theme

BARRIERS - WEAKNESSES   ● Theme

Coding from Concrete to Abstract

Appendix D

A Report Briefing to CRP about the Hangout Findings

Public Outdoor Spaces in Hashemi Shamali

A report briefing main findings of the fieldwork that took place in Hashemi Shamali during the summer 2019 as part of the researcher's PhD fieldwork, and offers recommendations to CRP in its role as a community centre, specifically on how to enhance and facilitate refugees' everyday experiences in their neighbourhood, to maximise the use of local outdoor spaces as a social resource to them, and with some additional guidance on their future roof garden. The findings are listed to show the following: The perception of POS by refugees, usage patterns in these spaces, benefits and barriers encountered in their outdoor experiences

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December, 2019

Refugees & Outdoor spaces in Hashemi Shamali

This research studied Syrian and Iraqi refugees' perceptions of local public outdoor spaces (POS) seeking to understand their everyday experiences of their neighbourhood, with a particular focus on social encounters in these spaces. The research took an ethnographic approach, with the researcher 'hanging out' with refugees from different age groups, ethnic backgrounds, religions, and gender. There were 10 participants. As such, the findings are not comprehensive and should not be generalised. However, they do give a deeper insight into this topic, and in doing so highlight some connections with other themes of refugee integration and with other neighbourhoods within Amman.

1. How do refugees living in Hashemi Shamali perceive Public Outdoor Space (POS)?

• Participating refugees talk about 'public outdoor space' as free space that can be accessed easily, is walking distance from home, and is a place where they feel equal and not guests.

• Outdoor spaces that participating refugees use range from urban spaces to transitory neighbourhood spaces such as sidewalks and stairs, and include semi-private spaces such as their domestic gardens, balconies, and shared roofs. The major urban space used was the Hashemi Souq. Other spaces were; Bab Al Wad and Prince Hashim parks, NGO's outdoor areas such as CRP's courtyard and ZEIND outdoor facilities, Abu Jassar football pitch, the neighbourhood outdoor communal areas (Al Hara) and the connected network of sidewalks, alleyways and stairs.

• Participating refugees perceived POS differently based on different factors such as their culture, history, individual life situations, age, and the extent to which they perceived that the POS was different from that in their home country. For example, Syrian refugees discussed Syria as greener than Jordan, with better weather and more parks, while Iraqi refugees perceive Amman as comparatively greener and with better weather than Iraq.

2. What do they like to do outdoors?

• Participating refugees undertake many different activities outdoors, including grocery shopping, walking their children to school, or attending classes at the local community centres.

• Outdoor activities are often limited to the neighbourhood of Hashemi, and they move in the city rarely for reasons like immigration applications, visiting relatives, or a planned trip or picnic that happens once a year.

• Outdoor activities that are recreational rather than functional usually take place evening times in summer and at midday in winter. These activities increase on the weekends and festival times like Eid and Ramadan.

• There is a strong social focus to many of the activities that take place in the public realm. Many participants enjoy sitting and observing passers-by in the souq, consuming food like nuts and fruits (mostly brought from home), also hanging out in the forecourts of local community centres before or after classes, playing cards while sitting on the sidewalks, enjoying shisha on the sidewalks of the souq, or going to nearby restaurants for hot meals like shawerma, fruit cocktails and ice cream.

• Participating refugee families (mostly Syrian refugees) plan group picnics in nearby parks every couple of months or during Eid.

• Participating refugee men generally congregate outside mosques after Friday prayers. Participating refugee women tend to spend time outdoors alone during the daytime, and with family or friendship groups in the evening.

• Unlike Jordanian children, outdoor activities for participating refugee children almost entirely took place with direct parental supervision. They are always accompanied when playing at the parks, bike riding at the souq, or flying kites.

3. What value is given to outdoor spaces?

• For participating refugees spending time outdoors helps in stress and trauma relief. Outdoor neighbourhood spaces provide a free-of-charge experience where it is possible to spend time with your family, to socialise with friends and meet new people.

• Participants also discussed how they discovered many new things about the Jordanian culture like new types of street foods, and outdoor wedding ceremonies.

• Outdoor places are valued as places for play and exercise, and seen as locations where one is considered equal, not a guest or a burden on anyone. Also, these places facilitate encountering the locals, exchanging greeting gestures, conversations, and sometimes fights.

• Some of the outdoor spaces are of high importance and considered special to them, these are often spaces that remind them of places in their home country.

• Being mobile around the city is not always easy (see following section) but when participants did venture beyond the Hashemi locality it gave them a sense of discovery and a sense of empowerment.

4. What did the participants identify as obstacles and problems for them spending time outside?

• Participants experienced some parks are unwelcoming. Sometimes this was due to dis-satisfaction with the design quality and facilities, but was also sometimes related to uncomfortable encounters with municipal staff.

• Some participants did not want to visit places of leisure, such as parks, as it felt incompatible with their state of deep grief.

• While many NGOs facilitate outdoor activities, but funding and capacity issues mean that these activities not are not regular and have long waiting lists. It is difficult for refugees to book on them, and when they enjoy specific activities it is hard them to repeat them. Information is also a problem; many participants didn't know about free events like summer camps or community classes held in the neighbourhood municipal parks. They are not aware of advertisements on social media, and they miss the information signs inside the park because they are not frequent visitors.

• Participants described their struggles of moving around the neighbourhood and the city in general. Some have health issues or previous injuries that prevent them from walking easily. Travelling outside Hashemi requires insider knowledge about the vague networks and systems of bus and service (minibus), or about the walking shortcuts common to local people.

• Adding to the physical immobility, is a lack of social confidence for exploration due to being vulnerable and depressed. This can also be coupled with a belief that they have no future in this country, so lack the motivation to explore.

• Some participating women and teenage girls are not allowed to go outside as much as they want, as they need permission from a male family member (husband, father, or brother).

• There are also implicit conflicts between different refugee groups underpinned in part by the experience of unequal funding and permission of work according to nationality.

• Poverty limits the ability to go out and about. Parents worried about whether they can afford snacks or using toilets if they make longer trips to parks.

• Some of the refugee participants feared outdoor public spaces and avoided specific spaces. This was because they faced hostile behaviour in public before, or because they were influenced by many stories circulating within the refugee community that highlight dangers such as car hits, sexual and ethnic harassment, and theft.
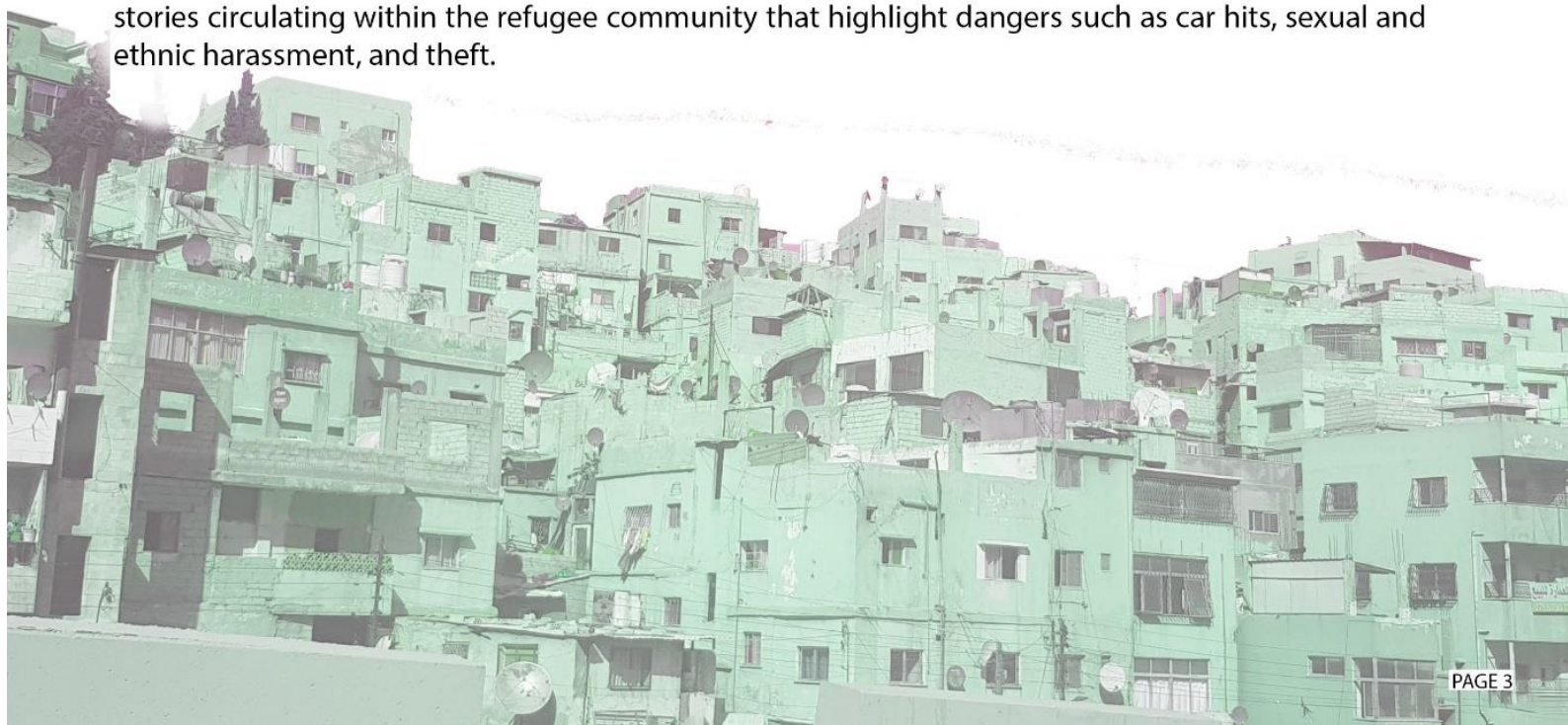
5. How can the CRP help in enhancing their experiences outdoors?

The participating refugees discussed how influential and powerful CRP's role is in their lives, as CRP supports them in facing many challenges, and offers remarkable opportunities to help and heal. The findings of this research prompted a number of proposed recommendations that CRP might be interested in to enhance refugee's outdoor experiences in Hashemi. The general recommendations were supplemented with guidance for the future potential roof garden at CRP community centre in Hashemi. The general recommendations was developed based on the schemes of curated sociability displayed on Rishbeth et al. (2019) article called Participation and wellbeing in urban greenspace : 'curating sociability' for refugees and asylum seekers. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2019.07.014

• Encouraging autonomy:
Plan more outdoor opportunities which start from a known base such as CRP'S courtyard. These can lead onto picnics at the nearby outdoor spaces and walks within the neighborhood, and later introducing trips to other recreational spaces in the wider city. Group facilitated outdoor classes, walks, sessions, or sport activities may include transportation, snacks, and some guiding directions to the area and safety hacks. These opportunities will help introduce these spaces for refugees who would not have initially had the inclination or confidence to access these spaces, build familiarity about what is on offer and how to get there for future visits on their own.

• Providing opportunities and granting refugees the privilege of choice:

It is important to acknowledge the budget constraints of CRP, which mean a limited ability to provide outdoor classes accommodating everyone, and long waiting lists for classes like skateboarding or football. However, CRP may consider signposting refugees to alternative venues that promote outdoor opportunities: the municipal parks and their free clubs and events, and also events run by other NGOs. To support this may require more communication with the municipality and the neighboring NGO's, and considering advertising of a variety of events run by different parties. This could go some way to resolving issues of capacity, while giving refugees more options to choose from and the chance to continue with preferred classes. In the long term this can help plant seeds of collaboration that can facilitate mutual understandings of aims, and can lead to a diverse plan of activities which can expand the benefits for local residents including refugees.

• Enhancing skills in mobility:
 Initiate a regular workshop, which can be run by local volunteers in Hashemi, aiming to introduce lay knowledge about the neighborhood, walking shortcuts, personal skills and tips on how to use the bus, and best routes of service. Over time, one outcome of this might be to co-produce an accessible (ideally adaptable) map that provides helpful information to refugees and newcomers.

•Linking outdoor spaces with therapeutic programs and classes:

Refugees wellbeing is one of the priorities of CRP. Spending time outdoors as an enjoyable experience has therapeutic benefits: chances for respite and relaxation, increased social connections and growing confidence. This can be particularly important for refugees living with depression, so supporting to access a wider range of open spaces could feasibly be included as part of wellbeing support programs. This can help build attachment to their new local area of living and can be part of the way to support integration.

• Improving women's access to public open spaces:

Many female refugees have very limited opportunities outdoors, either due to the demands of caring for their children, or fear from sexual harassment or issues of general safety. CRP may facilitate or promote female-only outdoor activities with simultaneous activities. It's important that these include snacks for children. CRP should also consider how they can support access for women who cannot participate unless accompanied by a family member. This has implications for capacity including for transportation. However, addressing these issues is essential for building trust and having gender inclusive programs. Alternatively, CRP could provide ideas and encouragement to support free activities for women and their children in their domestic outdoors (balconies, gardens, roofs). This may mean loaning basic equipment as a starting point, and find ways of sharing ideas such as a gardening club to discuss cheap ways of keeping small gardens in these spaces.

• Utilizing free times and free spaces:

Public space may provide a useful resource for supporting refugees with higher education degrees, vocational skills or lifetime hobbies, but who are currently unemployed, often long term due to legal constraints. People in this situation can feel unproductive, and that their knowledge and skills which are not valued. CRP can help them establish their own peer learning groups or community clubs, potentially providing support with facilitation. Public spaces of various types can be appropriated as free venues for these activities, or CRP could offer their courtyard at specific times of the week to be booked. Ideally low-level funding could be allocated to such activities to help build self-worth.

• Dealing with antisocial behavior and segregation:

As outlined earlier, some participants have had negative experiences of using public open space in Amman. There is not simple solution to this and it is unlikely that these issues will ever be fully resolved. However, CRP could hold classes for both refugees and host community members that help acknowledge these problems and offer skills for tackling them: e.g. managing disputes and conflicts, negotiating differences and similarities, sharing personal life stories and resisting ascribed stereotyping. There are good precedents from many countries that facilitating outdoor group activities like football or gardening with mixed multi-ethnic participants can be a useful way to support collaboration and mutual understanding, and can have an incremental influence on creating friendships and meaningful relationships. Furthermore, the visibility of these activities taking place in an outdoor location can be very beneficial to normalise the fact that people from different ethnic groups can get along together.

6. Suggested guidance for the future CRP roof garden:

• Including refugees in the design of the garden will help in facilitating a sense of ownership, and giving them a rare opportunity to represent themselves spatially and contribute what is important to them. One way of doing this is by running a series of interactive workshops reflecting the design stages.

• The design process should start with understanding the potential users' preferences in such a garden. Asking them for their vision and their hobbies and habits. The inclusivity of users starts at this stage when activities are planned to cater for employees, host community members and refugees who have different nationalities, considering the inclusion of their children in the process, and hearing the voices of women from all age groups.

• Design should bear in mind the context and climate of Hashemi Shamali, and the program of the designed space should be flexible enough in catering diverse CRP outdoor activities.

• Design a garden that can be accessible certain hours of the day, or some days of the week for the nearby community of refugees and Jordanians, aiming for it to become their shared owned space where relationships are built by time.

• Consider offering paid opportunities for the refugees who have vocational skills to participate in building and implementing the garden.
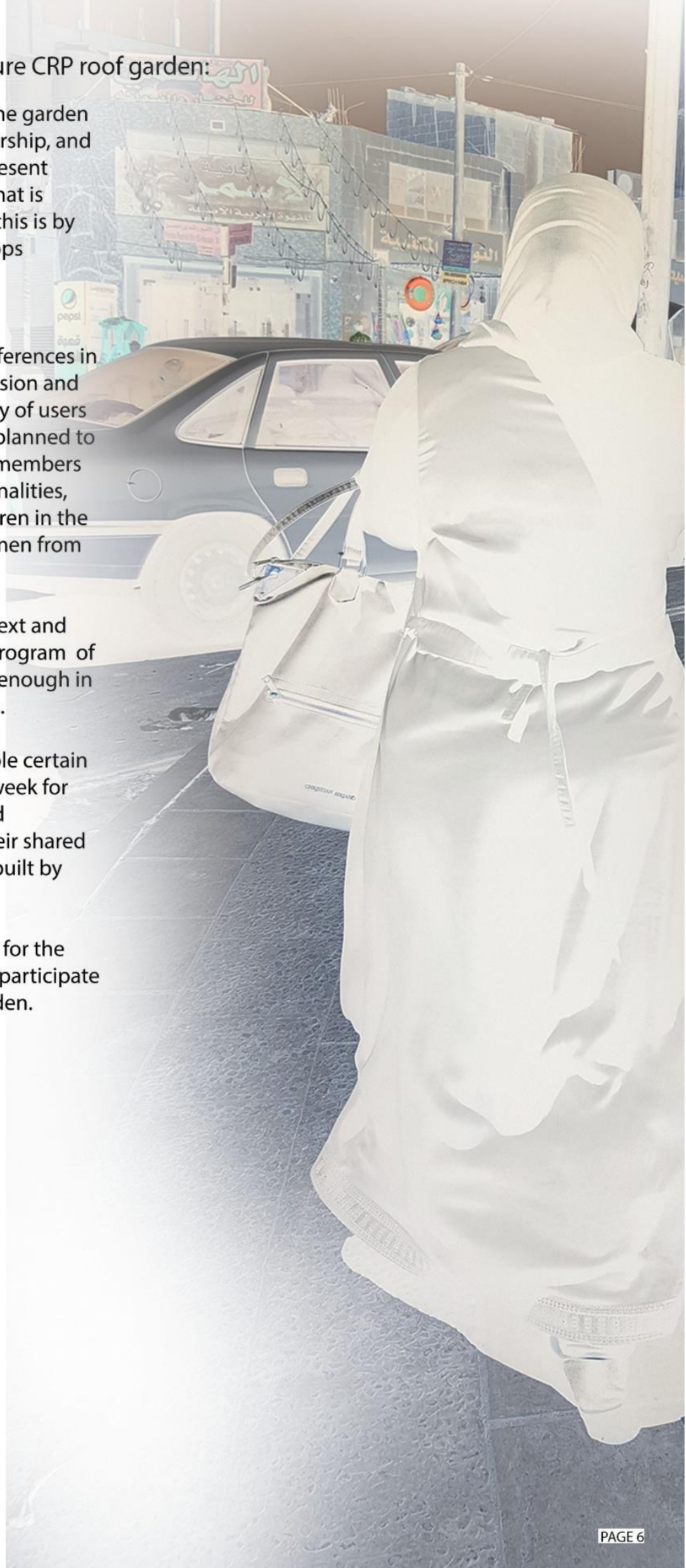
'We want it shaded with seating areas'
Amjad

'Fenced and safe for our children'
Khulood

' They should make it a gathering space with board games and activities for my age, not a slide or a seesaw!'
14 years old Yaman.

' I would really like to hear the sound of water and birds'
Maram

'We want to see flowers and more of green colors,'
Buthaina

'Let them give us gardening classes and maybe seedlings to take home'
Ibtissam

' It can be a magnificent Shami* Courtyard'
Raya,*Shami refers to Sham which is Damascus, , Syria

' I can give them ideas on how to make it like an old Syrian Hara'
Amer

' An artificial waterfall would be nice'
Akram

' A large tree and a bench with a turkish cup of coffee is enough'
Hanan

'They can plant some mint, sage, there, maybe fruit trees, a grapevine to make dolma*'
Ibtissam, *Dolma : a famous Iraqi meal

Appendix E

The Collaboration with CRP- Memorandum of Understanding

Memorandum of Understanding

This memorandum is made between **Collateral Repair Project** (a non-profit organization in Amman) and **Hala Ghanem** (H.G) (PhD researcher at The University of Sheffield in the United Kingdom, supervised by Dr. **Clare Rishbeth**). Whereas CRP will facilitate HG's research with refugees.

- **Research Brief:**
  This research was approved on ethics grounds by the Landscape Department ethics reviewers at The University of Sheffield.
  This research will be conducted in July, August 2019 in Hashmi Shamali.

The research will be conducted in two different phases, the first phase aims to study the everyday experience of refugees in outdoor public spaces in Hashmi Shamali Neighbourhood. While the second phase is not refined yet and depends mainly on phase one procedures and findings; possibly the researcher will apply to fund a workshop / program to allow for various actions of linking, ending and follow-up to phase one partnership.

The methodology adopted in the first phase will be an ethnographic method called *deep-hanging out*; a localized field procedure which will be mainly held in public outdoor space in Hashmi Shamali , in a duration of 4 weeks (3 to 5 days - daytime) to observe and have informal conversations with refugees while hanging out together in Public outdoor spaces ; they can be walking, sitting, playing or any of their mundane practices in POS.

The researcher will try to discuss the following with the research participants:

* Which different places are described as important to them, and why do they choose to spend time in different locations?

*When is public space a part of their daily routines and patterns?

* How is public space being used by different groups (gender, age, ethnicity)?

*How do refugees reflect on their own use of POS compared to other residents?

*Who do they socialize with, and in which ways do these relationships bridge social identities?

*The researcher will dedicate some time to observe and reflect on any encounters in public space using hand written notes and also taking some photos when possible (a minimal usage of photos, but it is part of the process) photos will not be taken at first, but when the relation with the participants is stronger, a verbal informal consent will be taken- a script for this consent is provided using behavioural mapping techniques (as cited in Gehl) such as keeping a diary, looking for traces, tracing movement, and noting details and nuances.

*The children will not be approached unless parents are participants, and after obtaining the parents' acceptance for their children to participate, a simple description of the project will be discussed with the children , with the help of visual materials like images; to be more approachable to the child (a child assent form will be provided).

Consent:

Ethnographic field work (deep-hanging out): The researcher, based on Hugman et al. (2010), commits to have the refugees' consent through a process and not a formal one time only consent. The consent will be ongoing, and continual in every stage of their involvement, and they may as individuals or groups withdraw anytime and end their involvement.

A formal signed consent is limited due to the vulnerability of participants situation (a physical signature can be threatening / distressful to them). The researcher will seek a verbal consent only (scripted). Before providing their consent, the researcher will be previously having informal (verbal) conversations with them, where the research is discussed in simple terms (and using images / diagrams where possible) a written

paper copy will be available for them to take away providing details and researcher number/email (dedicated for research purposes only), highlighting the voluntary aspect of taking part in the project, and also the full details of our hangout (frequency and duration). Also, a post card prepared for participating children to describe in simple images the inquiries of the research. The consent will cover anonymity, confidentiality of data stored, usage of data, use of material for future dissemination. (note: No audio recording at the ethnographic setting).

Confidentiality:

The consent process and the information sheet will clarify the confidentiality of their participation. The details will be anonymized right after starting field note writing and will stay confidential and kept in digitally in the researcher laptop will be encrypted and password protected. The data will be saved on encrypted files and stored in google drive that can be accessed by my supervisor (as a backup person) and backed up in an encrypted dedicated disk. The researcher will try not to compromise any parts of anonymity, and when not needed, no data will be collected.

- **Scope of Collaboration:**

o CRP will mainly help the researcher HG in recruiting participants for her first phase of research fieldwork related to refugees, and HG will include and collaborate with CRP in the second follow-up phase.

o The researcher HG will respect CRP's time, the nature of CRP process and what is reasonable for CRP's staff related to recruiting and monitoring participants and will try to reduce the burden on them as much as she can.

o The researcher will appreciate being introduced by CRP to participants in a way that suits both the

o The researcher will provide CRP with the hanging out details (time, location, and possible routes).

o The researcher HG highly understands that her ethics will reflect on CRP, who have a good name to maintain, and will be accountable for her actions with CRP participants and staff. The researcher will have constant communication with her supervisor discussing the details of the fieldwork and will involve her any emerging situation.

- The researcher will be reporting to CRP staff on weekly basis, and will consult them in any emerging situation.

- CRP will monitor the researcher in a way that suits their time and staff.

- The researcher would love to give a talk about her research at any suggested time by CRP, would love to help CRP beneficiaries by informing them and answering their questions about the surrounding parks and public outdoor spaces in the studied area.

- The researcher can provide CRP with a report (5 -6 pages) at the end of fieldwork (Sep, 2019), with key themes recommended by CRP and that is related to my scope of study and of interest to them.

- The primary data is preferred to be accessed only by the researcher HG and her supervisor to maintain confidentiality.

- The researcher will acknowledge the help of CRP in any final publication, and willing to know CRP's guidance on that.

- The researcher will appreciate CRP acknowledging her research findings and themes (if helpful to CRP) in their future reports and publications.

- In the fieldwork duration (July , August 2019), the researcher will keep reporting and updating CRP's staff on the ongoing fieldwork. Also, the research will keep in touch with CRP for the second phase preparations and partnerships.

Appendix F

Ethics Consent Forms

<u>Information Sheet- Creative Individuals</u>

Hello my name is Hala Ghanem, I am a PhD student at the University of Sheffield. This sheet is to invite you to participate in my research, but before you decide whether to take part, please read the following brief regarding what this research will involve.

Thank you for reading this. If you agree to discuss this research, please be aware that your views will be written in the research notes of this meeting and may be included in write-ups or recordings of this research for academic use in the future. All scripts, and audio recordings, and contact details are kept on password protected storage.

What is the purpose of the study?

My research is looking at how different individuals and organization in Amman, such as landscape architects, urbanists, planners, artists, international organizations and other people who often have high levels of creativity, influence, and talent are influencing publicness of public spaces. This can be in trying to encourage people to think or use public spaces in a different and better way, or respect inclusiveness by advocating for refugees in their agendas. The changes might be physical interventions, charity initiatives, awareness campaigns, or any other form of creative knowledge productions.

1. **Why have I been chosen to take part?**
   You are invited to this research because I believe your (particular) project (had / will have) an influence in Amman POS Publicness and changed the people's perspective on particular Public space (name it here).

3. **Do I have to take part?**
   No, you can either accept to take part or refuse. If you accept to participate, please remember that you can stop participating at any time and without giving any reason. You can ask questions at any time you like. After your participation, you have up to 3 months to tell me of you want to change your mind and don't want me to use or keep anything of what you have said.

What will happen if I take part?

If you take part, the interview will take from 30-60 minutes of your time. We will discuss your (particular) project. I wish you will find this interview of interest to you, and hope for more collaborations in the future.

5.   Are there any risks in taking part?
Nothing in this project is expected to cause discomfort, or cause any harm either physical or psychological.

6.   What if I am unhappy or if there is a problem?
Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor.

7.   Will my participation be kept confidential?
There is a broad principle of anonymising all contributions, but we will discuss any particular aspects or constrains regarding this that specifically relate to your individual project, or where additional steps are needed to respect the sensitivity of specific information.

8.   Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?
You can accept to be audio recorded or not. If you agree on that, our conversations will be recorded and later typed up as notes to be analysed by myself, and will be stored in a form protected by passwords or in a locked space. After transcription the audio data will be deleted. Please let me know if there is any issue that needs high level of confidentiality.

9.   How is my personal information kept safe?
In the UK there are very strict rules about how I keep your personal information (name, contact details etc.) safe and not share them with others. This is called the Data Protection Act, and the legal basis I am applying to process your personal data is that it is necessary fot the public interest'. The University of Sheffield takes responsibility for this they are officially known as the 'Data Controller'. If you have any concerns, please contact my supervisor or the Head of Department.

10.   What will happen to the data collected, and the results of the research project?
Results of this research will be included in My PhD thesis, and can later be published in academic journals, discussed in conferences, and found in online forms like websites. You will not be identified in all of the previous situations unless stated otherwise. Data collected thought the project (e.g. raw transcripts) will be destroyed three years after the end of the project.

11.   Who has ethically reviewed the project?
The internal ethics committee of the Department of Landscape Architecture has approved this research.

12.   Who can I contact if I have further questions?
Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor, or the Head of Department.

Consent

1. I fully understand the information given above about this research

2. Please indicate which of the following statements apply:

- You may use my name in research outputs
  Please underline which outputs are accepted to use your name in:
  (websites, television, radio, giving talk to students, a book in English or arabic)
- Please anonymise my name in research outputs

  (if presenting an organisation)
- You may use my organisation's name in research outputs (websites, television, radio, giving talk to students)
- Please anonymise my organisation's name in research outputs, but you can describe the type of organisation I work for
- Please anonymise my organisation's name in research outputs

3. I am happy to be audio recorded, so the researcher can transcribe quotes.

4. I understand that I can stop the interview and withdraw your my consent at any given moment

Please sign below if the following is correct

I have asked and received answers to my questions I have and am happy to take part in this project

Participant's Name --- **Signature**------------------------

Researcher's Name -- **Signature**----------------------

If you have any concern, please feel free to contact my supervisor or me

A Request to Apply the Researcher-in-Residence Model at xxxxx Architecture and Urban Design Consultants,

- **Research Title and Brief**
  Collective Publicness: The Alternative Logic of Amman Public Open Spaces
  Exploring Agents of place/claim making processes.

I am Hala Ghanem, a PhD student at the University of Sheffield. My research is looking at Collective Publicness of Amman POS (Public Open Spaces); and specifically targets creative actors who are influencing users' perspectives on Amman public spaces.

This research will scrutinize concepts of publicness, collective action and public open space within a contextual perspective and will endeavour to identify the alternative logic of POS in Amman by first reconsidering the current formats of publicness in Amman, taken into accounts the distinct dimensions of publicness; whether it is the physical, socio-cultural, political, or pedagogical, and secondly identifying *agencies of individuals and groups* and discussing that they are in diverse ways are incrementally initiating a new sense of collective publicness through processes of place and claim making. Firstly, Syrian refugees in local residential urban level and look at how they appropriate public informal spaces. Secondly, looking at the actions of the urban creative class: individuals and groups (often with relatively high levels of agency and social capital), who are initiating change by making people think about and act differently when it comes to public space through practices including physical appropriation, awareness campaigns, initiatives, and knowledge production in a combination of top down and bottom-up approaches, often as an act of claim-making. The methodological design incorporates procedures that stems from both *knowing through engagement (refugees)* and *knowing through practice (creative spatial agencies)*.

Forms of creative spatial agencies will be explored in different procedures. One major procedure in this research is the application to take up a 'the researcher-in- residence' position (voluntary basis) in one of the most reputable firms that tackles public spaces in Amman; xxxx, owned by Dr. xxxx xxxx

- **The Rationale Behind the Selection of xxxx:**
  This research is trying to explore a rich and multi-disciplinary theme of publicness; Dr. xxxx can be a great example of an agency that employs pedagogy in practical practice and is also aware of different political and cultural forces that produce spaces. His expertise covers critical mapping, working through xxxx on designing, implementing physical intervention projects, and establishing communications between citizens and government. Not only his scope of work is multidimensional and sheds light on neoliberal practices and geographies of inequality in POS, but also, he is considered a spatial agent when performing either through his practical firm, or through his research and pedagogical practices as a university professor. In addition, many of the potential selected case studies for the research are designed by xxxx and applying researcher-in-residence model there can facilitate a closer examination of cases.

- **Researcher's Potential Benefits and Contributions to the firm**
  - Generally, the researcher will contribute and help in any task that is feasible to the timing and topic of her research.
  - The researcher is willing to help in any public space research undertaken by the firm during her time and relevant to her research topic.
  - The researcher is willing to attend and contribute firm meetings that includes various stages of design

- The researcher is happy to offer insights, resources and assistance in a variety of activities and tasks, such as; field recordings (partly in site), looking at proposals and offering reviews, give short presentations, and contribute references.

- **The Nature of Applying Researcher-in-Residence at xxxx** (if agreed upon)
  - The researcher will spend 15-18 days over a period of 2 months (between Feb. 2019 to April. 2019)
  - The researcher will need an empty desk space (if possible), willing to hot desk.
  - In order to discuss the rationale, physical designs, pedagogical role, and aspirations as a spatial agent who influences Amman Public Spaces, the researcher will need to interview Dr. xxxx (audio recorded if possible, on (suggested minimum) two occasions during the residence.
  - The researcher will obtain ethics approval from the University of Sheffield, before applying the model. The application will cover confidentiality, data protection, and rules of no harm.
  - The researcher will respect and follow the general rules of xxxx and will be open to recommendations and suggestions.
  - The researcher will be transparent; discussions of the academic output will be treated as a process not as a single event.
  - The researcher will respect any data that is requested to be confidential or anonymised (related to projects, design and workflow, management styles).
  - The researcher will provide a separate form to take permission in using particular visual materials.

Thank you for reading this.

If you have any concern, please feel free to contact me ,or my supervisor, or the head of the department.

Consent needs yes/no options to some of these.

1. I fully understand the information given above about this research

2. Giving consent for audio recording the (discussed above) meetings with Dr. xxxx

I agree to be audio recorded in our interviews, so the researcher can transcribe quotes.

Yes   No

3. Giving consent to use visual materials
A separate consent will be provided on later stages (if agreed upon the residence model), where the researcher will list all files and ask your side to provide consent and credit (photographs, logos, and any other needed visual material)

You can withdraw your consent at any given moment during the month of residence.

Please sign below if the following is correct

I have asked and received answers to my questions I have and am happy to take part in this project

Additional Comments/requests/clarifications: ---

----

xxxx- Dr. xxxx   **Signature---------------------------------**

Hala Ghanem   **Signature---------------------------------**

A request to volunteer at 7 Hills Skate Park in Amman and interview one of the founders or (co-founder of the park)

Hello, my name is Hala Ghanem, I am a PhD student at the University of Sheffield. My research is looking at Collective Publicness of Amman POS (Public Open Spaces).

I am interested to explore people's different experiences of public spaces in Amman. This research will try to attain knowing through engagement in a particular context by volunteering in 7 Hills skate park, to engage with refugees who are hosted there on weekly basis. This park was selected because of its outstanding dedicated program of hosting refugees in a regular basis, and offer integrative opportunities for their children.

This sheet is requesting collaboration from the co-founder, to facilitate access to park.

● The Nature of the researcher volunteering (if agreed upon)

☐ The researcher proposes to spend 4 weekends.

☐ The researcher will initiate informal conversations with children and their families, and will not collect any type of personal or identifiable data.

☐ The researcher is interested in hearing the perspectives and viewpoints of users of the skate park, including younger children and teenager. For younger children (accompanied by parent/carers) the researcher will not initiate conversations with children without their parents' permission. For older children/teenagers the researcher will make sure that a supervisory adult is aware that she will chat to these skate park users and will make sure she is visible to other adults at all times while conducting fieldwork in the skate park.

☐ Also, the researcher will provide a postcard with simple details of the research project for refugees (both parents and children), as a notice the researcher's role.

☐ The researcher is willing to help the founders in any logistics or planning for the weekly training.

☐ The researcher will need a recorded interview with the founders to discuss their roles, barriers they faced and still facing, aspirations for the future.

☐ The researcher will respect and follow the general rules of the conducted training.

☐ The researcher will be transparent, and any outcome will be discussed with the founders.

☐ The researcher will obtain an ethics approval from the University of Sheffield, before the volunteering process. The application will cover confidentiality, data protection, and rules of no harm.

☐ Photography is not a part of the research and the researcher will not use the camera in weekend 1-3. I would like to have a conversation with the founders after weekend 3, to see if it is feasible and desirable to use a camera for some photography for my thesis during weekend 4. I will agree with all protocols with regard to how skate park participants are non-identifiable or give consent for this.

Thank you for reading this.

Please feel free to contact me, my supervisor, or the head of the department

Information Sheet- Refugees

Refugees will be handed a printed copy in an informal context, the researcher will go through all parts of the sheet. Some of the participants will read and others will listen to me reading this script.

This sheet will be translated into simple Arabic.

Hello my name is Hala Ghanem, I am a PhD student at the University of Sheffield. This sheet is to invite you to participate in my research, but before you decide whether to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time and read or listen carefully and feel free to ask me if you would like more information or if there is anything you don't understand. I would like to stress that you don't have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to.

Thank you for reading this.

1. **What is the purpose of the study?**
I am trying to know more about the way people use outdoor public spaces within the neighbourhood. How do you spend time outdoors? What do you do/change to make it better? How does public space help you in coping with new environments and in building new relationships and interacting with others? This study will help deliver people's needs in public spaces to decision makers if possible.

2. **Why have I been chosen to take part?**
You are invited to this research because I am looking at people from different backgrounds are using locals public space in Amman, and their experience of this. I am interested particular in newcomers to the city, including people who have arrived from Syria.

3. **Do I have to take part?**
No, you can either accept to take part or refuse. If you accept to participate, please remember that you can stop participating at any time and without giving any reason. You can ask questions at any time you like at all stages. After your participation, you have up to 3 months to tell me of you want to change your mind and do not want me to use or keep anything of what you have said. My contact details are below.

4. **What will happen if I take part?**
If you take part, you will be contacted at least three times over the period of 10 weeks
, where we spend time in your neighbourhood public open spaces, and have
informal conversations of your experience outdoors and specifically in places you naturally use. We could be walking, sitting or doing any activity you usually practice in POS. Unfortunately, there is not any form of aid (or money) given for participating in this research. Hopefully, you will find taking part in the study interesting!

5. **What are the risks if I take part?**
Taking part is expected to be interesting and not something to worry about. We have designed the way we do this research to try to ensure that there is no physical harm or stress to you.

6.   What if I am unhappy or if there is a problem?
Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor.

7.   Will my participation be kept confidential?
All the information will be strictly confidential, personal data will be stored carefully. You will not be identified or identifiable in any material associated with the project. Data will be anonymised and any notes collected about you will be stored in a form protected by passwords, or in a locked space. Three years after the end of the project they will be destroyed.

8.   Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?
No, you will not be recorded, we will just chat and sometimes I will ask you questions. I will jot down notes every once in a while, when interesting ideas which are beneficial to the research are addressed.

1.   How is my personal information kept safe?
In the UK there are very strict rules about how I keep your personal information (name, contact details etc.) safe and not share them with others. This is called the Data Protection Act. The University of Sheffield takes responsibility for this (they are officially known as the 'Data Controller'. If you have any concerns, please contact my supervisor or the Head of Department.

9.   What will happen to the results of the research project?

Results of this research will be included in My PhD thesis, and can later be published in academic journals, discussed in conferences, and found in online forms like websites. You will not be identified in all of the previous situations.

10.   Who has ethically reviewed the project?
         The internal ethics committee of the Department of Landscape Architecture has approved this research.

11.   **Who can I contact if I have further questions?**
Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor or the Head of the department

Child Assent Form

Hello, my name is Hala Ghanem

I am a student at the university and

I would like you to participate in my study

And ask you some questions.

**I would like to write notes, if you agree.
Thank You!** 😊

Where do you spend time outside home? Can you please describe your experience, and what's important to you in it?

488

Permission to Use Visual Materials – From creative individuals and their firms

Participant / Organization name: -----------------------------

Information for participants of this research

This research is looking at how different individuals and organizations in Amman, such as landscape architects, urbanists, planners, artists, and other actors who often have high levels of agency, social capital, are related to publicness of public spaces, and their users. This research is interested in your project (s) -------------------- as a case study. The visual materials will be stored carefully, and might be used in thesis, presentations, web, future publications, and videos. Possibly give opt out if any of these are not Ok.

- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to use the following pictures / visual materials:**
-- **, as intellectual property remains with the person who created the original work , please credit the photographs / visual materials as follows: ---.**

- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to take and create pictures of the**

   following project(s): --

Thank you for your help!

Signature:
Date:

Permission to Use Visual Materials – From ****** Architecture and Urban Design Consultants

Firm Owner name: -----------------------------

This research is interested in a number of your projects, as case studies.
, the researcher will use a camera for some photography to add in her dissertation on her park visit (will add specific date).

- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to use the following pictures / visual materials:**
  -- ,
  and please credit the photographs / visual materials as follows:
   --.

- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to take and create pictures of the**

  following project(s): ---

Thank you for your help!

Signature:
Date:

<u>(SCRIPT) Permission to Use</u> Photographic images of the Photographed Person on *<Date>*

This research is interested in public spaces and how different users spend their time outdoors. The photographic images will be used in an academic research to fulfil a PhD degree in Landscape Architecture. Photographic images will be stored carefully and used properly in thesis and future publications.

Please indicate the statement that apply

- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to take and use photographic images of me as it is.**
- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to take and use photographic images of me and edit it to make me un-identifiable.**

- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to take and use photographic images of my child as it is.**
- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to take and use photographic images of my child and edit it to make him/her un-identifiable.**

- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to use the photographic image given by me to her as it is.**
- **I give my permission for the researcher (Hala Ghanem) to use the photographic image given by me to her and edit it to make me / my child un-identifiable.**

Thank you for your help!

Signature:
Date:

Appendix G

Main narratives and subtopics addressed in the selected literature on public spaces in Amman. Source: Author, 2020.

Main Narratives	Topics Addressed	Sources
Physical Design and Planning	• Deficit of POS • Inequal Distribution • A focus on aesthetics and physical designs • Need for comprehensive planning • Location of POS • Typologies • Accessibility and walkability.	(Ababsa, 2013; al-Hiary, 2004; Al Jafari, 2014; Al-Asad, 2012, 2011; Farhan & Al-Shawamreh, 2019; Meaton & Alnsour, 2012; Tarawneh, 2015; Tawil *et al*., 2019, 2016; Tomah *et al*., 2017; Yakhlef & Abed, 2019; Zalloom, 2017).
Sociocultural	• Usage patterns • Social typologies • Benefits of public space • Child-friendly public spaces • Gender and public spaces • Perception of POS.	(Abu-Ghazzeh, 1998; Al Aswad, 2018; Al Jafari, 2014; Amireh, 1996; CSBE, 2011; GAM, 2009; GIZ, 2020; Khawaja, 2015; Mahadin *et al*., 2005; Shami, 1996; Al Jaajaa, 2018).
Political	• Excessive control • Neoliberal practices • Privatisation	(Abu-Hamdi, 2014; Atteneder, 2014; Avenue *et al*., 2017; Daher, 2013; Elkhatib, 2017; Hiari, 2011; Hourani, 2016; Khirfan & Momani, 2013; Manasrah, 2014; Montoyo, 2016; Khasawneh, 2018).
Pedagogical	• Landscape education of POS • Critical pedagogies	(Asfour, 2005; Yaghi, 2020).
Historical	• City's empty spaces in history • The making of the	(Munif, 1996; Rifai, 1996).

	city.	
Cross-Disciplinary	• Combine Public spaces with the linguistic turn	(Abu-Dayyeh, 2018).

Appendix H

Main narratives and subtopics addressed in the selected literature on urban refugees in Amman. Source: Author, 2020.

Main Narratives	Topics Addressed	Sources
Addressing the Status Quo	• Profiling • Spatial census • Numbers • Living conditions	(Achilli, 2015; Tiltnes *et al*., 2019; UNHCR, 2013).
Refugees' Impact on Urban Landscapes	• Impact on socio-spatial transformation • Impact on cities' architecture • Impact of each refugee group on the city.	(Alhusban *et al*., 2019; Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018; Al-Tal & Ghanem, 2019; Dupire, 2017; Mansour, 2019).
Refugees as a Part of the City's History	• Refugees in history • Refugees' roles in making the city	(Hamed-Troyansky, 2017; Hanania, 2014)
The Host Community's Perception of Refugees	• Host community's perception of refugees • Social conflicts and tensions • Public perception and attitudes.	(Al-Homoud & Ghanem, 2019; Haynes, 2016; Mansour-Ille *et al*., 2018)
The Phenomenon of Non-Syrian Refugees	• Shifting the focus towards Iraqi refugees • Shifting the focus towards Yemeni and Sudanese refugees.	(Johnston *et al*., 2019; UNHCR, 2013)
NGO's Role	• NGOs' impact on policy • Assistance-related.	(Dudley, 2012; UNHCR, 2015; Ward, 2014)
Refugees' Experiences of Displacement	• Wellbeing • Psychosocial concerns of refugees • 'Refugeness' • Experiences of displacement • Citizenship.	(Hawkins *et al*., 2019; Kallio *et al*., 2019; Kubow, 2020; Linn, 2020; MacOnick *et al*., 2020; Mansour, 2019; Verme *et al*., 2016; Wells *et al*., 2016)