🏆 reviewed paper

Socio-Economic Transformation of Urban Nodes in Amman: Determining Ingredients of Success

Maram Tawil, Shams Khattab

(Dr. Maram Tawil, German Jordanian University, 11180 Amman, maram.tawil@gju.edu.jo) (MSc Shams Khattab, shams_khattab90@yahoo.com)

1 ABSTRACT

Amman has experienced different types and modes of urban transformation in its neighborhoods' urban structures. Such transformations have shaped these neighborhoods on social and economic levels leading to prosperity of some and the decline of others, without knowing why and how to encourage or prevent. However, this phenomenon was ivestigated through the paper to identify the causes and consequences of these transformations. It will identify the crucial aspects resulting in such transformations and try to display an understanding of the phenomenon to enable better development and sustainable change in the future.

Three urban nodes were analyzed in this paper based on a master thesis submitted to the Department of Architecture at the German Jordanian University. The analyzed urban nodes are Jabal Al Hussein, Shmeisani and Um Uthaina. The authors mapped the trends and dynamics in these nodes along time and applied mixed method tools to reach the causes and drivers for such transformation. Main findings were resulted from the survey to determine few major undertakings in Amman. Such includes avoiding developing certain urban nodes and neglecting the adjacent ones. More attention should be paid to the quality and the quantity of the granted commercial touristic investments licenses. Expanding the system of vertical construction to achieve an optimal utilization of spaces along with avoiding random commercial distribution between residential layouts. Such findings have shown to have great weight in causing informal urban transformation.

The main output of this paper is displayed through specific strategies, guidelines and policies that govern urban nodes towards proactive planning rather than informal growth and change. The results of this study showed that economic, social and service factors played a major role in these transformations. The aspects that can curb the decline in these urban nodes and the flourish of others.

Keywords: sustainable change, development, urban nodes, neighbourhood, urban transformation

2 INTRODUCTION

"Cities are the spatial articulations of political, demographic, economic, technological and cultural developments, which take place on local, regional, national and global scales" (Sennett, 1992; Fainstein, 2001; Lefebvre, 2002; King, 2007). (Rossi, 1982), mentioned that the city comes to be a masterpiece. The city is readable through form and space but understood through time. The unity of these parts is fundamentally supplied by history, by the city's memory of itself. Moving elements in a city, the people and their activities, are as important as the stationary physical parts. The identity of the city is derived from the identity of those living in it, and vice versa. (Lynch, 1981) cited that the degree of good city performance is determined by its ability of providing biological, psychological, social and cultural requirements to its inhabitants. (Lefebvre, 1991), stated in "The Production of Space" that space may not change, but "our perceptions of it do, therefore they become finer, more intelligent, deeper, more differentiated. While space may be stable in general outlines for some time, it is ever changing in detail. Only partial control can be exercised over its growth and form. (Trancik, 1986), pointed out that "people require a relative stable system of urban spaces in which to develop themselves, their lives, and their culture".

Traditional urban theories examine how cities develop and grow through systematic interactions of infrastructures, people and economic activities. Traditional urban theories examine how cities develop and grow through these kinds of interactions, and in macro terms are based on advantages that co-location (i.e., the physical location where urban and economic activities are in close spatial proximity to one another) can offer to economies and societies (Harvey and Clark, 1965).

The growth of Amman from the 1920s to the present has been phenomenal; in terms of its population, physical extent and regional geopolitical importance. (Al-Asad, 2005), has referred to what he describes as "ever-growing Amman". What was in the early 1920s a small town of little more than 2000-3000 people is today a major regional city with a recorded population of 4 million (Department of Statistics, 2015). The phenomenal growth of the urban area in both size and significance has occurred in "drastic growth spurts that have transformed the look and feel of the city and its connections with the outside world" (Al-Asad, 2005).

1281

Such growth spurts have also meant that although geopolitically Amman currently stands as one of the most important cities in the modern Arab world, one of its major characteristics is that it is, for the most part, a contemporary metropolis.

The main concern of this study is to investigate what is happening in Amman regarding its urban nodes by concluding a set of factors affecting the transformation of these nodes through history. Amman is transforming in many ways, one of which is in the centers of neighbourhoods that acted well in the past, but lost interest, attraction, and other drawbacks and were replaced in the attraction by new centers and nodes that stood as priority destination from a social trend perspective. These centers indicated as urban nodes have had changing image and character along time and Amman is facing this challenge of economic drawback each decade after a new center arises and wins interest.

The need for efficient proactive recommendations, strategies, guidelines and policies that govern urban nodes is presented as a crucial aspect in this paper. Therefore, the main objectives of this paper are the identification of the dynamics of urban nodes in Amman, mapping specific case studies to conclude a set of aspects that characterized these nodes, determining the positive and negative socio-economic components in the three selected urban nodes and concluding the positive aspects for sustaining and developing them. Moreover, the paper is targeting an urban policy for neighbourhood centers as a proactive strategy to overcome this economic and social drawback and preserving the uses for the centers on the long term.

3 THEORETICAL REVIEW

1282

REAL CORP

3.1 Concepts and aspects of urban transformation

Urban transformation is explained by urban development and urban change by outlining urbanization processes in planning history (Roberts and Sykes, 2000), and paradigm shifts resulting from the non-existence of a single explanatory theory on the concept of urban transformation. (Alexander, 1984). Paradigm shifts, which arise from an interaction between the philosophy of science and the philosophy of planning, not only make up the concept of urban transformation but also set up different theories, practices and methods on urban transformation in consecutive paradigmatic periods. (Hillier and Healey, 2010). The organizational level of urban transformation could be considered as a basic difference resulting from urban processes shaped by the planning system and contingent spatial dynamics. (Gürler, 2009). In addition, the spatial level of urban transformation could be considered as a basic similarity because of restructuring-oriented economic development shaped by political-economic frameworks (Gürler, 2009). The shift from a modern to a liberal paradigm puts emphasis on integrated urban regeneration approaches. (UN-HABITAT, 2011).

(Hillier et al., 1993) exemplifies the natural urban transformation process theory, which accounts for built environments that are not affected by rigid planning systems, regulation plans, various trusts connected to plots, religious aspects, collective memories, historic artefacts and urban areas protected by law. The spatial configuration of the street network configuration influences the flow of movement and location of economic activities. An 'urban transformation' process is a process when an urban area transforms from a deserted to a vital and attractive place. Urban transformation is spatially dependent on the street network configuration containing streets with high spatial integration values on various scales aggregating high building density and a high degree of land use diversity. Likewise, the degree of density influences the degree of functional mix (Van Nes and Ye, 2014).

Traditional urban theories examine how cities develop and grow through systematic interactions of infrastructures, people and economic activities (Harvey and Clark, 1965). The Central idea is that cities are large social networks. In This sense, cities are not just large collections of people; they are agglomerations of social links. The quality attributes of buildings and urban spaces reflect long histories of social and natural events. This requires that the built environment of cities change gradually, in response to social and economic needs and that, in this sense, it remains alive (Alexander, 1977). In both physical and socio-economic terms, the ways in which urban phenomena are conceived determines the ways in which they are measured and then analyzed (Donnay et al, 2001). As Giddens says, "space is not an empty dimension along which social groupings become structured but should be considered in terms of its involvement in the concept of 'time-space distanciation and to social integration with the concept of 'locale' and 'region'. In the

case of social integration where the role of space is more explicit, he uses the notion of 'locale' and 'region'. A 'locale' is the setting of any interaction, not just the environment, the space where interaction takes place, but all the features of this space that individual drawn upon in the sustaining of the communication. A locale is the means that helps the communication of meaning. So, social integration is based on the interactions in circumstances of co-presence, which takes place in 'locales' and 'regions'. (Giddens, 1979). Space is an important element for social integration and organization since the integration in this case is based on the 'face to face' relations, this means actors co-present in space. System integration, on the other hand, refers to relations that are not face to face but which presuppose these relations for the system to be created. (Giddens, 1981).

3.2 Social Urban Transformation Theories

Urban spaces as not only all buildings, objects and spaces in the urban environment, but also the people, events and relationships with them (Madanipour, 1999). In that regard, he argues that social space is a fundamental part of everyday life, and that 'our spatial behavior' is defined by the space around us therefore, defining space is an integral part of our social existence (Madanipour, 1996). For Lefebvre, the everyday is linked first with a structural element, second with elements 'structured' by determined and fragmented activities and functions associated with society and third with elements which are organized by apparatus existing on the macro scale in society. (Lefebvre, 2002). Lefebvre sees space as an important element of the everyday life because of the meaning that it carries. Space is a product of society, but is also used as an instrument to exercise power and control. Instead of space being a possession for common use, it has become an object of exchange. But to become exchangeable it should first become interchangeable, because exchange implies interchangeability "the interchangeability of a good makes that good into a commodity" (Lefebvre, 1991) and this happened by the abstraction of it of any meaning.

The right to participation maintains that citizens should play a central role in any decision that contributes to the production of urban space. Lefebvre does not clearly say that decisions that produce urban space should be made entirely by inhabitants. However, it is clear that the role inhabitant's play must be central and direct.

3.3 Economic Urban Transformation Theories

Economic development is "a process of continually improvising in a context that makes injecting improvisations into everyday life feasible"(Jacobs, 1984). Cities in this sense, whose real boundaries are economic rather than political, are settlements that consistently generate their economic growth from their own local economies. Their pools of skills, manufactures and materials, at once diverse and concentrated, provide the best conditions for the birth and growth of entrepreneurial small firms and an ever-increasing division of labor from which "new work can be added to old". (Jacobs, 1969), defines a city as "a settlement that consistently generates its economic growth from its own local economy." Also, "Cities are places where adding new work to older work proceeds vigorously. Indeed, any settlement where this happens becomes a city". (Jacobs, 1969). (Florida, 2004), argues that if cities today wish to rejuvenate themselves, they need to pursue policies that attract creative people. He is partly right. But the marvel of the living city is that it makes ordinary people extraordinary by placing them in a network in which information and opportunities, conducted by dense social ties, come at them from many and often unexpected directions.

(Jacobs, 1969) believes that capital must be used productively in financing economic trial, error and development. This is a costly process, as most innovative ventures will fail. Expensive, however, does not mean wasteful, for in the long run development work is crucial as cities must compensate for production transplanted in smaller towns and rural areas, and for exports lost because they are now being produced in former customer cities. Systematically spending money on projects that have no economic rationale only insures urban decline. (Coleman, 1990), points out that it is through "relations of trust" that complementarities among human capital can be utilized. Jacobs was one of the first to point out the nature and significance of trust and social networks in economic development and political activism, even coining the term "social capital". (Jacobs, 1961). (Putnam, 2000), defines social capital as "networks of trust and norms of reciprocity." He makes a very useful distinction between "bonding social capital" and "bridging social capital." (Ikeda, 2007), pointed out that "action space" is filled with social networks. A new business and the invention of systematic hybridization were the unintended consequence of urban life.

1283

For Jacobs, a better measure of the economic vitality of an economic system is the ratio of new work to total work. She replaces the norm of efficiency with the norm of new work, which in turn is measured by how much the division of labor multiplies, becomes more complex, over time. "The rules that govern the economy are actually changing" because even if the "actual things that development produces change, and even the methods by which people make the things change", the process of development doesn't. (Harris, 2009).

4 AMMAN URBAN GROWTH

1284

REAL CORP

LIVABLE CITY REGIONS

Amman city is a multicultural city, home of Jordanians from different backgrounds as well as an immigration point for many Palestinians, Iraqis, Syrians, Egyptians and others. Amman city is thorough Arab city with a diverse vision for the future. 'It became a sort of ''lung'' that has provided much needed breathing space for populations in the region suffering from political displacement (Palestinians since 1948, Iraqis since 1990, Syrians since 2011, and others)', (Al Asad, 2004). So, that today, Amman ''is playing an increasingly important role in the life of the region''. (Al-Asad, 2004). In the urban context, problems arose in planning the city of Amman. The main reasons for this were the absence of standards of regulation, the reliance on personal judgment, the lack of studying the geographical distribution, agricultural lands, and others such as the absence of a comprehensive planning study of the city of Amman. After the Gulf War in 1991, the urban activity increased in the city of Amman, resulting in the emergence of new residential and urban centers and the development of the architectural movement in Jordan and in Amman in particular.

Amman today is polarized by socio-economic status and cultural perspective into obvious eastern and western within the city. Districts patterns in Amman city follows strict socio-economic lines, with wealthy neighbourhoods which show significant "western" cultural influences and lifestyle, concentrated in the western areas of the city and poor neighbourhoods that are culturally traditional conservative, in the east. There are marked differences in building structures and infrastructure between the east and the west of Amman city. In recent years, the westward expansion of Amman has occurred in parallel with a rapid inflation inland values and housing prices caused, in part, by an inflow of investment capital from the gulf and by the settlement of affluent Iraqis displaced by the two Gulf wars. The housing market in the western areas of the city functions outside of the rent controlled older central and eastern neighbourhoods and can only be accessed by the very affluent. (Abu Thiab, 2012). "At a broader level, there is a market and well-recognized differentiation between the west and the east of the city, which is best recognized when the distribution of category B residential lands is viewed". (Potter et al., 2009).

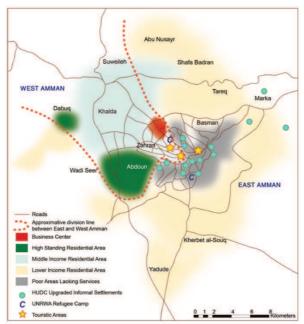


Figure 1: Synthetic Map of the Social Disparities in Amman. Source: (Ababsa, 2013)

The wealthy areas of west Amman extend in wedge-like patterns from the original affluent quarter of the central city up to cooler areas in the hills that surround the capital. (Potter et al., 2009). Wealthy neighborhoods boast excellent infrastructure, with large and luxurious apartment's blocks, houses and villas.

Residents of west Amman constitute the country's elite comprising of Jordanians nationals, many Palestinian origin, and rich expatriates. In addition, a number of respondents highlighted that many better off Iraqis who arrived in Jordan after 2003 have taken up residence in these neighborhoods. "Most of Amman's explosive growth in the last fifty years has been concentrated in respectable and upmarket West Amman as shown in figure 1 below (Ababsa, 2013); other districts to the north, south and east are much poorer, though more populous" (Teller, 2002).

Decreased importance of the of downtown economic center within the central area of activities in the late seventies of the twentieth century has led to the emergence of a number of new centers in the residential neighbourhoods in Amman- as a reaction to the pressures of this center- such as Jabal Al Hussein and others. That led to the exodus of the financial conglomerates to it, this has contributed to the renaissance of urban development in these neighborhoods, on the architectural, planning and organizational level.

Over the past 20 years, growth in Amman, has involved a rapid outward expansion due to both urban development and a series of amalgamations. Growth is transforming Amman from its former distinct pattern of hill development to a large metropolitan body with a variety of settlements, including cities, towns and villages, located within its boundary. Amman's built-up area has absorbed former peripheral towns.

METHODS 5

A mixed method with a qualitative and a quantitative design was used to provide a better understanding of this study. Exploratory sequential mixed design methods involved the procedure of first gathering qualitative data to explore a phenomenon and then collecting quantitative data to explain the relationships found in the qualitative data (Creswell, 2014).

The sequence was qualitative data collection followed by quantitative data collection. On one hand, qualitative design used to elaborate the case study through an in-depth investigation of the socio-economic transformation of the urban nodes in Amman, which are Jabal Al-Husain, Um-Uthaina, and Shmeisani. Then, the analysis states the socio-economic situation of those mentioned urban nodes throughout the different transformation stages based on visual observation and face-to-face interviews. On the other hand, a quantitative approach was used to address constructs of research inquiry including city and space, urban nodes and urban transformations using close-ended structured questionnaire.

A snowballing sampling technique was used to select 600 interviewees who are categorized into three groups; officials from GAM, traders from Jabal Al-Hussein, Shmeisani and Um-Uthaina that are selected to conduct the face-to-face interview to highlight their opinion regarding the socio-economic status of these urban nodes through years and the various users from Jabal Al-Hussein, Shmeisani and Um-Uthaina. Those were selected to highlight their opinion regarding the socio-economic status of these urban nodes over years in addition to their needs and satisfaction about the services and facilities.

Quantitative data was collected through identifying main settings in the three neighborhoods, the Khalid bin Waleed Street in Jabal Al Hussein, Thaqafa Street in Shmeisani and Shat Al Arab Street in Um Uthaina. Main constructs and variables were further identified to do the survey. Such have constructed the questionnaire on levels of social and Cultural aspect with 22 questions, economic aspects with 16 questions and public services aspects with 11 questions.

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS 6

A comprehensive analysis to reveal insights of the three selected urban nodes: Jabal Al Hussein, Shmeisani and Um Uthaina was conducted. The investigation tackled the surrounding space, the structure, and all related required summarizing the site.

Jabal Al Hussein neighborhood as the first investigated neighborhood in its urban center is located within the Abdali area. Jabal Al Hussein grew and developed along with the growth of Amman during the years from 1946 to the present day. Jabal al-Hussein is an important residential and economic urban node consisting of number of small neighborhoods that have grown significantly on its fringes such as Jabal al-Hussein camp and Khaled Bin Al-Waleed Street that extends from Gamal Abdel Nasser, Al Dakhiliya circle to the Downtown of Amman.

In the 1980s, the products sold in Jabal Al-Hussein urban node; clothes, jewelry, shoes, antiques, etc., met the tastes and needs of the citizens and tourists in terms of quality and price. In the 1990s, Amman witnessed

1285

the return and flow of Jordanians and Palestinians capitals from the Gulf, in view of the fact that Jabal Al-Hussein area was characterized by economic and commercial growth and success at that time, it encouraged them to invest in the construction of real estate and buildings and in opening various different shops. This encouraged the increase in the demand for Jabal Al Hussein from citizens and tourists and became a commercial and tourist attraction. Investments in Jabal Al Hussein in that period gained prosperity compared to other areas in Amman. These mentioned factors; Investment and promotion factors, created social variables in that period. They were considered positive in terms of availability of jobs and improving the incomes of investors. Figure 2 shows the time line of prosperity and the urban transformation that caused draw back to the neighborhood.

1980's	1991	2005	2007	Currently
-Emergence reasons - Geographical location (close to AI Balad & AI Abdali). - A reaction to the pressure on the Downtown. - The increase in population and urban expansion. - The development of the economic life. - The roods on	The peak (economic recovery) Flow of Jordanians and Palestinians capitals from the Gulf. - Real estate prosperity.	The relocation of Al Abdali bus complex due to the Emaar Abdali Campaign, Known as the Abdali Project, which was launched in 2005. - Malls.	ression asons of the of the of the of the of the comenon of hawkers that led to the decline of Jabal AI Hussein image socially and celturally, and quality declined.	- J-ost its - J-ost its - Joverrowding population. - Traffic - congestion. - Change in the quality of the social structure. - Shift promoter's attention to more suitable areas for development. - Surrounded by areas of with weak purchasing power.
 Diverse commercial center and investments gained modernity compared with the existing elements in the center of the country. Availability of jobs and improving the incomes of investors. 		changed.	-The presence of areas less fortunate in development.	

Figure 2: Jabal Al Hussein historical timeline. Source: (Researcher, 2017)

Shmeisani was the second case investigated in this paper. Shmeisani is in the western part of Amman city within the Abdali area, in the middle of the Greater Amman Plan and its borders adjacent to the city center. The residents of Amman began to live in Shmeisani in the early 1960s when the ancient Amman began to grow in its population. In the mid-seventies, Shmeisani became one of Amman's finest neighborhoods. Shmeisani was located between the Dakhiliya circle and the headquarters of the former General Intelligence Department, but now it is located between the Dakhiliya circle through the city sports circle to the peripheries of Khalda, Sweifiya and the peripheries of Jabal Amman within the scheme of 1992. Shmeisani is a vital area due to its location in the center of modern Amman, bordered to the north by University Street and Hussein Sports City, to the east by Jabal Al Hussein, Al Abdali, which will be the new center of Amman and Jabal Lweibdeh. It is considered the economic heart of the city: where Amman Stock Exchange is located, and major centers for most banks operating in Jordan. This selected neighborhood as well won great importance for decades and suddenly witnessed draw back as shown in figure 3.

1960s	Late 1970's	1990's	2003	Currently
Agricultural lands, Limited number of individual houses, 1980s 1980s The Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), where the trade was transferred to the Gulf of Aqaba as well as the transfer of oil, which led to the revival of	Emergence reasons Amman Downtown (AI Balad) importance as as central busiss district declined. Most banks moving their main centers from the center for the country (Downtown) to different parts of Amman.		Intrive orn after the war in Irrag in 2003 and I turnout on the purchase of real estate, the bunking services and different sectors.	Population and traffic jams. Congestion. Investors seek other areas of investment. Mega-mall projects. Less valuable use by tourists (negative touristic entertainment). Attraction of certain unwanted social groups, that distorted the image of Shmeisani. Loss it is sophisticated image.
	-The banking secto important role in the Jordan.			- Lost the distinctive character.

Figure 3: Shmeisani historical timeline. Source: (Researcher, 2017).

As a third case investigated in Amman Um Uthaina, it is located southwest of Amman. The area surrounds Mecca Street to the south and Zahran Street to the north and is adjacent to the neighborhoods of Sweifiya, Abdoun, Sixth circle and Rabieh. There are two important factors affected Um Uthaina, first is the search of

1286

REAL CORP

LIVABLE CITY REGIONS

some social groups for residence places outside the overcrowding commercial and residential areas. At the same time, Um Uthaina enjoys the advantages of calm and peacefulness on the one hand and the relative proximity to the commercial activity centers (for example Wadi Saqra, Rabieh, Mecca street, and Sweifiya) On the other hand. Um Uthaina still retain its generally clear residential character except Shatt Al Arab street (Gold Souk) and Crown Plaza Hotel. It is characterized by social sophistication, as most of the families living in it are of a highly educated and financial class. This was demonstrated in the way of construction it possessed, private gardens, facades, architectural decorations of buildings. Um Uthaina, has transformed into a high end residential area, after it was booming with commercial activities in the late eighties and nineties. This transformation has benefitted its residents and attracted others of same interest to reside there giving it a sound residential character in the present time.

According to the survey conducted in the three neighborhoods and their urban nodes, findings have resulted to identify the main aspects of success, failure and transformation of them as shown in the analysis below.

6.1 Jabal Al Hussein Socio-Economic Major Findings

Jabal Al-Hussein is surrounded by adjacent areas of weak purchasing power, and less fortunate in development. Urban nodes should be developed under a comprehensive plan by taking into consideration all the aspects and developing the whole nodes not focusing on developing a node and neglecting an adjacent one.

The phenomenon of hawkers that led to the decline of Jabal Al Hussein image socially and culturally, created problems on the behavioral and social levels, which affected the degree of turnout in the urban node by citizens and tourists. Hawkers should be organized and allocated in specific spots by GAM.

The origins and quality of goods in Jabal Al Hussein played a huge role in the regression of the commercial turnout, in addition to the mega mall appearance that affected the commercial vitality negatively in Jabal Al Hussein.

Indicators	Jabal Al Hussein
Social Community requirements (Social/Cultural aspects)	
The social relation and situation, social level, social values, social urbanization, social development and availability of social security.	The social relations and situation previously was better than now; the social behavior did not maintain as it was and did not witness any positive development. Jabal Al Hussein witnessed regression in terms of: social level, social values, social urbanization, social development and availability of social security.
Social problems: harassment phenomenon.	Social problems: harassment phenomenon, due to the regression of the social security in this urban node, families don't go any more to the gardens or parks.
Unattractive urban node socially.	Jabal Al Hussein is considered as unattractive urban node socially, most people mentioned it's not acceptable to their ambition socially and prefer to leave to quieter suitable areas.
Surrounding adjacent areas.	Jabal Al-Hussein is surrounded by adjacent areas of weak purchasing power, and less fortunate in development.
Population overcrowding, buildings and traffic congestion.	Population overcrowding, buildings and traffic congestion are considered as major issues that lead to regression.
Commercial Competitive level / (Economic aspect	
Commercial vitality.	In spite its privileged geographical location within the Capital Amman and its diverse commercial activities, the commercial vitality of Jabal Al Hussein did not develop but regressed.
Tourists' turnout.	The turnout by the tourists declined and that indicates the decline in the commercial and tourism vitality of Jabal A l Hussein.
Building congestion.	Buildings congestion affected negatively on the node.
Hawkers' phenomenon.	The phenomenon of hawkers that led to the decline of Jabal Al Hussein image socially and culturally, created problems on the behavioral and social levels, which affected the degree of turnout in the urban node by citizens and tourists.
Goods origins and quality.	The origins and quality of goods in Jabal Al Hussein played a huge role in the regression of the commercial turnout.

1287

Mega malls.	Mega malls appearance negatively affected the commercial vitality in Jabal Al Hussein.
Investment size vs traders, businessmen, decision makers and competent authorities.	The investment size in Jabal Al Hussein considered medium, while the attention of the traders, businessmen, decision makers and competent authorities is towards the large or mega investments.
Promoters' attention.	The promoters' attention moved to more attractive areas for development.

Figure 4: synthesis of results in Jabal Al Hussein

6.2 Shmeisani Socio-Economic Major Findings

Some sort of commercial investments (negative touristic entertainment) do not suit the overall good sophisticated image of Shmeisani, led to the attraction of certain unwanted social groups, which distorted the image of Shmeisani. Avoiding the random commercialization, and studying the tourism investment granted licenses is very much needed.

Indicators	Shmeisani
Social Community requirements / (Social	/Cultural aspects)
Congestion.	Shmeisani also suffered from congestion and remained oscillating between being a residential area and a commercial area at the same time.
overcrowding housing, population and traffic jam.	Some of the Shmeisani residents prefer to leave to quieter places because of the overcrowding housing, population and traffic jams, and because of the changes that swept the area and made it lose the distinctive character that it enjoyed.
Increase and diversification of the economic growth.	Increase and diversification of the economic growth in Shmeisani (quantitively not qualitatively).
Negative touristic entertainment.	Some sort of commercial investments (negative touristic entertainment) do not suit the overall good sophisticated image of Shmeisani, led to the attraction of certain unwanted social groups, which distorted the image of Shmeisani.
Harassment phenomena.	Harassment phenomena, decline in the social relations, social family situation witnessed regression.
Commercial Competitive level / (Econom	ic aspect)
The investment size.	The investment size in Shmeisani is average because the commercial node in Shmeisani is not a shopping destination, unlike Jabal Al Hussein, it's not a commercial diverse node with all kind of shops. The commercial node created to serve the banks area and the tourists in the hotels, so it's basically restaurants, cafes and some basic daily serves.
passive entertainment area.	The change of the nature of the commercial area into passive entertainment area, led to the decline of the commercial node, and regression in the turnout of locals and tourists.
commercial regression.	Some other reasons led to the commercial regression are: goods origins and qualities, mega mall projects in other areas, congestion in buildings and traffic and the investors' attention moved to other urban nodes.
Arabic influx.	The heavy Arabic influx, created a booming in the real estate market and the investment sector effected Shmeisani positively.

Figure 5: synthesis of results in Shmeisani

6.3 Um Uthaina Socio-Economic Major Findings

Um Uthaina still retain its generally clear residential character (quiet, sophisticated, pleasant and comfortable atmosphere) except Shatt Al Arab street (Gold Souk) that added value to the residential area of Um Uthaina, Um Uthaina does not become a commercial area; services are available to meet the needs of its population. Besides, it's surrounded by socially and economically equivalent areas.

Indicators	Um Uthaina
Social Community requirements / (Social	al/Cultural aspects)
Commercial Competitive level / (Econo	mic aspect)
Residential character.	Um Uthaina still retain its generally clear residential character except Shatt Al Arab
	Street (Gold Souk) and Crown Plaza Hotel, and has not become a commercial area;
	services are available to meet the needs of its population.



Um Uthaina is not surrounded by areas that are less fortunate in development.
It does not suffer from the negative behavior patterns flow that cause inconvenience or harassment.
Um Uthaina socially considered an attractive residential neighborhood, enjoys social security, social urbanization, and surrounded by similar areas, due to that most of its residence prefer to stay in it.
There are no parks, gardens, public places for families or children's play areas.
Um Uthaina was affected by the migrations, this has led to cultural and social diversity as a result of the mixed cultures of the neighborhood inhabitants.
Due to its residential character, the tourist's turnout in Um Uthaina is limited.

7 TRIANGULATION OF FINDINGS IN JABAL AL HUSSEIN, SHMEISANI AND UM UTHAINA

(1) Many factors affected the public services sector in Jabal Al Hussein, Shmeisani and Um Uthaina, building congestion, population overcrowding, traffic, the increase of the mixed-use buildings and the heavy influx of large numbers of Arabs.

(2) Public services deficiencies: parking services, validity of the pedestrian corridors and movement, public transportation, are not accommodating the community needs.

(3) While the: security services, electricity services and civil defense are excellent.

Based on the analysis that were undertaken according to several theoretical resources, narrative interviews with different locals and interviewing officials in Greater Amman Municipality was conducted. The level of strength for each indicator affecting the basic aspects of this study was synthesized towards few aspects that are seen crucial in affecting urban transformation.

Social aspects are affected in various manners due to the confusion in planning the neighborhood. Neighborhoods have to have distinct character that allows smooth development. Residential character or commercial and business identity should be kept or tailored through urban policies that guide the growth and development. It is noticed and analyzed that these neighborhoods were subject to influence according to sudden and unplanned growth and within the absence of guidelines that regulate that growth and define the settings especially in the newly developed areas. The absence of such policies are basic causes of this negative transformation.

On the other hand, the economic aspects and strengths or weaknesses suggest a similar attention to the verification of the identity formation of distinct neighborhoods with certain line of development. Social and economic attention should be catering to a synergized image of neighborhoods and should be working under the same line of urban policy and not allowing ad hoc decisions upon investment and developers individual preferences.

8 CONCLUSION

Two pillars of development should be tackled as a result and conclusion to this survey and discussion, the social community level and the commercial competitive level.

The concept of urban development must be comprehensive and not confined to certain urban node without the other. It is not possible to pay attention to an urban node and neglect the adjacent one because this leaves a very negative impact on the population of the less fortunate node in development.

One of the most important criteria that must be considered on objectiveness and scientific basis, is to determine the terms of granting commercial licenses (quality and quantity) by considering the criteria of commercial competition and avoid imbalance in distribution and the implementation of the population ratio

criteria (overcrowding). Avoiding overpopulation in addition to an important factor is to maintain the social environment status, without traditions prejudice.

Studying the category of the granted touristic investment license, where licenses cannot be prevented for commercial tourism investments, but it is important to respect the sanctity of society in residential areas, and not to cram tourist facilities causing inconvenience to the residents, due to its negative effects.

It was observed that one of the reasons of the regression in the analyzed urban nodes is the origin and the quality of the goods. Comparing this to other new modern nodes in the city it is clearly noticed that this reflects negatively on the entire node. By improving the quality of the goods this will ensure better exposure to new technologies that will enhance the urban node to grow in a better way.

The general plan should include the subject of random commercialization into the study on scientific and objective basis.

9 REFERENCES

Ababsa, M. (Ed.) (2013). Atlas of Jordan: History, Territories and Society. Beyrouth: Presses de l'Ifpo.

- Shami, S. (2007). Amman is not a city. In A. Çinar, and T. Bender (Eds.). Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota. p.208 – 235).
- Shugair, H. (2013). Amman's Periphery and the emerging Edge City Urbanism: Exploring Amman's Peri-Urban Interface. (Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis). Amman, German Jordanian University.
- Potter, R., Darmame, K., Barhamb, N., and Nortcliff, S. (2009). Ever- growing Amman, Jordan: Urban expansion, social polarization and contemporary. Urban planning issues. Habitat International, 33(1), p. 81-92.

Ababsa, M. (Ed.) (2010). The evolution of Upgrading policies in Amman. Second International Conference on Sustainable Architecture and Urban Development, Amman, The Center for the study of architecture in the Arab World, CSAAR.

Abu Thiab, D. M. (2012). Mind the gap: Mapping the urban Divide in Amman. Master of Science in Spatial Planning, German Jordanian University.

GAM. (2016). The land use Maps: Jabal Al-Hussein, Shmeisani, and Um Uthaina, Amman, GAM.

Putnam, R. (2000a). Better Together: Religion and Social Capital. Cambridge: John F. Kennedy, School of Government, Harvard.

Florida, R. (2004). Cities and the Creative Class, Routledge.

Jacobs, J. (1961). The Death and Life of Great American Cities. Vintage Books.

Jacobs, J. (1969). The economy of cities. Vintage Books.

Jacobs, J. (1984). Cities and the wealth of nations: principles of economic life. Random House.

Jacobs, J. (2000). The Nature of Economies. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Glaeser, E. (2011). Triumph of the City: How Urban Spaces Make Us Human. Pan Macmillan.

Lefebvre, H. (2002). Critique of Everyday Life, Verso, Vol.2.

Madanipour, A. (1996). Design of Urban Space. John Wiley, Chichester, Sussex.

Madanipour, A. (1999). Why are the design and development of public spaces significant for cities? University of Newcastle, Newcastle.

Madanipour, A. (2003). Public and Private Spaces of the City, Routledge.

C. Alexander, (1977). A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings Construction, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Van Nes, A. (2002). Road building and urban change. The effect of ring roads on the dispersal of shop and retail in Western European towns and cities. PhD thesis. Agricultural University of Norway.

Van Nes, A. and Ye, Y. (2014) The theory of the natural urban transformation process. AESOP, Delft University of Technology, Netherlands.

Hillier, B., Penn, A., Hanson, J., Grajewski, T. and Xu, J. (1993). Natural Movement: or configuration and attraction in urban pedestrian movement. Environment and Planning B, Unit for Architectural Studies, Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, University College London, 20(1), p. 29-66.

UN-HABITAT, (2011). Reference Library – Reports, Guides, Best Practices, Declarations, Resolutions, General Assembly Resolutions.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. SAGE Publications, 2013

Porter, M. E., (1995). The Competitive Advantage of The Inner City. Harvard Business Review, vol. 73, no. 3, p.55-71.

Al-Asad, M. (2004b). Cities of the Arab east. Jordan Times, 20 May 2004.

Al-Asad, M. (2005). Ever-growing Amman. Jordan Times. 16 June 2004.

Donnay, J., Barnsley M., Longely, P. (2001). Remote Sensing and Urban Analysis, CRC Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The Production of Space. Donald Nicholson-Smith trans. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Originally published 1974.

