

**Urban Regeneration Strategies in Amman's Core:
Urban Development and Real Estate Market**

By

Kamila Naim Ashour

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Prof. Dr. Christoph Zöpel, TU Dortmund

Prof. Christa Reicher, TU Dortmund

Dr. Mehdi Vazifedoost, TU Dortmund

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this research has been presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical manner. I also declare that the analysis, synthesis and results presented in the research are my original research work.

Kamila Naim Ashour

December, 2016

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kamila Naim Ashour', written over a horizontal line.

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ABSTRACT

Little knowledge about urban regeneration in the Middle East has been explored. Showing experiences in the case of Amman would contribute to the theory building of urban regeneration. The following research is an assessment of urban regeneration policies and experiences in Amman's core in two cases: the Old Downtown, West El-Balad, and the "New Downtown", Abdali. The experiences are critically assessed using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The analysis and review are conducted based on data from onsite, interviews, observations, photographs, official reports and articles. Findings from literature provided a framework of principles of good urban regeneration policies, and organized the research questions and structure. The assessment concerns rationality, impact, effectiveness and the long-term implementation of urban policies. Many proposals and projects for revitalizing West El-Balad were completed. Most of the implemented projects were financed by grants. There was no commitment to the proposed urban policies and regulations, thus the Downtown heritage is at risk. Abdali was developed by an organization, most of Phase I is constructed, but Phase II is not. This research examines the role of urban planning, real estate markets and urban regeneration policies in providing the desired outcomes. Urban regeneration was proposed and implemented in the absence of realistic appraisal of the market conditions. Some urban policies of the future plans of Amman would have a bad impact on the city's development. Although the initial intentions of urban regeneration were economic development, the outcomes end up with physical improvements but put off the key economic drivers, thus, causing the beautification of the container and the loss of the content.

Abdali is developed at a central location between "East Amman" and "West Amman". Abdali's development would rebalance and relocate the center of gravity of the city towards the core. Abdali has an important influence on re-locating the city center to the core of Amman. There are many challenges facing the success of Abdali and West El-Balad. Spatially, Abdali's development is rational, but the supply of commercial spaces exceeds the local demand. The Abdali trade market is linked to external players, investors and users. Abdali, a new large scale development has a high vacancy rate, requires revitalization! Decisions on the national level to improve the local economy are a productive way to reduce the failure of the real estate market. A lot of work should be done to solve the urban problems of West El-Balad. Abdali and West El-Balad together would function as two poles

tying and binding central Amman. This connection with Shmesani composes the central business district of Amman.

Research on urban regeneration about cases in Jordan done in the context of spatial sciences in Germany, combines two different scientific backgrounds and interests. Spatial sciences in Jordan are very recent compared to long traditions in Germany. Under these circumstances, scientific interests in both Jordan and Germany should be considered and respected. German interest may deal with the importance of spatial and urban development in Jordan for global development. The Jordanian interest may include developing an understanding of urban regeneration through assessing the local urban development policies and practices, and learning general principles of good practice and experiences from better-developed regions of the World like Europe and the US.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADPRS: The Amman Downtown Plan and Revitalization Strategy

BID: Business Improvement Districts

CEO: Chief Executive Officer

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

DoA: The Department of Antiquities of Jordan

GACP: Greater Amman Comprehensive Plan 1987

GAM: The Greater Amman Municipality

JD: Jordanian Dinars

MoTA: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities

MAWARED: the National Resources and Development Corporation

MGP: Metropolitan Growth Plan

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNRWA: United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Urban regeneration experiences are becoming important worldwide. Urban regeneration is dynamic policies responding to changes in different aspects of life. Nations around the world seek to develop a better future while tackling urban problems and challenges that arise over time. Urban regeneration policies in Jordan are based on a mixed approach of the blueprint approach and the incremental approach. Amman is undergoing transformations and redevelopments on a large scale in many locations. The research aims to analyze what is going on in Amman, why and how. The Research focuses on two cases of urban regeneration in Amman's core: the Old Downtown West El-Balad and the New Downtown Abdali Urban Regeneration Project (Abdali) (Figure 1&2).



Figure 1: the Amman Downtowns

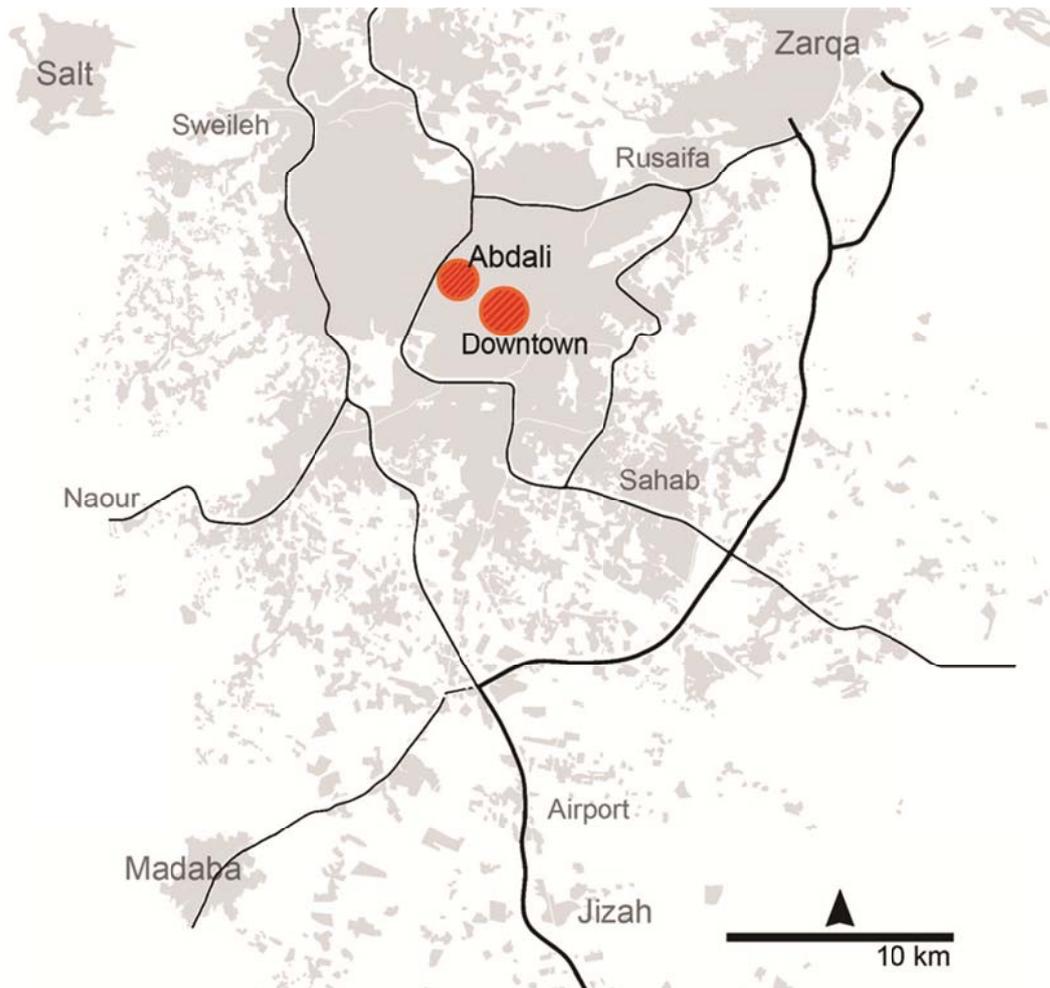


Figure 2: The Study Area

Source: based on the Amman Plan Metropolitan Growth, GAM (2008)

1.2 Significance of Research

The research reviews urban regeneration case studies in Amman's core: the Amman downtown and the Abdali project. The significance of the research has two dimensions: first, it contributes to filling a gap in knowledge about urban regeneration in the Middle East in the case of Amman, which would contribute to theory building of urban regeneration; second, it provides recommendations to enhance urban policies and decision making for the local authorities, and so contributes to problem analysis and solving.

1.2 Research Problem

The research concern is to evaluate the proposed and ongoing redevelopment interventions in the core of Amman. Some proposals are partially implemented, as in the case of the old

downtown, Wast El-Balad, where some projects were implemented, but other proposals of projects are not. The examined proposals for Wast El-Balad, the old downtown, were prepared through a draft study “The Amman Downtown Plan and Revitalization Strategy” (ADPRS) by the Amman Institute¹, in addition to proposals for the Urban Strip and the Cultural Strip in the downtown area.

Public and different private interests are influencing city development and transformation through constructing large urban projects, as in the case of the Abdali Urban Regeneration Project (Abdali). These developments are becoming an important phenomenon that require scholars to answer questions about what policies are suitable for the local context, as well as how and why they approach problems a certain way. The research findings are important to improve decision making in urban policy that has an impact on city development and society in Jordan, in the Middle East and on a common worldwide understanding of the issue.

1.3 Research Objectives

The research aims to achieve the following objectives:

- To provide detailed information on the approaches of urban regeneration in Amman.
- To assess the policies and achievements of these developments.
- To propose guidelines for the improvement of urban regeneration in Amman.

1.4 Research Questions

The research is guided by the following questions:

Generally:

- What are the principles of good urban regeneration policy?
- What are the approaches of urban regeneration?

¹ Amman Institute was a not-for-profit institution established by GAM in 2008, was responsible for preparing the Amman Metropolitan Plan 2025, in addition to working on urban good governance at national levels, addressing issues such as land management, planning, public policy, and civic leadership, development, and others. It was closed in late of 2011.

- What are the approaches of downtown revitalization?

Concretely:

- What are the urban regeneration policies in Amman's downtown?
- Do the policies represent an appropriate strategy to meet the city's development needs?
- How will policies contribute to the achievement of the objectives?
- Are implementation mechanisms appropriate to achieve the objectives?
- What was done and what has been achieved?
- What will be the impact of the policies?

1.5 Limited information of Research

The following are limitations to the research:

- Data collection of official reports and information is difficult, and some data is considered confidential.
- The Amman Institute that developed the studies and proposals is closed, which could have effect on data collection and analysis.
- Information and data about the urban development of Amman are limited.
- The urban policy of ADPRS regarding the old downtown has been partially implemented, the proposals are draft, and few projects were executed.
- The Abdali project "New downtown" is partially implemented, most of phase I is executed, some are under construction, and others are on hold, while no project of phase II is implemented.

1.6 Research Organization

The research is organized in seven chapters (Figure 3): **Chapter one** is an introduction for the research problem, questions and objectives. **Chapter two** addresses the research methodology, clarifying the data collection and analysis methods. The research design focuses on case study research. The research is an assessment based on theoretical themes and evidences from real life. **Chapter three** presents a literature review and the theoretical

framework of the research and explores urban regeneration approaches and strategies. The purpose of this chapter is to identify characteristics of successful urban regeneration, and a criterion of evaluation. The criterion will guide the assessment of the case studies. **Chapter four** describes the context of the urban development of Amman. The context describes what factors influenced Amman’s development and growth. It explores the urban planning policy of GAM through the master plans of 1987 and 2008. **Chapter five and six** show the two cases of urban regeneration – the old and new downtowns of Amman – presenting the urban regeneration policy and addressing the issues and problems to be considered. The case studies of approaches and strategies of urban regeneration are critically assessed. **Chapter seven** summarizes the research findings, proposes recommendations, and opens question for possible future studies that may enhance knowledge and practice.

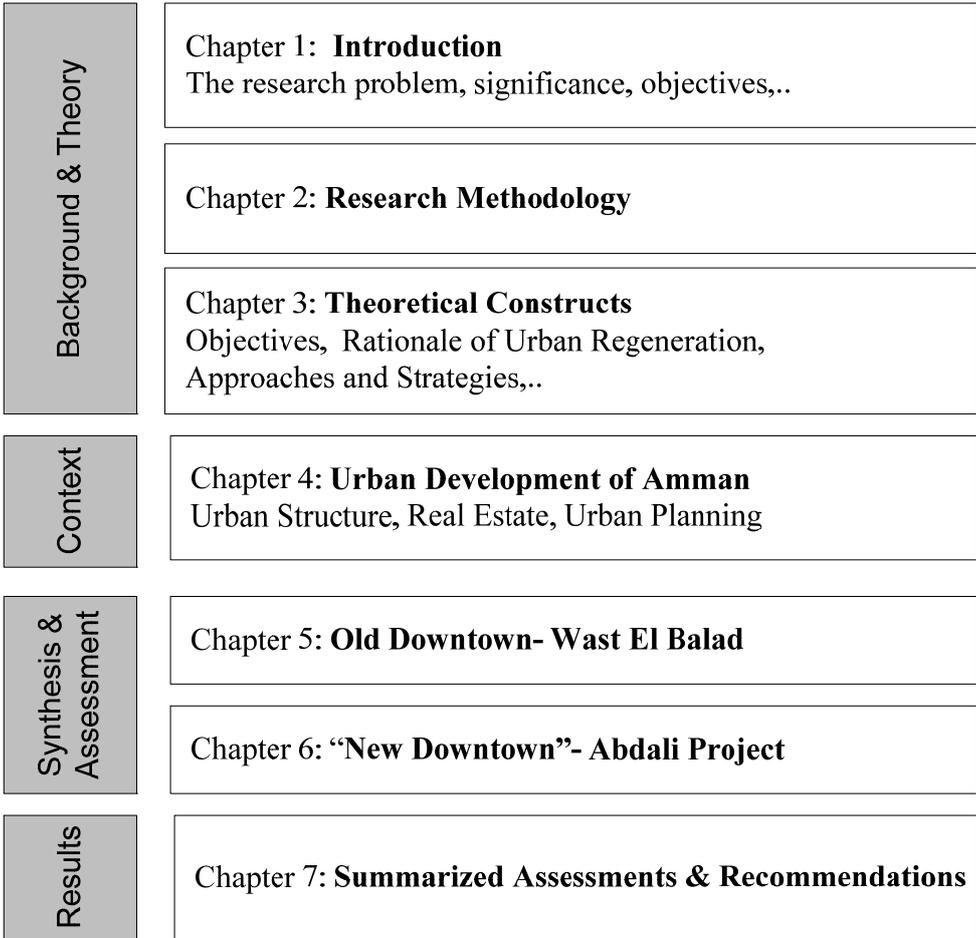


Figure 3: Research Structure

2. METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Research strategy is used for mainly three purposes: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory as defined by Yin (2003). Defining the type of methodology depends on the nature of the data. There are three types of methodologies: qualitative, quantitative and triangulation. The qualitative methodology is verbal, while the quantitative methodology is numeric, and the triangulation methodology is hybrid of both verbal and numeric data (Leedy, 1993). According to Trochim (2006), in research, broad methods of reasoning are the deductive and inductive (Figure 4). Deductive reasoning starts with a theory as a premise, then the process of narrowing it down to a specific hypothesis and observing the problem to confirm the theory. Inductive reasoning starts with specific observations to generalization and theories (Trochim, 2006).

This research adopts a mainly qualitative methodology, while quantitative data will be used to support evidence. This research practices inductive research, concerned with both exploration and explanation purposes; exploration of the urban regeneration policies in Amman, an explanation of their rationale, casual links and relationships. The exploration and analysis of urban regeneration policies in Amman will contribute to building up general knowledge about urban regeneration in the Middle East. The cases of Amman introduce urban regeneration policies, influenced with a local context of political, social, economic, environmental and cultural settings.

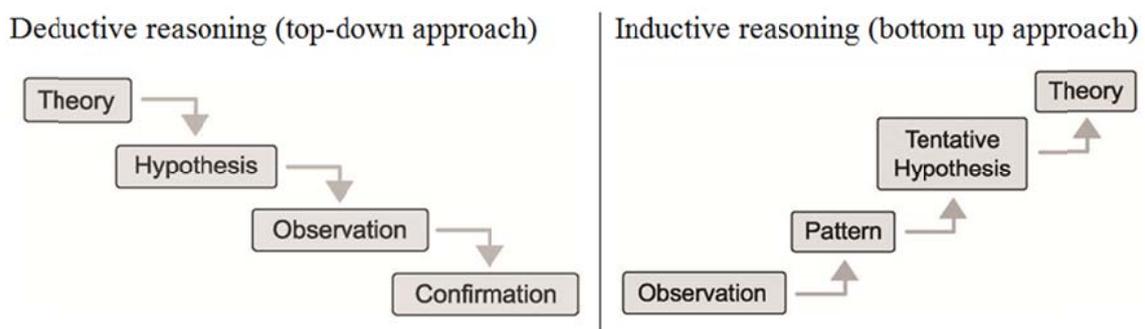


Figure 4: Types of Methodologies

Source: Trochim (2006)

The following is a comparison between the quantitative and qualitative methodologies based on Leedy (1993), Millward (2001), Burney(2008) and Pakdeeronachit (2014):

Quantitative Methodology	Qualitative Methodology
Approach/ Role of researcher	
Deductive Positivist The researcher is detached, solving the problem from outside Detached view/Value free	Inductive Phenomenological and interpretative The researcher interacts from inside, with experienced subjects Personal view/Values are involved
Scope/ Purpose	
Measure objective facts Confirm and validate Particularistic, specific variables Focused, Pre specified Test theory	Construct social reality Explore and interpret Holistic focus, gain complete study Open ended Build theory
Data Collection	
Objective data, numeric Data is collected under controlled conditions Focuses heavily on reliability data Representative, large sample Standardized instruments (Surveys and experimental designs)	Subjective data, verbal Data is collected under naturalistic context Concentrates on validity data Informative, small sample Observations, interviews
Analysis	
Objective Causation Numeric estimation Statistical inference Descriptive and inferential statistics Explain and predict	Subjective Meaning Descriptive narrative Constant comparison Content analysis Describe and explain
Process	
Stable (facts and causes) Verification is highly structured Known variables Static design Established guidelines Context-free	Dynamic nature of reality Discovery oriented, flexible and changeable Unknown variables Emergent design Flexible guidelines Context-bound
Findings	
Reliability is key Outcome- oriented Numbers Statistics, aggregated data Formal voice, scientific style	Authenticity is key Process-oriented Words Narratives, individual quotes Personal voice, literary style
Application	
Experimental studies Quasi-experimental studies Statistical studies, and Analytical studies	Descriptive studies Survey studies Historical studies, and Case studies

This research mainly uses a qualitative research method, while quantitative methods are used to provide evidence based on the analysis of numeric data. The research displays data analysis in a narrative way. The researcher will have a role in data analysis as an urban planner, based on theories and standards in the field.

2.1 Research Approach

There are different strategies for research such as experimentation, surveys, archival analysis, history and case study. The case study strategy is used to answer research questions of how and why, and focuses on contemporary events. “A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Yin, 2003). The essence of a case study “is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result” (Schramm, 1971) as cited in (Yin, 2003). A case study approach is the best method to understand urban regeneration themes, since “regeneration is driven by applied practice, rather than academic research” (Evans & Jones, 2008). The strategy used is a combination of two approaches: the case study approach and archival analysis. The case study approach in this research seeks to provide knowledge about urban regeneration in the Amman city. The urban regeneration experiences in Amman are critically analyzed and assessed. The research focuses on urban regeneration in the old and new downtowns of Amman. The research seeks to investigate what has been achieved in transforming places and the benefits that were to be achieved. Archival analysis is the main method for the case studies analysis. An archival analysis of the local planning authority data sources, such as planning studies, is essential for the examination of changes in the urban area.

2.2 Research Design

Research design is “the plan and structure and strategy of investigations enable one to obtain answers to research questions” (Kerlinger, 1986 as cited in Pakdeeronachit, 2014). “A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn to the initial questions of study” (Yin, 2003). “Research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data and subsequently indicates which research methods

are appropriate”. This research was designed as an evaluation of case studies based on criteria for evaluation derived from literature.

“Evaluation research is applied in that the aim is to produce knowledge that will contribute to greater understanding of the effect of a defined activity” (Kelly, 2008). “Qualitative evaluation examines the process and outcomes of a program or an initiative to assess its effectiveness” (Padgett, 2008). Setting criteria for qualitative evaluation constitutes a high-quality qualitative study. Criteria are generated based on theories to judge the quality and credibility of a program (Patton, 2008). “Evaluation research needs to be theory driven rather than data driven if it is to contribute to a cumulative body of knowledge in which theory can be built and tested”. Three main stages for evaluation research designs are: strategy, process, and outcome. The strategy evaluation is conducted before implementation to define the intervention. The process evaluation is conducted throughout the progress and implementation of the interventions. The outcome evaluation measures achievements of the interventions in relation to set indicators (Kelly, 2008).

There are four types of assessments techniques to help understand the economic, social and environmental impacts of planned changes: 1) Baseline assessments, analysis of the current situation, 2) Prospective (or ex ante) assessments supporting decision-making before changes are implemented, including predicting future activities, and analyzing and selecting the most suitable scenario, 3) Formative assessment procedures through implementing the program and projects, providing feedback about the changed context to meet potential and sustainable redevelopment, and 4) Retrospective (ex post) assessment that reviews the actual effect of the implemented program and monitors the regeneration process to critically judge performance, impact and sustainability consequences of the selected alternative (LUDA-Team, 2006).

Evaluation questions of the ex-ante evaluation criteria in this research are grouped in four categories (Figure 5); relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, utility (impact) and its longer term sustainability (UNDP, 2009; European Commission, 2013):

- Relevance: examines the objectives of the development and its output or outcomes if are justified in relation to the beneficiaries’ priorities and are consistent with the national and local policies.

- Effectiveness: measure the achieved objectives and the progress. Analyze if the outcomes are the expected effects, check whether different instruments may achieve better results. Effectiveness could be assessed in three steps: measure change in the observed outcome, compare the observed changes to the objectives, and judge the value of progress.
- Efficiency: measure if the planned outputs been achieved at the lowest cost.
- Utility: measure if beneficiaries are satisfied with effects, what changes and impacts are on social, environmental and economic needs.
- Sustainability: measure if the results would be durable over time even with no public funding or external support.

Other criteria of ex ante evaluation could include questions related to internal and external coherence, or the structure of the strategy and its financial allocations and the linkage of the strategy to other regional, national and Community policies. The quality of the proposed implementation system is important to understand how it may affect the achievement of program objectives. In addition, ex ante evaluation needs to examine the potential risks for the program, both in relation to the policy choices made and the implementation system proposed (European Commission, 2006).

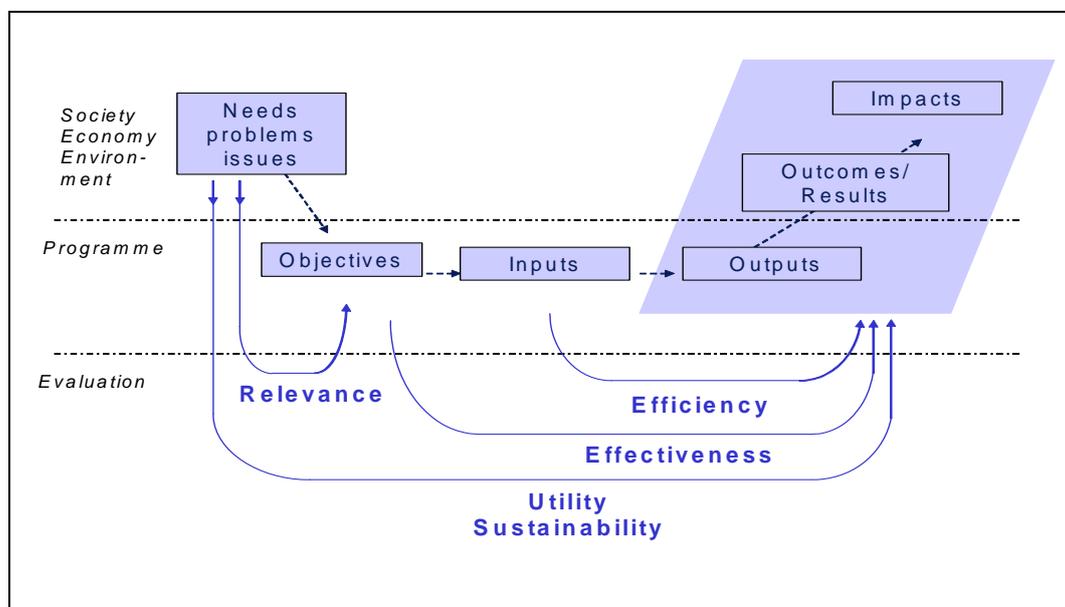


Figure 5: Ex-ante evaluation criteria

Source: European Commission (2006)

According to Alexander (2011), three approaches to evaluate a plan are: normative, conformance, and performance. The normative approach is a historical analysis and a review

evaluating the quality of planning and the decision making process in terms of planning norms and methods, and judging the plan in relation to its impact on society. The conformance approach judges planning according to one or two standards: one by comparing if the outcomes conform to planning policy, the other is whether the used tools to implement a policy (regulations, programs, detailed plans or projects, budget allocations, etc.) achieve the objective. The performance approach defines a plan or policy as a framework for future decisions, where the implementation of programs and projects follows the framework. Selecting the evaluation approach depends on the planning system's products and the function of plans. The conformance approach is to be applied if the plan would be implemented and was supposed to change the built environment. If the purpose is to frame “lower order plans and subsequent implementation decisions and influence market behavior”, then the performance approach can be used (Alexander, 2011). Refer to Table 1 for more clarification about plan evaluation.

Table 1: Planning products and evaluation approaches/methods

Product	Questions/issues	Evaluation approaches/methods
Planning services	Consumers/ beneficiaries Outputs/impacts	Objective: evidence-based analysis; quantitative indicators; targets; etc. Subjective: <i>Individual:</i> consumer satisfaction survey <i>Interactive:</i> focus groups; meetings; etc.
Plans	Production process Involved actors/ stakeholders Affected parties/ interests	Normative: historical analysis/evaluation Conformance: <i>Outcomes:</i> cf. plan/policy prescriptions <i>Tools:</i> compatibility between tools and objectives Performance: plan's utilization as a framework for other plans/decisions
Planning policies/ decisions	Production process Involved actors/ stakeholders Affected parties/ interests	Process evaluation (procedural): <i>Objective:</i> conformity to norms (due process, democratic participation, effectiveness, etc.) <i>Subjective:</i> satisfaction surveys; focus groups; interactive meetings Product evaluation (substantive): <i>Subjective/general:</i> survey/questionnaire on policy/decision impacts <i>Specific/detailed:</i> case studies of policies/decisions

Alexander (2011)

Oliveira and Pinho (2005) propose criteria to evaluate the rationality, performance or conformance of a plan. The evaluation questions of the criteria are as follows:

Table 2: Plan's evaluation questions and criteria

General criteria	Specific criteria	Evaluation questions
Plan rationality	Relevance	Are the plan proposals relevant to the city needs?
	Internal coherence	Do the several parts of the plan have a logical organization?
	External coherence	Is the plan coherent with other policies, programs or plans implemented in the area?
	Participation (plan making)	Was there effective public participation in plan preparation?
Plan performance	Utilization	Was the plan used or consulted in decision making during its implementation?
	Participation (implementation)	Was the plan used to promote communicative action and interactive practice?
Results conformance	Effectiveness	Are the plan results in conformance with the plan objectives?
	Efficiency	Were the foreseen resources to attain those objectives sufficient?
	Leadership	Did the plan have a significant leading function in urban development?

Oliveira & Pinho (2005)

The case studies of this research will be evaluated mainly as an ex-ante evaluation because the proposed policy and projects are partially implemented, but some indicators on the progress of the implementation will be analyzed. Measuring and analysis of the policies and project outcomes will support the result of the evaluation. This research is concerned with the Rationality and Relevance, Effectiveness, conformance, and Utility of the policy (Table 3). The evaluation criteria will be used for the assessments of the two case studies, see section 5.6 and 6.3. The research design is explained in Figure 6.

Table 3: Evaluation Criteria

Evaluation	Questions	Data collection and analysis method
Plan Rationality / Relevance	Are the planning norms rational? Are the plan proposals relevant to the city needs?	Literature on theory of planning Historical analysis and evaluating the quality of planning and decision making

Evaluation	Questions	Data collection and analysis method
Plan Conformance/ Effectiveness/ Utility	<p>To what extent have the objectives been achieved? Have the interventions and instruments used produced the expected effects?</p> <p>Are the plan results in conformance with the plan objectives?</p> <p>Did the plan have a significant leading function in the urban development?</p> <p>What are the impacts on society?</p>	<p>Measure the outcomes using observation, newspapers and reports</p> <p>Attributing observed changes</p> <p>Judging the value of the change</p>
Long-term implementation	Are the results durable over time even with no public funding or external support	

Source: based on UNDP (2009), European Commission (2013), Alexander (2011), and Oliveira & Pinho (2005)

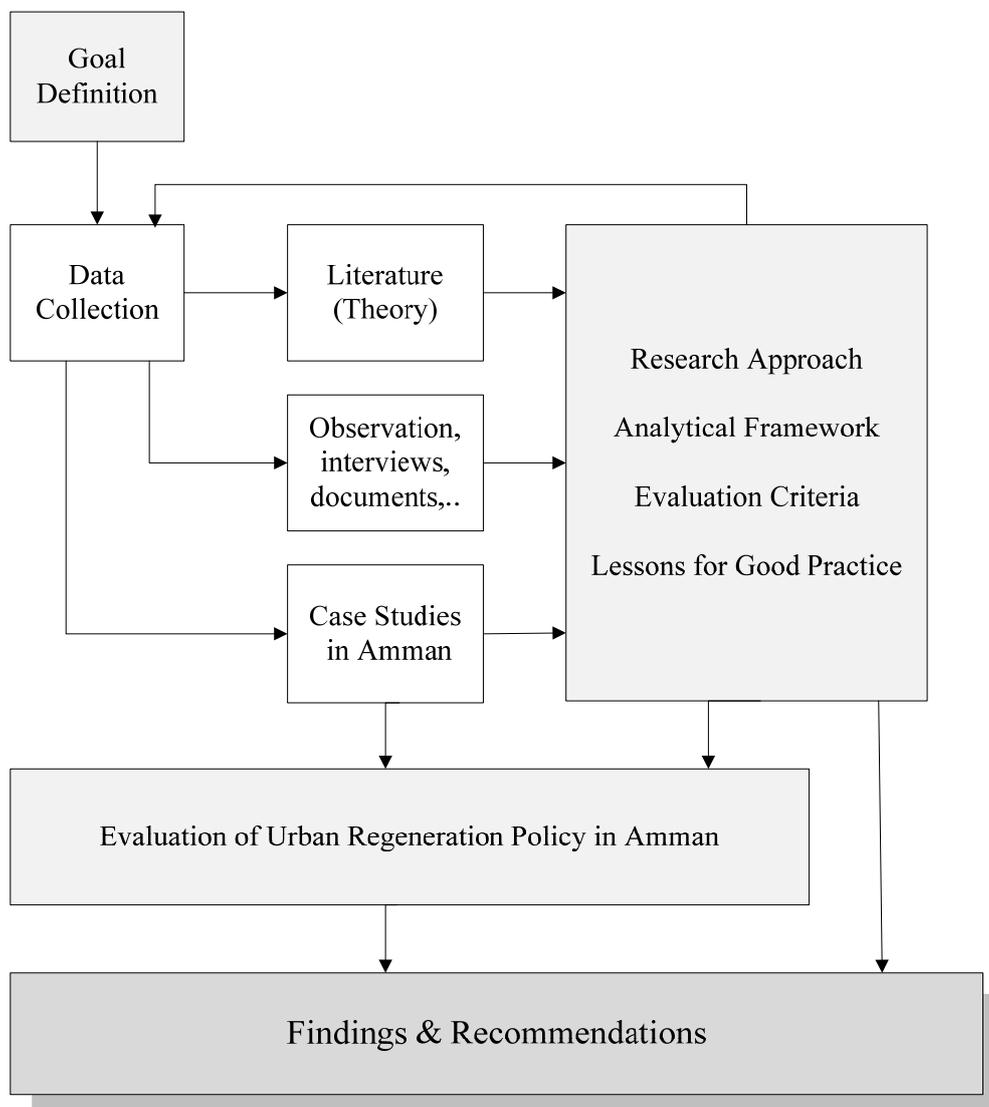


Figure 6: The research design

2.3 Data Collection Method

There are six sources for collecting evidence in the case study strategy: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artifacts (Yin, 2003). The sources for data collection used in this research are: semi-structured interviews with property owners, professionals and decision makers; observation; participant-observation, literature including books; journals, official web sites and news, documents and archival records focused on government, regeneration agencies and developer's documents as well as media reports. Site survey and observation are used mainly to explore the current situation and observe the activities and current issues. Photographs and field notes are the tools of documentation. Documentary analysis of official documents, articles and newspapers shall provide a good level of validity. Participant observation provided the researcher opportunities to collect case study data such as attendance at meetings, informal interviewing, the use of informants, and direct observation.

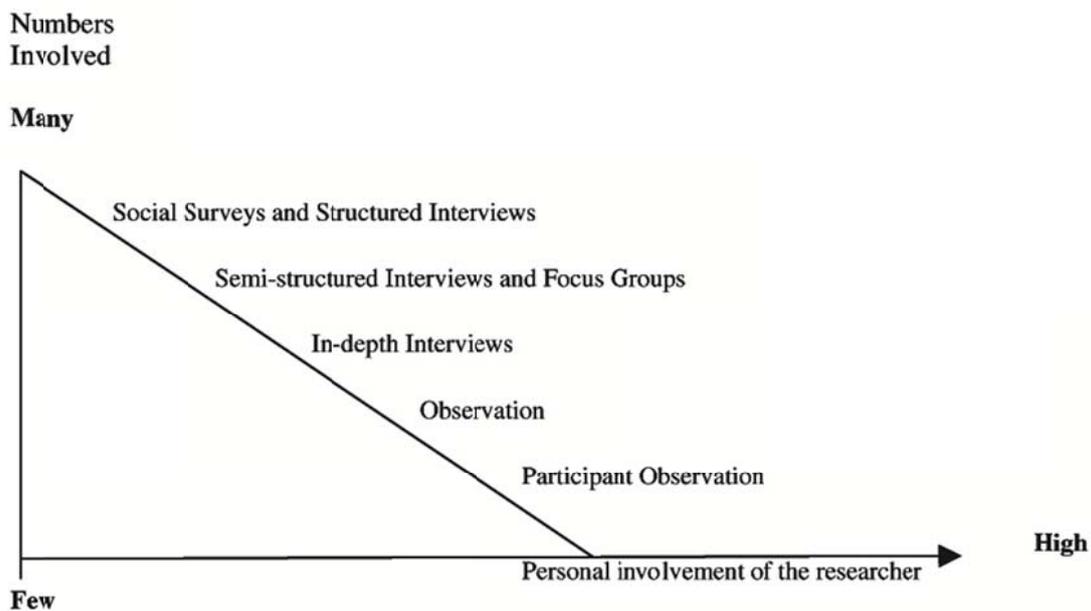


Figure 7: Methods of data collection and personal involvement

Source: Caputi (2001), adapted from Worsley (1977)

2.4 Data Analysis Strategy

According to Yin (2003) there are three strategies for analyzing case studies: relying on theoretical propositions, rival explanations, and case descriptions. Theoretical propositions are developed through a set of research questions, literature and new hypotheses, and help organize and guide the case study and finds explanations to be examined. Rival explanations are analytic strategies that examine and test rival explanations (other influences). Case description takes place through descriptive frameworks for organizing the case study, and is used when other analytical strategies are difficult to work. The general strategies have analytical techniques that include pattern-matching, explanation-building, time-series analysis, the use of logic models, and cross-case synthesis. The pattern-matching technique is based on comparing empirically based patterns with predicted patterns. The explanation-building technique aims to analyze the case study by creating an explanation about the case, and explains a phenomenon based on a set of causal links of initial theoretical statements. The time-series analysis aims to examine the “how” and “why” questions about the relationship of events overtime. The logic model is defined by prior data collection, and then compares empirically observed events to the model. Cross-case synthesis is applied to the analysis of multiple cases (Yin, 2003).

This research depends on theoretical propositions in evaluating the case studies. Data analysis will be conducted according to an analytical framework. Matrices of summaries and comparisons are tools for data analysis and display. Cartographic representations will interpret concepts and strategies.

3. THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS: OVERVIEW OF URBAN REGENERATION APPROACHES

Introduction

There is a wide range of approaches and strategies in urban regeneration. Although local contexts have influence on urban regeneration policies, general principles can be identified. Peter Roberts (2017) presents urban regeneration as follows:

“Urban areas are complex and dynamic systems. They reflect the many processes that drive physical, social, environmental and economic transition and they themselves are prime generators of many such changes....Urban regeneration is an outcome of the interplay between these many sources of influence and, more importantly, it is also a response to the opportunities and challenges which are presented by urban degeneration in a particular place at a specific moment in time. This should not be taken to suggest that all urban problems are unique to a particular town or city... Despite having argued that an individual example of urban regeneration is likely to be particular to a specific place, a number of general principles and models of good practice can be identified” (Roberts, 2017, p. 9).

Urban regeneration is policies seeking to solve urban problems and decay. Urban problems' causes and consequences differ from one context to another, where different aspects of life – political, environmental, social, cultural and economic – have complex relations in the entire system. Most literature on urban regeneration is about examples from Europe and the USA. These examples are taken to clarify some causes and characteristics of urban decline and problems, and explain the relation between urban regeneration and sustainability. Although there are great differences in the context between the Middle East, Europe and the USA, some broad principles and approaches can be identified among them.

3.1 Definitions, Objectives and Rationale of Urban Regeneration

There are many terms used to define the urban transformations and interventions such as Regeneration, Renewal, Redevelopment, Recovery, Revitalization, Framework, Gentrification, and Restructuring. It is important to clarify the differences between these terms.

“Redevelopment, renewal, revitalization, regeneration: all are buzzwords for the government policies aimed at reversing the urban blight and decline that has continually plagued the once thriving cities of the United States and the United Kingdom” (Lamb, 2003, p. 159, as cited in Granger, 2010)

The use of the term urban regeneration differs around the globe. In the U.S. the term urban regeneration is rarely used, but other terms describing urban policies are popular, including ‘community redevelopment,’ ‘neighborhood revitalization,’ ‘transit orientated development,’ ‘sustainable communities,’ ‘smart growth,’ ‘New Urbanism,’ and ‘New Regionalism’. The “US urban regeneration is tending towards a narrowly economic or neo-liberal development model rather than a socially inclusive or participatory ‘European model’ of regeneration” (Jonas & McCarthy, 2010).

The definition of Renew in the dictionary is to take up again, to restore or to regain. To regenerate is to affect a complete moral reform in, to re-create, reconstitute, or make over, especially in a better form or condition. Revitalize means to give new life to, or to give new vitality or vigor to. Redevelop is to develop again. Restructure is to change, alter, or restore the structure of, to organize (a system, business, society, etc.) in a different way, or to affect a fundamental change in something. To Gentrify is to renovate so as to make it conform to middle-class aspirations (Dictionary, n.d.).

According to Longa (2011), “Renewal needs radical action where there is an important redesign of part of the city”; renewal requires the redesigning of urban areas and infrastructure, and thinking about a new role of the city. Urban renewal focuses on physical policies. Both public and private expenditure are required, but public expenditure is higher. Redevelopment overlaps with other terms, linked to the old industrial areas, outskirts, where urban intervention changes old function, the area size is limited. Redevelopment focuses on physical policies, but does not refer to social policies. In some cases, the problem in redevelopment projects is the content (function) and not the container (physical aspects) as

in the case of Renewal. Regeneration is linked to social capital, participation and integration, while physical policies are tools, and interventions take place in run down areas. Recovery or rehabilitation does not require demolition, but deals with the existing structure. “Recovery is, in any case, an exclusive physical aspect of the built property and has a consequence on the components of the urban structure dealing with maintenance and conversion” (Douglas, 2006 as cited in Longa, 2011).

Revitalization overlaps with Regeneration, and there is no strong distinction between them, but urban regeneration is linked more to community involvement and participation. Revitalization is connected to welfare programs such as education, housing, and health, and physical policies are necessary to attract people as well as demand. A framework “deals with the setting up of the intervention”. It is an operational phase of renewal intervention. Frameworks organize profitability and stakeholders. Gentrification is exclusion of the poor residents and the replacement of them with middle-high classes, which mainly occurs in the city center, where the function in heritage areas declines. Gentrification is sometimes planned and administered. Restructuring is linked to areas with social and economic changes, where social, economic, and physical interventions are required to reuse old urban spaces. Restructuring lies in between redevelopment and recovery intervention. Overlapping and combining different interventions could occur while developing an urban area, for example, recovery could be part of renewal or redevelopment. Figure 8 and 9 clarify the classification of different urban interventions (Longa, 2011).

“Gentrification (economic and social valorization), revitalization (economic revitalization with significant social effects), regeneration (regeneration of the social fabric), recovery (recovery of existing physical structures through their requalification), redevelopment (change in the use of town spaces, due to the improvement of parts of the town), renewal (renovation of parts of the city by substituting functions and structures), framework (arrangement of a complex project of town renovation), and restructuring (radical modernization of town spaces through a plurality of interventions of various types and on differing scales)” (Stanghellini & Copiello, 2011, p. 47).

Change in cities and towns over time, is an inevitable process that can be beneficial for economic development. Four aspects for urban change are: 1) “economic transition and employment change”; 2) “social and community issues”; 3) “physical obsolescence and new land and property requirements”; and 4) “environmental quality and sustainable development” (Roberts, 2017).

“Urban regeneration moves beyond the aims, aspirations and achievements of urban renewal, which is seen by Couch as ‘a process of essentially physical change’, urban development (or redevelopment) with its general mission and less well-defined purpose, and urban revitalisation (or rehabilitation) which, whilst suggesting the need for action, fails to specify a precise method of approach. Urban regeneration implies that any approach to tackling the problems encountered in towns and cities should be constructed with a longer-term, more strategic, purpose in mind” (Roberts, 2017, p18).

According to Hall (2006), in general, the common goals of urban regeneration policies are to improve a physical environment and quality of life, and to achieve social welfare and economic prosperity. “Urban regeneration must choose to address either the basic needs of deprived populations or the need to make localities more competitive”. Physical decline is indicated in features such as derelict land, redundant industrial capital, inadequate housing stock, pollution and contaminated land, social/cultural problems such as lack of social cohesion within communities, crime, antisocial behavior, poor schools and other public facilities, and economic problems such as long-term structural unemployment or a lack of indigenous economic dynamism (Hall, 2006).

Urban regeneration is “making an urban area develop or grow strong again through means such as job creation and environmental renewal” (United Nations, 2008). Urban regeneration refers to resolving problems resulting of market failure, job loss and disinvestment. The UK government defines regeneration as: “*A set of activities that reverse economic, social and physical decline in areas where market forces will not do this without support from the government*” (DCLG, 2008 as cited in Granger, 2010). Roberts (2017) has illustrated the evolution of urban regeneration policy in Europe, refer to Table 4.

“Urban Regeneration is a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change” (Roberts, 2017, p. 18).

Table 4: The evolution of urban regeneration in Europe

1950s Reconstruction	1960s Revitalisation	1970s Renewal	1980s Redevelopment	1990s Regeneration	2000s regeneration in recession
Major strategy and orientation					
Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a masterplan'; suburban growth.	Continuation of 1950s theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some attempts at rehabilitation.	Focus on in-situ renewal and neighborhood schemes; still development at periphery.	Many major schemes of development and redevelopment; flagship projects; out of town projects.	A more as a comprehensive form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated policy and interventions.	Restrictions on all activities with some easing in area of growth
Key actors find stakeholders					
National and Local government; private sector developers and contractors	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors	Growing role of private sector and decentralization in local government.	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships	Partnership the dominant approach with a growing number of government agencies	More emphasis on private sector funding and voluntary effort
Spatial level of activity					
Emphasis on local and site levels.	Regional level of activity emerged.	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis.	In the early 1980s focus on site, later emphasis on local level.	Reintroduction of strategic' perspective; growth of regional activity.	More localist initially with developing sub-regional activity
Economic focus					
Public sector investment with some private sector involvement.	Continuing from 1950s with growing influence of private investment.	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment.	Private sector dominant with selective public funds.	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding	Private sector dominant with selective government funding
Social content					
Improvement of housing and living standards.	Social and welfare improvement.	Community-based action and greater empowerment	Community self-help with very selective state support.	Emphasis on it is role of community.	Emphasis on local initiatives and encouragement of third sector
Physical emphasis					
Replacement or inner areas and peripheral development.	Continuation from 1950s with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas.	More extensive renewal of older urban areas.	Major schemes of replacement and new development; 'flagship schemes'.	Initially more modest than 1980s; increasing scale; heritage emphasized.	Generally smaller scale schemes, but larger projects returning
Environmental approach					
Landscaping and some greening.	Selective improvements.	Environmental improvement with some innovations.	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment.	Introduction of broader idea of environment in context of sustainability.	General acceptance of sustainable development model

Sources: after Stohr (1989) and Lichfield (1992), Pugalis and Liddle 2013 as cited in (Roberts, 2017, p19-20)

Robert (2017, p23) defines the process of urban regeneration as follows:

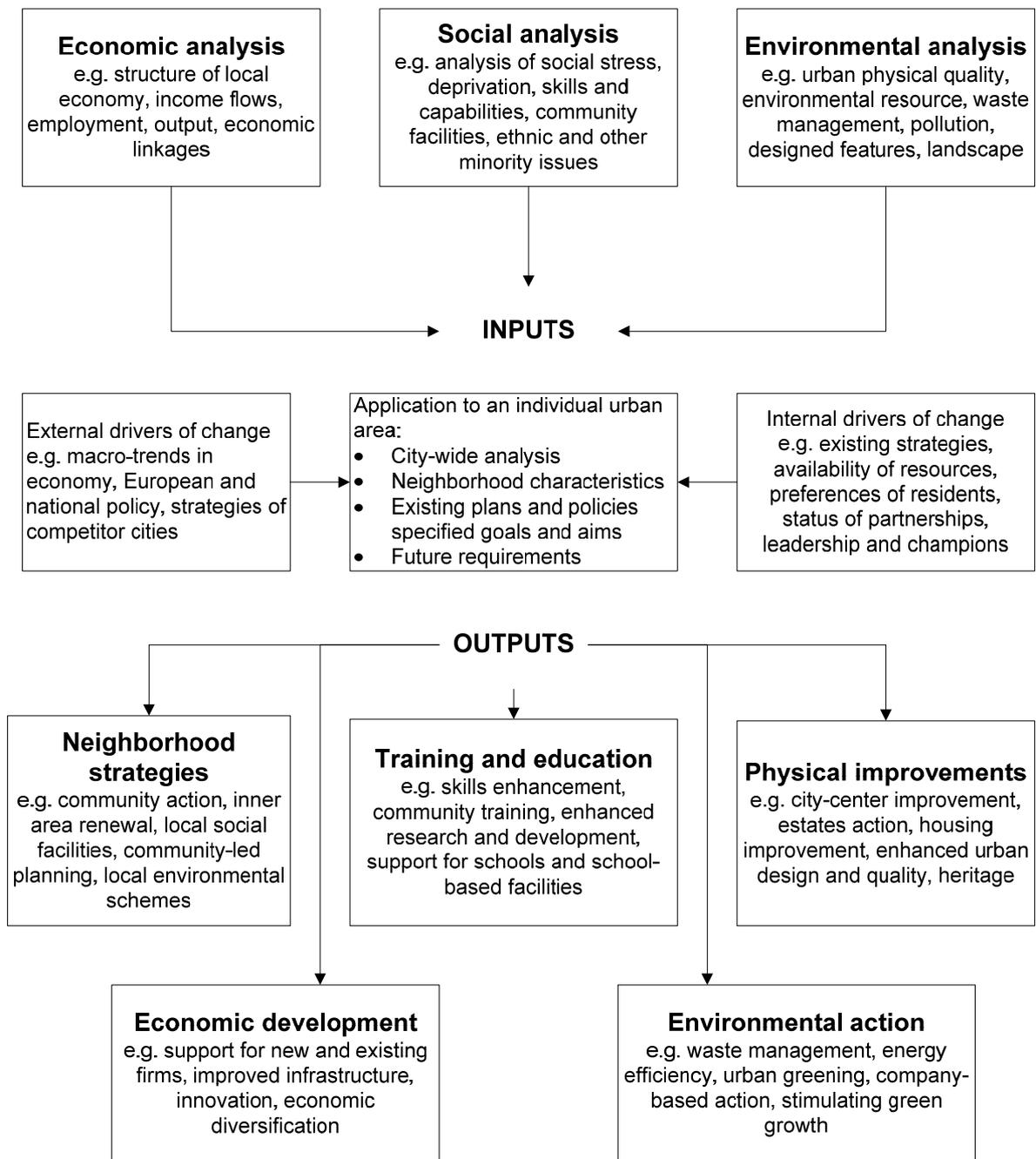


Figure 10: The Urban Regeneration Process

“Urban regeneration is about addressing the symptoms of urban distress through improving declining and disadvantaged areas in towns and cities. It is not just about revitalising derelict places but is also concerned with broader issues such as improved economic competitiveness and quality of life, especially for those who live in deprived neighbourhoods. Ideally urban regeneration involves formulating policy goals, implementing these through programmes of activity, and then monitoring performance over time” (Compendium, 2005).

Hall (2006) defines a framework for analyzing urban regeneration of twelve key questions as follows:

1 Urban problems

- What urban problem or problems have been identified?
- What has been identified as the cause of the problem or problems?

2 Policy context

- What is the origin of the policy/programme/project?
- What is its relationship to earlier approaches or those being implemented elsewhere?

3 Funding

- Where does the funding for the policy/programme/project come from?
- In what way is funding allocated?

4 The nature of regeneration

- In what ways does the policy/programme/project seek to achieve its aims?
- What are the outcomes of the policy/programme/project?

5 Stakeholders

- Who are the stakeholders involved?
- What are the relationships between the stakeholders?

6 Impacts of regeneration

- What are the impacts of the policy/programme/project?
- In what ways has the policy/programme/project been evaluated?

Hall, (2006), p. 59

The Urban regeneration seeks to mitigate and counter the impact of the urban decline of physical, social and economic aspects. Understanding urban problems and their causes, in addition to the historical, geographical and political context, are important in urban regeneration programs (Hall, 2006). There are different causes of urban decline. Urban regeneration approaches in Europe and North America have been developed to tackle the problems of deindustrialization through economic development and the attraction of new

investments in the global economy that has impacts on economic development and the social structure of cities (Evans & Jones, 2008; Tallon, 2010). Deindustrialization was a result of many factors; global competition, where industry moved to poorer sites, the post-Fordist era, where information technology has reduced the human labor, and firms that were located outside the inner cities, in addition to suburbanization and outmigration. Unemployment has increased as a result of deindustrialization, as the service sector could not accommodate all unemployment (Tallon, 2010).

The impact of urban economic policy could be measured quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative evaluation is about the relationship between expenditure and the socio-economic outcomes such as net job changes, the percentage change in small businesses, and house price change and numbers, and qualitative evaluation such as the resident attitude and loyalty (Noon, Smith-Canham, & England, 2000). The urban improvement programs could be evaluated through measuring the effect on solving the different aspects of the urban regeneration problems and its impact on employment, urban economy, housing conditions, deprived groups, services, urban safety, environment and quality of life, governance and the capacity of community organizations (Breda-Vázquez et al., 2001).

3.2 Characteristics of Successful Urban Regeneration

The Institution of Civil Engineers in the UK (Group, 1988) conducted in 1988 a research about urban regeneration. About 100 professional engineers analyzed urban regeneration projects in 22 sites of different contexts and conditions. The 1988 research clarifies that urban decay in the UK has different causes: decline of the local economy, changes of the global economy, and the development of services in more favorable locations such as shopping malls adjacent to motorways. The analysis of case studies considered an effective organization has essential qualities: a single-minded, well-motivated approach, committed partnership, effective powers to assemble land, and access to funds and incentives, with effective powers that have a commitment to funding. The organization should be responsive to the market changes and the developers' intentions while providing infrastructure and land uses. The following are the case study's findings for successful urban regeneration (Group, 1988):

- “Flexible approach - different organizations for widely different circumstances in particular areas.
- Realistic use of market appraisal techniques by public and private sectors in the selection of the development strategy.
- Adequate initial investment from the public sector, drawing in private sector funds.
- Effective powers for land assembly.
- Improvement of image of area as an essential first phase.
- Provision of adequate and affordable housing,
- Adequate accessibility for movement of goods and people consistent with development strategy.
- Efficient transportation links with major markets in the UK and Europe.
- Consistency in strategic planning across the region or conurbation.
- Recovery of contaminated land to a standard to enable the development strategy to be viable”

Successful urban regeneration is linked to market conditions and changes, and has main characteristics: strong motivation, local participation and support, flexibility in approach, partnership between public and private sectors, and initial public sector investment and incentives. Flexibility concerns incentives, type of organizations and power. Public

investment such as infrastructure provision, environmental improvements, and land assembly is important to trigger development. Tax incentives and grants encourage developers to initiate a project, providing “immediate benefit at the start of what are generally high-risk projects”. Due to the uncertainty of regeneration phases, organizations that manage regeneration projects are required to achieve the project objectives (Group, 1988).

According to Roberts (2017), no single theory explains urban change and regeneration. “Urban regeneration theory is principally concerned with the institutional and organisational dynamics of the management of urban change”. Urban regeneration is derived from practice rather than theory. The main features of urban regeneration are: an interventionist activity where different parties (public, private and community sectors) are involved, dynamic changes in its institutional structure to adapt changes in economic, social, environmental and political factors, a means to define policies for preparing proposals and negotiation. The urban regeneration theory is about the urban system and the dynamics forces of economic, social, physical and environmental aspects. Urban regeneration is a strategic management of urban change, an integrated and comprehensive solution that should have clear purposes and outcomes; it provides a framework of plans and proposals to guide designs and implementation, and identifies the roles of different actors and organizations. Hausner (1993, p. 526) as cited in Roberts (2017) considers the reason of the weaknesses of regeneration approaches because they are “short-term, fragmented, ad hoc and project-based without an overall strategic framework for city-wide development”. Successful urban regeneration requires a long term strategic approach, and should contribute positively to national economic development, as well as social and environmental goals (Roberts, 2017). Urban regeneration is a strategic intervention; the principles and characteristics conform to a strategic approach. Roberts (2017) defines principles of urban regeneration as follows:

- Detailed analysis of the urban area
- Adaptation of the physical fabric, social structures, economic base and environmental condition
- Formulation of a comprehensive and integrated strategy for problem solving
- Adaptation of sustainable development principles in regeneration programs
- Defining clear objectives to be achieved and quantified
- Best utilization of resources and the existing built environment

- Ensuring consensus with involving participation and cooperation of all stakeholders with legitimate interest to regenerate an area
- Measuring the strategy progress to achieving objectives, and monitoring the changes of forces and their impact on the area
- Considering the need to revise the initial programs of implementation
- Recognizing that the strategy elements differ in their speed of implementation, which requires redirecting resources to achieve the strategic objectives.

The British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA) offers the Best Practice Award for best practice in urban regeneration. BURA sets out the following criteria to judge a scheme as a best practice (BURA, 2003):

- “the contribution made to the economic regeneration of an area and the financial viability of the initiative;
- the extent to which a scheme has acted as a catalyst for further regeneration in an area;
- the contribution made to community spirit and social cohesion;
- the contribution made to building the capacity of local people to plan and influence the future development of their area;
- the environmental sustainability of a scheme or project;
- evidence that points to the success of a scheme in the past, at present and into the future;
- the range of partners involved in a scheme;
- the presence of a concern for the longer-term development and management of a scheme;
- qualities of imagination, innovation, inspiration and determination.”

The projects or schemes recognized have demonstrated that they fulfill as many of the following criteria as possible BURA (2003):

- “improve the quality of life for local people, by addressing a need or dealing with a challenge identified by the community
- contribute effectively to a wider strategy for sustainable communities, including the creation of a safer, cleaner and more efficient environment
- demonstrate a high quality of design for spaces and/or buildings

- demonstrate sustainability through innovation and inspiration in construction processes and procurement
- demonstrate imaginative ways of creating employment and affordable homes for key workers and the local community, and bring them closer together, especially in ‘growth areas’ and/or to encourage occupancy in ‘low demand areas’
- demonstrate the active involvement of the community including business and residents
- demonstrate the creation of appropriate high density housing
- implement or demonstrate a strategic and integrated approach to transport and traffic management
- promote diversity and social inclusion
- tackle labour shortages and improve the provision of urban renaissance skills at all levels and, in all cases
- are completed to a point where there is a record of success with demonstrable results”

The European Union (EU) had, since the beginning of the 21th century, played an important role in funding urban regeneration projects. The pilot project initiatives were URBAN I and URBAN II. The projects were supposed to be innovative, contribute to regional development, and fulfill the European interest (Teixeira, 2010). The objective of URBAN II is “to lay down Commission guidelines on the economic and social regeneration of cities and neighbourhoods in crisis in order to promote sustainable urban development”. Urban regeneration strategies should follow the following principles (European Commission, 2005):

- “sufficient critical mass of population and associated support structures to facilitate the formulation and implementation of innovative urban development programmes;
- strong local partnership to define challenges, strategy and priorities, allocate resources and monitor and evaluate the strategy. Partnerships are wide and include economic and social partners, non-governmental organisations and residents' groupings;
- an integrated territorial approach linked to development strategies for the wider urban area or region;
- integration of the economic, social and environmental, security and transport aspects, including equality of access to education and training opportunities;
- promotion of equal opportunities between men and women;

- complementarity with the main forms of assistance under the Structural Funds and other Community initiatives”

Urban decline is defined through the URBAN II funding program, where conditions of disadvantaged areas should be met to be eligible for regeneration funding (European Commission, 2005):

- “a low level of economic activity and a specific need for conversion due to local economic and social difficulties;
- a high level of long-term unemployment, poverty and exclusion;
- a low level of education, significant skills deficiencies and high drop-out-rates from school;
- a high number of immigrants, ethnic and minority groups, or refugees;
- a high level of criminality and delinquency;
- precarious demographic trends;
- a particularly degraded environment.”

3.3 Approaches and Strategies of Urban Regeneration

The urban regeneration aims are to achieve prosperity and equality, achieve sustainable development, preserve the heritage and the uniqueness of the place, create activities to trigger development, solve urban problems (social, economic, environmental,...) using strategic, integrated, comprehensive and sustainable approaches, increase the contribution of culture, knowledge, and new industries, employ sustainability to improve social and economic development, seek opportunity in problem areas for creating sustainable development, mobilize the participation of different partners and community members, use sustainable solutions such as efficient energy, efficient use of resources, mobility, air quality, compact city, higher urban densities, expansion control, flexible solutions, mixed use, eco-cycle infrastructures, local shopping and biodiversity (Teixeira, 2010).

As per the URBAN II program, urban regeneration strategies should have the following priorities (European Commission, 2005):

- “mixed use redevelopment of brownfield sites: protection and restoration of buildings and public spaces, reclamation of derelict sites and contaminated land; preservation and enhancement of historic, cultural and environmental heritage; creation of lasting jobs; integration of local communities and ethnic minorities; reintegration of excluded persons; improved security and prevention of delinquency; improved street lighting, closed circuit TV surveillance; reduced pressures on greenfield sites;
- entrepreneurship, employment pacts and local employment initiatives: support and services for small and medium-sized enterprises, commerce, cooperatives and mutual associations; creation of business centres, technology transfer facilities; training for new technologies; encouraging entrepreneurship; environmental protection; provision of cultural, leisure and sports amenities; nursery and crèche facilities; alternative care facilities and other services namely for elderly people and children; promotion of equal opportunities between men and women;
- the development of an anti-exclusion and anti-discrimination strategy through actions furthering equal opportunities and targeting notably women, immigrants and refugees: counselling, training schemes and language training oriented to the specific needs of minorities and disadvantaged and marginalised people; mobile units for employment

- and training advice; improved health services and drug rehabilitation centres; investment in education and health facilities;
- development of more effective, economically efficient and environmentally friendly integrated public transport systems: safer, more integrated and more intelligent public transport; public transport links to concentrations of activity and jobs; telematic services for travel information, reservation and payment; clean and energy-efficient vehicles; provision for cycling and walking; training for transport staff;
 - environmental measures: minimising and treatment of waste, total recycling, selective collecting and treatment; air quality analysis; efficient water management; noise reduction; reduction in consumption of fossil fuels through use of renewable energy sources; training in environmental management and protection;
 - development of the potential of information society technologies targeting small and medium-sized enterprises and citizens: better access to services of public interest, education, culture and other telematic neighbourhood services; training and installation of facilities to allow teleworking; information systems for the management of human resources and health services; assistance to adapt to the labour market; supporting local authorities for the transfer of know-how and technology;
 - promoting the notion of "urban governance": studies and expertise on the reorganisation and improvement of public services; design and introduction of new urban management structures; introduction of indicators for evaluating the sustainability of local management; information campaigns and improved access to information for citizens; measures to involve citizens in the political decision-making process; exchanges of experiences and good practice; development of the European Union database on good practice in urban management”

3.3.1 Physical Regeneration

Regeneration should “recognise and accept the uniqueness of place” (Robson, 1988, p. 102 as cited in Roberts, 2017). Physical regeneration is the visual improvement of an area:

“The physical appearance and environmental quality of cities and neighbourhoods are highly potent symbols of their prosperity and of the quality of life and confidence of their enterprises and citizens. Run-down housing estates, tracts of vacant land and derelict factories, and decaying city centres are the all too visible faces of poverty and economic decline” (Jeffrey & Granger, 2017, p. 87).

Retaining characteristics features and demanding creative and high quality development can trigger urban regeneration rather than demolishing buildings to get a large plot and “big developers” to build an area (Evans & Jones, 2008). Leading the change; “the very visible nature of new developments means that they can play a significant role in establishing a changed image for an area”. Five issues are important to achieve physical regeneration (Jeffrey & Granger, 2017):

- removing constraints: such as cost of redeveloping derelict and contaminated sites, poor road layout and access, small sites that are unsuitable for large developments, cost of relocation ex. workshop, the need for regional roads for large projects.
- leading the change: 1) new development 'flagship projects' have important impact in changing the image of an area that create confidence to developers, 2) improving the physical condition of the existing buildings, the advantage of this approach is the direct community involvement in the development plans, work and training,
- building on opportunities: using the place qualities and features such as significant buildings, water, docks, canals.
- supply side investments: services such as land, transport access.
- integrated socio-economic and physical renewal through improving social facilities: health care, education, training and transport.

Physical regeneration has a role in developing solutions and avoiding conflict through working with the market and coordinating land uses and services. Public investment can correct mismatching supply and demand of land through land reclamation, infrastructure provision or property development. Land use planning and the provision of services and infrastructure should be coordinated to avoid problems associated with physical regeneration, such as inequality of distribution subsidies and locating activities. Regional Development Agencies could coordinate such issues on a regional level. Physical regeneration requires environmental improvement that would attract the private sector, such as amenity improvements (e.g. landscaping and planting), ground treatment (i.e. land assembly, acquisition, clearance and sale) and improved site access and service, as well as high quality urban design (Jeffrey & Granger, 2017).

A key feature of flagship project approaches is that they are large enough to have a major visible impact on the immediate area and therefore change the context for further investment

by reducing the negative image and run-down nature of an area“In many instances the so-called flagship projects have sought to stimulate economic activity and attractiveness of an area by supplying services or tourism and visitor destinations which were not available and hence for which demand was suppressed” (Jeffrey & Granger, 2017). City living, improving the design quality of project, flagship projects, historical restoration, the public realm, applying principles of smart growth such as walkability and high density design are all strategies to attract skilled people, investment to a city center, and thus are strategies for creating a livable center. Flagship buildings and improvements of the public realm, such as squares, fountains, landscaping, etc. are linked to traditional place-marketing strategies in order to attract economic activity to the area, for example new cafés and restaurants are signifiers of a post-industrial urban economy. This approach aims to develop the urban environment to drive the knowledge economy by attracting the ‘creative class’ such as designers, media people, policy-makers and ICT workers (Evans & Jones, 2008).

“Flagship buildings are used to make powerful visual statements about regeneration projects that will put them on the map. Branding and image are increasingly central to regeneration partnerships and are used to market schemes to developers, business and the public.. While hard to measure in quantifiable terms, urban regeneration has generally been judged an economic success, although social critiques of the neoliberal approach highlight the uneven distribution of benefits” (Evans & Jones, 2008, p75).

“Towards an Urban Renaissance”, 1999, proposed by the architect Richard Rogers, identifies the causes of decline, and recommends practical solutions to achieve sustainable regeneration through focusing on design excellence, brownfield development and higher densities. Criticism of this policy is that social injustice issues disappeared behind architectural aesthetics and discussions of planning design. An Urban White Paper criticizes the Urban Task Force with “excessive focus on design to the detriment of wider economic and social factors” (Tallon, 2010). Urban design has an important role in developing the quality of a place. The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment² (CABE), established in 1999, aims to review designs, comment on the quality of proposals, and set out principle of design coding and urban design guidance (Evans & Jones, 2008). Good design is “central to creating more attractive living environments and central to delivering sustainable developments through making more efficient use of land; promoting better

² CABE is an executive non-departmental public body of the UK government

accessibility to local facilities and public transport; supporting crime prevention and community safety; creating more socially inclusive communities; promoting energy efficiency” (DETR, 2001). Urban design – design quality, amenities and public spaces – is a physical, environmental and social dimension that also has an impact on economic development. CABE defines the objectives of good urban design as follows (DETR, 2000):

<p>Character</p> <p><i>A place with its own identity</i></p>	<p>To promote character in townscape and landscape by responding to and reinforcing locally distinctive patterns of development, landscape and culture.</p>
<p>Continuity and enclosure</p> <p><i>A place where public and private spaces are clearly distinguished</i></p>	<p>To promote the continuity of street frontages and the enclosure of space by development that clearly defines private and public areas.</p>
<p>Quality of the public realm</p> <p><i>A place with attractive and successful outdoor areas</i></p>	<p>To promote public spaces and routes that are attractive, safe, uncluttered and work effectively for all in society, including disabled and elderly people.</p>
<p>Ease of movement</p> <p><i>A place that is easy to get to and move through</i></p>	<p>To promote accessibility and local permeability by making places that connect with each other and are easy to move through, putting people before traffic and integrating land uses and transport.</p>
<p>Legibility</p> <p><i>A place that has a clear image and is easy to understand</i></p>	<p>To promote legibility through development that provides recognizable routes, intersections and landmarks to help people find their way around.</p>
<p>Adaptability</p> <p><i>A place that can change easily</i></p>	<p>To promote adaptability through development that can respond to changing social, technological and economic conditions.</p>
<p>Diversity</p> <p><i>A place with variety and choice</i></p>	<p>To promote diversity and choice through a mix of compatible developments and uses that work together to create viable places that respond to local needs.</p>

3.3.2 Economic Approach

The restoration of the economic viability of an area is a main goal of regeneration by attracting internal and external private and public investment and by encouraging business

start-ups and survival (Blewitt, 2005). Economic regeneration is external by attracting investment from the outside, which focuses on mixed use development, and internal by stimulating local enterprises, creating a new economy based on knowledge-intensive industries such as the service and ICT sectors, in addition to competition between the cities of the country (Evans & Jones, 2008). The entrepreneurial city is about using the knowledge economy to achieve economic development. The economic policies are: improving the knowledge base, encouraging enterprise, education and training, and empowering local businesses. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) are important for economic growth. A key policy to achieve economic development is the cluster policy (Evans & Jones, 2008). According to Porter (1990) clusters are “concentrations of competing, collaborating and interdependent companies and institutions which are connected by a system of market and non-market links”.

Approaches to drive investment in the urban regeneration strategy include: developing the potential of the existing firms and skill, encouraging expenditure from users and visitors to the area using supply-side actions such as providing museums, attracting inward investment and new visitors through improving environment and infrastructure, and employing the strength of the local community in activities such as housing renovation and estate development (Jeffrey & Granger, 2017).

3.3.2 Social and Cultural Approach

Improving housing and cultural uses are approaches to attract residents, tourists and developers. Gentrification is an approach to regenerate an area, in which improving the environment and attracting developers and investors, and thus property values, will increase, causing development to attract higher income individuals.

“Gentrification is about attracting new people and new business to run-down areas, where the wealthy population will attract investors. At the same time, public bodies negotiate the developers to provide some affordable homes, subsidized services and other social benefits” (Evans & Jones, 2008).

Gentrification causes a loss of diversity in a community; residents are displaced as sequences to rent increase and changes in housing tenure. Gentrification is not limited to specific area; it will expand to the adjacent areas producing a “ripple effect”. Housing will become “a commodity for investment”. The loss of affordable housing forms a barrier to poor residents

and thus leads to the exclusion of low income residents (Granger, 2010). One dimensional strategy such as physical improvement or capital-led regeneration will not be effective enough to tackle these urban problems. Regeneration policy that focuses on social housing will not be sustainable unless it addresses the following (Trott, 2002):

- Diversity and a mix of property types, tenure and ownership
- Flexibility of development that allow residents to expand and change according to their needs
- Attachment to the whole area, not a single property
- Community development, where residents have the capacity to decide their priorities
- Economic development through reducing import and supporting the local economy
- Partnerships that recognize the local community role in defining problems, proposing solutions, and contributing to implementation, in addition to providing social housing.
- Learning from other experiences and programs

For Example, in the UK since 1990s, housing has been considered a key driver of urban regeneration, especially in city centers and the inner cities. Development focused on housing to attract people and create market. Evening activities were encouraged through café culture. “Housing - led regeneration and gentrification”, housing regeneration can cause gentrification which could be seen as an improvement of derelict areas or as exclusion of lower income residents. Reusing derelict buildings in the city center, mixing uses and social mixing could reduce segregation and create more sustainable developments (Tallon, 2010).

Other strategies are labeled as “Cities of spectacle” and “fantasy cities”, related to the regeneration of places through activities and facilities for leisure, culture and consumption. Although culture contributes to urban regeneration through sports, urban tourism, and spectacular, flagship post-modern cultural developments, it cannot achieve an immediate regeneration of the city in terms of social, economic and environmental aspects. Culture promotes the city globally and attracts investment that leads to selling places and gentrification. Tourists ‘consume’ cityscapes, and spectacular architecture serves to create new urban tourist spaces. Cultural quarters or spaces are as key components of regeneration strategies have emerged in many cities throughout Europe and North America (Tallon, 2010). Cultural quarters are a concentration of cultural uses. Cultural quarters are clusters and concentrations of media companies and IT, through craft-based businesses, music,

graphic design and arts organizations. Clustering motivates people to be more creative, and in doing so improves the economy. “Creation of cultural quarters, attempting to cluster business working in the creative sector in order to produce a hothouse of talent built on face-to-face networking”. However, a critique is that cultural clustering could generate and accelerate gentrification (Evans & Jones, 2008).

Establishing identity is considered important to “stand out from the crowd and attract a share of the global knowledge economy”. Establishing identity or a brand can be accomplished by building on existing heritage or creating new heritage. Strategies about establishing an identity could emphasize cultural attractions and industries, world-class sporting venues, businesses or shopping destinations (Evans & Jones, 2008). According to Montgomery (2003), successful cultural quarters should have a mixture of activity, form and meaning:

- Activity: diversity of primary and secondary land uses, extent and variety of cultural venues, presence of an evening economy (cafe’ culture), strength of small-firm economy (including creative businesses), access to education providers, presence of festivals and events, availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers, small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors, managed workspaces for office and studio users, location of arts development agencies and companies, arts and media training and education, and complementary daytime and evening uses.
- Built form: fine-grain urban morphology, variety and adaptability of building stock, permeability of streetscape, legibility, amount and quality of public space, active street frontages, and people attractors.
- Meaning: important meeting and gathering spaces, sense of history and progress, area identity and imagery, knowledge ability, and environmental signifiers.

“Culture, after all, is Meaning. More than this, a cultural quarter which produces no new Meaning—in the form of new work, ideas and concepts— is all the more likely to be a pastiche of other places in other times, or perhaps of itself in an earlier life. A good cultural quarter, then, will be authentic, but also innovative and changing. This last is perhaps the most telling point. For, to remain successful, a good place, a city economy, even an individual enterprise, will need to maintain what it is good at but also to be flexible, highly adaptive and embrace change, new ideas, new ways of doing things and new work. Failure to do so will mean that the cultural quarter will disappear entirely, or become simply a collection of publicly funded venues and facilities, or else an emblem of former culture—‘heritage’. Some cultural quarters will, no doubt, deserve to ossify or disappear altogether, to be taken over by

other competing uses (offices, apartments) or to become part of the heritage industry” (Montgomery, 2003, p302).

3.3.3 Sustainable Urban Regeneration

Sustainability and urban regeneration have common themes about the important interplay of social, economic and environmental aspects, such as redeveloping the brownfield, reducing sprawl, improving economic development in declining regions, and dealing with social issues (Evans & Jones, 2008). Peter Hall, through his critics about the urban regeneration in the UK as being unbalanced, inward-looking policies, while the external environment also has influence and connection to be considered, proposes outward-looking policies as follows:

Table 5: Outward-looking policies

Policy Aspect	Policy Focus
Institutional arrangements	Emphasis on region-wide partnerships; emphasis on horizontal and vertical linkages within and between institutions.
Spatial scale	Linkages between areas of deprivation and potential;
Economic development	Region-wide strategic planning frameworks- Education, recruitment and placement; linking focal to city and regional development; attracting inward investment.
Social cohesion	Measures aimed at overcoming stigmatization and social exclusion.
Environment, access and amenity	Overcome physical isolation of declining areas; transport planning; improved amenity to attract outsiders.
Housing	Improve housing to attract new residents; attention to region-wide housing allocation processes.

Source: After Hall (1997) as cited in Carter (2000, p39)

The urban regeneration goal is “to achieve thriving, inclusive and sustainable communities in all regions by raising levels of social inclusion, neighbourhood renewal and fostering regional prosperity”. There are three interrelated and partially overlapping aspects of spatial sustainable development contributing towards a better quality of life (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004):

- “Economic – achieving self-sustaining local economic development consistent with regional and national economic prosperity, leading to sustainable improvements in the economic performance of all regions;
- Environmental – creating a built and natural environment in which people want to live and work by providing amenities, tackling degradation, safeguarding natural and built heritage assets; and
- Social – meeting people’s social needs by promoting social inclusion, neighbourhood renewal, building social capital, promoting stronger”

Sustainability and urban regeneration have common themes related to achieving balance between social, economic and environmental aspects, such as redeveloping the brownfield, reducing sprawl, improving economic development in declining regions (Tallon, 2010; Evans & Jones, 2008). Social sustainability of regeneration is about providing quality affordable housing stock, skills and amenities for disadvantaged populations. Urban regeneration delivers sustainability in dealing with urban problems in a holistic and long term way (Evans & Jones, 2008).

Table 6: Key Elements of Sustainable Regeneration

Element of sustainability	Goal	Reason
Environmental	Re-use derelict land for high-density development	Protect countryside and decrease car use
	Improve environmental quality	Enhance quality of life and attract investment
	Use energy efficient buildings	Decrease ecological footprint of urban areas
Economic	Rejuvenate housing stock	Revitalize city centers
	Attract development and create jobs	Improve local economy
Social	Mixed-use developments (combination of retail, residential and business)	Decrease car use (live, work and play in same area)
	Mixed communities (in terms of age, ethnicity, family structure and income)	Increase social integration
	Inclusive decision-making	Respond to local needs and increase social capacity

Evans & Jones (2008, p87)

Urban regeneration intertwined with sustainable principles in different forms such as balancing the distribution of people and jobs, sustainable urban form, reducing urban expansion, redevelopment of brownfield, ecological planning principles, sustainable drainage, flood management, renewable energy schemes, redevelopment of derelict buildings or sites into business and research parks, museums, or creating green and recreation zones; and maximizing densities and promoting public transportation, cycling and pedestrian safety (Teixeira, 2010). Sustainable urban regeneration can be achieved through development, planning, housing and design policies such as compact city development, urban intensification, mixed-use development, brownfield regeneration and eco-town principles, while considering fiscal and regulatory policies. The multi-use compact city is the promoted model of sustainable urban planning, although it can be critiqued as being impractical, undesirable and unrealistic (Tallon, 2010).

3.4 Approaches and Strategies for Downtown Revitalization

Two approaches are common for downtown planning: a framework approach and a strategic planning approach. The framework approach is a comprehensive planning approach at the downtown level. This approach organizes the subsystems of land use, transit, streets, parking, and urban design to achieve development goals through policies and projects. The strategic approach aims to develop strategies to achieve the downtown vision through a set of projects that could be illustrated into a plan (American Planning Association, 2006).

Downtown is an American term not much used in the Third World or in Europe (Bird, 2007). The origin of the term ‘downtown’ was founded in the nineteenth century in New York, when residents began to distinguish between uptown and downtown sections of Manhattan. Downtown Manhattan was a center of wholesale and retail commerce, and so the term was adopted by other cities to refer to same districts. ‘Center City’, ‘Loop’ terms are used for the same function in other large cities. “Downtown refers to the concentrated employment, shopping and recreation district that developed in American cities from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. It is marked by a cluster of tall buildings, by cultural institutions and by the convergence of rail transit and bus lines” (Abbott, 2005). Downtown as a term is vague, but could be defined as “the original urban core, based on commerce, plus any urban core encroachment over areas originally wholly residential” (Bird, 2007).

It is worthwhile to distinguish between the term Downtown and Central Business District. In some definitions, functions may overlap. The Central Business District is the center of a community's civic, commercial, financial, and economic activities. This is the center where there are professional offices such as medical, accounting, engineering, and architectural structures, as well as retail and governmental offices. Usually, the Central Business District is part of the older part of the city or evolves from downtown (Burayidi, 2013). It is the city core that contains offices, hotels and convention centers. Downtown includes cultural and entertainment districts, public buildings and commercial corridors, a focal point of corporate and governmental power, and a place of togetherness for all classes (McGovern, 2006). The Central Business District is where the greatest concentration of offices and retail stores located in the city's highest land values and its tallest buildings, the district of centralized business (R.E. Murphy and J.E.Vance, 1954 as cited in Bird, 2007). Downtowns are the original sites where cities were first settled. The importance of downtowns is in uniting a community and providing a gathering place. The symbolic role of downtowns is important as its functional role; it symbolizes unity and togetherness. Communities without a downtown gathering place (open or closed) do not have a center. The gathering place is a comfortable place for all ages, classes and races (Burayidi, 2013).

The downtown's urban decline has different causes. Tallon (2010) defines three causes of the decline of city center retailing; 1) new competition in retailing: regional malls, smaller shopping centers, ribbon developments and 'edge cities', 2) demographic shifts: suburbanization of population and spending power, depopulation of inner city areas, change in the socio-economic composition of the inner city population; 3) characteristics of city center areas: traffic and parking problems, negative image, obsolete physical landscape, fragmentation of land use.

3.4.1 Emphasis on the Place Character and Quality

Emphasis on the place character and identity is essential for downtowns. Robertson (1999) discusses key elements in creating a sense of place in downtowns, and developing downtowns as destinations that compete with regional malls, big-box retailers and suburban commercial corridors. Key elements that are essential to successful downtowns and unique characteristics include emphasis on the place's distinctive character, evolution over time and representing multiple generations, unique heritage of the community, multifunction

(employment, shopping, worship, tourism, housing, government services, dining, entertainment, lodging, and cultural attractions), pedestrian friendly, vital with human activity, attractive place to stay longer, and of a high level of community ownership and stakeholders (Robertson,1999). There are essential buildings and activities that form logical spatial distribution for downtowns. The close proximity of courthouse, post office, library, educational institutions, hotels, theaters and stores is not a plan designed by a trained professional, but placement evolved for pure logic of function and place (Gratz & Mintz, 1998). “A downtown is more than just the city’s central district—it is the commercial, civic, and cultural “heart” of a community. The health of a downtown often indicates a community’s overall health” (Leland & Zahas, 2011).

The revitalization of historic centers aims at “bringing back economic and commercial life where for various reasons the inner fabric has been allowed to decay” (Drewe, 2000). A study conducted on seven cases of urban pilot projects in the EU identifies aspects of good practice as follows (Drewe, 2000):

- “high-quality refurbishment standards specified for the restoration of areas and buildings of historic and cultural significance;
- restoration work to adapt a building to new demands;
- traffic improvements to increase public use and improve business opportunities;
- reintegration of historic centres into mainstream city activity involves the clear definition of functional requirements;
- improved environmental standards to increase confidence in locality;
- tourism and cultural opportunities aimed at the attraction of business”.

3.4.2 Mixed Use Development

Most literature emphasizes on mixed use development in downtowns, for example retail, offices, housing and leisure facilities. Mixing uses creates vital places. According to Tallon (2010), principal city center retail regeneration approaches are:

- “Pedestrianization; returning people to the streets; accessibility issues related to less mobile groups

- City centre shopping malls: mixed-use indoor centres; festival market places; commercial gentrification forcing out independent stores; privatization of public space.
- Historic preservation: Adaptive use of historic buildings; conservation; promotes gentrification and exclusivity.
- Waterfront redevelopment: Restaurants; cafés; hotels; housing; promotes gentrification.
- Office development: Corporate activity; can lead to dead space out of working hours.
- Transport enhancement: Integration; public transport improvement; improved car parking; costly to implement.
- City centre managers and Business Improvement Districts : Aesthetics; promotion; city centre managers are under-financed and under-powered; limited impact
- Expansion of the ‘out-of-hours’ economies: Regenerative potential; negative consequences of the night-time economy.
- Diversification of activities and special events, Conventions; festivals; carnivals; sports events; cultural events; episodic in nature”.

According to Moulton (1999), the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy and the Fannie Mae Foundation³, have identified two factors behind the increased housing in downtown: demographics and a strong economy; employment growth, low interest rates and stock market wealth. The role of public policy is to create a high quality of life and strong market conditions. Quality of life could be improved through enhancing the physical environment to create a comfortable and safe place. Public policy incentives could encourage residential ownership to increase “investor confidence”. “Downtown areas with boundaries and human scale, clusters of housing that are obviously distinct from businesses, and dwelling units that support convenience and comfort can become neighborhoods in their own right. Neighborhoods must provide places to play, direct access to food shopping and services, and neighbors”. For attracting residents and visitors, a successful downtown neighborhood must be clean and safe, full of vitality, activity and interests. Moulton (1999) defines ten steps for encouraging housing in a downtown area. The downtown must have

³ The Brookings Institution is a nonprofit public policy organization based in Washington, DC. The institution mission is to conduct in-depth research that leads to new ideas for solving problems facing society at the local, national and global level.

housing as a political and business priority, be accessible, have new and improved regional amenities, be clean and safe, preserve and reuse old buildings, support residential growth by enforcing regulations, use city resources to encourage housing, be surrounded by viable neighborhoods, and resolve other coming challenges such as how to keep the downtown area affordable and minimize gentrification through regulating economic market forces. Regional amenities include entertainment, flagship cultural amenities and shopping choices, such as a performing art complex, a baseball park, an amusement park, or an aquarium. Improving the accessibility to downtown through improving access points, such as entrances and exits into downtown, better the quality streetscape, effective and efficient water/sewer services, roads and bridges, in addition to connecting the downtown to arterial roads and providing free shuttle buses that run continuously along its one-mile length, linking regional commuter bus terminals at either end (Moulton, 1999).

Gruen (1999) identifies characteristics of a successful downtown: Highly concentrated, with linkages that encourage spillovers, a high degree of perceived safety and a low degree of social dislocations (such as graffiti, dirty streets and panhandlers), adequate parking that does not separate active uses with massive parking lots, street level activities that encourage pedestrian movement (successful downtowns are easily accessible and encourage walking and browsing), unique tenancies, an attractive physical environment (well-maintained historic buildings with modern interiors and new structures of architectural merit), a high proportion of downtown labor force in the private sector, and primary conference/meeting space located downtown (Gruen, 1999). Several techniques used to revitalize small downtowns are improving appearances, improving local business practices, developing niches, preserving historic sites, tapping into tourism and promoting the downtown space. Appearances improve through cleaning, enhancing façades, beautification (plants, seats, lights, and small pocket parks), safety measures, improved signage, parking and traffic flow. “A niche is a specialization that allows a business to gain prominence in certain retail categories. Such businesses offer highly specialized products or services and commit themselves to exceptional customer service and quality” (Shields & Farrigan, 2002). Downtown could be different by emphasizing on economic themes that are clusters of similar businesses such as apparel, antiques, restaurants or home furnishings, etc. to make downtown distinctive for those businesses and more convenient for customers. Returning old-fashioned values means “a return to personalized customer attention; providing value for money; standing behind your products; promoting the special, historic appearance of

downtown; promoting it as the community's social, cultural, entertainment, residential, professional office, and family center; and stressing the community pride that results from a healthy” (Palma, 1995).

According to Karras (2014), there are twelve strategies to make a downtown vibrant: “1) Turn one-way streets into two-way streets, 2) establish a regularly occurring public event with showcasing downtown merchants, music, and food, 3) create more land for development (landfill into a body of water, remove land from a floodplain, take back land from a freeway, etc.), 4) make under-utilized public land available for private sector development, 5) consolidate regional economic development partner organizations into a single downtown location, 6) create a permanent public market, 7) open a downtown satellite campus of a local university, 8) build a streetcar line connecting your downtown to an adjacent urban neighborhood, 9) create an awesome downtown playground to make your downtown more kid-friendly and family-friendly, 10) create a branded downtown entertainment district, 11) establish maximum parking standards for new downtown developments, or at least remove minimum parking requirements for new buildings, and 12) set up a downtown bike share program” (Karras, 2014). Urban regeneration in the inner city areas must contain a high density of mixed employment, residential and other uses. Some existing stock and infrastructure would have potential for investment in modernization and renovation to provide housing closer to services and diverse lifestyle opportunities (United Nations, 2008). Clustering a mix of services creates a vibrant downtown, “when you can cluster them within walking distance, you create vibrancy” (Orr, 2014).

3.4.3 The Main Street approach

Revitalizing downtowns has been a priority of the public and private sectors, especially in the United States, through many programs such as the “Main Street Program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation”, the “Downtown Development Authority Program”, “Tax Increment Financial Acts” and various local programs such as Business Improvement Districts, established by city government and merchant associations. Regardless of the used program or approach, the philosophy was based on eight principles: use a comprehensive approach, incremental changes are worthwhile, understand the importance of self-sufficiency and interdependence, establish public/private partnerships, identify and capitalize on existing

assets, encourage and appreciate quality, create a positive image and attitude toward downtown, and revitalization strategies should be action-oriented (KomaI & Muldin, 2003).

In addition to the eight principles guiding successful downtown revitalization programs, the Main Street approach for the downtown management strategy defines four points which are: Organization, Promotion, Design and Economic Restructuring. Organization is the cooperation between business and property owners, bankers, citizens, public officials, chambers of commerce, and other local economic development organizations. Strong organization will sustain development on a long-term basis. Promotion consists of marketing the downtown image for investors and visitors, and creates excitement through festivals, parades and retail events. Design seeks to encourage investment through improving the physical image and the quality of the space, enhancing the business district, historic preservation, etc. Finally, Economic Restructuring guides development on a long-term based analysis of market forces, encourages and helps financially new businesses, and encourages utilizing space for new uses (Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation of Washinton State, 2015).

3.4.4 Resilient downtowns

Burayidi (2013) criticizes the National Main Street program and mentions shortcomings. Although the National Main Street Program achieved success in reversing the decline of the downtown commercial districts, generating new investment, creating new jobs, new businesses, and rehabilitating buildings, the success of the program focuses on commercial revitalization, while residential redevelopment and other activities have been ignored. In addition, the program does not provide a template for managing cooperation between the owners of significant properties and the preservation strategy structure. Downtown revitalization should also aim at increasing the residential population, capitalizing on unique qualities and the traditional civic functions of the downtown space, and utilizing the heritage assets of downtowns to strengthen tourism development. Burayidi (2013) proposes an approach called “*resilient downtowns*”, that “are healthy downtowns...vibrant places where people work, eat, play, and live...the residential population is growing, businesses are thriving, and public spaces are inviting and well patronized. Cities with resilient downtowns cultivate downtown living because housing has ripple effects on the rest of the downtown economy”. Ten qualities for healthy downtowns are based on three approaches: 1) the

Traditional Main Street redevelopment, 2) the expanded and “en-RICHED” approach to downtown revitalization and 3) the institutional framework for implementation of downtown redevelopment strategies (Table 7). The organization should adapt to change and restructure itself to survive. The diversity of an economy makes the downtown more adaptable. Resilient downtowns are dynamic, multifunctional districts with several economic activities consisting of retail, residential, entertainment, civic and cultural activities.

Retail revitalization could be achieved through four approaches: business attraction, business retention, business expansion, and business incubation strategies. The “en-RICHED” approach aims at: 1) Increasing the residential population, residents in the downtown value ensure a lively downtown and provide the customers for downtown retail, thus providing housing of different types is important. 2) Attracting immigrants who could inject new life in the downtown. 3) Retaining and increasing the traditional role of the downtown as the civic and cultural center to include facilities such as courthouses, museums, art centers, post offices, municipal governmental buildings and libraries so that they can continue their existence downtown. Their presence creates jobs and attracts people to the downtown. Relocating the cultural and civic facilities outside the downtown sends a negative signal to the private sector, meaning the public sector has given up on the downtown. Then the private sector may relocate their firms and businesses out the downtown area as well. 4) Employing historic preservation and heritage to revive the economy, as historic preservation is important to define the character of the downtown and strengthen the tourism potential. And 5) enhancing the quality of place through providing urban design guidelines, ensuring a pedestrian friendly environment, and providing a gathering place. Design guidelines ensure that developments in the downtown would assure that history, culture, and heritage are preserved and enhanced. Design guidelines help to integrate different aspects such as street façade, landscaping, parking, sidewalks, crossing point, signage, street furniture, and massing of buildings and thus achieve safe, livable downtown spaces that enrich the public space (Burayidi, 2013).

Table 7: Qualities of Resilient Downtowns

	Factor	Score = 1	Score = 0
The traditional Main Street approach	Retail development	About 8% of all retail businesses in the city are located in the downtown.	Less than 8% of all retail businesses in the city are located in the downtown.
Expanded and "en-RICHED" downtown redevelopment strategy	Residential population (R)	At least 5% of the city's population is resident in the downtown.	Less than 5% of the city's population is resident in the downtown.
	Immigrants (I)	Civic leaders in the community welcome diversity and immigrants. As evidence, at least 2% of the city's population is foreign-born.	Civic leaders in the community are not welcoming of diversity and immigrants. As evidence less than 2% of the city's population is foreign-born.
	Civic and cultural facilities (C)	More than half of all civic and cultural facilities in the city are located downtown and near downtown neighborhoods.	Less than half of all civic and cultural facilities in the city are located downtown and near downtown neighborhoods.
	Designated historic/heritage property (HE)	At least one-tenth of the designated historic property on the National Register of Historic Places is located downtown.	Less than one-tenth of the designated historic property on the National Register of Historic Places is located downtown.
	Design guidelines (D)	City has design guidelines for downtown.	City has no design guidelines for downtown.
	Pedestrian friendliness	Design of downtown makes it easy for pedestrians to get around.	Difficult for pedestrians to get around the downtown.
	Downtown gathering place	Community has a public gathering place that is highly patronized.	No gathering place downtown or the gathering place is not well patronized.
Institutional framework for implementation of downtown programs	Civic leadership	Strong support for downtown redevelopment by civic leaders.	Support for downtown redevelopment is ambivalent with no declaratory support for downtown redevelopment.
	Downtown Development Authority	The city has a downtown Development Authority/Organization.	City does not have a Downtown Development Authority/Organization.

Source: Burayidi (2013)

3.4.5 Walkable urbanism

An approach for downtown revitalization called “walkable urbanism” is proposed by Christopher B. Leinberger. The approach requires a “critical mass” of pedestrian-scale uses and a complex mix of retail boutiques, hotels, grocery stores, housing, offices, artists’ studios, restaurants, and entertainment venues to be established. Walkable urbanism encourages quality walkability in an enjoyable environment of safe streetscape and a mix of sights and sounds. This approach would increase the residents’ stay in the downtown that will influence rent and sales prices and justify new construction or renovation. This approach would increase the residents’ stay in the downtown that will influence.

Leinberger (2005), in twelve steps, summarizes lessons learned from many years of hands-on experience consulting in dozens of urban areas across the United States and Europe. The first six steps focus on hard and soft infrastructure and define the public and non-profit sector roles and organizations required to initiate the revitalization process. The remaining six steps are means for implementation of the real estate strategies. “Every downtown has a unique set of strengths, no matter how depressed it might be; it is these strengths that must be built upon in developing the revitalization strategy civic structures, such as city halls, performance halls, arenas, and museums”. The twelve steps of this process are: capture the vision, develop a strategic plan, forge a healthy private/public partnership, make the right thing easy, establish business improvement districts and other non-profits, create a catalytic development company, create an urban entertainment district, develop a rental housing market, pioneer an affordability strategy, focus on for-sale housing, develop a local-serving retail strategy, re-create a strong office market.

To develop a strategic plan, strategies to create walkable urbanism should include: emphasizing character through defining the downtown boundaries and the relation with surrounding neighborhoods, and encourage high density housing of affordable levels, determine the retail concentrations that a downtown market could support, including urban entertainment (movies, restaurants, night clubs), specialty retail (clothing, furniture, and jewelry boutiques), regional retail (department stores, lifestyle retail), and local-serving retail (grocery, drug, book, video stores). These different retail options should be concentrated into walkable districts, creating, in essence, regional destinations that give the area critical mass, identity, and a reason to live there, determine several types of cultural facilities (arenas, stadiums, performing arts centers, museums, historic sites and buildings), provide public

infrastructure and services (water and sewer, intra-core transit, transit, parks and open space, security and cleanliness), enhance “export” employment (businesses that export goods and services from the metropolitan area which provide fresh cash into the economy) and regional-servicing employment (such as downtown), encourage community involvement especially residents of surrounding neighborhoods with keeping the opinion-makers and the media informed about the revitalization process, involve non-profits into the process and create new organizations to fill needed roles, market downtown to communicate the strategy and progress in implementing it to the investment and banking community, in addition to define the social values to make downtown the community gathering place for the entire community regardless of income or race, and housing affordability and other “equity” programs that may be essential components of the revitalization effort. Forging a healthy private and public partnership is essential for successful revitalization, but “the key to the public sector’s successful involvement in downtown redevelopment is to avoid making it overly political”. Make the right thing easy through defining zoning codes encourages density and walkability such as mix uses, parking and sidewalks (Leinberger, 2005).

The real estate strategy can be implemented through six other steps that are an interrelated process. “When the private real estate market begins to emerge, an overlapping layering of ever greater complexity that ultimately leads to a critical mass of walkable urbanism”. This starts with establishing an urban entertainment district creating a “there there,” the initial place where people want to live downtown, followed by rental housing, where young urban pioneers come for a unique lifestyle not available in the suburbs. Rental housing is followed by for-sale housing, usually targeting older households who are willing to put their largest household asset, their home, in a reviving downtown. Then repopulation is the reason for higher demand for local-serving retail. After all, demand for office employment will increase. “Through this process, land and building values accelerate, necessitating mechanisms very early on to ensure affordability for residential and commercial space” (Leinberger, 2005).

“The good news is that if a critical mass of walkable urbanism is created, the rents, sales values, and land values will probably be the highest in the metropolitan area, rewarding those willing to take the risk, build high quality construction, and wait patiently for returns. The bad news is that the values will be some of the highest in the metropolitan area, meaning only the well-to-do can live downtown” (Leinberger, 2005, p16).

3.4.6 Pedestrian friendly environment

Management of both pedestrian and traffic movements is important to create an attractive environment and encourage businesses. Pedestrian friendly designs could be achieved through using features such as wide sidewalks, slow traffic speed, defined cross-walks, easy wayfinding, and less emphasis on vehicles (Burayidi, 2013). It is worthwhile to increase connectivity between activities on both sides of a street. “Making it easier to cross the street, allowing people to cross the street as freely as possible is important because there are usually businesses and destinations on both sides of any commercial street” (Project for Public Spaces, 2009).

3.5 Mechanism

Many revitalization and economic development programs in the USA were developed to trigger redevelopment and foster economic changes. The main programs include Capital Improvement Programs (CIP), Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC), Tax Incremental Financing (TIF), Planned Manufacturing Districts (PMDs), Redevelopment Agencies, and Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). The CIP is a five year schedule of capital project that the local government formally adopts and implements with considering the operating budget. CIP is an important tool for implementing comprehensive plans. Capital improvements are projects that involve major, nonrecurring expenditures, such as land lease or acquisition, public buildings, community facilities and infrastructure. There are many advantages for CIP such as managing financial resources, focusing on community needs and capabilities, obtaining community support, encouraging economic development, and increasing administration efficiency. EZ and EC programs are based on a federal-state-municipal partnership to stimulate holistic community development and economic growth in economically distressed areas. The program has four principles: economic opportunity, sustainable community development, community-based partnership, and strategic vision for change. Economic opportunity is accomplished by creating jobs, attracting private investment, and promoting self-sufficiency, while sustainable community development is accomplished by balancing economic revitalization with environmental protection. TIF is a financing technique that allows a redevelopment authority to target a blighted district for improvement. TIF is flexible and includes projects that promise feasibility and increase property values. The increase of tax increment revenues becomes support of the

improvement projects. Meanwhile PMDs are designated manufacturing areas to be protected from mixing with other land uses such as residential and commercial; zoning is used to regulate the land use. PMDs aim to protect the role of manufacturing in urban economics and employment. Redevelopment Agencies are units of local government that are responsible for urban regeneration within a defined area. The Redevelopment Agencies are responsible for preparing redevelopment plans, acquiring land, making public improvement and contracting private sector and stakeholders, mobilizing resources and managing the redevelopment and implementation process. BID is a limited geographic area of commercial uses, designated for the improvement of services and local business climates. BID has typical activities such as marketing, maintenance and security. BID's funding sources are collected from the property owner or involved businesses (American Planning Association, 2006).

The urban regeneration companies (URCs), established in 1999, set out a master plan for the regeneration of a specific area. Public sector partners prioritize the redevelopment of key infrastructure according to the master plan, with focus on physical redevelopment rather than community renewal (Evans & Jones, 2008). "A Business Improvement District (BID) is a partnership between a local authority and local businesses which is intended to provide improvements to the public sphere within a specified geographical area". BID is first appeared in Canada, and was then used in the USA, the UK, South Africa, New Zealand and Germany (Sandford, 2013). BIDs were invented in Canada in the 1970s, used in the US in the 1980s, and were introduced by the UK government in 2004 (Tallon, 2010). BIDs are a major force in urban economic development, led by non-profit boards of directors of private sector volunteers, business people, property owners, and developers. The board makes decisions regarding planning, service governing and physical improvements to improve business opportunities and commercial and industrial property values. "BIDs can be seen as an expression of cooperative capitalism" (Houstoun, 2004). The urban policy of BIDs is about the private sector role to administer and provide public goods in the city center. The private sector pays a supplemental tax for street cleaning, street furniture and security. BIDs enable the creation of safer and more attractive environments and the revitalization of declining city centers with little expense on the public sector (Tallon, 2010).

"Top-down approach to tackling urban distress has now been replaced by the concept of partnership. As a result regeneration has become dominated by partnerships, particularly between the public and private sectors, where national and local government enter into partnerships with regional development agencies and business to lever resources from the

*private sector and channel money, capital and professional expertise into regeneration. Unfortunately, while the property market interventionist approach has been with us for more than 20 years, and partnerships have become common in many of the original EU member states over the past 10, large areas of urban distress still remain and are widespread. **This suggests that neither the market or partnership approaches to tackling urban distress and rehabilitating large areas is sufficient.** This is because it is increasingly recognised that such approaches only offer an ad-hoc, short-term response to distress experienced in urban areas and not a long-term solution to deep-seated social or environmental problems”.*

LUDA –Team (2005, p7)

Economic regeneration initiatives and programs include: 1) Grant Support, established in 1982, minimum public contribution on derelict land to attract investor, 2) relaxation of regulations, 3) Urban Development Agencies, established in the 1980s, aimed to improve the services to achieve development, 4) Integrated Approaches, established in the 1980s, concerned with coordinating initiatives and policies, 5) Competitive Bidding for Funding in the 1990s defines clear aims and outcomes and attracts private sector (Noon, Smith-Canham, & England, 2000).

“Successful urban regeneration requires a strategically designed, locally based, multi-sector, multi-agency partnership approach”. The strategic framework in urban regeneration will enable the authorities to define clear aims. The framework should emphasize on multi-sectoral partnerships, the coordination and integration of initiatives, a long-term commitment, and the development of local regeneration strategies. A partnership approach is an essential element to create a strategic approach to urban regeneration. Partnerships of several agencies is needed for many reasons: funding, the nature of urban problems of multidimensional issues, the centralization of power that fragments the duties and organization, and the local issues that are needed to be expressed. To create a successful partnership, clear objectives and strategic frameworks should be established, partnerships should respond to local and regional interest, partnerships should work on both 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' initiatives, locals need to be integrated with the regional framework, effective management of resources and time should be practiced, and the community should be involved. There are three types of partnerships: 1) Systematic partnership deals with large-scale problems, involving strategic policy-makers, 2) Programmatic partnerships, concerning issues such as strategy implementation, and 3) Technical partnerships, dealing with short-term projects (Carter, 2000).

“The need for a strategic approach to urban regeneration arises from the concerns regarding property-led urban regeneration and inner city policies in general which have been described as being modest in scale, geographically dispersed, marginal and ad hoc in character, and lacking any relationship to structural urban economic trends” (Hausner, 1993 as cited in Carter, 2000).

A strategic vision and a framework need to emphasize a multi-sectoral partnership, coordinating and integrating initiatives rather than focusing on single issues; a long-term commitment rather than stressing short-term outputs and costs; and the development of local regeneration strategies. A multi-sectoral approach includes public–private partnerships, privatization, deregulation, the mobilization of participation of different partners and community members, and integration of vertical and horizontal actions with involving authorities and partners (Carter, 2000). “Real community involvement has led to a feeling of ownership which should ensure its sustainability” (Jeffrey & Granger, 2017). Partnership and financial findings are essential for long term redevelopment (Teixeira, 2010). Efficient participation and cooperation involve all stakeholders, professionals, politicians, and community members. These determine a specific role for all partners through a contract, the range of partners involved in a scheme. Partnerships recognize the local community role in defining problems, proposing solutions, and contributing to implementation, in addition to providing social housing.

The implementation of urban regeneration requires a strategic approach to solve urban problems as a comprehensive policy rather than collecting ad hoc interventions and actions. The strategy concerns employing potentials of regional context and the utilization of resources. A commitment of resources is essential for successful urban policy (Sykes & Roberts & Granger, 2017).

Creating a successful downtown can be achieved by focusing on: partnerships, defining a clear vision, being market-driven, using a business plan, daring to be different, focusing and concentrating resources on well-defined target areas, being self-sufficient (financially), returning to old-fashioned values, and being pro-business and pro-quality (Palma, 1995). Business Improvement Districts (BID) and other non-profits are established as a main leadership to manage the implementation of the strategy in addition to the operational role, such as increasing the perceived and actual safety of downtown, making the place cleaner, creating festivals and events to encourage suburbanites to come downtown, and improving downtown’s image (Leinberger, 2005). BID is a limited geographic area of commercial uses,

designated for the improvement of services and local business climate. BID has typical activities such as marketing, maintenance and security. BID's funding sources are collected from the property owner or the businesses (American Planning Association, 2006). The institutional framework for implementing downtown programs requires good leadership and a downtown redevelopment agency. Civic leadership helps in times of economic disruption to manage public, private, and non-profit sectors, defining the community values and vision, and supporting the downtown. Communities lacking strong civic leadership suffer from declining downtowns, with decline being the "low self- image and a lack of pride of place" (Burayidi, 2013).

3.6 Summary

3.6.1 Principles and Approaches for Urban Regeneration

Urban regeneration strategies should define a clear vision, integrate initiatives and resources, and be a multi sectoral approach with long term commitment. The approaches of urban regeneration include: Property led regeneration (retail - led regeneration, housing- led regeneration), flagship projects and branding, urban renaissance, housing, fantasy cities, entrepreneurship, cultural quarters and sustainability. Property led regeneration and flagship projects play an important role in improving the image of the area, increase developer confidence, and attract investments. But they are short-term, fragmented, ad hoc and project-based without an overall strategic framework for city-wide development. “Cities of spectacle” and “fantasy cities” are related to the regeneration of places through activities and facilities for leisure, culture and consumption.

To achieve economic prosperity, a strategy should be developed based on realistic use of market appraisal techniques by public and private sectors in the selection of the development strategy, in addition to adequate initial investment from the public sector to attract interest in the private sector. Urban regeneration requires strong partnership in long term strategic planning. Partnerships could be developed through different types of organizations such as the Business Improvement Districts and the Urban Regeneration Companies. The organizations have a vital role to manage the process of urban regeneration, response to the market change, manage funding and land assembly, develop plans, and define activities for all parties. Urban policies, public intervention, community involvement and investment together are main factors to achieve success in urban regeneration. The role of public policies is to create a high quality of life and enhance market conditions:

- Initiate adequate investment to trigger development and draw in investors through infrastructure provision, environmental improvements, and land assembly.
- Adopt a flexible approach (type of organizations and power, tax incentives and grants to encourage developers).
- Partnerships between the public and private sector.
- Urban policy to manage demand and supply for different land uses.
- Provision of adequate and affordable housing.

Sustainable urban regeneration is an effective approach to improve different aspects of life. Sustainability and urban regeneration have common themes dealing with balancing social, economic and environmental aspects. Environmental and physical dimensions aim to lead the change and supplying services to attract investors. Economic dimensions aim to achieve economic prosperity. Social dimension aims to achieve social inclusion and cohesive communities. Findings from literature establish a checklist of rationality and impact of urban regeneration (Table 8), which will be used for assessment of the cases in Amman, see section 5.7.2 and section 6.4.2.

Table 8: Checklist of Rationality and Impact of Urban Regeneration

Rationality of Approach	
Relevance to the city needs	
Realistic use of market appraisal techniques in the selection of the strategy	
Achieve objectives of good urban design	
Mechanism of Implementation & Main Interventions	
Adequate initial investment from the public sector to attract private sector	
Partnership	
Environmental/ Physical Impact	
Sustainable urban form; compact city and urban intensification	
Mixed-use development	
Re-use / redevelop derelict land and buildings	
Improve environmental quality, provide amenities, enhance quality of life	
Improve accessibility and use integrated public transport systems	
Design excellence and high quality urban design	
Decrease car use, promote public transportation and walkability	
Use sustainable solutions (efficient energy resources, renewable energy,..)	
Overcome physical isolation of declining areas	
Emphasis on the place character and identity, preserve the heritage	
Economic Impact	
Provision of cultural and leisure amenities	
Create jobs	
Increase contribution of culture, knowledge, and new industries	
Entrepreneurship: improving the knowledge base, encouraging enterprise, education and training; and empowering local businesses	
Improve local economy	
Attract investment, improve the urban image and environment	
Social Impact	
Social mixing (in terms of age, ethnicity, family structure and income)	
Inclusive decision-making, respond to local needs, community involvement	
Increase social capacity and skills	

Provide quality affordable housing stock, health facilities and amenities,...	
Provide public space and improve social interaction	
Social pride	
Improve life experiences	
Increase opportunities and choices for residents	

Findings from literature establish a framework to review different stages of urban regeneration policies as follows:

Table 9: Principles and Characteristics of Urban Regeneration

Stage	Principles and Characteristics
Analysis & Goals	Identifying the urban problems and their causes
	Detailed Analysis of the Urban Area
	Defining Clear Objectives
	Responding to Local Community Needs
Strategy & Policy Formulation	Policy Context
	Employing Potentials and Opportunities
	A long Term Strategic Framework
	Providing a Framework of Plans and Proposals
	Approach (sustainability, urban design and quality, physical improvement, etc.)
Implementation	Have Clear Outcomes
	Evaluating and Monitoring
	Flexibility in Approach
	Defining Mechanisms, Stakeholders and Resources
	Funding, who funded and how funding allocated
	Strong Institutional Basis
Impact	Physical and Environmental
	Economic
	Social

3.6.2 Strategies for Downtown Revitalisation

Findings from literature on downtown revitalization provide many approaches and themes for downtown revitalization. Principles of good urban design are part of revitalization strategies such as emphasis on the place character and identity, emphasis on mixed uses, improved accessibility and the public realm. Downtowns should have defined boundaries in relation to surrounding areas. Connecting downtowns to urban neighborhoods is essential to attract customers. Some themes used in downtown revitalization are downtowns as a neighborhood, an entertainment district, Walkable urbanism, and economic themes of specialized markets. Downtown as a neighborhood in its own right has clear boundaries, maintain human scale, cluster of housing, downtown that provides diverse uses of housing, retail and amenities of high quality environment and a comfortable and safe place. Downtown revitalization through establishing an urban entertainment district is as a catalyst for developing other activities including housing, retail and offices. Walkable urbanism encourages walkability in a good quality and enjoyable environment of a safe streetscape and a mix of sights and sounds. This approach would increase the residents' stay downtown that will influence the rent and sale prices and justify new construction or renovation. Downtown revitalization through emphasis on traditional retail is to develop specialty retails and niche markets.

Literature shows that a full pedestrianization of streets (pedestrian malls) is not preferred. The success of pedestrian malls is limited with many factors such as the provision adequate parking and transit systems serving dense residential areas as in the European experiences, or developing pedestrian malls where high levels of foot traffic and people seek to shop and eat, such as near offices or financial cores in large cities, university towns, and areas of tourist attraction as in the U.S. experiences. Mixed malls allow limited use of automobiles during certain hours, or transit malls that allow only public transit to pass through the streets are more encouraged. In addition, two-ways roads are better for the economy; increased traffic flow has improvement on the number of businesses, property value and the enhancement of pedestrian friendliness. The Main Street approach for the downtown management strategy defines four points: Organization, Promotion, Design and Economic Restructuring. The organization links different stakeholders and will sustain development on a long-term basis. Promotion provides marketing the downtown image for investors and visitors, and creates excitement through festivals, parades and retail events. Design seeks to encourage

investment through improving the physical image and the quality of the space, enhancing the business district, historic preservation, etc. Economic Restructuring guides the development long-term based on the analysis of market forces, encourages and helps financially new businesses, and encourages utilizing space for new uses. Burayidi (2013) adds to this approach, increasing downtown residential population, residents and immigrants, retaining and increasing the traditional role of the downtown as the civic and cultural center, historic preservation, and enhancing the quality of place. The following diagram presents steps of process to achieve successful downtown revitalization:

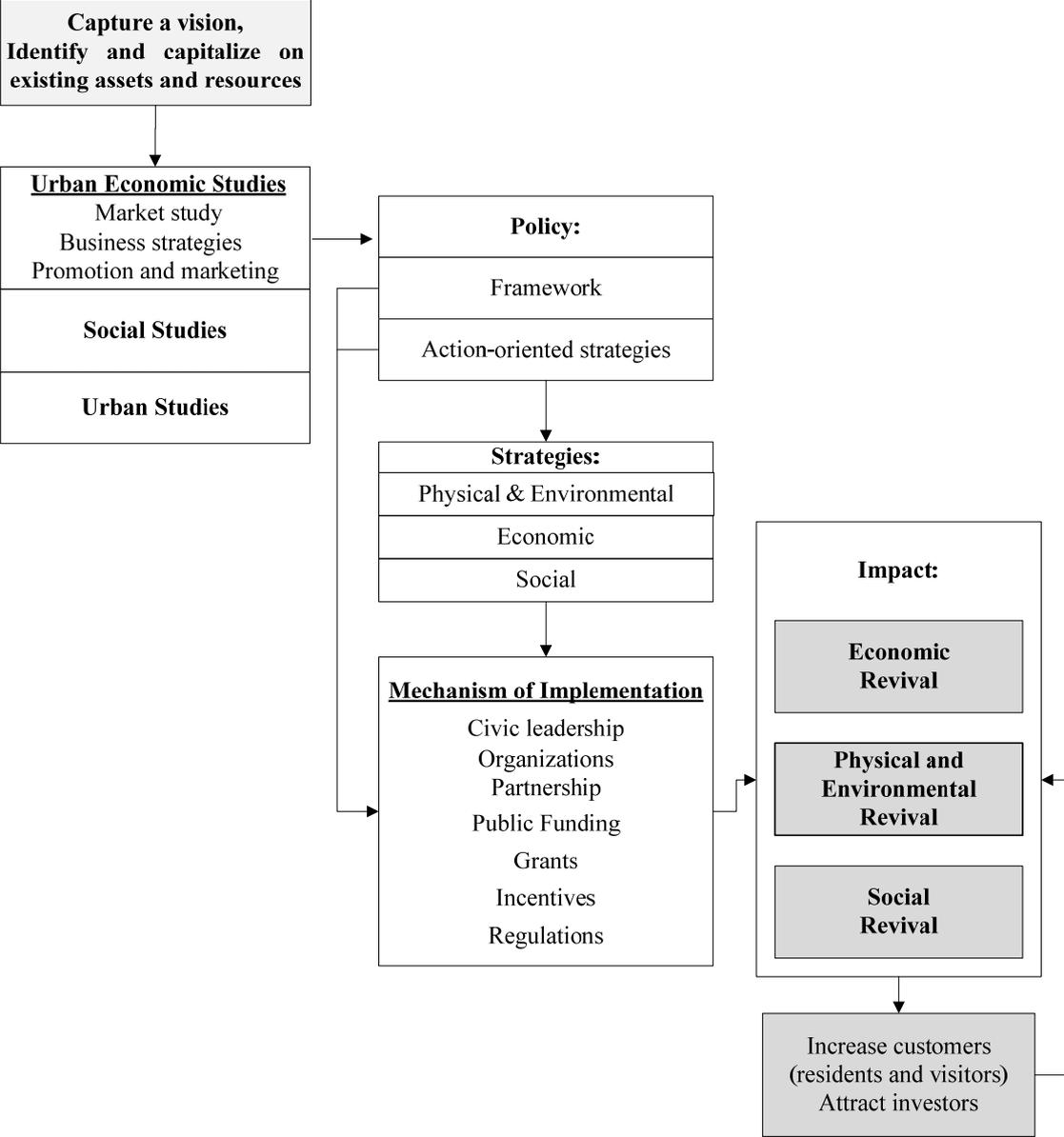


Figure 11: Process of Urban Revitalization/Regeneration

4. AMMAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN PLANNING

This chapter introduces the Amman city development and planning, to explore factors shaped Amman, and identify the context that developments take place within. Amman is presented in a broader context to clarify different aspects of spatial, economic, social and cultural dimensions. This chapter overviews main issues and components of the Amman plans to present how planners and decision makers in the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) thought about Amman's planning, and influenced its future development.

4.1 Amman's Urban Structure

4.1.1 Physical Dimension

Ancient Amman witnessed a sequence of occupying civilizations, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, dated from around 8000 BC. The historic settlements were in decline and desertion by the year 1400. The Ottoman Empire, with the resettlement of Circassians, who settled around the Amphitheatre where springs were used for agriculture, re-established the abandoned city in the 1870s. At the beginning of the 20th century, Amman was a small town. The development of the Hejaz Railway connecting the Ottoman Empire with the Holy Land of Hejaz passing Amman triggered the formation of the first municipal council in 1909. In 1921, Prince Abdullah bin Al-Hussein declared Amman the capital of Transjordan. Wealthy merchants from Salt, Nablus, Damascus, and Jerusalem who settled in neighborhoods around downtown have influenced the city growth. The Amman Downtown was the main commercial, political and institutional center of the city, surrounded by residential neighborhoods on hills. The pattern of Amman's physical development was influenced with the topography of hills (*jabals*), and valleys (*wadis*). Residential development adapted to the natural physical conditions, and expanded on to the surrounding hilltops such as Jabal Amman, Jabal Weibdeh and Jabal Hussein, with a grid pattern as the base of divisions in these areas. The neighborhoods (pre-automobile communities) were connected via the feature of the 'Stairs of Amman' as pedestrian links to the Downtown. Main central roads on the hills, connecting the residential areas to the downtown, have cultural importance such as the Zahran road in Jabal Amman. The "Old Downtown" served

as Amman's Central Business District with a mixed use pattern of religious institutions, residential neighborhoods, government offices, and commercial streets (GAM, 2008).

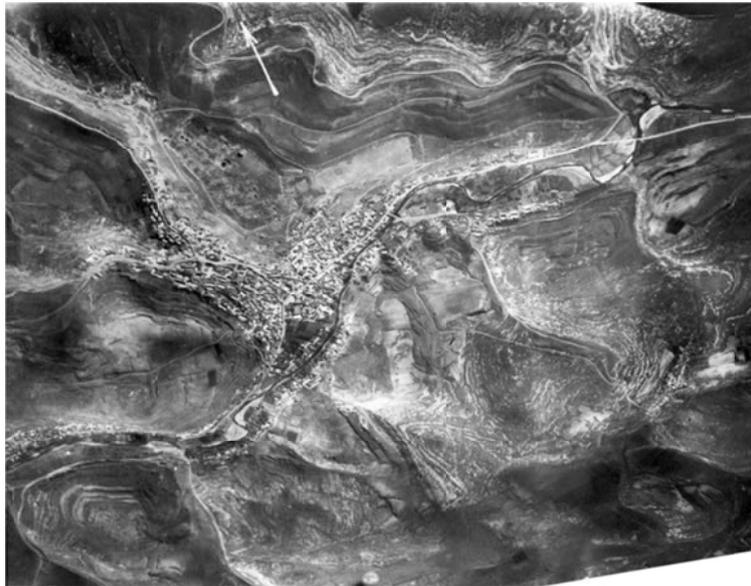


Figure 12: An aerial photograph of Amman in 1918

Source: Royal Scientific Society, Jordan, as cited in Shawash (2012)



Figure 13: An aerial photograph of Amman in 1953

Source: Royal Scientific Society, Jordan, as cited in Shawash (2012)

A small stream (Seil) was running at the Downtown valley starting at Ras al Ain, where many springs supplied the stream (Figure 14, 15&16). In winter, the stream flooded, but by that time, with the population growth, water shortage, the stream had a bad impact on the environment and health. Then, GAM decided to roof the stream at the end of the 1960s. Rami Daher clarified that climatic changes and reduction in rainfall have affected the water level of the stream. The main reason for roofing the Seil was throwing waste in it, so it became unhealthy, and the solution at that time was roofing the Seil (Ammon News, 2013). Rami Daher, Amani Malhas or Christoph Zoepel believe that the Seil shall be restored, but this requires major changes on the existing structures. Roofing the stream was the destruction of the natural characteristics of Amman, although it solved some problems at that time.



Figure 14: Amman in 1930s
 Source: Map in the GAM Building

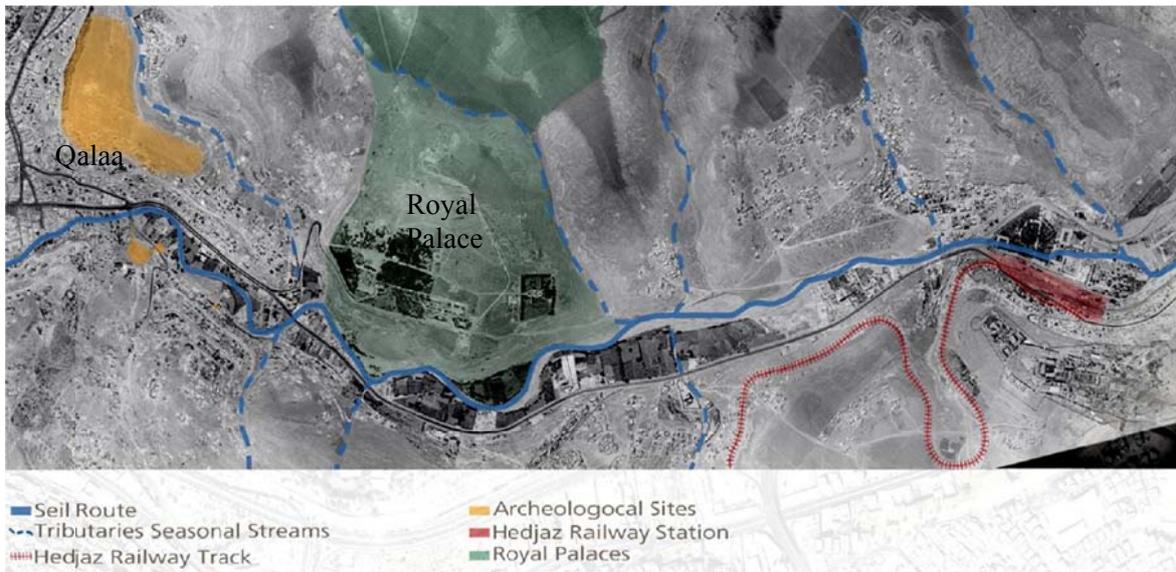


Figure 15: Seil Amman in 1953

Source: a document received from GAM

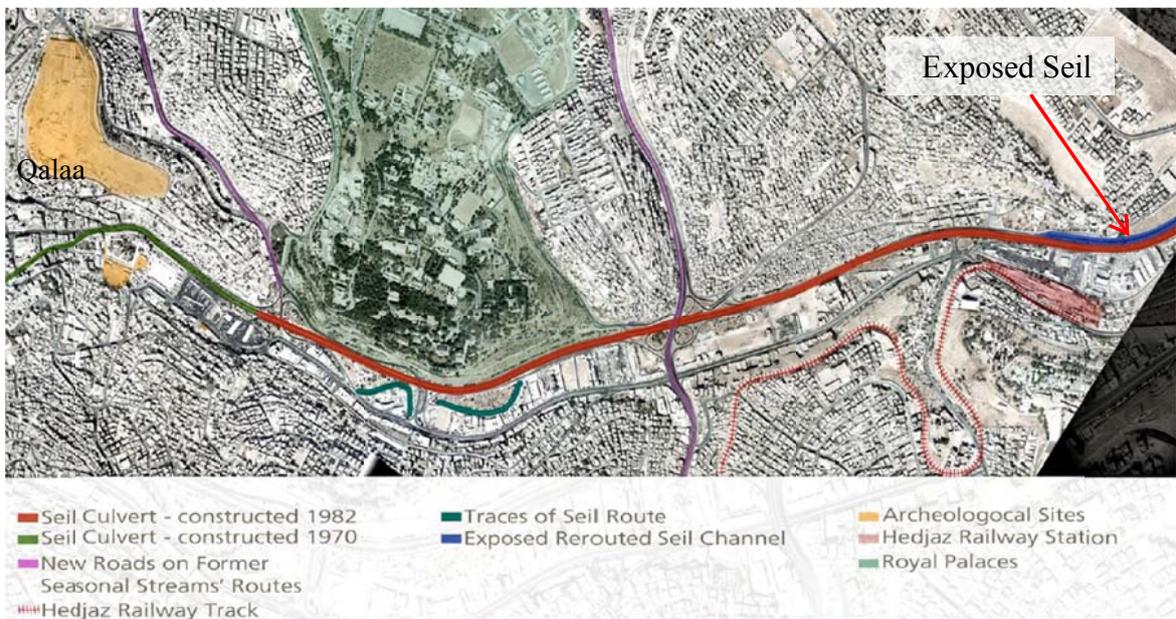


Figure 16: Traces of Seil Amman in 2000

Source: a document received from GAM



Exposed Seil Amman, 2016

The Old Downtown was a gathering and meeting place for different socioeconomic groups and ethnicities. Amman growth expansion was shaped by its topography, valleys and hills, which creates a special character and patterns of the urban form of the city. In addition, the modern architecture and the road networks shape the physical development of the city, also the automobile dominance and the residential categories effect the land division and the character of place. Amman has an important moderate geographical location in both the national and regional context, its stability attracts large numbers of refugees from other surrounding countries, and thus urban area expansion was accelerated by recent geo-political events (GAM, 2008).

Amman growth has increased dramatically. In addition to the natural growth, the growth of Amman has been triggered by political events in Palestine. Amman has received hundreds of thousands of refugees from Palestine; 33,000 in 1947 and 250,000 in 1952. 30% of Amman was covered by tents. The new population fostered the development of Amman. Housing, schools and clinics were built. The new population had economic and cultural contributions in transforming Amman from a town to a city. The development of Amman as a commercial center has been triggered through efforts of private and public projects such as the Arab Bank headquarter, the Jordan Cement Factories Company, and the Jordan Ahli Bank in the Faisal Square (Amman-city, 2009). In the last years, the physical development of the city and the socioeconomic division has been triggered by refugees and investors from the Gulf. The capacity of urban services and spatial polarization has become a challenge for decision makers (GAM, 2008). Amman is a city of migrants, Amman's population has been increased three folds since 1948 (Jalouqa, 2016).

Currently and historically, in eastern and central Amman, the older neighborhoods are mixed use areas with housing, retail, light industrial, and other uses coexisting with less accommodation for automobile access and circulation. Amman expanded westward, where the modern development pattern has more influence, responding to automobile use, modern shopping malls, 5 star hotels, the Sports City complex, and other public facilities that are not available in the eastern areas of Amman. Many public buildings, governmental, health, and up market commercial uses have moved out of the Old Downtown to the new western areas. The result was the clustering of single uses: banking in Shmeisani and health in western Jabal Amman, and the government offices were scattered throughout the city (GAM, 2008). Throughout the decades, Amman's growth and expansion has incorporated adjacent towns

such as Wadi Seir and Sweileh and surrounding cities, Russeifa, Zarqa, Salt, and Madaba. These cities are separated administratively, but are integrated economically. There is daily a high amount of commuting to Amman for employment and shopping. Most agricultural lands between Amman and these cities and towns have been urbanized.

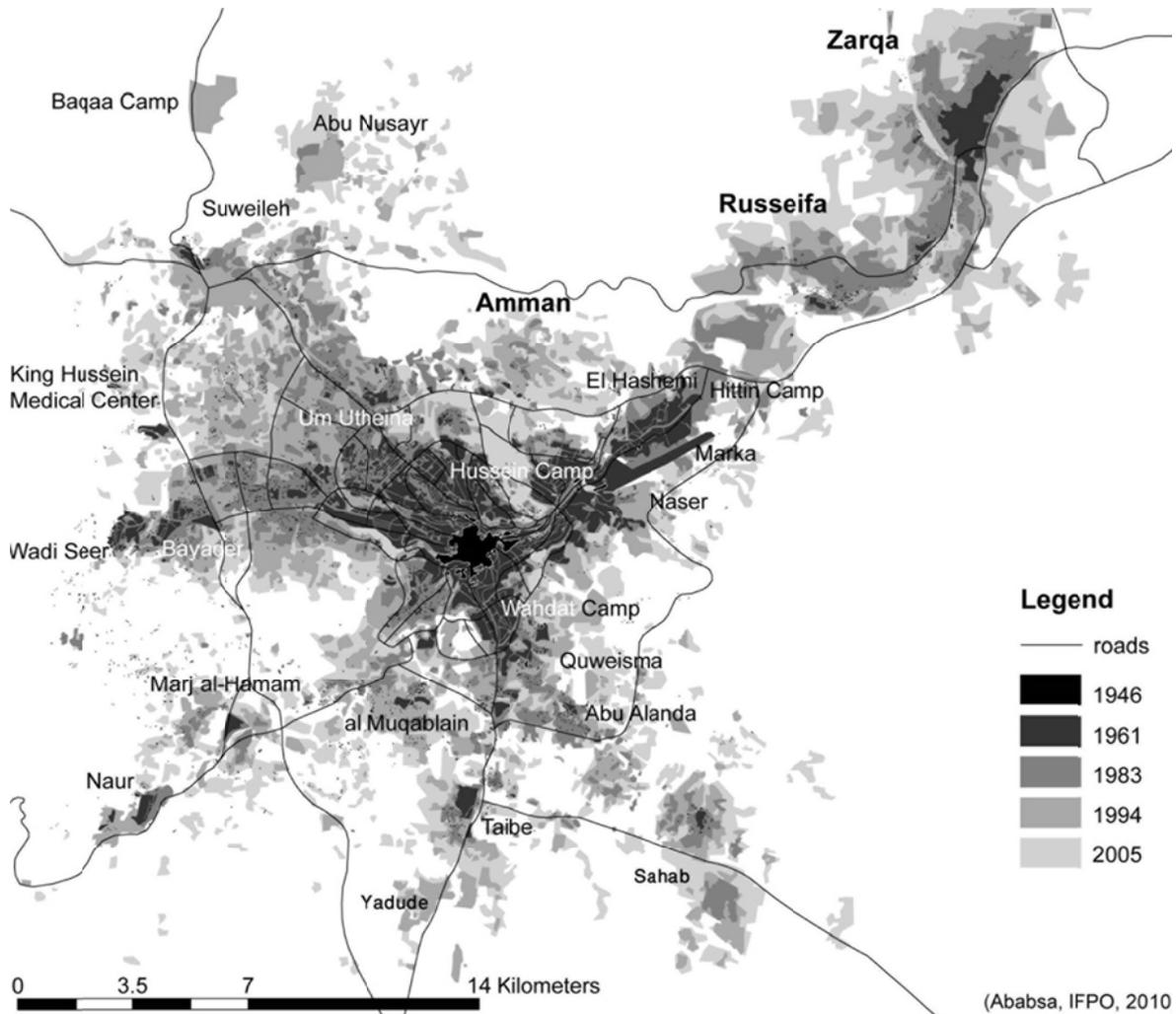


Figure 17: Amman's Growth Pattern (1946-2005)

Source: IFPO Atlas of Jordan with the Royal Jordanian Geographic Center as cited in Ababsa (2011a)

Kamal Jalouqa describes the change of the living trends from single house to apartment with the “apartmentization” of Amman, where people have accepted to live in apartments. Amman has changed from agricultural lands to dense urban areas. Topography and purchasing power have influenced this change. “Amman a city where history is squeezed between two realities: density populated majority and a luxurious life style” (Jalouqa, 2016).

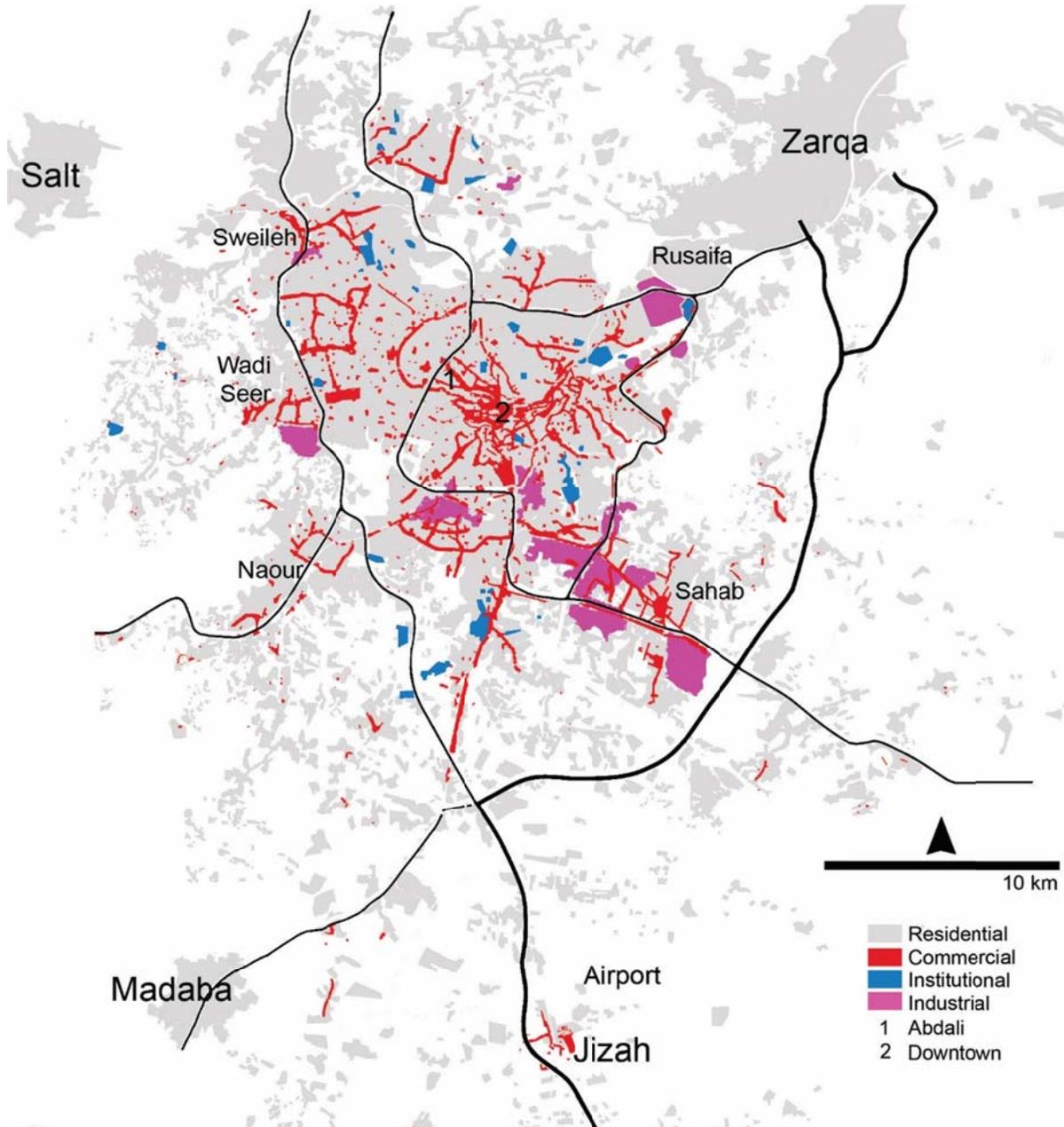


Figure 18: The Urban Structure of Amman

Source: based on maps in “The Amman Plan” GAM (2008)

The residential uses compose the largest area of Amman, with over 50% of the total zoned areas, while commercial land uses compose less than 5%, and the industrial use is around 7% (Louzi, 2016).

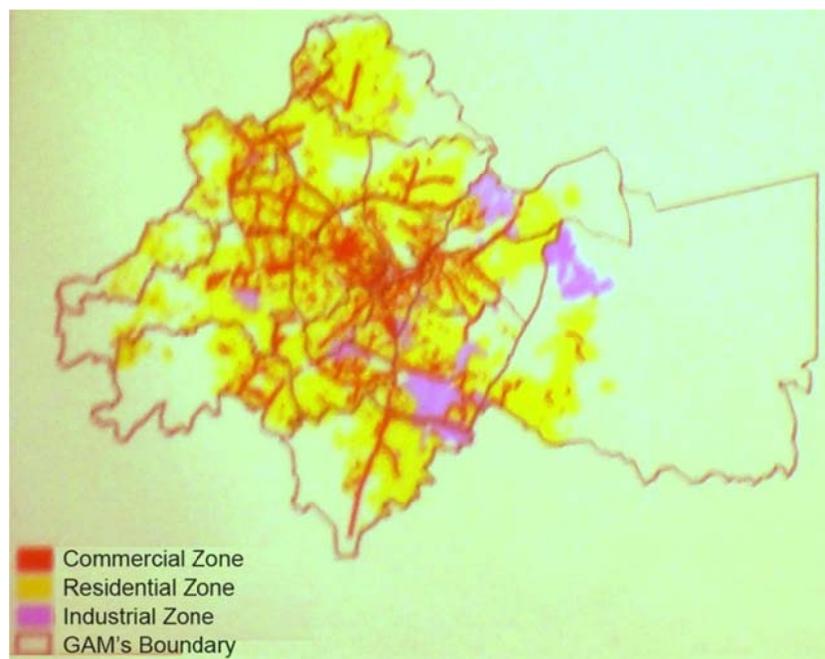


Figure 19: GAM's boundary and Zoning in 2015

Source: Louzi (2016)

Table 10: GAM zoning areas in 2015

Use	Area km ²	%
Residential	221.6	52.4%
Commercial	17	4.0%
Industrial	27.1	6.4%
Offices	1.3	0.3%
Gardens	7.9	1.9%
Public buildings and schools	5.4	1.3%
Mixed use	0.8	0.2%
Rural	2.3	0.5%
Agricultural	4.7	1.1%
Cemeteries	0.4	0.1%
Special use	10.9	2.6%
Green areas	1.2	0.3%
Others	7.4	1.7%
Streets inside zoned areas	105	24.8%
Queries	10.1	2.4%
Total zoned areas	423.1	50%
Un-zoned areas	376	50%
Total Area	800	

Source: based on Louzi (2016)

The spatial structure of Amman shows that most of the industrial uses are concentrated to the eastern and southern areas of Amman see (Figure 20).

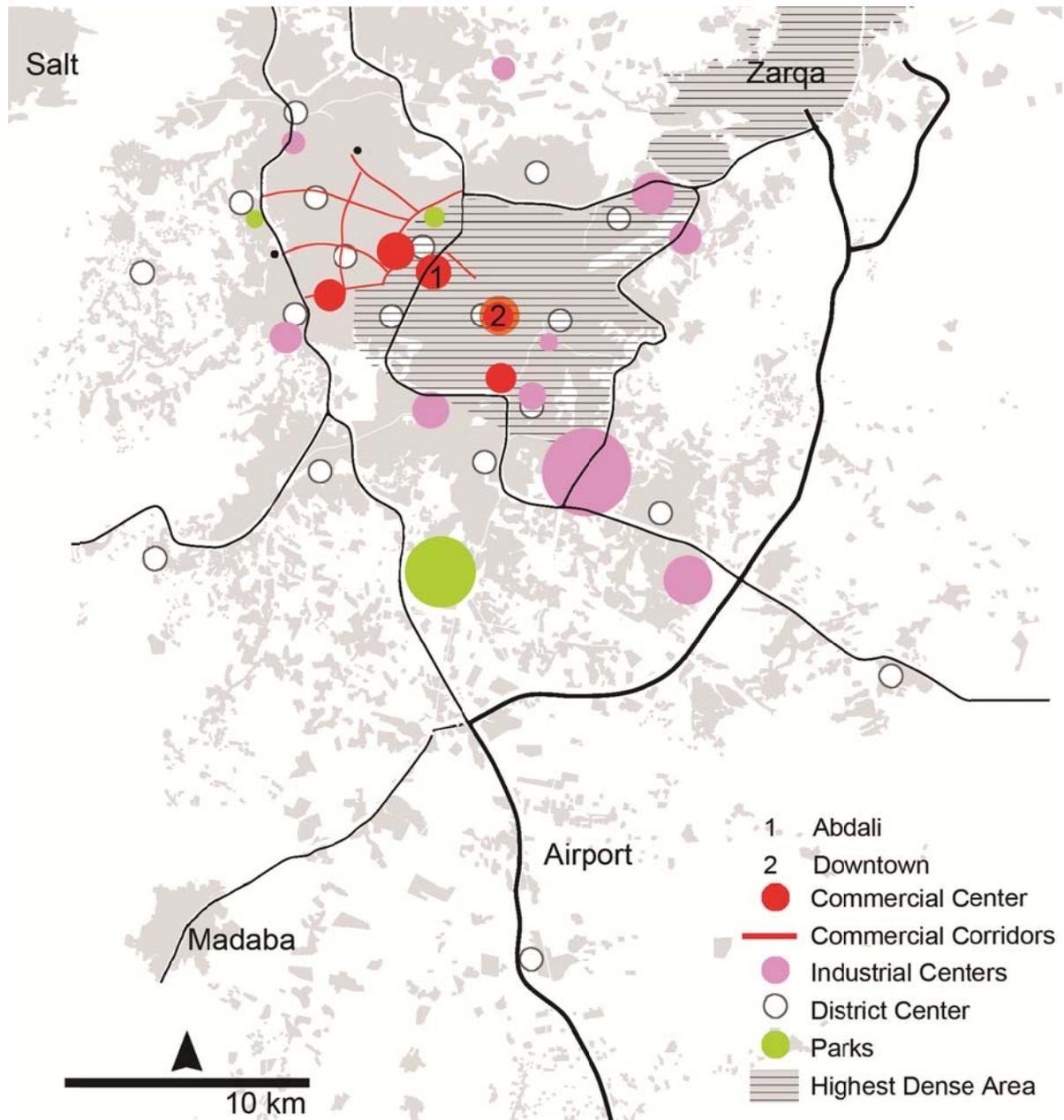


Figure 20: The Urban Spatial Structure of Amman

Source: the Researcher, an overlay of different maps from the Amman Plan, GAM (2008)

4.1.2 Social and Cultural Dimensions

4.1.2.1 Population Characteristics

a. Population Growth

“Amman's population was and still is growing rapidly as a result of two key factors: a high fertility rate per woman, and repeated large scale migrations of Palestinian and recently Iraqi refugees, due to regional instabilities. Since 1921 Amman’s population has doubled in size every 10 years” (GAM, 2008). The Palestinian refugees compose of 48.5% of the total refugees; 634,182 refugees (Statistics, 2016). In other terms, the number is 1,800,000 Palestinian refugees (GAM, 2008).

Table 11: GAM Population 1900 – 2015

Year	Estimated GAM Population
1900	1,953
1921	2,929
1929	6,250
1946	63,472
1952	107,415
1962	240,219
1979	608,359
1987	937,439
1989	985,288
1990	1,231,366
1994	1,382,426
2004**	2,047,000
2009**	2,315,600
2006**	2,206,928
2015**	4,007,526

Source: GAM (2008)

** Department of Statistics of Jordan (2016), population of the Amman Governorate, http://dos.gov.jo/dos_home_a/main/linked-html/Jordan_no.htm, retrieved in December 10, 2016

The political events in Palestine in 1948, 1967, and 1973 had an impact on Amman’s growth, with thousands immigrants that moved to Amman. “Amman has grown rapidly with natural population growth and rural to urban migration only part of the causation. The growth of Amman in the 20th century has been accelerated by regional geo-political events and circumstances – including the periodic influx of migrants from Palestine in 1948, 1967,

and 1973, Lebanon and, most recently, Iraq. Refugees have been attracted to the comparative political stability of Jordan – and the City has provided a place of safety and refuge for populations in the region suffering from political displacement with the exception of significant and impressive Roman-era antiquities (the Roman Amphitheatre and Citadel are examples); Amman does not feature the dominant physical presence of ancient history that characterizes other large middle-eastern cities. This has enabled a greater capacity and willingness for modernization and change – for better and for worse” (GAM, 2008). Since 2011, after the Syrian crisis, about 1.4 million people have come to Jordan (UNDP, 2014).

a. Age Trends

Amman has a young population, refer to the below Table 12 and Figure 21. This means a great challenge for the provision of employment.

Table 12: Amman growth by age group

Age Group	2004*	2015**
0-4	11.9%	10.17%
5-9	11.7%	11.24%
10-14	11.2%	9.86%
15-19	10.6%	9.54%
20-24	10.7%	10.16%
25-29	9.0%	9.30%
30-34	8.0%	8.11%
35-39	6.7%	7.17%
40-44	5.3%	6.07%
45-49	3.8%	5.26%
50-54	2.8%	4.03%
55-59	2.7%	2.91%
60-64	2.2%	1.98%
65+	3.5%	4.20%
Total	1,896,426	4,007,526

* Source: GAM (2008)

** Source: Department of Statistics of Jordan (2016)

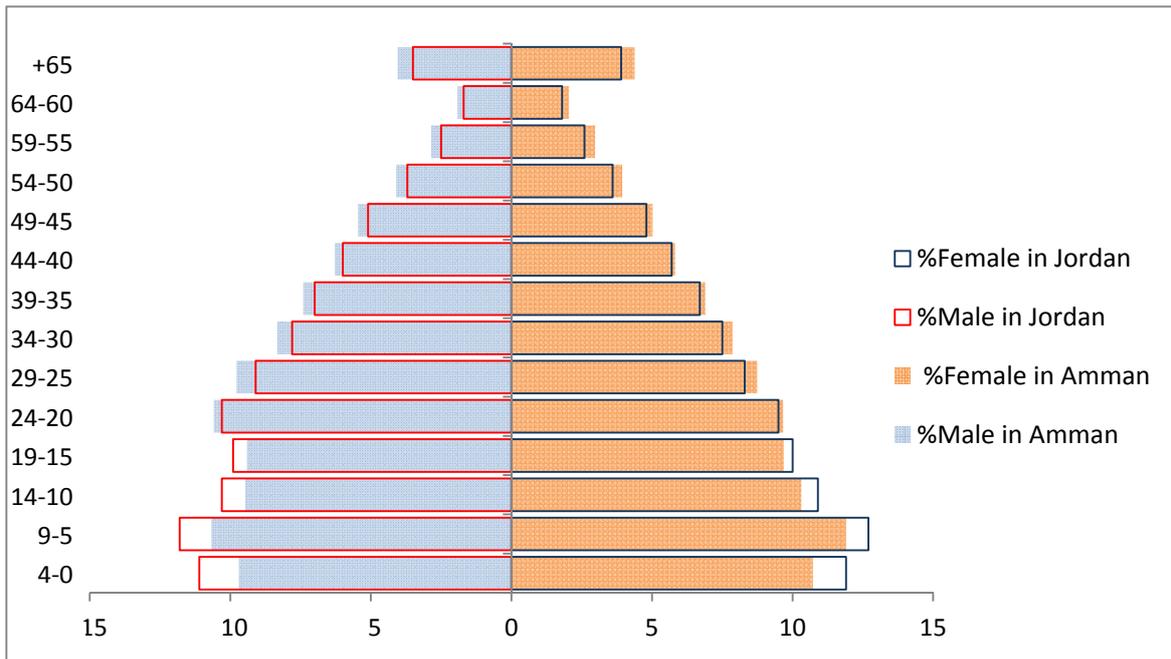


Figure 21: the 2015 Population Pyramid of Amman and Jordan (%)

Source: Department of Statistics of Jordan (2016)

b. Educational attainment

The illiterate ratio in Jordan is low: 9.1% of the total population. Basic education composes the highest ratio of 35%, while the higher education is 25% (Department of Statistics of Jordan, 2016).

4.1.2.2 *The Social and Cultural Character*

“For the first half of the 20th century, Ammani neighbourhoods were vibrant with diversity, social inclusiveness, and tolerance. People from different socio-economic backgrounds used to frequent the same places” (GAM, 2008). In the 1950s, cultural life has flourished through education, cinemas and cafes. In the 1960s many large important developments transformed Amman into a modern city, such as Al Hussein Sports City, a public library and the University of Jordan (Amman-city, 2009). The socioeconomic structure of the population has influence the city character as well. Amman has attracted refugees from different countries, beginning with the refugees from Palestine in the 1940s, the Lebanese immigrants in 1975, and the return of Jordanian and Palestinians in 1990-1991 after the Gulf war period, and Iraqis in the 2000s. The Iraqis have raised the property land prices (Daher, 2008). Daher

considers Amman's architecture borrowed from other traditional urban centers, which creates *multiplicity and distinctiveness* in the urban experience, and continues:

"Amman multi ethnic and heterogeneous beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century were very inclusive. The city was considered a refugee place, a city that welcomed visitors of diverse origins. A common scene in the downtown during 1930s would be men with different head-dresses- the Circassian kalbaq, the Lebanese and Syrian tarboosh, the Palestinian and Jordanian hatta or kofiah- climbing Amman's steps to reach the residences on the slopes of the seven hills flanking the downtown" (Daher, 2008).

The Al Hussein Mosque, Faisal Street, Coffee house and Al Hawoos are distinctive places in Downtown Amman (Daher, 2008). The urban culture has produced those places as symbols of the human culture at that time, where people used to meet, socialize, and discuss their stories. The details of the people's lives and activities built that memory of place. Nowadays, the consumption of goods at malls and prestigious restaurants have reshaped the new urban culture of the city; malls are symbols of the global culture of consumption and new public spaces. Culture and socio-economic characteristics are interrelated, the preferences of people guide the way of life and define the shape of the outcomes, which will be reflected on their community and physical structure. The immigrants' culture with their socio-economic values and preferences has therefore influenced the structure of the city. In Amman, specifically, the refugees, from poor refugees to wealthy refugees, including international investors, have the main role in transforming the city structure.



A new scale of developments and shopping malls has influence on the city's character. For a long time, Amman has a uniform scale of small buildings, mostly 4 floors, conforming to a cityscape wrapping the unique forms of hills and valleys. In the last two decades, many high rise buildings and shopping malls have been established. High rise buildings such as the Le Royal Hotel, Jordan Gate, and the Abdali business district have changed the Amman skyline. These projects changed the uniformity character of the City and have impact on the urban infrastructure and service. Regional shopping malls such as Mecca Mall and City Mall have become convenience with provided access for automobiles (GAM, 2008).

“The pedestrian does not factor into the planning of regional shopping malls which are completely disconnected from the predominant urban fabric of the City. The mall represents a shift away from the civic spaces of the city – the shopping streets and public open space to privately owned and enclosed space that functionally replaces the public realm” (GAM, 2008).

Amman's development is in “growing socio-economic polarization of the City into zones of affluence and poverty”. The “East - West Divide” is a commonly perceived and discussed issue in reports, planning and the community perception. As clarified in the Amman Plan, polarization according to the socio-economic status and cultural perspective divides Amman into distinctive eastern and western districts. “The Western Districts are generally affluent and exhibit significant ‘western’ cultural influences and life styles while the Eastern Districts are poorer, culturally traditional and conservative”. In the last decades, Amman's expansion to the west (outside of the rent controlled older central and eastern neighborhoods) was parallel to the rapid inflation in land values and housing prices that has been affected by an inflow of investment capital from the Persian Gulf and by the settlement of affluent Iraqis displaced by the two Gulf wars. The zoning regulations also have emphasized the spatial socio-economic division, where western areas are zoned of less dense regulations (reflected on plot size, setbacks, and lot coverage) (GAM, 2008).

“Amman is the most unequal governorate with a Gini coefficient of 36.8 percent. It is probably driven by the large share of urban population (94 percent), which has very different levels of education, skills and assets, leading to higher levels of inequality” (UNDP, 2015, p27).

According to Ababseh (2011a), Amman is characterized by two strongly distinguished areas: one is poor, with highly populated neighborhoods of high unemployment rates, and the other in the west, north-west and south west, where the population is highly education, and areas

are better serviced. The designated west Amman (Figure 22) is drawn where areas have the characteristics of low density, most housing buildings are villa types, have fewer children and a higher number of elders, etc. Abu-Thiab (2012) also confirms Ababseh's findings about the existing socioeconomic division into west and east areas. Amman's divide has roots going back to the 1940s. The socioeconomic of the newcomers to Amman has influenced the city development and divide; coming of wealthy merchants, Palestinian refugees, and the flow of petrodollars, financial aids, remittances (Abu-Thiab, 2012).

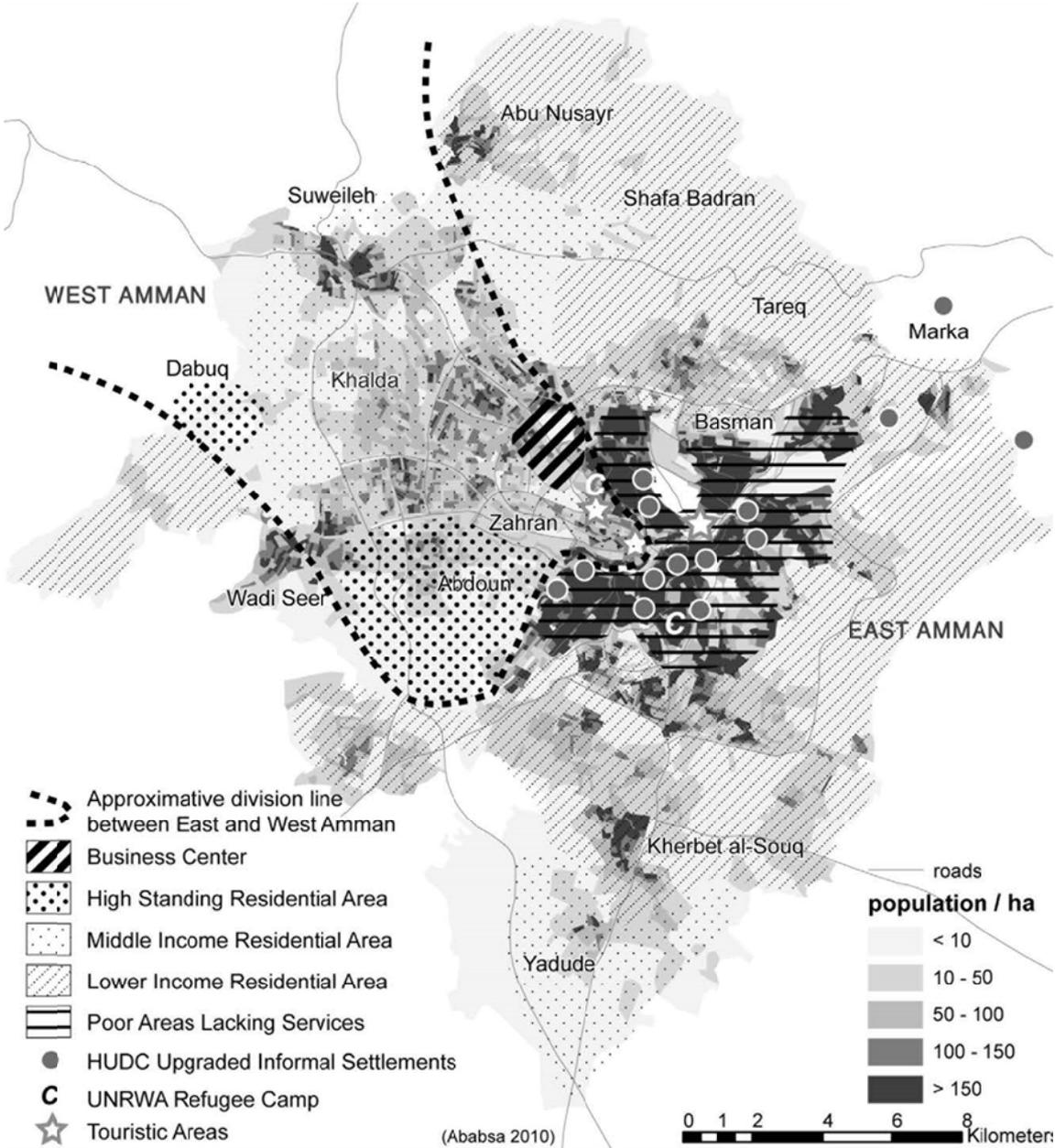


Figure 22: Amman Urban Morphology and Approximative Division Line between East and West Amman

Source: Ababsa (2011a)

4.2 Urban Planning in Amman

GAM's boundary has been expanded many times, refer to (Table 13) and (Figure 23). Two official plans were prepared for Amman's planning and growth in large scale development, metropolitan scale, the **Greater Amman Comprehensive Plan 1987-2004** and the **Metropolitan Growth Plan 2008-2025**.

Table 13: Expansion of GAM's boundary

Year	Population	GAM's area (Sq. Km)
1921	2,929	31
1959	246,475	50
1986	870,000	91
1987	937,439	532
2005	2,200,000	680
2025*	6,474,482	1662*
2013**	2,274,190	800

Source: GAM (2008), * planned by MGP, but not implemented, ** Source: Louzi (2016)

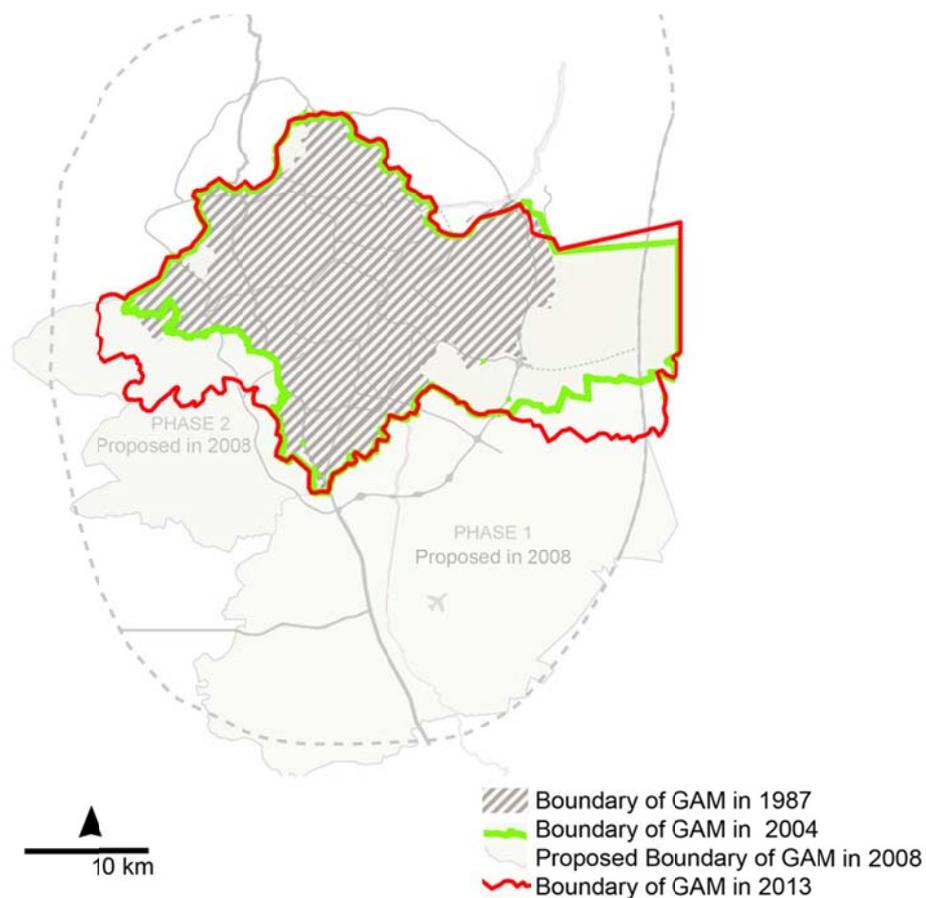


Figure 23: GAM's Boundary

Source: based on maps from GAM (1987), GAM (2008), GAM (2007b) and Louzi (2016)

4.2.1 The 1987 Greater Amman Comprehensive Plan

The 1987 Greater Amman Comprehensive Plan (GACP) presents a ‘Preferred Regional Settlement Pattern’ and a ‘Possible Long-term Regional Pattern’ for Greater Amman on the metropolitan level (Figure 24).

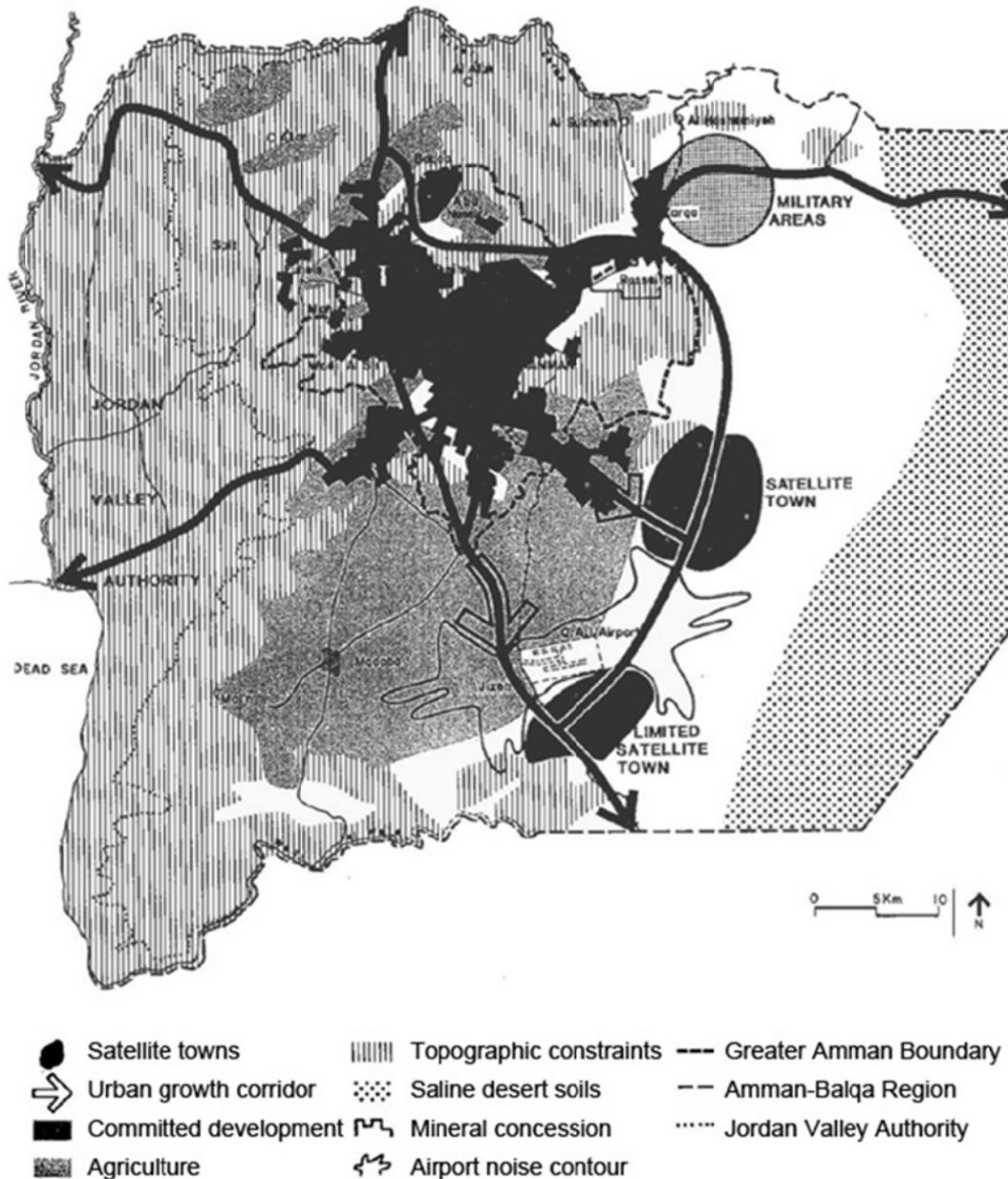


Figure 24: Regional Plan, 1987

GACP provides plans of land use, transportation, and infrastructure guiding and controlling the development of Amman for the years 1985-2005. GACP expected a population increase from 900,000 in 1985 to 2,000,000 people in 2005. GACP proposes new zoning for residential, commercial, institutional and industrial uses (Figure 25). The master plan

proposes a hierarchical development of commercial centers, the Central Business District, commercial corridors, district centers and community and neighborhoods centers. The Central Business District serving the region has the role as a main center of government, commercial corridors and district centers, serving between 100,000 to 250,000 people (GAM, 1987).

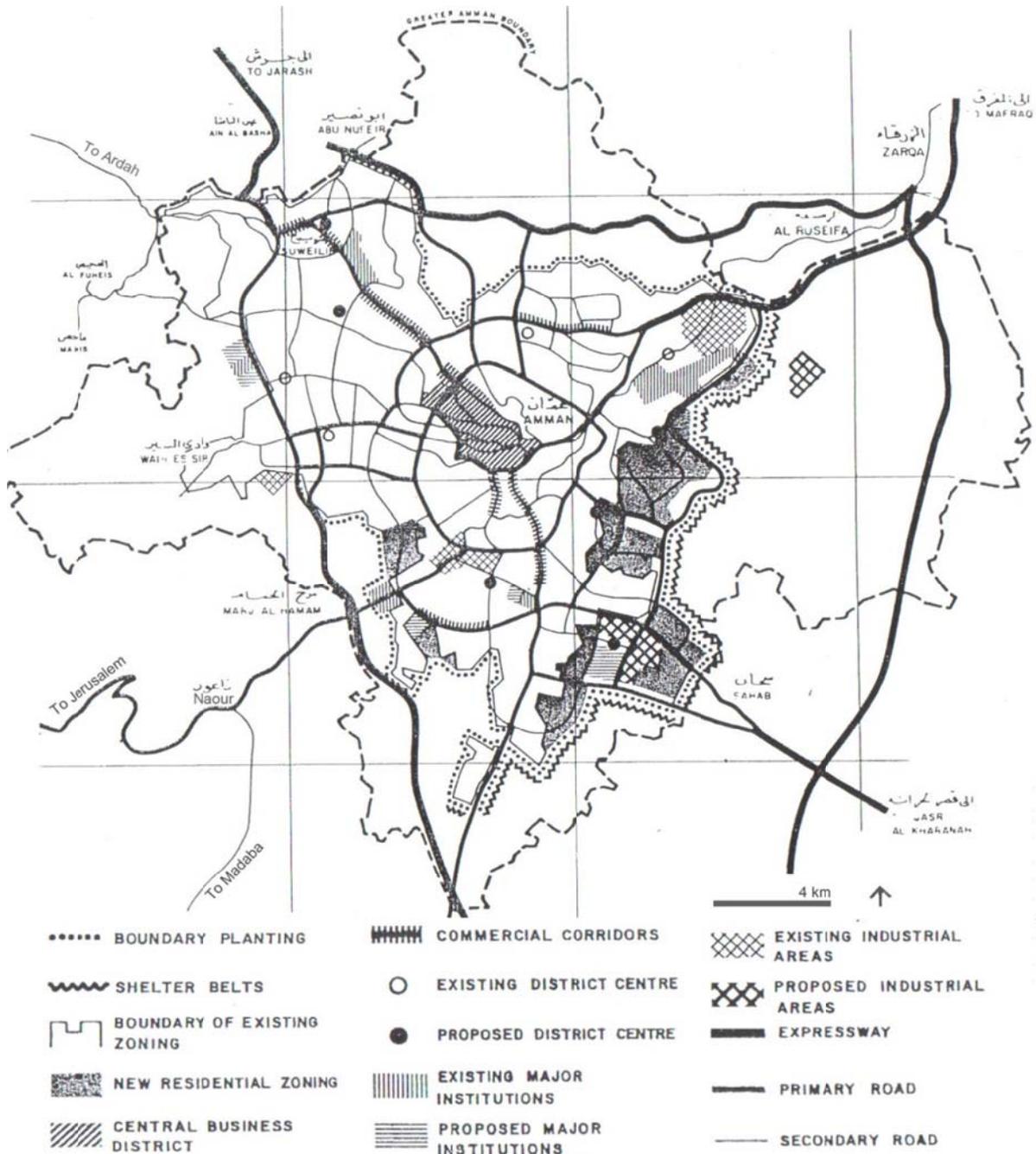


Figure 25: Amman Plan, 1989

GACP justifies the existence of a Central Business District as a result of Amman's rapid expansion, combined with the natural characteristics of the downtown's "dramatic

topography”, and influenced by urban expansion along the highways radiating from the center. The downtown could not accommodate the market demand for new commercial, business and governmental activities. As a result, it was developed to the north-west of the downtown area. Its area covers 1,540 hectare, including Jabal Amman, Jabal El-Weibbdeh, Jabal Hussein, Abdali and East Shmesani (Figure 26).

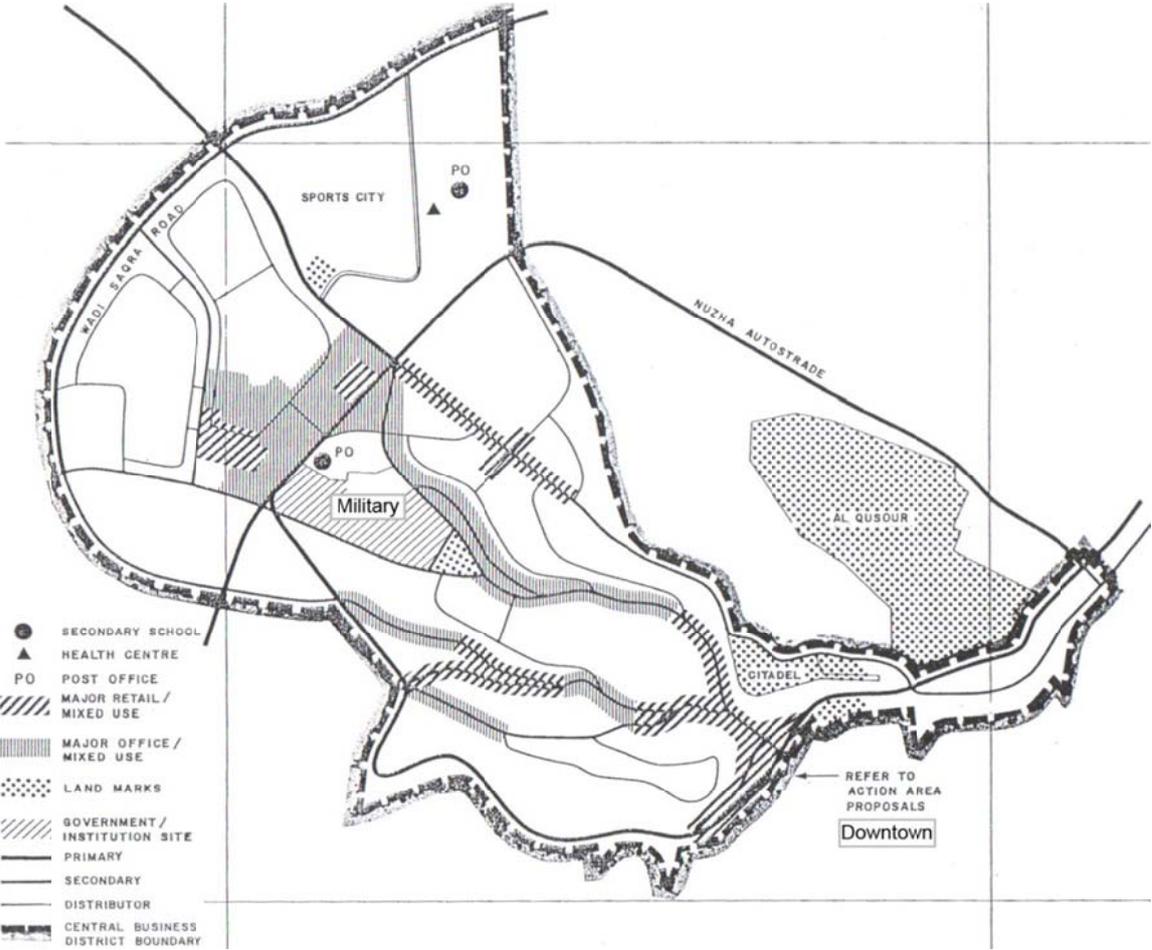


Figure 26: The Amman CBD

The area of greater Amman at that time was divided into seven districts. The commercial development had to be limited in the Central Business District to encourage the distribution of activities and services in the commercial corridors and district centers. The development of government administration and institutions was also directed towards the district centers, to reduce pressure on it. In 1985, employment there was 86,000 jobs, about 40% of employment in Amman, including 60% in commerce, 40% in governmental jobs, and 20% in industrial jobs. The proposed employment to the year 2005 is 120,000 jobs, to be 23% of all employment in Amman. The Central Business District, the “new city center” attracted governmental activities, higher quality shopping, and offices and hotels, while the downtown

continued its role as a traditional center with specialized shopping areas. About 50% of the existing industrial areas in 1985 had not been required until the year 2005. Industrial employment was expected to provide around 35,000 jobs by the year 2005; 38% of that in factories, 7% in warehousing, and 55% in workshops and other small scale industries. Improvements and the development of transportation and infrastructure are proposed in coordination with the projected population and employment distribution. The road network is proposed as a hierarchy network of a complete ring and radial structure.

General comments on GACP

GACP defines key ‘Urban Growth Corridors’ and long-term agricultural lands, and proposes ‘Satellite Towns’. The proposed protection of agricultural lands was never implemented, and urban growth expanded on agricultural land (GAM, 2008). According to Kamal Jalouqa, who was the project manager of GACP, the 1989 Study has not been implemented (Jalouqa, 2016). GACP employed good principles of planning in Amman; including limiting expanding, intensification, preserving agricultural land, and defining a CBD. But encouraging dispersed governmental buildings in the district centers would encourage dispersed development of commercial activities, and thus showed weaknesses of the CBD as a main core of the city.

4.2.2 The Metropolitan Growth Plan (MGP)

The Metropolitan Growth Plan was initiated in June 2006 in response to King Abdullah II’s letter to the Mayor of Amman, to initiate a comprehensive city planning for Amman (GAM, 2007a). The MGP was prepared by GAM under the leadership of a Canadian team⁴. The Amman 2025 is inspired to be “a bustling World City that has been able to blend its rich natural and cultural heritage and its unique cityscape with modern urban development” (GAM, 2008). For achieving this vision, Amman is to be developed as:

- “An Efficient City with modern infrastructure and transportation facilities
- An Inclusive and Multicultural City

⁴ After finalizing MGP, the Amman Institute, a nonprofit institution, was established by GAM to continue providing urban studies.

- A City with Citizen-Centered Governance
- A Destination City for Investment and Visitors
- A City of Heritage and the Arts
- A Green, Sustainable City
- A City for Pedestrians”

Amman is facing many spatial development challenges on a metropolitan scale:

- “Expanding development pattern based on low-density urban sprawl with single-use residential districts, very high land and housing costs, and high levels of automobile ownership and use
- Automobile-dominated transportation system with resulting congestion, air pollution, and marginalization of the pedestrian
- Decreasing level of focus in the urban structure with the decline of the old downtown and the planned development of the Abdali complex, regional shopping malls, and scattered residential projects
- Influx of foreign investment capital triggering a building boom that is not clearly linked to domestic need or demand and that could distort land and housing markets
- Serious shortage of affordable housing that will reach critical proportions when the current regime of rent controls ends in 2011
- Serious condition of water stress that will require the identification of, and access to, new water sources, a huge investment in new infrastructure, and the upgrading or replacement of existing infrastructure
- Growing socio-economic polarization of the City into zones of affluence and poverty
- Underdeveloped system for financing new urban infrastructure and services placing a burden on general governmental revenues that cannot meet the outstanding needs”

Planning for the 2025 Amman includes many policies: the “High-Density Mixed-Use” development that is a policy for tower locations and regulations, the Corridor Intensification Strategy, an Industrial Lands Policy (consolidate scattered industrial areas and linking them with housing and services), an Outlying Settlements Policy responding to the interest of large scale residential development and gated communities in suburbs (4 areas) outside of GAM’s boundary, an Airport Corridor Plan proposes conceptual land use development of five areas, the Metropolitan Growth Plan provides the overall growth framework and structure,

and Area Plans for two areas, the Central Area Plan and the Inner South Area Plan, providing a link between the larger-scale Metropolitan Growth Plan and the more detailed Community Plans, and Planning Initiatives (GAM, 2008).

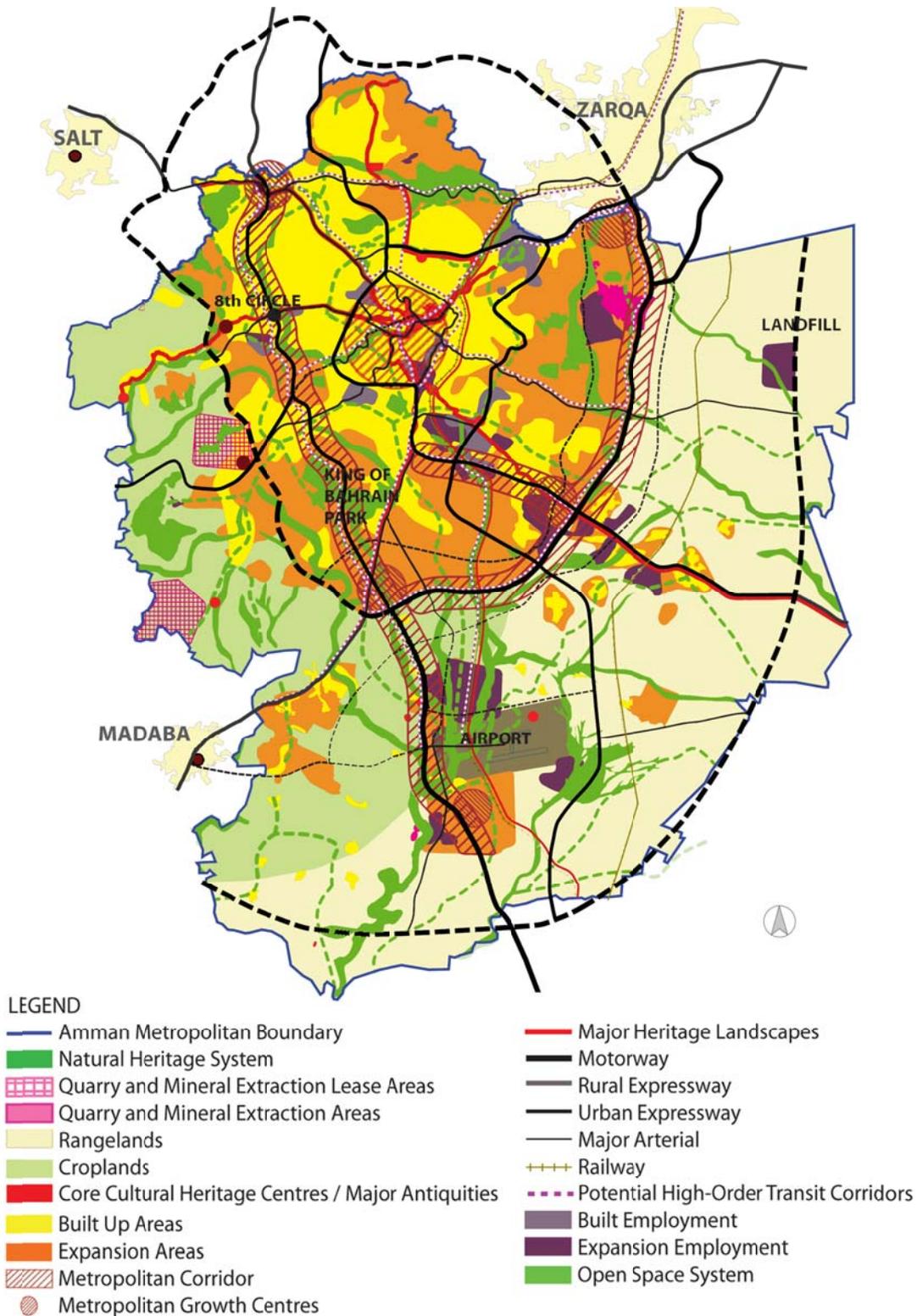


Figure 27: Metropolitan Growth Plan (2005-2025)

Source: GAM (2008) modifications on colors by the Researcher

In 1987, GAM was created, encompassing an area of 532 square kilometers. Subsequent boundary expansions in 2000, 2001, and 2005 increased the total the GAM land area to approximately 680 square kilometers. The MGP expanded the boundary to 1,662 square kilometers. The Metropolitan Growth Plan is a physical planning and policy framework that will guide the growth and development of the Greater Amman Municipality until 2025, where the expected population will be 6.48 million. “The population pyramid will remain expansive with a dominant young population. This population scenario implies a high fertility rate and no significant increase in life expectancy”. GAM’s assumption of population (3,956,163) for the year 2015 is becoming true on the proposed geographic boundary of the MGP; the statistics of 2015 indicate that the population of Amman is 4,007,526. This is not because of high fertility rate and life expectancy, but the political events in the Middle East. The political events and instability in the surrounding countries are main factors of the high growth rate observed in Jordan and in Amman specifically.

The MGP limits development on agricultural areas and encourages the development and densification of existing settlement areas. The MGP proposes three alternative scenarios: settlement intensification, densification, and expansion. Densification allows building additional floors, intensification guides development on vacant land within the existing built-up areas, and expansion manages development beyond existing built-up areas. Up to 40 percent of the land within Amman’s built-up areas is vacant, allowing for a potentially large degree of intensification. The Plan also includes a Phasing Plan to provide guidance for planned capital improvements. The MGP proposes commercial zoning exceeding the demand. Around 1 sqm/population was the existing commercial developed land in 2004, and the Plan proposed commercial zoning of 2 sqm/population, and this number excludes the commercial areas in the Abdali project.

The MGP adopted many planning concepts proposed in the GACP, including restrictions on the zoned residential areas for development until 2005 (most of the areas located in the east), protection of agricultural land, commercial corridors linked to the district centers, compact urban forms, designation of large scale lands for businesses, and open space strategy of parks, forests and recreation areas. The MGP adopted these concepts and proposed focusing development within a concentrated core with emphasis on development to the east, in addition to some areas for settlement expansion outside of the core. Employment centers are proposed in existing settlements. The MGP defines Primary Growth Areas, and Limited and

No Growth Areas (Figure 28). Within the Primary Growth Area, the MGP defines an Urban Envelope - 85 percent of Amman's new growth - that includes the existing core built-up areas and extends to the Amman Development Corridor.

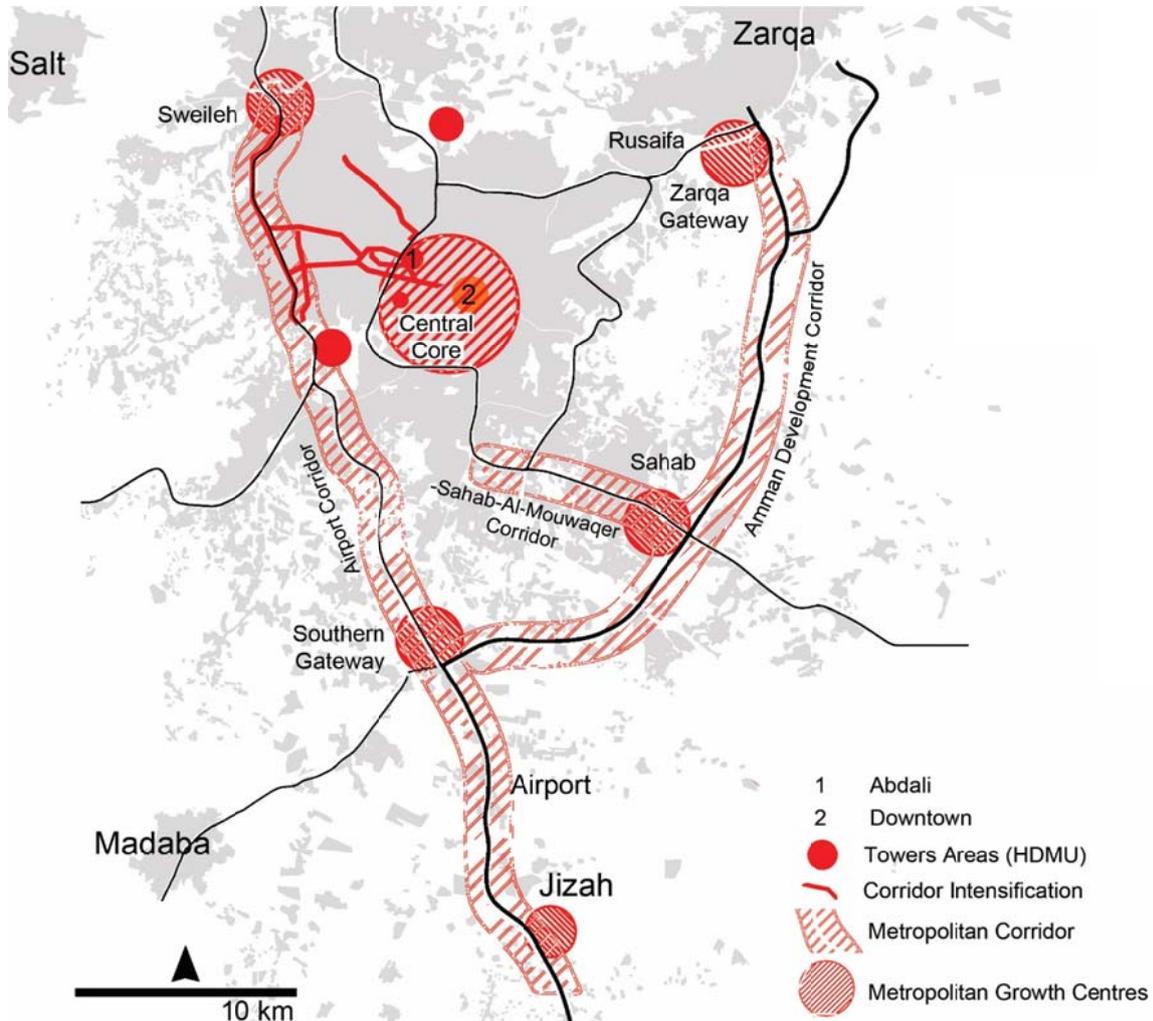


Figure 28: Planned Growth Areas

Source: the Researcher based on GAM (2008)

Primary Growth includes locations of settlement, intensification, expansion, mixed use (Metropolitan Corridors, Metropolitan Growth Centres), open space, and employment areas. Limited and No Growth Areas include Natural Heritage Areas, Cultural Heritage Areas, Agricultural Areas, and Mining and Quarry Areas where development is limited or prohibited. The Metropolitan Corridors are high density mixed-use linear developments with high-order transit service, linking high-density mixed use centers, linking employment areas with residential uses, and supporting transit transport and connect transportation modes with people and goods to manage traffic around Amman. The Metropolitan Growth Centers are

high density mixed use developments, linked to high order transit service, located at main intersections as gateways serving the surrounding areas and attracting employment uses. Developments on these corridors and centers should be designed according to high quality standards with the provision of high quality amenities to attract investors and achieve employment growth. The MGP Employment Plan designates different zones of employment (industrial, commercial, high-tech, ...) and, in proximity to settlement areas, provides opportunities to create jobs, improves connectivity and reduce commuting time, clusters employment areas to enhance competitiveness and reduce infrastructure costs, and encourages developing a “prestige-oriented” employment center to diversify and stabilize the City’s economic base. GAM cannot afford providing the required infrastructure to all the expansion areas, but developers are allowed to establish their projects in areas outside of GAM’s priority, and they are responsible to pay the cost of the needed public services.

“A Modern Planning Regime for Towers” is invented through the planning of Amman. The rationale of High-Density Mixed-Use is: 1) Address a cross-section of urban conditions – inner city (regeneration), periphery (intensification), and outer city (expansion), 2) Close to existing and planned future public transit, balance northern + southern and central development, 3) Build new public green space in conjunction with new towers, and improve access to it, 4) Reduce the impact of new towers on existing stable neighborhoods, and 5) Encourage high quality urban and architectural design. The criteria for the selection of High-Density Mixed-Use areas include: location within the city, suitability for high-density development, access to existing/future transit + roads, access to future greenspace, replicability of what makes Amman Amman, Typical topography, marketability, and opportunity for urban design. For buildings over eight floors (towers), additional fees are enforced, including: the sharing of infrastructure cost, and “Purchase of ‘Community Development Rights’-for higher than 8 stories”, payment for development of additional floors of net leasable floor area is 25% to Amman’s community development fund, and 75% to the land owner (GAM, 2007b).

There is another plan for east Amman that was proposed in “Amman Development Corridor Strategic Master Plan Study”, a study conducted by the Consolidated Consultant and Parsons Brinckerhoff- WSP, funded by the European Investment Bank (Figure 29). The broad objectives of this study are to assist GAM to maximize the advantage of lands in the new Corridor to efficiently attract private sector-led growth and address some key urban

development problems in Amman, including access to land of different uses for moderate prices. The Corridor development objectives are: “To transform the area into a vibrant, attractive, diverse, culturally sensitive, productive and affordable place to live, work and play for a broad cross-section of Amman society--some 2.0 million persons over the next 15-20 years” and to maintain and enhance the contribution of eastern areas to Amman’s economy to achieve the MGP objectives (Consolidated Consultant, 2009).

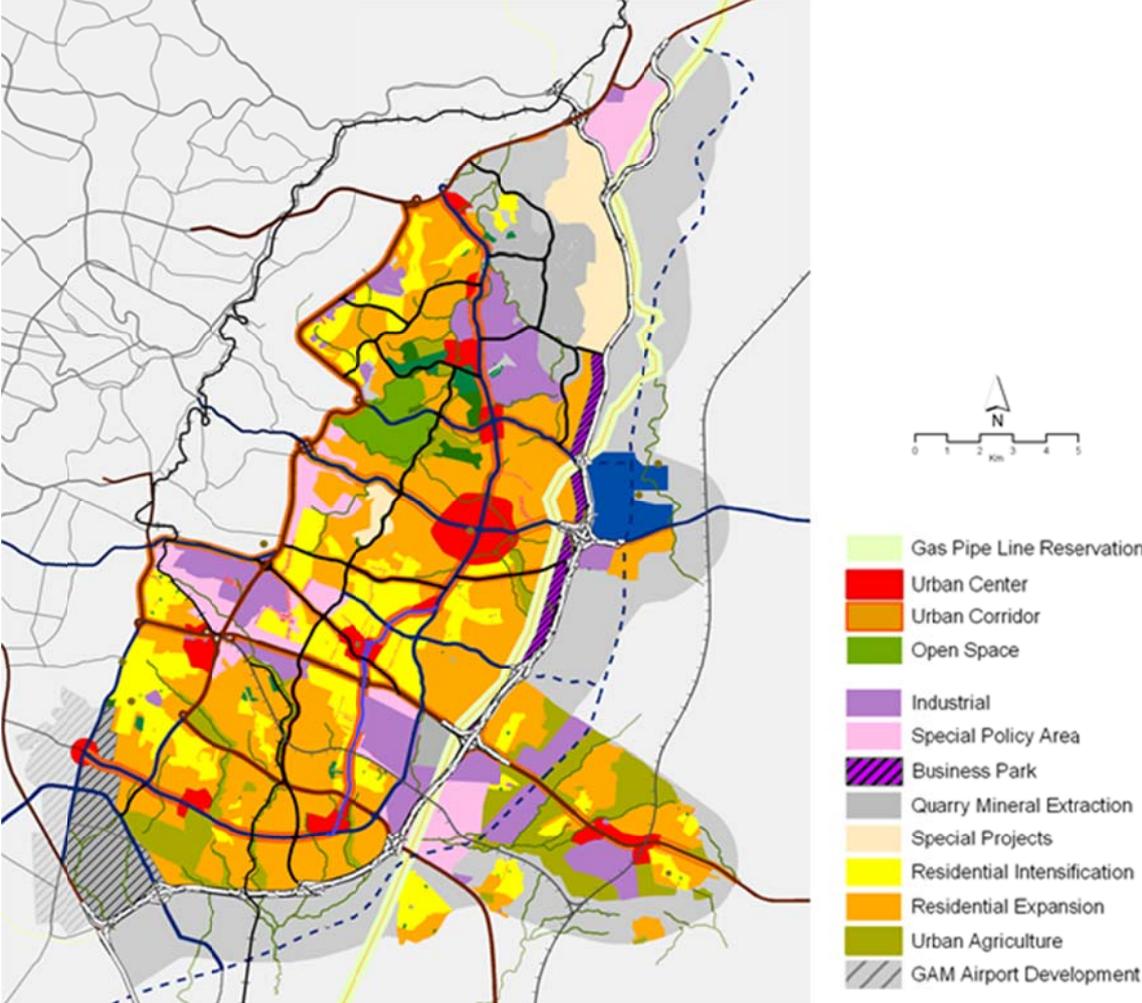


Figure 29: Amman Development Corridor Strategic Master Plan

Source: Consolidated Consultant (2009)

According to Abdel Karim Al Louzi, the Director Manager of Planning in GAM, GAM has not officially adopted the MGP as a plan for 2025 Amman. The prepared plans for future Amman are on hold. GAM has kept its borders to an area of 800km², and did not expand to 1,662 km² as proposed by the MGP. Expanding GAM’s boundary means providing infrastructure and roads, which is not applicable, and the financial situation of GAM is difficult. So GAM is working on preparing detailed land use for specific areas where

priorities are defined. Financial issues and the capacity building of GAM are essential to improve the urban planning services and implementation. The land values in Amman are very high, and people have their dreams to own apartments. Thus GAM intends to guide development at the eastern areas of Amman (Figure 30). There are thoughts to develop a “cars city”, as a center for car trade (exhibitions and garages), a customs clearance center and a modern slaughterhouse in the Amman Development Corridor (Louzi, 2016).

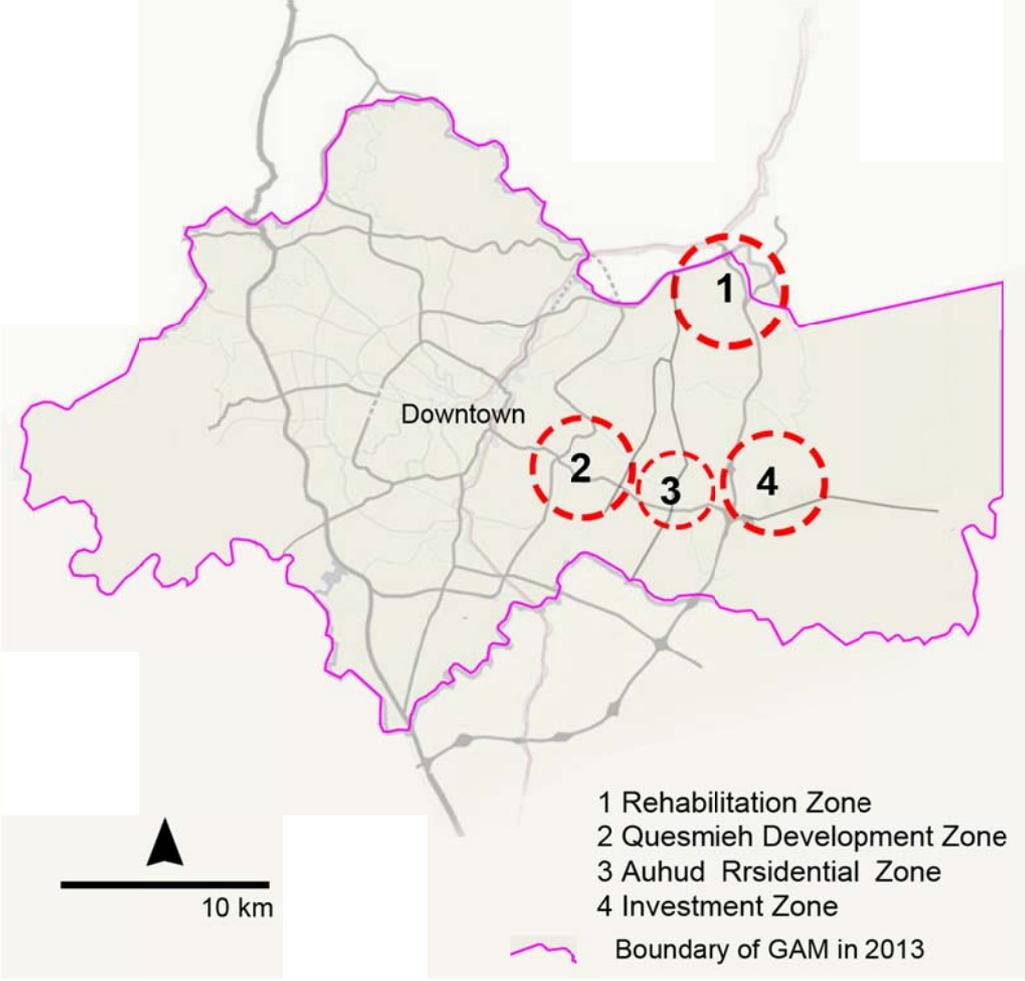


Figure 30: Proposals of conceptual developments in East Amman

Source: redrawn based on maps presented by Louzi (2016)

4.2.3 Experiences of Urban Regeneration

This section is an overview of different experiences of urban regeneration in Jordan and Amman and includes: the tourism project (revitalization of the historic core of cities in

Jordan), camps urban regeneration, and projects of the Rainbow Street, the Othman Bdier house and the Ashrafiyeh Regeneration Project.

4.2.3.1 The Tourism Projects

The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) and the World Bank launched the Third Tourism Development Project; “Secondary Cities Revitalization Study” for four cities in Jordan: Salt, Madaba, Jerash and Karak. The study defines the same objective, vision and concept for the four cities. The broad development objective is to “improve local economy and social cohesion by creating conditions for a process of sustainable revitalization of the historic core and tourism development. The project objective will be achieved through assisting the municipality to rehabilitate the historic core and to improve the capacity to manage and maintain the public and heritage assets”. The study considers that the historic cores have a challenge to recover their urban centrality and to revive social and economic aspects. Social cohesion is inspired by creating a common shared space for all people, in addition to preserving the cultural heritage that have symbolic and economic roles. Reviving the historic core and increasing tourism activities would contribute to economic benefits. Improving the “socio-urban fabric” and environment is to develop a “high quality urban park” (MoTA, 2005).

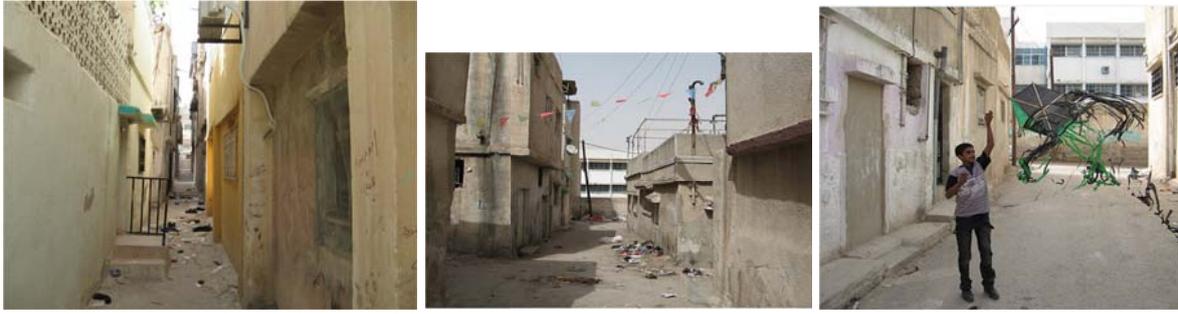
The vision would be achieved by focusing on three components: historic core regulation, physical actions, and capacity building. The revitalization strategy for the four cities proposes upgrading the city core street network. For Salt, the strategy also is to create a new central urban space with commercial activity. For Madaba, the strategy consists of creating a new heritage center at the Saraya building, re-designing the existing bus station, and developing leisure parks and handicraft facilities. For Karak, the strategy includes developing a new “heritage trail” along the eastern side of Karak, improving the bus station, and developing public spaces, hotels and commercial services. For Jerash, the strategy aims to restore the landscape of the Wadi area, developing the East Baths Node, and reusing the ex-market place for a new parking structure (MoTA, 2005). The implemented projects as shown on the official web site of MoTA are as follows:

- Development and rehabilitation of Jerash Visitor Center
- Rehabilitation of Jerash Handicrafts Village
- Completion of the rehabilitation of the tourist trail of Al-Kader Street in Salt

- Rehabilitation and operation of the Aziz Jasir house in Salt (Pilot model)
- Prepare management plan for the Aziz Jasir house in Salt
- Operation of heritage buildings in Salt
- Provision of facilities and services for the operation of the Royal Park in Jerash
- Support a number of associations to furnish and operate the ground floor of Saraya building in Madaba.
- Rehabilitation and maintenance of the Madaba Visitor Center
- Developing the tourist street in the center of Al-Karak city
- Implementation awareness and promotion campaign for the Third Tourism Project
- Desktop virtualization with upgrading for programs and operating systems

4.2.3.2 Regeneration of Camps

Jordan has been a host country for refugees for a long time. Jordan has witnessed an influx of Palestinian refugees after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 and 1967, and the Syrian refugees since the crisis of 2011. Ten official Palestinian camps that are recognized in Jordan are: Amman New Camp (Wihdat), Baqa'a Camp, Husn Camp, Irbid Camp, Jabal el-Hussein Camp, Jerash Camp, Marka Camp, Souf Camp, Talbieh Camp, Zarqa Camp. The UNRWA provides primary and vocational education, primary health care, relief and social services, infrastructure and camp improvement, microfinance and emergency response, including in situations of armed conflict, but UNRWA does not administer or police the camps. The registered Palestine refugees amount to around 2,117,361, with about 370,000 refugees living in camps. UNRWA's implemented projects include: 174 schools, with 118,546 pupils, one faculty of science and educational arts, two vocational and technical training centers, 23 primary health centers, ten community rehabilitation centers, and 14 women's program centers. The UNRWA microfinance department provides financial services supporting poor people, financial services to households, entrepreneurs and small-business owners. In general the camps are facing many challenges: poverty and unemployment, overcrowdedness, lack of green areas and open play spaces, many shelters are in bad conditions that require repair and rehabilitation (UNRWA, 2015). According to Maram Tawil, upgrading the refugee camps should aim to increase people's participation with other stakeholders in the development process where cooperation would make strategies more realistic and create implementable action plans (Tawil, 2006).



Wehdat Camp, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/einkarem1948/sets/72157620424917444/>, retrieved in December, 10, 2016

Since 2011, after the Syrian crisis, about 1.4 million Syrians came to Jordan. About 646,700 people are refugees and most of them (85%) settled outside camps in poorest areas. The camps are in bad condition and require many services. The UNHCR provides support of main services of health, shelter and protection (UNDP, 2014). Many Syrian camps have been established in Jordan, with two camps in Irbid governorate; King Abdallah Park and Cyber City, two camps in Zarqa governorate; Murajeeb al-Fohood and Azraq camp, and one camp in Mafraq governorate; Zaatari (UNHCR, 2015).



Source: <http://www.amusingplanet.com/2015/06/zaatari-refugee-camp-city-of-its-own.html>, retrieved in December, 10, 2016

4.2.3.3 The Rainbow Street

The Rainbow Street is located at Jabal Amman, an old neighborhood. The Project's objectives are “to create more public spaces that are more pedestrian friendly in the area while enhancing, protecting, and conserving Amman's distinctive urban heritage present in the area”. The project seeks to achieve social mixing and inclusive public spaces in an attempt to counter the recent neoliberal transformation development in Amman. The project was designed based on developing 8 urban nodes along the 1.5 km street while each node has a distinctive character responding to its existing qualities. The design aims to enhance the sense of place using few interventions and enhancing the streetscape through providing

urban furniture, panoramic outlook, urban decks and cultural landscapes. The project set out urban design guidelines to assure preservation of the historic urban character (Turath, 2012). The first circle area including the Rainbow Street has witnessed decline since the 1970s until the mid-1990s, as a result of moving the affluent residents to the newer, outlying neighborhoods. GAM's interventions in the Rainbow Street, officially known as Abu Bakr al-Siddiq Street, has improved the physical situation of the street and unified the shop signs (Al-Asad, 2008).

Ali Abu Ghanima, an architecture professional, considers that GAM's interventions in the Rainbow Street have had a bad impact on the "humanity of Amman" that transformed the street into a commercial-oriented space. He continues residents would leave the place to go to more quiet areas, and their houses would be sold for restaurants, cafes and other commercial activities. On the contrary, Bashar Haddaden, the manager of special projects department in GAM, believes the interventions have contributed to the revitalization of the area (Sijill, 2010). Interviewing both investors and residents of the Rainbow Street clarifies that the residents are not pleased with the changes that occurred there. Many problems had a negative impact on the residents' life including parking, traffic, congestion and noise. Some investors are concerned about the attitude of people who bring their coffee and shisha and sit on the walkways flirting with girls, thus, many shops failed to do business and closed. In the end, urban regeneration of the Rainbow Street has attracted neoliberals to the historic neighborhood and transformed it into a place of doing businesses. The Street has succeeded in becoming a touristic attraction in the old Amman, and physical conditions have been improved.



Photos of cafes, restaurants, and many cultural activities at the Rainbow Street

4.2.3.4 Adaptive Reuse of the Othman Bdier House

A recent urban regeneration intervention is adaptive reuse of an old building aged to 1934 in the core of Amman. The School of Architecture and Built Environment of the German-

Jordanian University was located in the Othman Bdeir House, which aims to conserve Jordan's heritage through the restoration of one of the oldest sites in Amman, Al Abdaleya Basic School for Boys. The house is donated by Othman Bdeir, chairman of the GJU board of trustees. Natheer Abu Obeid, the president of GJU, mentions the contribution of the project towards revitalizing the area and the benefits for the local community and the surrounding area including the market of Jabal Amman. The project context also enriches the students' experience and inspiration (Jordan Times, 2014). The impact of the project to the surrounding areas can be traced by the increasing commercial activities started to exist; many buildings were renovated and reused to provide services required by the new school.



4.2.3.5 Ashrafiyeh Regeneration Project

This project is located in Jabal Ashrafiyeh, an old neighborhood south of the Downtown. The project is in front of the Abu Darwish Mosqu, one of the oldest mosques in Amman. The project objective is “to create a welcoming and lively urban square with a variety of functions. The square will become a place where people can stroll or linger and enjoy the wonderful vista of old Amman” (GAM, 2008). The project aims to provide development community services and public spaces. The components of the project are: a plaza, cultural center, library, and commercial store (GAM, 2009a). The project was completed in 2009. During a site visit to the Darwish Mosque Plaza, I met many people who all have the same feedback of the plaza impact on the area and the community: The area was previously - before GAM's intervention - better. The area was active, where retail and the service cars created a vital node. The plaza, although it is physically improved, becomes a meeting area for drugs and fights, thus people avoid being at the plaza, even one of the residents closed his house entrance on the plaza side. For two months, the police took many measures to prevent these activities, but they proved useless. The mosque was a tourist attraction, but

now tourists are not targeting the area. The commercial stores are vacant, many tenants pulled out when they saw the troubles generated in the area.



Abu Darwish area before the intervention, Newman & Matan (2016)



Abu Darwish urban plaza after the intervention



Photos show deserted stores

4.3 Economic Development and the impact of urban planning

After the Gulf war, the economy of Amman was triggered by refugees of significant financial sources and investors from the Gulf, especially in the construction sector. The stable social and political environment has attracted investment. Most investment in Jordan was in Amman, the economic driver of the country (GAM, 2008). The political stability of Jordan in the Middle East has attracted Gulf, Palestinian, Iraqi and Lebanese expatriates and investments. Unlike neighboring GCC countries, the core of Jordan's economic activities depends on less energy intensive industries such as real estate and tourism (Jordan Economic and Commerce Bureau, 2008). "Jordan has had to rely on its young, skilled workforce and free trade agreements to boost its GDP. The country invests highly in the empowerment and education of its workforce" (Global Business Worldwide, 2006). Remittance inflows composed around 11 percent of GDP in Jordan during 2011-2014. Most of these remittances came from GCC countries (World Bank, 2016c). Since 1985, the involvement of the private sector in the economic development and entrepreneurship of businessmen and investors have increased, and the government moved towards privatization to encourage the private sector to have leading role in different services including health and education (Exchange, 2009). Jordan economic policies were developed to encourage investment and free market economy to wealth and prosperity business and investment since the 1990s. In 1995, establishing the Investment Promotion Law that considers foreign investment would have many benefits to the Jordanian economy. The law has provided generous incentives such as freedom from customs duties, tax holidays, income tax exemptions and unrestricted transfer of capital and profits. The Investment Promotion Law No. 16 of 1995 considers foreign investment would have many benefits to the Jordanian economy (Jordanian e-Government, 2006).

Regulatory frameworks are considered important to motivate the role of the private sector, so Jordan has recognized establishing business-friendly structures with a strong emphasis on supporting entrepreneurial initiatives. King Abdullah has defined national goals to include increasing foreign and domestic direct investments. Jordan's economy depends on many qualities to encourage investment such as: a unique and strategic location in relation to Europe, Asia and Africa, stable political environment, free market oriented economy, incentives and exemptions to encourage investment, access to major international markets, free zones and industrial estates, qualified and competitive human resources, world class infrastructure and communications, attractive investment climate, and high quality of life.

Jordan has established the National Privatization Strategy to redefine the role of government by reducing the production role and focusing on organization, administration, control and provision of healthcare, education and social services. The policy seeks to encourage the private sector and attract investors to create jobs and stimulate economic activities and production. Many objectives of privatization in Jordan aim to increase the efficiency, productivity and competitiveness of economic enterprises, enhance the investment environments to attract foreign investment, stimulate private savings on long-term investments to strengthen the local capital market and the national economy, alleviate the debt burden of the Treasury by funding unprofitable enterprises, and manage economic enterprises using advanced technology to support enterprises to create stable markets and to compete with international markets (Jordanian e-Government, 2006).

The Jordan's Economic Developments in 2014, a report prepared by the Center Bank of Jordan (CBJ), considers that the Jordanian economy achieved improvement in national economy growth and reduction of inflation and unemployment, although of political instability in the region such as the continued interruption of Egyptian natural gas supplies, and the increased number of Syrian refugees. These achievements occurred despite the challenges of structural imbalances in the labor market and the competition of a large number of low-paid Syrian workers who occupied a lot of the newly created jobs in the economy (CBJ, 2015). However, the next report of the year 2015 shows a drop of most economic indicators, especially the external sector indicators, showing less domestic exports and declining of travel receipts and foreign direct investment (FDI) flows. The report clarifies that the political instability in Iraq and Syria that are bordering countries affected economic development in Jordan. The economic growth was 3.1 percent in 2014, and dropped to 2.4 percent in 2015. The consumer price index has a deflation rate of 0.9 percent, because of the falling of food and energy prices. The 2015 economic indicators show also increasing of the budget deficit (including grants) a further 1.2 percent from the previous year (CBJ, 2016). More details are shown in Table 14. The Syria and Iraq crises are affecting Jordan's economy with unprecedented refugee influx, disrupted trade routes, and lower investments and tourism inflows; other major challenges include high unemployment, a dependency on grants and remittances from Gulf economies and continued pressure on natural resources (World Bank, 2016a).

Table 14: Main Economic Indicators 2011- 2015, JD Million

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Population (In Million)	6,993	7,427	8,114	8,804	9,532
Unemployment Rate (%)	12.9	12.2	12.6	11.9	13.0
Output and Prices					
Gross National Product (GNP) at Current Market Prices	20,289	21,690	23,611	25,141	26,289
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at Current Market Prices	20,477	21,965	23,851	25,437	26,637
Growth Rate of GDP at Constant Market Prices (%)	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.1	2.4
Gross National Disposable Income (GNDI) at Current Prices	23,743	24,774	28,424	30,302	30,234
Growth Rate of GNDI at Constant Market Prices (%)	4.7	-0.2	8.6	3.1	-2.4
Change in the Consumer Price Index (%)	4.2	4.5	4.8	2.9	-0.9
Change in GDP Deflator (%)	6.4	4.5	5.6	3.4	2.3
Money and Banking					
JD Exchange Rate against USD	1.410	1.410	1.410	1.410	1.410
Money Supply (M2)	24,118.9	24,945	27,363	29,240	31,605
Net Foreign Assets of the Banking System	9,370	6,665	6,923	7,932	8,137
Net Domestic Assets of the Banking System	14,749	18,280	20,440	21,308	23,468
Claims on Government (Net)	6,701	9,461	10,495	10,474	11,386
Claims on Private Sector (Resident)	14,925	15,953	17,222	17,853	18,704
Other Items (Net) (1)	-6,877	-7,135	-7,277	-7,018	-6,623
JD Deposits at Banks	19,119	17,711	21,003	24,013	26,014
Foreign Currency (F.C.) Deposits at Banks	5,259	7,259	6,590	6,248	6,584
Re-discount Rate (%)	4.50	5.00	4.50	4.25	3.75
Interest Rate on 6-Month Treasury Bills (%)	3.232	3.788	-	-	-
Public Finance					
Total Revenues and Grants	5,414	5,054	5,759	7,268	6,796
Percent of GDP (%)	26.4	23.0	24.1	28.6	25.5
Total Expenditures	6,797	6,878	7,077	7,851	7,723
Percent of GDP (%)	33.2	31.3	29.7	30.9	29.0
Overall Deficit/ Surplus (on a commitment basis)	-1,383	-1,824	-1,318	-584	-927
Percent of GDP (%)	-6.8	-8.3	-5.5	-2.3	-3.5
Net Outstanding Domestic Public Debt	8,915	11,648	11,863	12,525	13,457
Percent of GDP (%)	43.5	53.0	49.7	49.2	50.5
Outstanding External Public Debt (2)	4,487	4,932	7,235	8,030	9,390
Percent of GDP (%)	21.9	22.5	30.3	31.6	35.3
External Trade and Balance of Payments					
Current Account	-2,099	-3,345	-2,488	-1,852	-2,366
Percent of GDP (%)	-10.2	-15.2	-10.4	-7.3	-8.9
Trade Balance	-6,262	-7,487	-8,270	-8,496	-7,249
Percent of GDP (%)	-30.6	-34.1	-34.7	-33.4	-27.2
Merchandise Exports (FOB)	5,685	5,600	5,618	5,954	5,558
Merchandise Imports (FOB) (3)	11,946	13,086	13,888	14,449	12,808
Services Account (Net)	896	1,332	1,209	1,779	1,286
Income Account (Net)	-188	-276	-240	-296	-348
Current Transfers (Net)	3,455	3,085	4,813	5,161	3,945
Capital and Financial Account (Net) , (o/w)	2,299	3,809	1,811	909	1,594
Foreign Direct Investment in Jordan (Net)	1,055	1,074	1,281	1,427	905

(1): Include claims on public entities, claims on financial institutions, and other items (net) as shown in the Monetary Survey Table. (2): Figures represent disbursed loans minus repayments, (3): Excluding imports of non-residents.

Source: Monthly Statistical Bulletin / Central Bank of Jordan, as cited in CBJ (2016)

The following chart displays the growth of the GDP per capita in Jordan 1965-2015:

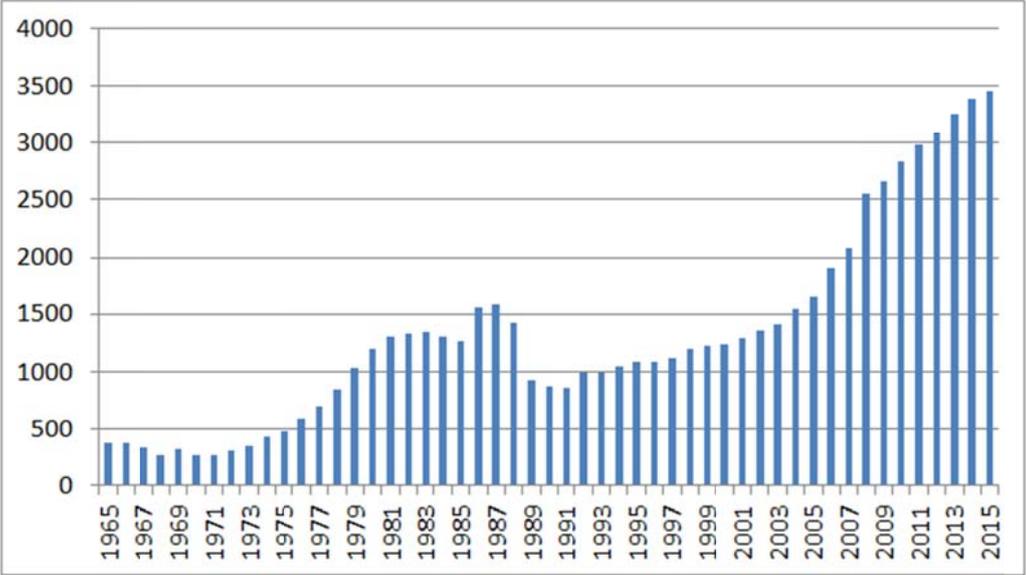


Figure 31: Jordan GDP (JD) per Capita
 Source: based on World Bank (2016b)

In Jordan, finance, real estate and business services contribute to the highest value for the GDP of 23%. The primary sectors of manufacturing, agriculture, and mining contribute 20% to the total GDP (Figure 32 & 33).

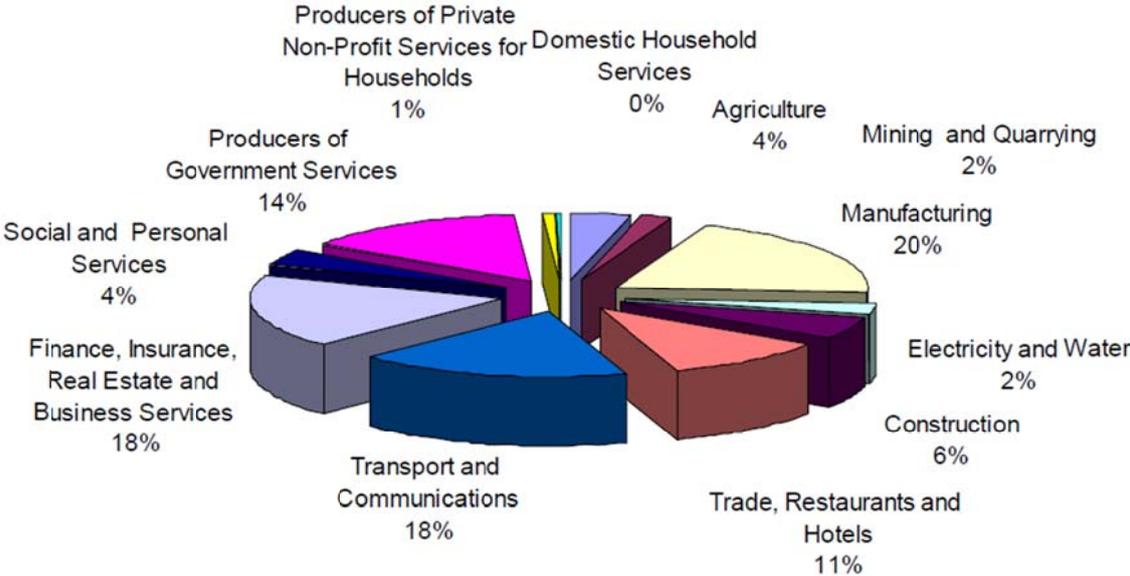


Figure 32: Contribution of economic sectors to GDP in 2006
 Source: GAM (2008)

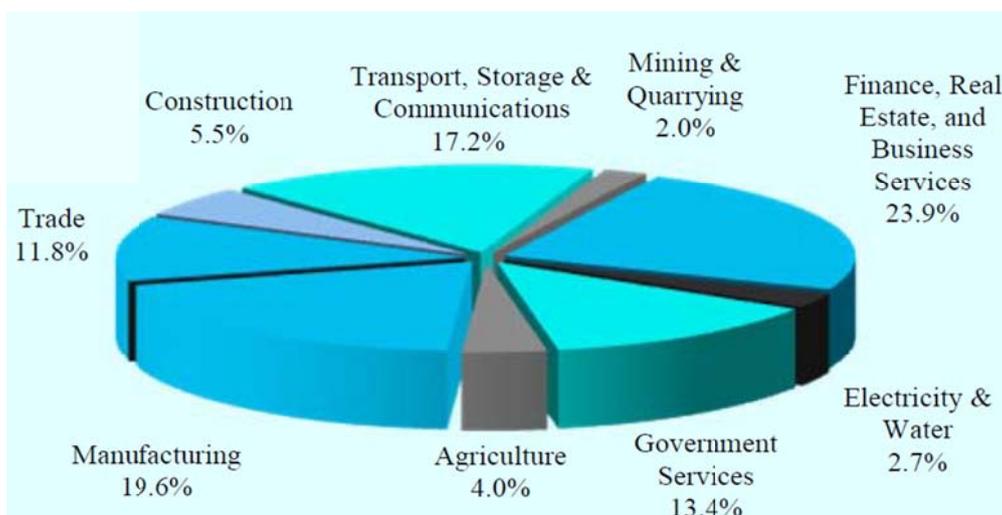


Figure 33: Contribution of economic sectors to GDP in 2014

Source: Central Bank of Jordan (2016)

In 1985, most employment was in public administration, defense and social security (33%), wholesale and retail trade 28.3%, transport, storage and communications 7.3%, manufacturing 9.6%, construction 19.6%, agriculture, forestry and fishing 0.26%, and mining and quarrying 0.07% (GAM, 1987). The employment of 2015 shows an increase of workers in administrative jobs where public administration, education, defense and social security composes 45%, wholesale and retail trade 15.3%, transport, storage and communications 9.3%, manufacturing 10%, construction 6%, agriculture, forestry and fishing 1.7%, mining and quarrying 0.8% (CBJ, 2015). Amman as the capital of Jordan, functions as an administrative city.

Table 15: Sector Employment of Amman and Jordan-2008

Sector	Amman	Jordan	% within Amman
Resources and agriculture	10,481	55,955	2%
manufacturing	130,640	274,999	27%
Office and institutions (education, government, and other services)	198,994	524,279	41%
Retail and commercial	91,736	165,185	19%
Construction	49,839	102,631	10%
Total	481,690	1,123,049	100%

Source: GAM (2008)

Amman attracts over 90% of new investment activity in Jordan (GAM, 2008). Amman constituted the highest ratio of construction activity among other cities in Jordan, refer to Table 16 (CBJ, 2016).

Table 16: Construction Permits in Jordan

City	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Amman	54.2%	60.8%	59.0%	53.0%	51.4%	49%
Irbid	15.1%	12.3%	15.0%	17.9%	19.0%	20.2%
Zarqa	6.9%	7.2%	7.0%	8.0%	8.3%	8.4%
Other	23.8%	19.7%	19.0%	21.1%	21.3%	22.4%

Based on Central Bank of Jordan (2016) and (2015)

Amman has many challenges to overcome unemployment. Official documents show unemployment at 13% (Statistics, 2016). Other references state that unemployment in Jordan is the highest rate in the region, composed of around 30% of young people of working age that are unemployed (Miguel, 2014). The cost of living index ranks Amman 29 among the most expensive cities worldwide, and the most expensive Arab city (Economist-Team, 2016). In Amman, the average family earnings was JD 576 per month in 2008. As the international standards indicate that housing should not exceed 30 percent of income, the rest of JD 173 per month would be the family expenditure on different living services (GAM, 2008). In 2014, the average wage was 472 JD for males and 437 JD for females (Department of Statistics of Jordan, 2016).

4.4 The Real Estate Market

Inflow of liquidity and investments to Jordan have cause the real estate sector to flourish, thus increasing the construction activity of different uses; residential, commercial and touristic projects, in addition to trades by locals and foreign investors. This has an impact on the rabid increase of prices of land and property (ABC-Investments, 2009).

4.4.1 Retail

Deciding the needs for office and commercial spaces is based on population forecasts in the trade areas of the centers, and economic forecasts in the office sectors of the economy. Increasing the population to a ratio means a similar ratio of spaces is required for commercial spaces. Other indicators are “purchasing power (a combination of population, household income, and expenditure patterns), projected growth in the number of business establishments, and daytime population projections for the central business district and major centers” (Kaiser, Godschalk & Stuart, 1995). Another method to determine the required spaces is the shopping center square footage per capita; “the size of the primary trade⁵ area will also depend on population and household density and the extent to which the center offers a unique shopping experience”. Distance and travel time define a boundary of a trade area, in addition to population density, customer convenience, accessibility, and the diversity of merchandise are considered. Competition from similar centers that offer the same mix of stores is also a factor (Brett & Schmitz, 2009).

“A shopping center cannot generate purchasing power; it can only attract customers away from existing stores within or beyond the trade area, fulfill a need that has not been met within the market area, or capture the increase in potential expenditures that results from population, household, employment, or income growth” (Ratcliffe, Stubbs & Shepherd, 2002).

New retail stores can have an influence on redistributing business locations and consumer patronage, but they cannot create new consumers. “Market growth is influenced by the per capita expenditure. A trade area is the geographic sector for which the sustaining patronage

⁵ “A primary trade area from which more than half the patronage and sales will be drawn and a secondary trade area that might account for another 20 to 30 percent” (Brett & Schmitz (2009).

for steady support of a shopping centre is obtained. Also known as the catchment area or hinterland". The boundaries of a trade area are determined by various factors, including "the size and nature of the site itself, as well as character of the surrounding locality; present and proposed accessibility to the site; any physical or artificial barriers limiting the site, the location of competing facilities, and the limitations of travel time and distance" (Ratcliffe & Stubbs & Shepherd, 2002).

In Jordan a boom in the real estate industry has affected all sectors including retail. In addition to the traditional small retail stores along the major roads, malls have become a popular retail option in Amman since the 1990s. This phenomenon is a result of many factors, as the inflow of liquidity from the Gulf has attracted regional and international franchises and increased tourism, in addition to other factors promoting malls as "convenience, controlled environment, and increased consumer awareness". Still, street stores are popular in Jordan, but the trend of shopping malls emerging was triggered by increased large real estate groups. Also mixed-use projects have emerged as a preferred investment choice. Most of malls are located in west Amman. Historically, demand for retail real estate is driven by income per capita, tourism, and FDI. The positive impact of the increasing income per capita, and thus the consumer expenditure levels, has been reduced with the global financial crisis. Tourism especially from Arab countries has an influence on the retail sector. In 2008, investment in retail was high; the IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook indicates Jordan's strength with a ratio of the direct investment flow inward to GDP, Jordan was ranked second among the 55 countries recording 22.82% in 2008, compared with 14.07% in 2007. "Jordan ranked sixth among the countries in terms of direct investment stocks inward ratio to GDP in 2008". After that, the global financial crisis and the drop of liquidity affected the market demand and supply, and many proposed that large scale projects were postponed or cancelled (Amman Institute, 2009a).

Another issue that could have impact on the retail real estate in Jordan is the increasing use of e-commerce and online shopping. According to Basel El Tell, a Master Card Market Manager–Levant, e-commerce in Jordan was \$200 million in 2014, increasing 30 per cent compared to 2013 (Ghazal, 2015). In 2015, the e-commerce index of Jordan is 30%. The index ranks Jordan at the 95 out of 130 countries, and the 8th rank among Arab countries (UNCTAD, 2015).

In Amman, the highest concentration of commercial spaces is located in Tlaa al-Ali, Wadi al-Seir, and al-Abdali. Most the major projects (over 5,000 sqm) are located in Tlaa al-Ali districts, followed by Wadi al-Seir and Sweileh where lower land prices for zoned offices land have played a main role in that. The analysis of the retail area under development for new licenses, the key trends indicate that most new commercial real estate development is taking place in Naour, Wadi al-Seir and Zahran, and most of them are mixed use such as residential, hotels and offices. There are two key groups in the major retail market projects: Large Commercial Groups owning a series of retail stores under franchise names, and Real Estate Groups that build a series of malls and rent out space to independent retailers. Most malls were developed in west Amman, where residents with higher purchasing power are there (Amman Institute, 2009a). As shown in Table 17, Marka, Khreibt al-Souq and Muqablin have high concentration of commercial spaces where warehouses, services and maintenance stores compose a high ratio of the total area.

Table 17: Total Built-up Commercial Space per District in sqm

	1987	1994	2004	2009	2016	2016
Population	937,439	1,382,426	1,896,426	2,315,600	4,019,100	
District						%
Medina (old downtown)	20,431	31,938	44,960	68,169	118,281	1.33%
Basman	69,421	89,293	132,582	169,740	250,668	2.82%
Marka	100,474	183,824	322,905	409,581	606,389	6.83%
Naser	27,783	39,063	63,590	90,058	144,255	1.62%
Yarmouk	62,573	84,584	122,288	139,896	176,456	1.99%
Ras Ain	48,890	73,881	112,289	140,362	215,285	2.42%
Bader	50,658	101,288	183,627	246,401	362,514	4.08%
Zahran	79,324	113,810	240,174	307,785	467,069	5.26%
Abdali	127,187	206,584	478,398	694,124	924,345	10.41%
Tareq	8,197	22,667	73,209	125,534	235,123	2.65%
Al-Quweismeh	43,244	87,662	218,784	356,976	668,005	7.52%
Khreibt al-Souq	1,557	1,995	38,398	182,252	439,624	4.95%
Muqablin	66,609	102,751	170,664	297,310	479,933	5.41%
Wadi al-Seir	115,612	225,789	498,965	745,916	1,228,585	13.84%
Badr al-Jadeedah	948	948	1,310	1,707	2,482	0.03%
Sweileh	33,246	56,949	102,223	174,065	281,390	3.17%
Tlaa al-Ali, Umm Summaq and Khaldaa	22,303	110,504	409,013	692,471	1,238,245	13.95%
Al-Jubeiha	38,146	75,257	151,857	209,260	324,104	3.65%
Shafa Badran	327	1,843	6,936	14,423	45,599	0.51%
Abu Nseir	35	2,594	15,568	35,272	79,519	0.90%

Uhod	7,979	8,022	8,318	10,332	30,163	0.34%
Al Jeeza*	7,979	8,022	8,318	10,332	30,163	0.34%
Sahab*	125	125	357	100,822	129,380	1.46%
Muwaqqar*	0	1,425	89,615	168,442	205,735	2.32%
Marj Hmam	1,386	2,008	18,005	70,755	157,598	1.78%
Naour*	0	1,196	16,860	18,818	26,589	0.30%
Husban & Um al-Basateen*	215					
		315	2,684	10,257	11,239	0.13%
Total area	934,649	1,634,337	3,531,897	5,491,060	8,878,738	100.00%
Sqm/population	1.00	1.18	1.86	2.37	2.21	

Source: the Researcher based on information from GAM, 2016

*: districts in Governorate Amman, but not included in GAM's boundary

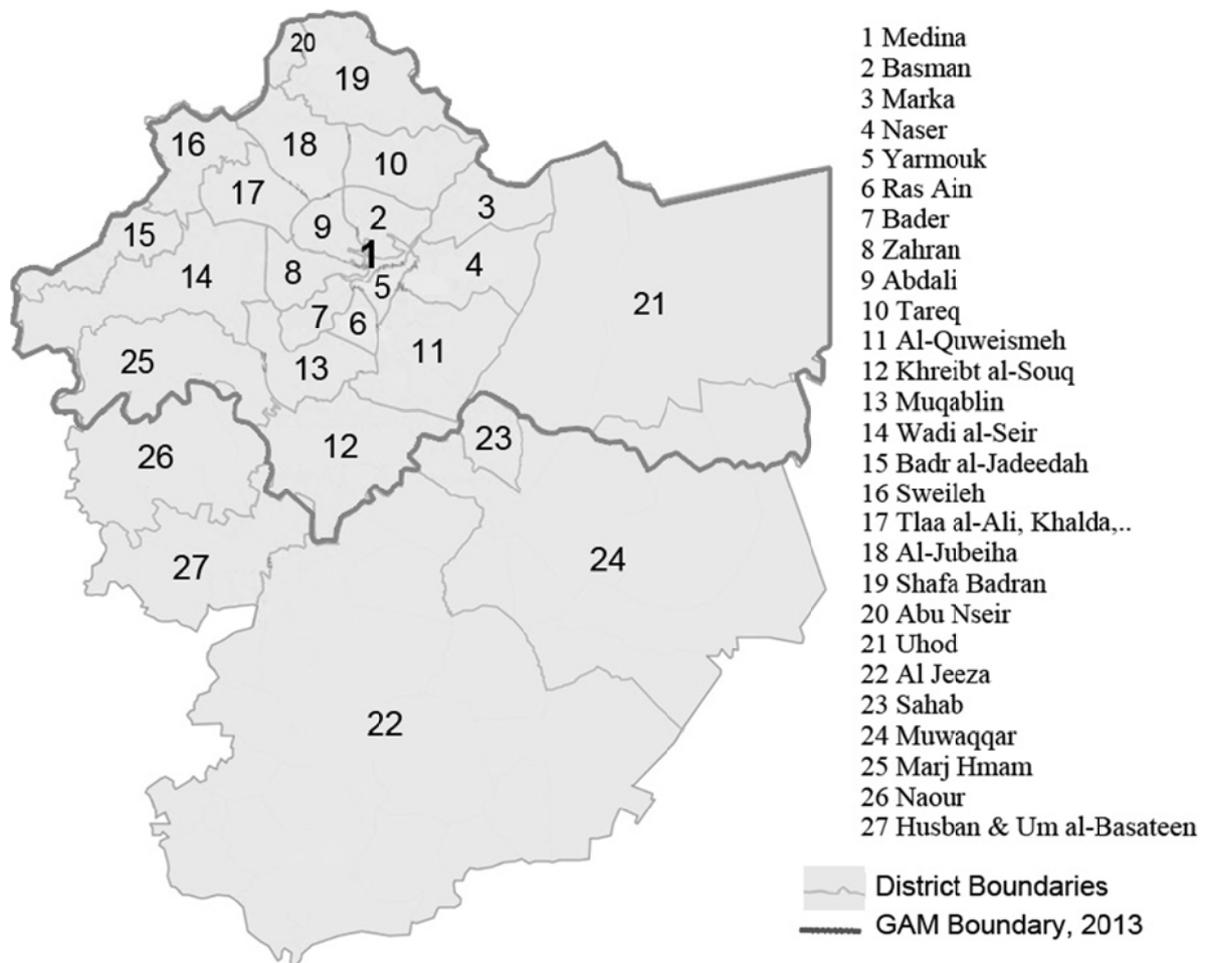


Figure 34: Greater Amman Municipality Districts

Source: based on GAM (2008)

4.4.2 Offices

Estimating the amount of land needed for employment areas is done through projections of the employee number, and then determined by the number of employees per area (Kaiser, Godschalk, & Stuart, 1995). There are two approaches to determine the demand for office space. The office employment trends approach to determine how many square feet of office space are allocated for each new worker. A second approach is based on net absorption trends. Net absorption, which is the change in the amount of occupied office space over a period of time, is a direct expression of recent demand. To analyze the supply, information (historical and current) on the size of the inventory, vacancy rates, net absorption, and rents is assembled by the type of space and class of property (Brett & Schmitz, 2009). The market conditions and vacancy rates are not the best guidelines. Location is the most important indicator. The four major determinants for offices are: location, building design, cost of occupation and lease terms (Ratcliffe, Stubbs & Shepherd, 2002).

In Amman, the need for high quality offices was due to the growing number of regional and international firms, particularly with the emergence of Iraq as a potential market. Other reasons for demand for high quality office spaces include the increase of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) as a result of increasing oil prices in the GCC countries, promoting a friendly business environment, access to know-how and availability of the human resources in Jordan, internal security and political stability reducing high security costs and concerns, appealing growth rates in the Jordanian economy, and the implementation of multi-lateral and bi-lateral trade agreements and the gradual removal of trade barriers. The office spaces are concentrated in Zahran, Abdali and Wadi al-Seir, refer to Table 18.

Table 18: Total Built-up Office Space per District in sqm

	1987	1994	2004	2009	2016	2016
Population	937,439	1,382,426	1,896,426	2,315,600	4,019,100	
District						%
Medina (old downtown)	454	940	1,164	2,003	3,016	0.17%
Basman	1,203	3,985	9,072	12,053	18,903	1.06%
Marka	1,053	3,441	6,780	8,312	10,280	0.58%
Naser	425	1,208	3,805	5,440	8,673	0.49%
Yarmouk	1,670	4,509	6,653	7,725	10,346	0.58%
Ras Ain	1,140	4,276	10,184	12,419	18,559	1.04%
Bader	1,716	4,735	12,025	16,238	32,447	1.82%

Zahran	22,495	44,486	126,181	179,567	313,348	17.61%
Abdali	21,184	47,981	147,069	249,288	393,029	22.08%
Tareq	220	1,831	4,305	7,472	23,595	1.33%
Al-Quweismeh	454	1,566	11,326	15,106	28,394	1.60%
Khreibt al-Souq	0	373	1,863	5,332	15,507	0.87%
Muqablin	321	1,082	16,650	37,498	50,958	2.86%
Wadi al-Seir	8,331	24,192	60,646	123,926	305,592	17.17%
Badr al-Jadeedah	0	25	25	180	180	0.01%
Sweileh	855	3,153	11,485	21,920	46,773	2.63%
Tlaa al-Ali, Umm Summaq and Khaldaa	7,122	25,001	80,754	169,901	385,107	21.64%
Al-Jubeiha	1,036	4,457	20,243	39,069	73,637	4.14%
Shafa Badran	0	100	1,170	1,687	6,521	0.37%
Abu Nseir	0	196	1,527	7,174	10,632	0.60%
Uhod	0	80	80	80	80	0.00%
Al Jeeza*	0	80	80	80	80	0.00%
Sahab*	0	125	195	5,723	8,291	0.47%
AL Muwaqqar*	0	32	32	216	315	0.02%
Marj Hmam	60	115	1,895	5,558	14,887	0.84%
Naour*	0	93	93	308	418	0.02%
Husban & Um al-Basateen*	0	110	110	110	110	0.01%
Total area	69,736	178,172	535,412	934,385	1,779,678	100.00%
Sqm/population	0.07	0.13	0.28	0.40	0.44	

Source: the Researcher based on information from GAM, 2016

*: districts in Governorate Amman, but not included in GAM's boundary

An indicator of the shortage of high quality office space was using residential apartments and villas as office spaces. The majority of office buyers are Jordanians 98%, while the non-Jordanians compose 33% of the high end offices buyers. In 2009, there were 981,826 sqm of office space in Amman. The demand for higher-end office space was expected to be 1,077,250 sqm by 2012. While the supply was 1,023,421 sqm in the pipeline at that time, this means balance of supply and demand, “gives no room for investment holdings, or natural transition in the marketplace” (Amman Institute, 2009a). Then, if in 2009, the total office space was around 1 million sqm/2.7 million population, while there were around 1 million office space in the pipeline in 2009, this indicates that the available high supply of office space is not relevant to the population growth and local demand; in 2015, the population of Amman was around 4 million, the planned office spaces were mainly estimated to supply the expected demand of international companies. The report “Emerging & Frontier Markets Assessing

Risk & Opportunity 2014-2015” states important information regarding the office market in Amman:

“The office market in Jordan is primarily focused around the capital city and commercial centre, Amman. The key submarkets in the city are located in the 5th and 6th Circles and also Abdali and Shmeisani submarkets where the majority of financial services companies are located. Occupier demand levels have risen over the past year or so as a number of companies have chosen to locate in Amman away from the regional turbulence. The market is currently oversupplied, a recent development boom added significant space to the market in Amman, although the majority of this space is of secondary quality. There remains a lack of Grade A space within the market and as a result of demand rising, rental levels have eased up over the year” (Wakefield, 2014).

4.4.3 Hotels

The highest number of nights spent was at 5-star hotels. The tourists in Jordan are mainly high-income Arab and Gulf tourists. Most of 5 and 4 stars hotels are located in Shmesani and Jabal Amman. There are three types of tourism in Amman: Educational Tourism, Medical Tourism, and Meetings Incentives Conferences and Events [MICE] Tourism. Major attractions in Amman include museums, art galleries and cultural heritage exhibitions (Amman Institute, 2009a). There are many major sources boosting the hotel sector in Jordan: 1) the real estate sector boom is linked to the hospitality industry, such as large mixed use projects, 2) tourism variety, business, leisure, historic sites, medical tourism and ecotourism, 3) stability, 4) lower cost for Gulf residents, 5) business destination and international conferences, and 6) attractive packages and rates. In 2009, the existing number of 5-star hotel rooms was 3,631 and 1,744 4-star hotel rooms. Over 286 thousand square meters of hotel space providing 1,700 additional rooms were expected to be developed in 2011. The Amman Real Estate Market Report compares the increase of tourists between 2001 and 2008, and expects that “there is still room for growth in the luxury Amman hotel sector, and supply-demand levels will continue to match” (Amman Institute, 2009a).

In 2009, the total of hotel rooms including classified hotels, suites and apartments was 13,591 rooms with 25,007 beds. Unclassified hotels provided 933 rooms containing 2143 beds (Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities, 2016). The World Bank figures indicate that the tourist number to Jordan has increased: in 1996, it was 1,100,000 tourists, and in 2006, increased to 3,225,000 tourists, and in 2014, it was around 4 million (World Bank, 2014). In 2015, the number of tourists that visited Jordan was around 4 million. 52% of the total

nights were spent by tourists from the Arab countries, 16.2% of nights were spent by Jordanian, 13.5% of nights were by European tourists, and the rest were from East Asia, Africa and the USA (Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities, 2016).

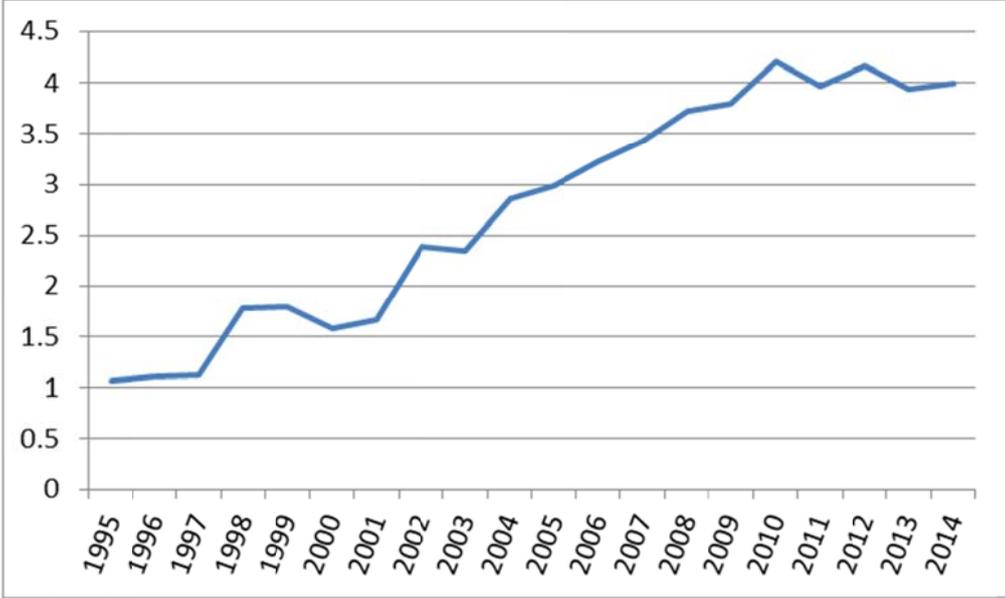


Figure 35: Chart of Tourist Statistics in Jordan, in Millions

Source: based on World Bank (2014)

Based on statistics of the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities (2016), many important figures are clarifying the situation of the hotel real estate in Amman. The number of classified hotels in Amman is 140 hotels. There are 158 apartments and suites, and 72 unclassified hotels. Amman composes more than 60% of Jordan’s hotel beds and rooms. The analysis of nights spent by the nationality of the arrival and the type of accommodation shows that Arabs contribute to the maximum number of nights, then Jordanians and Europeans. Apartments and suites are highly occupied by Arabs. Hostels are highly occupied by Jordanians. The 5, 4 and 3 stars hotels are highly occupied by Europeans. Over 80% of touristic camps are occupied by Europeans. The increase of number of hotels between 2006 and 2015 is 17 hotels, and 35 apartments and suites. In general, during the last decade, the occupancy of nights has not exceeded 50%. At the same time, no significant increase of tourists’ numbers is worthy. With increasing numbers of hotels, Amman would have challenges to attract tourists to raise occupancy rates and thus achieve returns. Detailed information is the following tables.

Table 19: No. of Hotel, Apartments & Others Distributed by Classification in Amman 2006 -2015

Classification	2006			2015			
	No.	Room	Bed	No.	Suite	Room	Bed
Five Stars	12	3,631	6,343	14	416	3,950	6,366
Four Stars	15	1,744	3,215	21	228	2,427	4,453
Three Stars	30	2,189	4,228	34	234	2,264	4,173
Two Stars	34	1,380	2,716	37	165	1,293	2,668
One Stars	32	835	1,677	34	28	844	1,793
TOTAL	123	9,779	18,179	140	1,071	10,778	19,453
Apartments B	18	909	1,514	27	641	1,089	1,955
Apartments C	84	2,407	4,635	92	1,693	2,731	5,262
Suites A	2	63	130	6	155	231	397
Suites B	10	336	621	16	360	540	958
Suites C	9	417	836	17	534	740	1,540
TOTAL	123	4,132	7,736	158	3,383	5,331	10,112
Unclassified Hotels	78	968	2,281	72	0	955	2,125
Hostel	1	5	10				
Total Amman	325	14,884	28,206	370	4,454	17,064	31,690
Total Jordan	476	21,609	42,029	558	4,927	27,664	52,928
% Amman	68%	69%	67%	66%	90%	62%	60%

Table 20: Hotel Occupancy Rate in Amman by classification

Classification		2006		2010		2015	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
5 stars	room	710,087	53.6%	795,976	57.5%	711,648	49.3%
	bed	915,137	39.5%	1,019,222	44.0%	845,928	36.4%
4 stars	room	397,274	62.4%	378,374	54.3%	316,621	40.2%
	bed	630,601	53.7%	629,250	49.2%	603,836	41.7%
3 stars	room	324,266	40.9%	306,693	43.1%	218,003	39.8%
	bed	490,806	32.0%	490,049	37.1%	301,901	29.6%
2 stars	room	150,321	36.0%	186,110	40.6%	53,386	23.3%
	bed	240,452	29.2%	337,909	36.4%	153,435	32.7%
1 star	room	82,867	28.0%	30,827	17.4%	22,727	24.0%
	bed	140,810	23.7%	53,546	15.3%	28,555	14.8%
Total	room	1,664,815	48.0%	1,697,980	49.5%	1,356,918	43.8%
	bed	2,417,806	37.5%	2,529,976	40.9%	1,933,655	35.5%
Apartments B&C	Apart.	-	-	260,327	38.6%	139,638	24.4%
	bed	-	-	593,296	28.5%	384,800	23.1%
Suites	Apart.	-	-	53,917	38.5%	144,299	67.9%
	bed	-	-	99,137	29.3%	241,100	51.8%

Table 21: Occupancy Rate in Jordan by classification

Type	2006		2010		2015	
	Rooms	Beds	Rooms	Beds	Rooms	Beds
classified hotels	42.4%	35.4%	48.0%	40.9%	39.3%	32.6%
Hotel Apartment & Suites	41.3%	30.1%	39.3%	28.8%	37.4%	28.9%
unclassified hotel	30.4%	25.3%	34.6%	30.5%		
Camps	11.2%	9.2%	20.3%	16.5%	7.2%	5.5%
Total	40.7%	33.0%	46.4%	38.1%	38.4%	31.3%

Table 22: Beds Night / Arrivals at Hotels by Country

Region		2006		2010		2015	
		Jordan	Amman	Jordan	Amman	Jordan	Amman
Africa	Nights	62,837	58,090	29,102	20,199	22,994	15,010
	Arrivals	20,559	17,837	14,794	10,095	12,063	7,095
% Nights		1.3%	1.7%	0.3%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
% Arrivals		0.9%	1.3%	0.6%	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%
America	Nights	334,993	254,347	462,365	289,131	352,190	260,694
	Arrivals	157,605	110,988	271,533	167,080	207,412	146,662
% Nights		6.7%	7.3%	8.7%	9.0%	8.8%	10.2%
% Arrivals		7.2%	8.4%	10.2%	11.0%	11.0%	13.1%
Arabs	Nights	1,888,539	1,767,250	1,397,254	1,284,915	1,510,437	1,348,648
	Arrivals	624,654	563,334	527,045	467,459	565,232	482,516
% Nights		37.6%	50.6%	26.4%	39.9%	37.7%	52.7%
% Arrivals		28.5%	42.4%	19.9%	30.8%	29.8%	43.3%
Asia And Pacific	Nights	262,278	203,919	350,194	220,752	249,483	175,974
	Arrivals	147,140	106,191	215,880	128,394	145,892	95,807
% Nights		5.2%	5.8%	6.6%	6.9%	6.2%	6.9%
% Arrivals		6.7%	8.0%	8.1%	8.5%	7.7%	8.6%
European	Nights	1,272,474	692,159	2,238,737	1,072,529	684,370	345,801
	Arrivals	639,993	331,817	1,162,938	577,419	337,576	168,021
% Nights		25.3%	19.8%	42.2%	33.3%	17.1%	13.5%
% Arrivals		29.2%	25.0%	43.9%	38.1%	17.8%	15.1%
Jordanian	Nights	1,201,001	514,561	823,987	334,883	1,189,454	413,428
	Arrivals	599,223	197,300	458,494	166,461	625,919	215,436
% Nights		23.9%	14.7%	15.5%	10.4%	29.7%	16.2%
% Arrivals		27.4%	14.9%	17.3%	11.0%	33.0%	19.3%
UN	Nights	843	836				
	Arrivals	247	242				
Total	Nights	5,022,965	3,491,162	5,301,639	3,222,409	4,008,928	2,559,555
	Arrivals	2,189,421	1,327,709	2,650,684	1,516,908	1,894,094	1,115,537
Amman%	Nights		69.5%		60.8%		63.8%
	Arrivals		60.6%		57.2%		58.9%

Source: Table 19, 20, 21 & 22 are based on data from Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities (2016)

4.4.4 Housing

High-end and luxury residential towers are emerging trend in Amman, mostly located in west Amman along major roads, in addition to Abdali. Abdoun and certain areas in Zahran that have the higher concentration of villas that started to emerge in the north-western suburbs of Amman. On the outskirts of Amman, recent developments of Gated Communities of low-density developments have been developed. These new housing types are emerging trends different from the traditional apartment life in Amman (Amman Institute, 2009a). Land prices in Amman are high, so apartments are becoming the common choice. Thus, seeking affordability has led to the construction of affordable housing projects outside of Amman's boundary. Ahl Al Azm residential city is a large scale housing project located in Giza District, near the Queen Alia International Airport, on a land area of 3,000 dunums. The project was initiated by the King Abdullah II in 2008. It consists of 15,752 residential units in total; 14,928 apartments with an area ranging from 80-180 sq.m, 824 villas with an area of 311 sqm, and 800 commercial offices with an area of 150 sqm. This project targets the middle income population (Taameer, u.d.). The project has not been implemented, but a new decision to construct the project was announced (Jordanian Constructions Contractors Association, 2015).

Most of Jordanians have the culture of ownership; residents in Amman favor owning their housing unit. According to Sami Halaseh, the Minister of Public Works and Housing, around 70% of Jordanians own their houses. The government is developing a strategy to encourage affordable housing for the lower middle class (Obeidat, 2014). In 2006, apartments were the common type of housing units in Amman, composing of 82.5%, while houses made up 15.6% and villas 1.9% of the total housing units (Department of Statistics , 2006).

4.5 Key Issues

The central business district is where the greatest concentration of offices and retail stores are located in the city's highest land values and its tallest buildings, the district of centralized business (R. E. Murphy and J. E. Vance, 1954 as cited in Bird, 2007). In Amman, analyzing the distribution of hotels (4&5 stars), offices and retail spaces clarifies that delineating the boundary of Amman's city center includes the Abdali District, Tlaa al-Ali, Umm Summaq and Khaldaa District, Zahran District, Wadi al-Seir District. Overlaying the main daily trip

movements confirms the previous conclusion about the geographic boundaries of the city center of Amman (Figure 36).

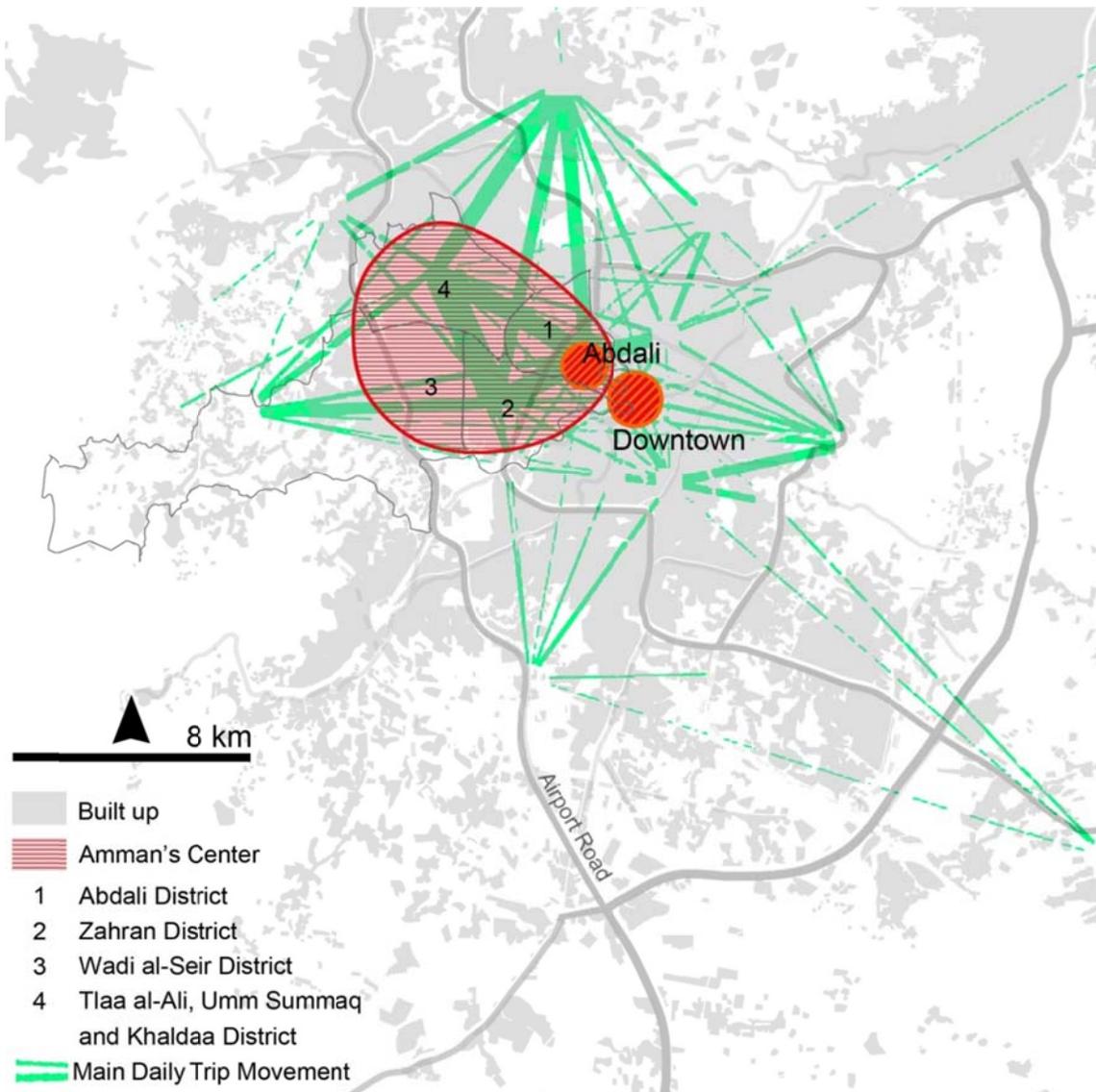


Figure 36: The City Center of Amman

Source: the Researcher based on information from Amman Institute (2009a) and maps from GAM (2008) and Amman Chamber of Commerce (2015).

The analysis of land use areas of retail, offices, and hotels indicates that Amman is oversupplied (Table 24). The retail supply is respectively competitive and could be absorbed; but would be influenced with the household income. The office spaces are oversupplied, and irrelative to the population growth. Offices were developed on assumptions of international demands. Hotels are also oversupplied; tourism development has not significantly increased numbers of tourists in Amman or promoted it globally. Thus

no demand for hotel spaces is justified; furthermore the occupancy of rooms of the classified hotels is less than 50%.

Table 23: Supply of Real Estate Properties

Use	1994	2004	2009	2016
Population	1,382,426	1,896,426	2,315,600	4,019,100
Retail and commercial	1,634,337	3,531,897	5,491,060	8,878,738
Retail space sqm/population	1.18	1.86	2.37	2.21
Offices	178,172	535,412	934,385	1,779,678
Office space sqm/population	0.13	0.28	0.40	0.44
No. of tourists to Jordan		2,853,000	3,789,000	3,990,000*
Hotels (rooms)		14,884	14,524	17,064**
Hotels average occupancy rate of classified hotels (rooms)		48.0%	48.3%	43.8%**

* for the year 2014, ** for the year 2015

Source: the Researcher based on previous sections

5. THE AMMAN OLD DOWNTOWN

Introduction

In the last three decades, two plans and two studies for downtown development and revitalization were conducted. The plans were “The Greater Amman Comprehensive Development Plan” 1988 (GACP), and “The Amman Downtown Plan and Revitalization Strategy” 2010, (ADPRS). The studies were “Amman Downtown Tourist Zone” 1996, and the “Amman Downtown Tourist Zone Sub-project”, 2000.

The urban plans and studies of 1988, 1996, 2000 and 2010 focus all on the cultural role of the Downtown on the national level. The GACP 1988 planning approach is an action-oriented approach that defines proposals on short and long terms. The 1996 and 2000 studies are tourism projects. The ADPRS 2010 planning approach is a framework approach organizing the subsystems of land use, transit, streets, parking, and urban design to achieve the development goals through policies and projects.

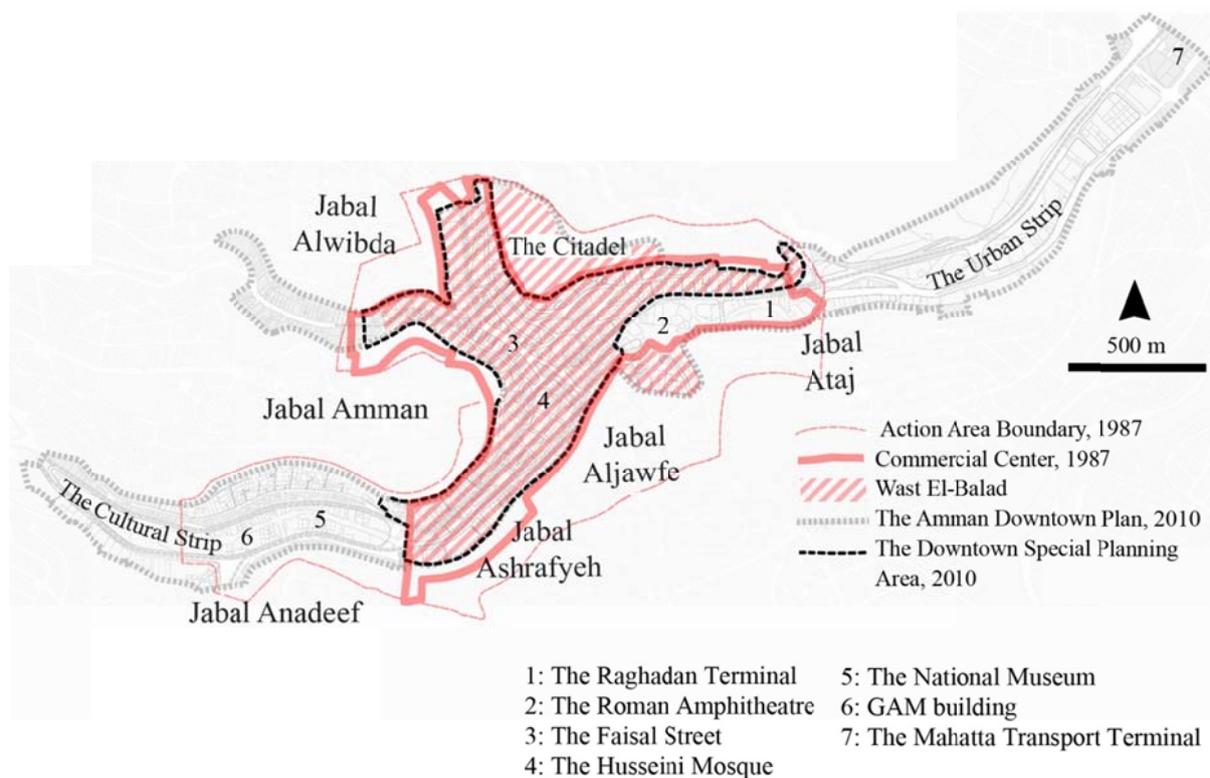


Figure 37: The Downtown Boundary

Source: based on GACP and ADPRS

5.1 The Amman Downtown Development in the GACP, 1988

5.1.1 Objectives and Policy

The downtown could not accommodate the demand for new commercial, business and governmental activities. As a result, the Amman Central Business District developed to the north- west of the downtown in the Shmesani area. This development is as a result of Amman's rapid expansion, combined with the natural characteristics of the downtown's "dramatic topography", and influenced by the urban expansion along the highways radiating from it. Part of the Central Business District is considered the "new city center", which attracted governmental activities, higher quality shopping stores, offices and hotels, while the other part, the downtown, continued its traditional role as a center with specialized shopping, such as gold and leatherwork, wholesale merchants and workshops. About 80% of retail was on the ground level. Half of sales were for clothes and shoes, 12% for food, and 10% for household goods. That indicated a dual role of the downtown: shopping for customers on the city level and local shopping serving the surrounding neighborhoods (GAM, 1987).

The GACP designates the boundary of an action area of 182 hectares indicating the historic core of the city. There were many development issues related to the historic areas in the Downtown: lack of facilities serving the tourists, poor access and circulation for pedestrians and vehicles, the archeological site on the Citadel was in poor condition, only a small archeological museum, and poor and derelict buildings located on the western and southern slopes of the Citadel limiting the visual impact and occupying areas of potential for new developments. Environmental improvements and landscaping were important to enhance the forum place quality and the Downtown area, in addition to enhancing the views of the Hussein Mosque and adding an outdoor praying area. The GACP also highlights other important issues, for example that the downtown could not attract more commercial activities where redevelopment of large scale projects would affect the function and vitality of the center, and better quality hotels were required. There were also issues related to transport such as congestion, limited capacity of the existing highways that needed effective traffic management, and poor conditions of staircases and sidewalks. There were also other issues related to needs for housing and open space and community facilities.

“The center is composed of a rich variety of interrelated activities, which serve the specialized needs of the whole urban area, surrounding residential areas, and the local needs of its residents: there appears to be little need, or opportunity, to radically change its function, or the range of activities which it accommodates”

The GACP also determines goals at the national, metropolitan and local levels. The national aim focuses on the historic and cultural role of the Downtown, seeking to conserve and protect the physical environment as well as to restore and enhance the historic sites and cultural facilities. These improvements would increase the tourist potential of the Downtown as a valuable national economic resource. At the metropolitan level, the Downtown was the most important commercial, employment and transport center. The plan aims at strengthening this role through improving the transport system to enhance accessibility and the pedestrian environment, supporting commercial activities, and applying controls to ensure the visual quality. At the local level, the plan aims to improve facilities and services for the residents of the area and the surrounding communities through the enhancement of derelict housing and the provision of community facilities and open spaces. The plan sets out a policy for building heights that aims to preserve the Jabal skylines by limiting the building height at the crests of Jabals with three to four stories, and allowing higher buildings on the lower slopes.

“The topography of the action area is the most dramatic within the urban area, with deep wadis, steep slopes and rock outcrops, and impressive views into and within the area. The traditional form of buildings is sympathetic to the land form, with low-rise housing emphasizing the profile of the Jabals, and maintaining the natural skyline. The stone clad buildings, interspersed with small-scale tree planting, produce a distinctive harmony which gives the Action Area its unique visual quality”.

The GACP proposes a strategy dealing with immediate actions and longer term proposals. The immediate actions (Figure 38) of the strategy are reducing traffic congestion and ensuring safe pedestrian mobility, constructing the Muhajereen terminal, relocating the on-street bus and service taxi terminals to the Abdali and Raghadan terminals, traffic management, enhancing outdoor prayer spaces for Husseini Mosque to emphasize the mosque's importance as a religious and social focal point, landscaping and creating more views of the mosque, and creating a public space on the Jofeh landslide.

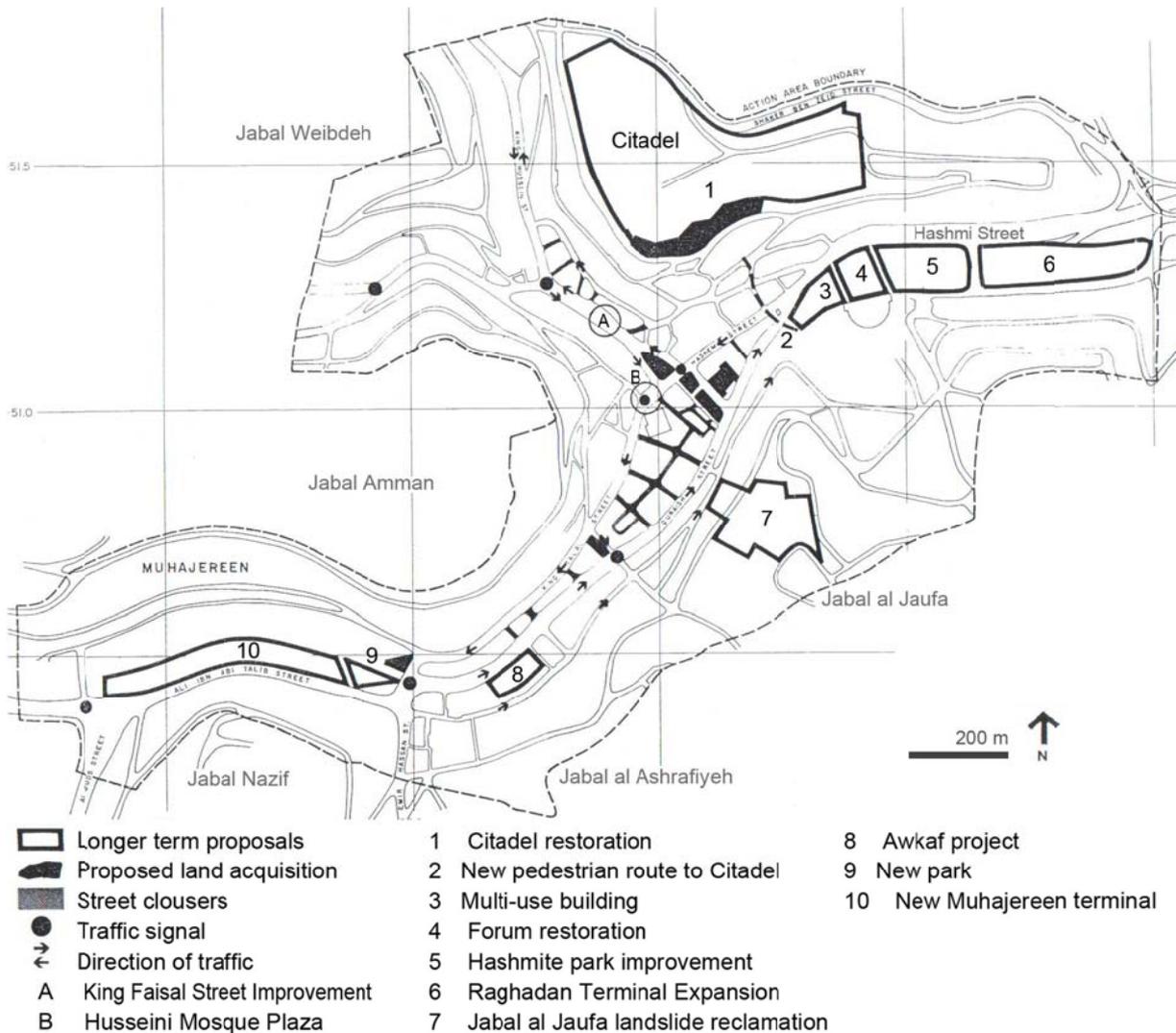


Figure 38: The Immediate Actions Proposals

The GACP proposes implementing urban design policies that encourage building conservation and façade improvements, creating public spaces and pedestrian routes and other street furniture, developing environmental improvement policies (including façade, shop signs and cables), renovating and restoring the historic sites as the Citadel, the Roman Forum and the Odeon and the Amphitheatre, landscaping the Hashemite Park, improving the Raghadan Transport Terminal that provides facilities to the passengers and landscaping, demolishing the old municipality building, the former Philadelphia Hotel, to establish a multi-use building and re-establish a bridge connecting the Hashmite Park with the Citadel, improving the Faisal Square through design control to create shopping arcades, and constructing a pedestrian bridge linking first floor shops that would also create a connection to the upper level shopping street (Basman Street), in addition to acquiring land for future projects and land assembly procedures for the Citadel and Muhajereen housing project.

“Major long term development opportunities will be available when the military and security complex at Abdali is relocated, and when the existing transport terminals are moved out of the Central Business District”. The Abdali military site was envisioned as a potential site for a “Future Financial Center”.

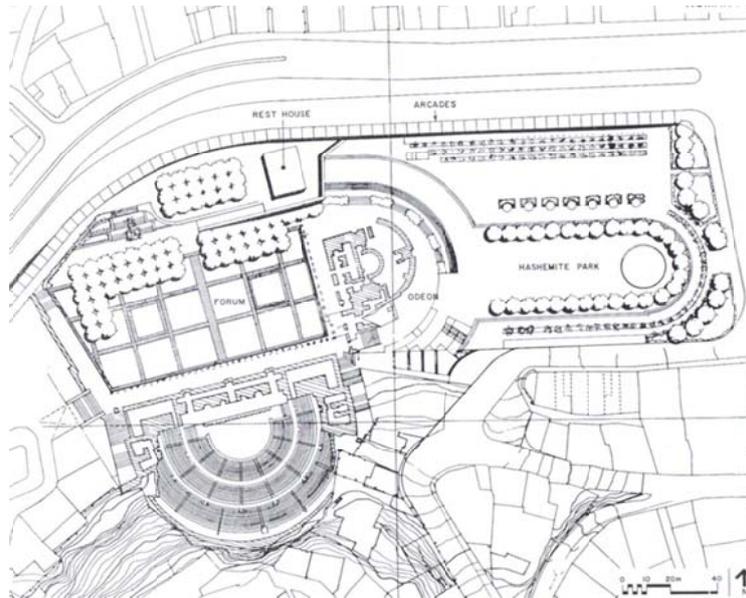


Figure 39: Roman Forum Restoration

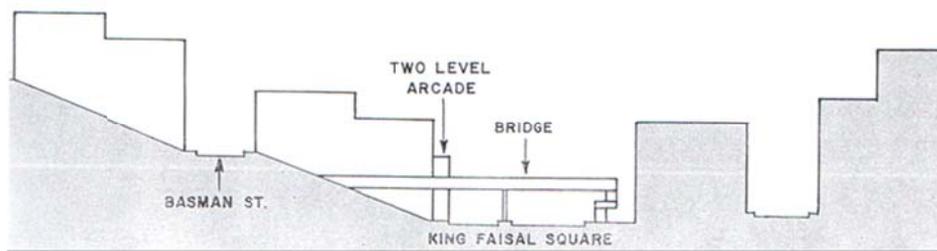


Figure 40: King Faisal Square Improvements

The immediate actions for traffic management that were proposed based on a policy to define minimum land acquisition and construction cost included one-way streets, signal controlled junctions, restriction on vehicle access to minor streets, circulation restriction for call taxis, and increased parking controls. On the longer term, the GACP proposed improving traffic routes, excavation and restoration of the Nymphaeum, creating a park, constructing a new national archeological museum and a hotel on the Citadel slopes, and redeveloping the site between Anbat and Shabsogh Streets into terraced housing (Figure 41 & 42).

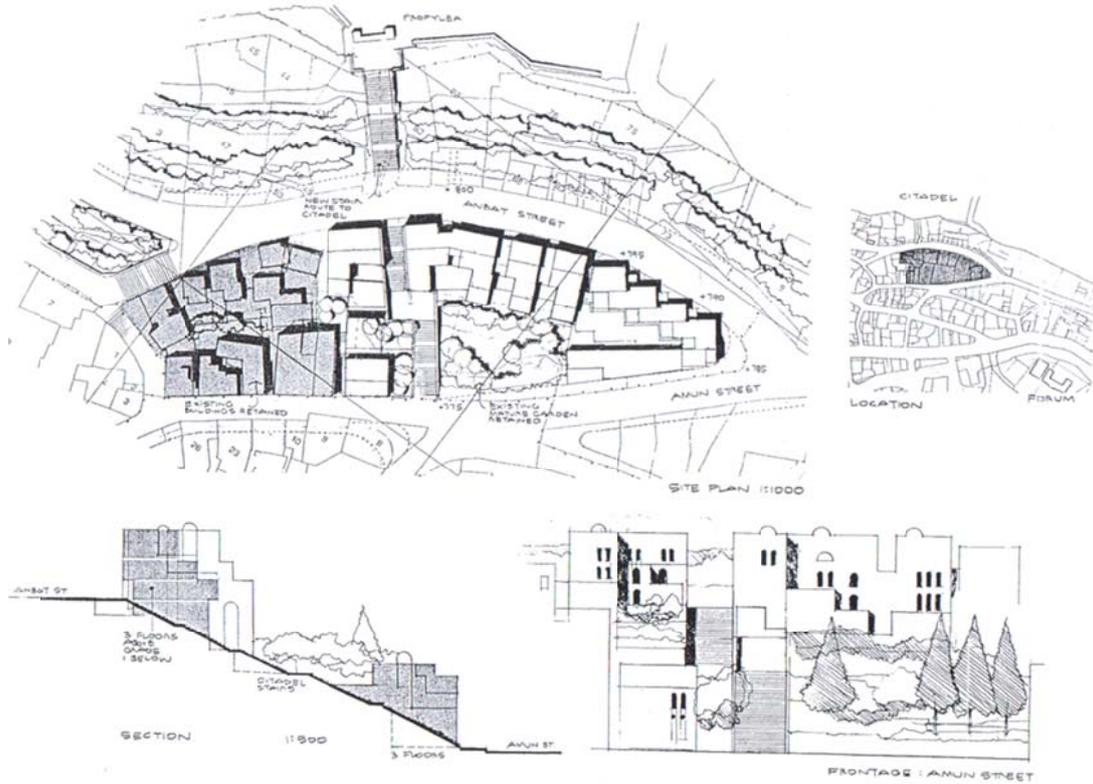


Figure 41: The Citadel Housing Project

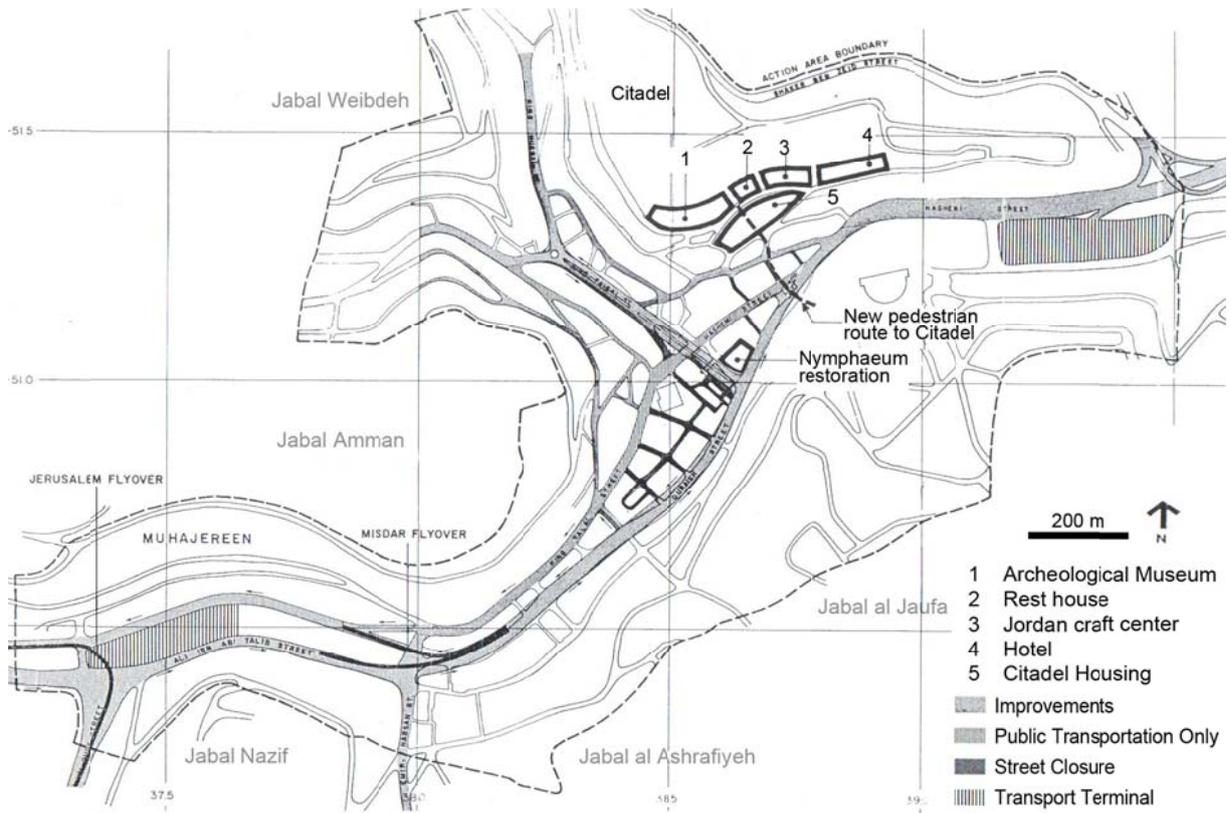


Figure 42: Longer Term Proposals

5.2 Amman Downtown Tourism Studies

The primary studies on the touristic assets of the Downtown focus on two studies conducted by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA): “The Study on the Tourism Development Plan in the Hashmite Kingdom of Jordan” (February 1996), and Amman Downtown Tourist Zone Sub-project (August 2000).

5.2.1 The study on the Tourism Development Plan, 1996

“The Study on the Tourism Development Plan in the Hashmite Kingdom of Jordan”, aims to lead structural change in the tourism sector in Jordan, “to make Amman Jordan’s true international core”. Two projects were proposed: Amman Downtown Tourist Zone (ADTZ) and National Museum. ADTZ seeks to develop the downtown area into “the symbol of Amman” through the establishment of several projects (Figure 43). The study objectives are: “To increase the appeal and attractiveness of Amman as a tourist destination; to create a focal core for tourist activities in Amman; and eventually to enhance the position of Amman as the gateway for Jordanian tourism”. To develop Amman as a tourist service core or gateway city is essential to attract and serve tourists who visit historic sites. Previously, in 1995, USAID proposed the Cultural and Environmental Resource Management Project that focused on the Citadel area. CPRM proposed the restoration of the Citadel, the Tourist Zone, tourist trails, and a proposal to utilize half the floor of the Old Municipality Building as a visitor center. The ADTZ study proposes the development of the Tourist Street, Tourist Trails, Renovation of Old Municipality as Amman Municipal Museum, Tourist Bus Terminal, Tourist information Center, and Training of Managers and Workers (JICA, 1996).

The Tourist Street - about 400 m long and 12 m wide - was to be improved to promote tourist facilities such as hotels, restaurants, and souvenir shops through the improvement of pavement, drainage, underground wiring, lighting and planting, the provision of attractive street furniture (benches, shelters, rubbish bins, flowerpots), signs and art works, guidelines for the structure of street such as suitable building facade (material, color, design) and activities, the development of high standard souvenir shops, restaurants, cafes, and other tourist shops by means of incentives and guidance.

The Tourist Trails are identified as five major access routes connecting the Citadel to the Roman Theater and to the Downtown. Improving the walking environment of the trails aims

to enhance linkages to the Downtown and thus the activities there. These improvements include the provision of attractive tourist signs, paved stairways, lighting, street furniture, landscaping, and the provision of panorama boards explaining the view, and setting out guidelines for further improvements on the structure of trails, as well as suitable facades - material, color, design.

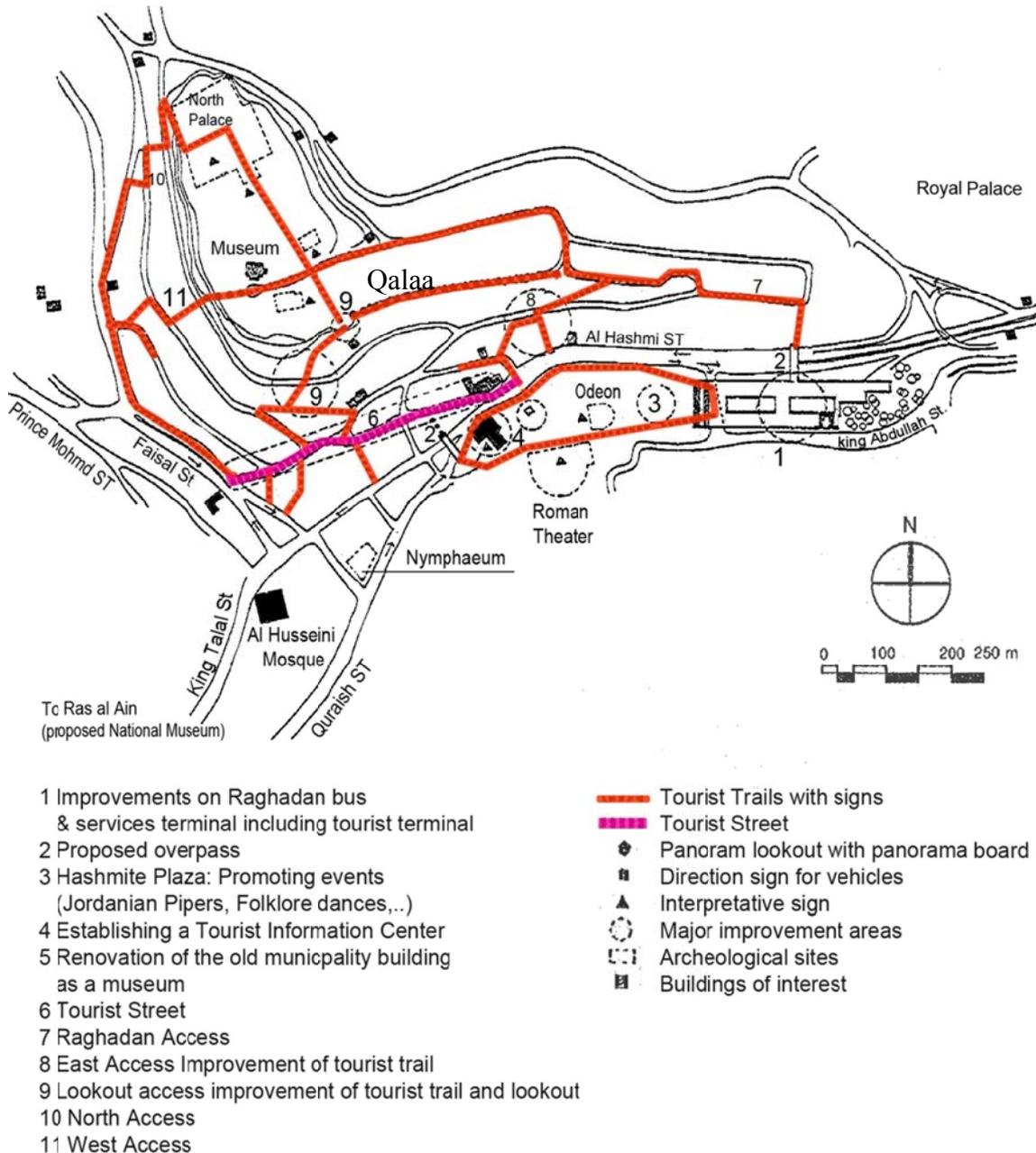


Figure 43: Amman Downtown Tourist Zone Project Components

Source: based on JICA (1996)

Renovation of the Old Municipality as Amman Municipal Museum is meant to display the history of Amman attracting both foreign tourists and local Jordanians through the restoration

and renovation of the old municipality building, providing a Tourist Information Center, coach parking lots (5 to 10) behind, and an overpass pedestrian walk to the Tourist Street. **Creation of a Tourist Bus Terminal**, a proposal for upgrading the existing Raghadan bus and service taxi terminal, includes all existing terminal administration facilities and shops for commuters, additional tourist facilities (ticket center, airline offices, transport information, etc.), and a pedestrian overpass to Raghadan Access. **Creation of a Modern Tourist information Center** was proposed to be established in the Old Municipality Building or the upgraded Raghadan Tourist operation of international standards in tourist service management (JICA, 1996).



Figure 44: Upgrading Raghadan Terminal

Source: a document from GAM

The importance of the ADTZ project is the proposal of linking the city’s two landmark antiquities, the Citadel and Roman Theater, by upgrading the street infrastructure of the neighborhood in between. The number of tourists would generate income, as a strategy for the revitalization of an under-utilized area through physical improvements. Shaping a beautiful downtown requires future projects to be implemented, such as renovating selected old buildings focusing on heritage preservation, restoring facades, reusing derelict lots and buildings, developing a plan to guide investment in commercial areas and manage the demand for new construction, preserving the distinctiveness of the zone and improving its overall character, and adopting pedestrian-friendly zones (crosswalks, safety sidewalk, pedestrian streets, etc.). Enhancement of socioeconomic situation was an expected result of the ADTZ project. Downtown Amman is distinguished with small scale commercial and light industrial purposes, and ADTZ will foster this trend, displacing low income occupants with new businesses, so as a result, a denser pattern of development would be achieved, the population density would rise, the income level and economic benefit would increase, and more efficient uses of this downtown area would thus be reflected in rising occupancy in its buildings.

Infrastructure improvements were required, including transportation (parking and traffic), sewage and drainage improvements, in addition to waste management (JICA, 1996).

The national museum was proposed to present the history of Jordan and of the Middle East to Jordanians and visitors. The project was supposed to be “a primary cultural resource for Jordan, a must for first time visitors to Jordan, and a popular attraction...a unique symbol of pride for Jordanians of all faiths”. The project location in Ras Al Ain was seen as a potential for generating economic and educational benefits. The economic benefit results by generating income by increasing the average length of stay and foreign currency expenditure of international visitors in Amman. The educational benefit results through the portrayal of the history and civilization of Jordan and the Middle East. Placing the Royal Museum Institute there would strengthen the institutional base, transferring technology and modern skills to this museum and other museums in Jordan. The museum has a role in urban regeneration, it would “act as a magnet drawing visitors from the tourist core of the Citadel / Roman Theater vicinity, westward along Ouraysh and King Talal Streets, giving new economic vigor to the central market area of Old Amman”. The museum is part of the Amman Civic Center and would function as a catalyst for increased private investment in businesses, and attracting high income tourists into the surrounding areas and neighborhoods (Al Muhajireen area, Jebel Amman, Jebel al Nadhif, Jebel al Ashrafiyya). The project, as part of the civic core, would have influence on the surroundings, causing other projects to be established such as upgrading the urban environment and neighborhoods. The displacement of low income groups with richer classes was an objective of the Amman municipality, thus small business investment such as souvenirs and crafts, apparel, restaurants, guest houses and art galleries would be developed. The project would have effect on the valley area, the core of old Amman, along Quraysh and King Talal Streets. “This is the core of Old Amman where a process of gentrification is already beginning. As catalysts of urban renovation the proposed project will accelerate this process”. Both projects proposed by JICA, ADTZ and the national museum aimed to develop the tourism sector in the Downtown, improving the socioeconomic situation of residents, but would also have other impacts on the community such as the displacement of groups and foster of the gentrification process (JICA, 1996).

A feasibility study was carried out for a new light rail system for the Ministry of Transport in 1995. The report identified a station at Raghadan Interchange /Terminal and near the Roman

Theater, and another two stations near the new city hall and at the junction of Ali ibn Abi Talib Street and Prince Hasan Street (JICA, 1996).

5.2.2 Amman Downtown Tourist Zone Sub-project, 2000

In 2000, as responding to the Jordanian Government's request, another study was conducted by JICA, "Detailed Design for Tourism Sector Development Project in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan- Amman Downtown Tourist Zone Sub-project" (ADTZSP) following the previous study of "The study on the Tourism Development Plan in the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan", 1996. According to ADTZSP, although there are ancient sites, such as the Roman Theatre and the Citadel, tourists neglected the downtown because of inadequate promotion and tourists amenities and infrastructure. The project aims to promote tourism in Amman by attracting tourists to explore the Downtown on foot and increase their stay enjoying "the authentic Amman". The ADTZSP objectives are to develop tourism circulation in the Amman Downtown Tourist Zone, enforce pedestrian linkage among the tourism assets in the zone, improve tourism services along the tourism circulation as a model project, serve by providing convenience to the tourists to make them stay longer in Amman, and encouraging the existing and new commercial activities in the zone. The project components include the Tourist Street, Tourist Trails, View Terraces and improvement of the Visitor Centre, in addition to the Raghadan Bus Terminal (JICA, 2000).

The strategic location of the tourist trails and view terraces are on the southern slopes of the Citadel hill overlooking the downtown and the Roman Theatre built in 170 AD. The proposed Tourist Trails were selected based on previous studies of JICA Master Plan Report (February 1996) and Special Assistance for Project Formation (SAPROF) Report (March 1997) with coordination and discussion with a Technical Committee members representing GAM and MOTA. The SAPROF Study proposes the following measures: the improvement of tourist trails of stairways and streets (pavement, retaining walls and planting), installation of street furniture and equipment (wooden pergola, stone benches, plastering and painting on some walls, platforms, etc., stone elevation, and signs), construction of view terraces (with required urban design elements of hand rail, shelter, pavement, signage, and planting), construction of two pedestrian overpass bridges crossing Al-Hashemi Street, and enhancement measures, guidelines for suitable façades and activities. The proposals for the Tourist Street are as follows: the improvement of King Talal Street and Al –Hashemi Street,

including sidewalks and vehicle lanes, improving the physical structure of the streets' pavement, drainage, underground electric wiring, lighting, landscaping, attractive street furniture (benches, bus stops, rubbish bins, and flower pots) signs and art works, in addition to encouragement measures by establishing guidelines for suitable building façades and activities, and establishing incentives and guidance for the establishment of high standard souvenir shops, restaurants, and stylish hotels, in addition to the renovation of the interior of the Visitor Centre (JICA, 2000).

The ADTZSP proposes the improvement of the tourist street and tourist trails, the development of view terraces, and the renovation of the existing visitor center (Figure 45). The project basically helps to improve amenity in the urban area of Amman City, as well as enhance economic activities of the Downtown by increasing tourists. The ADTZSP proposes pedestrian streets and paths to improve the walking environment and enforce the linkage of tourist assets to enhance activities within Downtown Amman. The Tourist Trails connect the major tourist spots in Amman, the Citadel and the Roman Theatre. East access and Lookout access connect the Citadel from the tourist deck of the Raghadan Bus Terminal (Raghadan access), and West access to connect the Citadel with Downtown Amman. Because these accesses are branching from the major East-West connection of Downtown Amman, the King Talal Street (Al -Hashemi Street), the entry and exit points of these accesses would be easily found by tourists, which would encourage tourists to explore the Downtown on foot (JICA, 2000).

Major issues of Tourist Trails were a lack of amenities and comfort to attract pedestrian tourists, no seating or sheltered place at view terraces or along the trails, monotonous pedestrian walks with straight lines of concrete and stone facades, modern intrusion onto historical façades, lack of safety measures, no clear demarcation of ways for vehicles and tourists/pedestrians, and no indication for the direction nor guidance to important sights. Major issues of Tourist Street included a lack of sophisticated shops and amenities to attract pedestrian tourists, modern intrusion onto historical façades, and a lack of conformity in the streetscape, rainwater drainage problems due to inappropriate drainage maintenance and systems applied, damaged or missing pavement, especially at the entry of shops and markets, lack of safety measures, disordered car parking problems obstructing the pedestrian way due to unavailability of parking space in appropriate spots, uncomfortable passage along the street due to heavy vehicle traffic along the road, which creates noise and air pollution and

makes it difficult to cross the road, no pedestrian signals at the key intersections, difficulty for foreign visitors to find public toilets, no vegetation along the streets creating a dry urban atmosphere, streetlights not being uniform, and uncontrolled signage and shop front design (JICA, 2000).

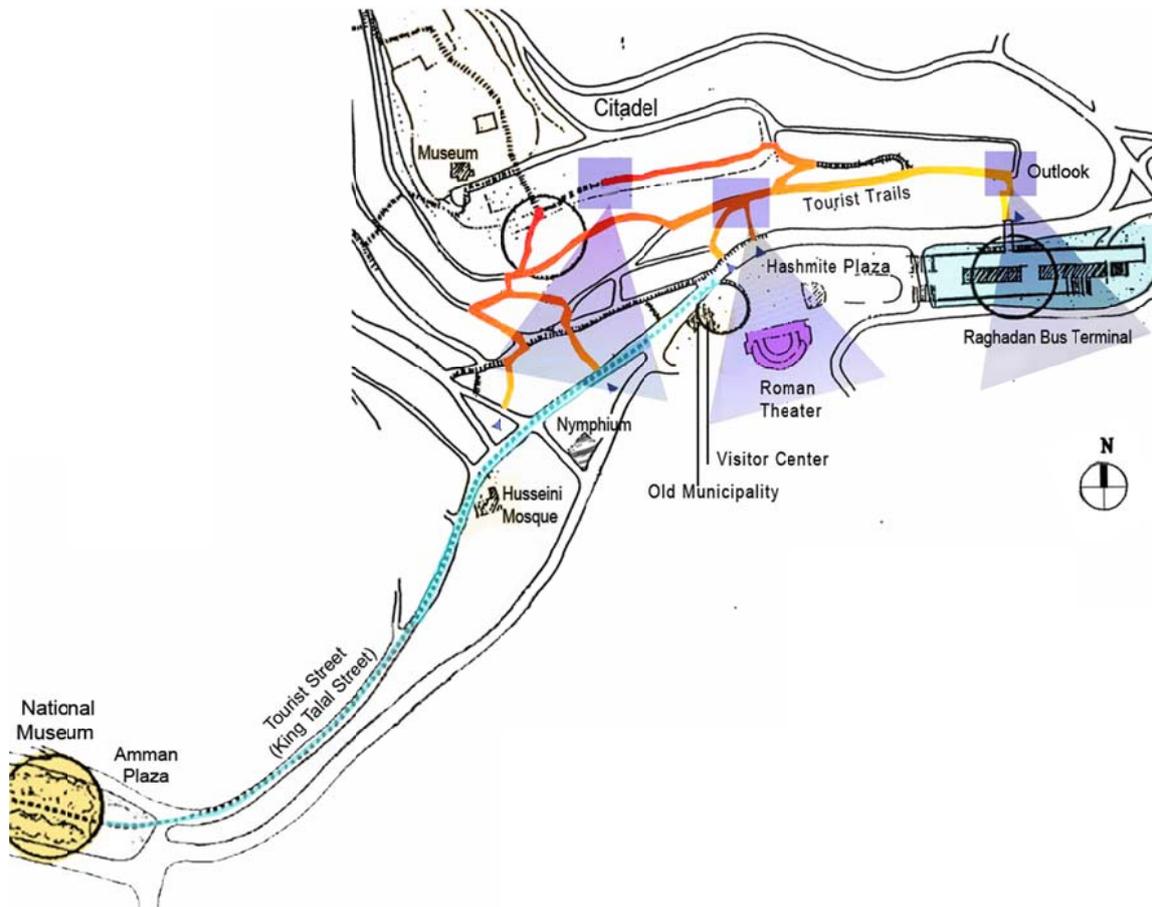


Figure 45: Amman Downtown Tourist Zone

Source: a document from GAM

The King Talal Street is a vital street, a major link between the National Museum and Circular Court Plaza of Ras Al - Ein zone, Al-Husseini Mosque zone, and the Roman Theatre and the Old Municipality Plaza. So enhancing the urban character of the street as “a model for urban continuity” in the Downtown will develop the tourism sector. For the Tourist Trails, ADTZSP proposes the improvement of the existing stairways and streets connecting the citadel, the Raghadan Bus Terminal and the downtown by providing tourist signs, improving stairways and pavement, improving rainwater drainage, street furniture and planting where applicable, adding safety measures where needed, introducing wooden pergolas, in addition to the improvement of particular façades, and developing view terraces with interpretation of the panorama view. For the Tourist Street, ADTZSP proposes the

improvement and beautification of the pedestrian walk on Al –Hashemi Street and King Talal Street, between the Old Municipality Building and Amman City Plaza, including stone pavement repairs, street furniture - benches, signs and safety measures, planting - , and rainwater drainage. ADTZSP proposes an improvement of Al-Husseini Mosque Plaza by expansion, pavement and planting, a renovation of the visitor center, and the improvement of the Old Municipality Plaza and planting garden by pavement, outdoor furniture and kiosks. The improvement was to formulate a Tourist Street (Figure 46) from Amman City Plaza to the junction in front of the old municipality building extending to the Raghadan Bus Terminal with the existing pedestrian path in front of Roman Theatre and in Hashimya Plaza. Enhancement measures for particular building facades were to be done at strategically important locations along the tourist street as a model for enhancement measures (JICA, 2000).

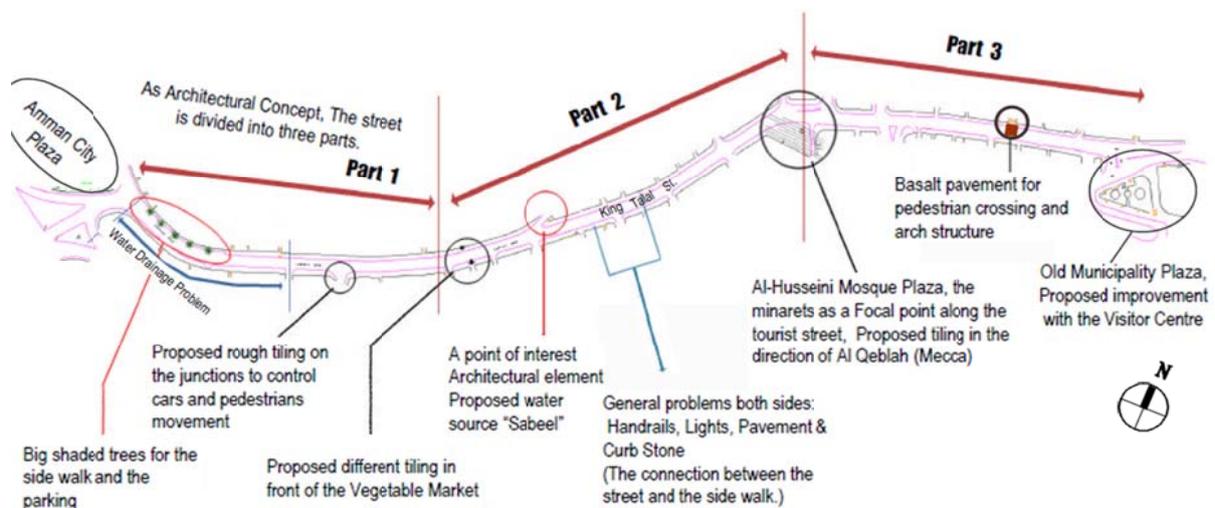


Figure 46: Layout Map of the Tourist Street (the King Talal Street)

Source: refined by the Researcher based on JICA (2000)

5.3 The Amman Downtown Plan and Revitalization Strategy 2010

The Amman Downtown Plan and Revitalization Strategy (ADPRS) is a study initiated by GAM and conducted by the Amman Institute in 2010. There is another level of planning between MGP and ADPRS. A proposal for the area along a corridor linking the Airport of Marka to the airport road defines different nodes and character areas (Figure 47). The nodes are defined at the following places: the Wadi Amman, the Downtown, the Cultural Strip, Princess Basma Parkway, Capital Parkway and Arafat Node, the Southern Towers Gateway.



Figure 47: Wadi Amman Corridor

Source: a document from GAM

This section overviews main issues, vision, strategies and policies for downtown revitalization (more details are provided in Appendix 1). Three main zones are forming the core of Amman “the Wadi Amman spine”: the Cultural Strip, West El-Balad and the Urban Strip. The Downtown is a part of the Wadi Amman spine, with a vital role in its continuity. The Wadi Amman spine composes of three parts: 1) the Urban Strip, a proposed mixed use development from Mahatta Station to the intersection of Prince Hassan St. 2) Downtown (West El- Balad) the historic core of Amman, and 3) the Cultural Strip from the intersection of Abdel-Munem Riyad to Omar Matar streets. The area of Wadi Amman spine is 1,840 donums, while the Downtown is 900 donums (Amman Institute, 2010). The Wadi Amman spine in other maps is defined within the new boundary of the Downtown.



Figure 48: Amman Downtown Area

“Amman is a city with a view, a series of stairs, and a river downtown”. The MGP proposes regeneration of the historic core of Amman. The proposal includes the Faisal Street Project, Abdali Park and Library, Rainbow Street, and public spaces at Raghadan. The heart of Amman was a vital place, full of activities, coffee shops, hotels, banks, and souqs (markets). “It is the community’s aspiration to revitalize these areas and recapture the magic of this central meeting place for all Ammanis and visitors to enjoy”. Urban regeneration should focus on the heart of the city that is also the potential meeting place between East and West Amman. The Downtown needs economic revitalization; most of investments are not targeting the Downtown. Many policies should focus on bringing back residents, businesses and institutions, encouraging re-adaptive reuse, and “appreciating” the role of social significance of the public areas and others features such as souqs and stairs, improving the conditions of archaeological sites (without museumizing the historic areas) and transportation networks. Local communities are to be involved in the urban regeneration process that should be based on socio-economic empirical research and shared responsibility between the public, GAM and the community (GAM, 2008).

5.3.1 Goals and Objectives

ADPRS aims to retain the authentic function and role of the Amman Downtown and to guide its future development. ADPRS provides a framework to guide Downtown development, and to revive the physical and economic conditions for the coming 20 years. ADPRS objectives are “Identifying and guiding the development potentials of the Downtown Area, and prioritizing the actions, implementation setups and incentives required to foster redevelopment and private sector investment in the Downtown”. ADPRS defines the development vision based on the community’s aspirations; the Amman Downtown vision concerns retaining and enhancing its historic role as Jordan’s capital city, celebrating unique heritage, revitalizing commercial areas, creating vibrant gathering places, and attracting housing options. The vision statement is: “*An Inclusive, Attractive, Socially and Economically Diverse Downtown with Historic Identity*”.

“Major planned and ongoing investments such as the LRT , BRT ,Urban Strip development , Hashemite Plaza, Funicular, in addition to rent controls abolishing will increase development potentials in the downtown .The development strategy needs to reconcile future development with the existing urban fabric , identity and character of the Downtown and its community”

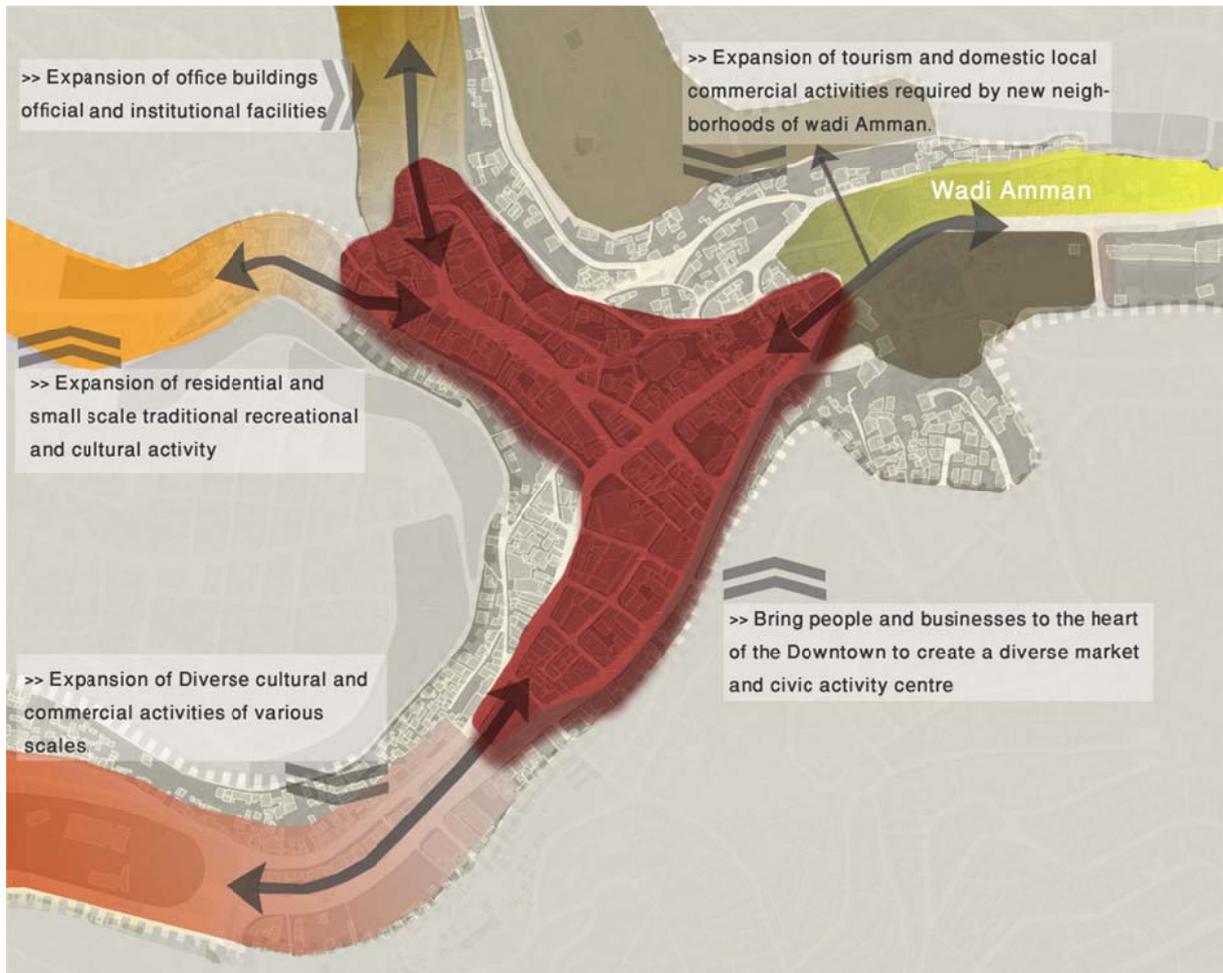


Figure 49: Strategy for the Downtown Revitalization

The Downtown suffers from the “loss of the authentic role and function”; functions as “through-link between East and West Amman” affecting other purposes of visiting the Downtown, and causing traffic congestion. The Downtown lacks commercial, entertainment, service and housing variety, but provides lower quality goods and services. No significant public uses or activities present a civic identity. The historical identity is threatened because of new developments affecting the physical form and the harmony of the urban fabric, in appropriate signage and facade decoration, traffic congestion and pollution, in addition to social and economic pattern changes such as the outmigration of residents and the immigration of foreign workers and the relocation of grand retail, business and government offices.

5.3.2 The Urban Revitalization Approach

Policy recommends changing the zoning laws to determine the different land uses of mixed use, residential, institutional, offices, open space, heritage areas, mixed use corridors,

traditional or thematic uses, entertainment & cultural activities, heritage districts, and tourism facilities and services. The strategy objectives are: 1) “to initiate a revival process that brings Amman’s wider community back to the Downtown and diversifies the range of businesses, accommodations and activates within its boundaries”, 2) “to manage the future growth of the Downtown, while maintaining its local and historical values”, and 3) “to institutionalize the process of redevelopment”.

The strategy concept focuses on the revival of the Faisal-Husseini Area as the core of Downtown, and the integration of the Downtown core with the surrounding areas. The **revival** of the Faisal-Husseini Area will be executed by encouraging developing, diverse commercial markets (themes, clusters) through incentives for high quality services, enhancing the public realm, and developing a civic plaza. Integration of the Downtown core with the surrounding areas will be implemented by developing public realm qualities such as pedestrian connections, landmark and symbols, changing zoning and land use to meet the desired growth expansion, anchor desired expansions by pilot/demonstrating examples, and connecting the peripheral public spaces to the Downtown core.

Downtown redevelopment is a process of : 1) a long term development framework and policies, 2) a regulatory framework protecting the historical identity and physical form of the Downtown while accommodating new investments and developments, 3) key projects and interventions to trigger development, lead change, and create opportunities and mechanisms for investment and civic activities, and 4) community participation, which is important to address the needs and contribute to trigger development through partnership. The approach to revitalize the Downtown is based on designating the Downtown as a special planning area in the “Amman City Zoning By-law 2009”, and developing a long term framework. The Downtown’s special regulations aim to preserve the cultural heritage, and protect historical identity and physical form while encouraging future growth and new investments in the Downtown. The regulations define guidelines and recommendations for the preferred uses, heights, character and scale, in addition to define guidelines for urban design, buildings, and open spaces to improve and beautify the existing fabric, and guide design aspects of new development. ADPRS proposes a strategy for encouraging large office spaces, mixed use development and high density bonus areas.

The Long Term Development Framework	
Land use	Mixed use with emphasis on specific use such as housing, offices, retail, tourism support, an arts and entertainment district, community facilities. Designate the Downtown as Special Planning Area in “Amman City Zoning By-law 2009”
Housing	High density, land assembly, improving infrastructure and urban service, incentives for affordable housing, housing variety, and neighborhood protection against densification or incompatible uses.
Offices	Encourage establishment of different types of offices; corporate offices, professional offices, government offices...
Retail	Re-establish the Downtown as a primary urban retail destination, protect and retain the existing traditional retail fabric, encourage provision of a variety types and scales of goods, develop major retail with full services (department & grocery stores) on redevelopment lots, and facilitating the land assembly, upgrade the existing open market, determine regulation for managing markets, informal vendors and shopping streets character as a vibrant “main street” shopping environment of good urban design quality, reinforce and enhance key areas of use specialization and thematic areas.
Arts and Entertainment District	Identify arts and entertainment district of mixed use character of specialty retail, restaurants, clubs, entertainment venues, cultural facilities, art related activities, and live-work spaces for artists, strengthen existing entertainment uses, and establish an institution to manage the district.
Tourism Support	Tourism services, cultural activities, cluster for tourists around the Hashemite Plaza, define a Heritage District, and pedestrian loop and tourist routes.
Community Facilities	Health and education will continue there
Transport and Transit	Near Term: Bus transit, pedestrian realm, on-site parking. Medium Term: On-street parking and off-street parking facilities, managing shared streets in market areas, rationalizing and urbanizing arterial streets Long Term: Higher order transit, and manage the automobile access passing the Downtown.

Heritage	Designate heritage buildings and cultural heritage districts, guidelines for heritage protection, allocating tax abatement for the restoration of heritage buildings, reusing the heritage buildings for municipal services, encouraging the development of arts, entertainment and cultural activities, and heritage conservation.
Public Realm	Connect the Downtown core with the surrounding area through developing pedestrian and public transport loops connecting key public uses, open spaces and commercial areas, upgrade the pedestrian environment, improve the quality of open space in the historic core, and define gateways and thematic landmarks.
Infrastructure	Propose an assessment study to be done.
Urban Form	Maintain the morphology and the physical character of the Downtown, views openness and connections between surrounding hills, and defines locations for new development styles and forms.
A Regulatory Framework	
Protect the historical identity and physical form of the Downtown while encouraging new investments	Urban design guidelines Zoning and building regulations
Key Projects and Interventions	
Trigger development, lead change, and create opportunities and mechanisms for investment and civic activities	Public Realm Projects (improvement on: Faisal St., shared streets, stairways & alleys, plazas, landmarks, storm-water Drainage, and provide a shuttle bus) Social and Economic Development Projects (provision of affordable housing, development of themed markets, cluster enhancement, job search and employment outreach, enhancement of the accommodation alternatives, attraction of major institutions into the proposed office space) Pilot interventions (facade and roof improvement, adaptive reuse)
Community Participation	
Address the needs and contribute to trigger development through partnership	Community participation in the process (i.e. community councils, Downtown businesses men association), produce templates for PPP and private investments, and launch pilot interventions that comprise businesses and community involvement.

5.4 The Urban Strip- The Wadi Amman Project

The Urban Strip is also known as the Wadi Amman Project in GAM's documents. The project is located in the eastern area of Wast El-Balad.

5.4.1 Goals and Objectives

The project's goal is to revitalize the Downtown. The available land for development is up to 475,000 square meters (475 donums) (GAM, 2009b). In 2009, the Tendering and Procurement Directorate in GAM announced "Invitation for Prequalification, Public-Private Partnership to undertake the Development of the Wadi Amman Project in Amman". The Downtown is connected to the project, which is assembled lands, envisioned as an eastern gateway to Amman (GAM, 2009c).

"A major gateway to the City and destination developed within a comprehensive plan to ensure that this important area of the City is cohesive in form, open for public enjoyment and develops into a dynamic mix of vibrant and sustainable residential neighbourhoods and employment districts... that incorporates a mix of uses including residential, retail, commercial and public area" (GAM, 2009c, p6).

The project would serve as the eastern gateway to Amman. The character of the project is defined by its location along the Seil Amman and transportation arteries (Al Jaysh Highway and King Abdullah I Street) to provide transportation links to the downtown and suburban centers of the City, and to define the Wadi Amman neighborhoods from surrounding communities. A major public transportation system was proposed within the Wadi Amman to become a hub and inter-modal meeting point for the regional and municipal transit systems (GAM, 2009c). "This ambitious downtown regeneration project will bring massive socio-economic benefits to areas where our capital started", Mayor Omar Maani, (GAM, 2009b).

5.4.2 Approach, Strategy and Policy

The project strategy is to create mixed use development, maximizing development opportunity and design excellence while taking into consideration the market demand. The project seeks developing residential uses and commercial uses on the street level to encourage pedestrian traffic, and developing open spaces and green spaces to emphasize the

natural history of the area as well as improving the quality of life. GAM’s role is to assemble lands and provide required infrastructure services (GAM, 2009b).

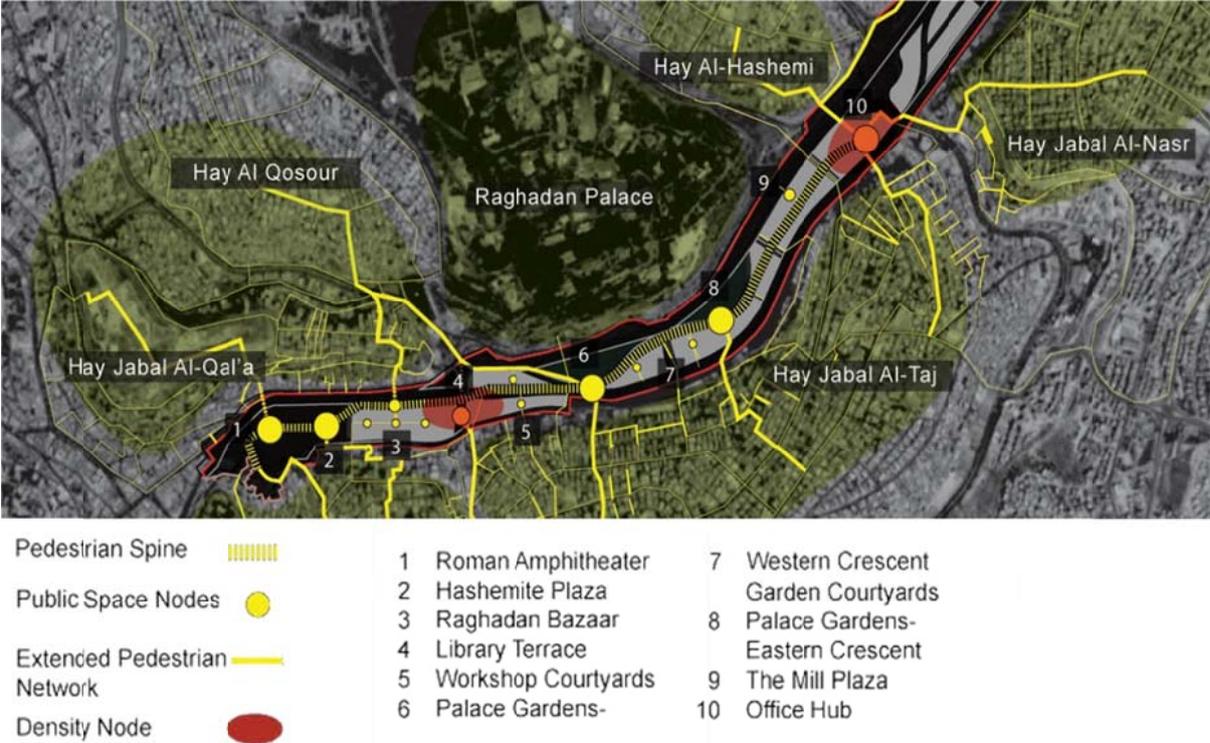


Figure 50: Open and Public Spaces

Source: GAM (2009c).

The project “will revive the city center”. Redevelopment aspires to generate significant social and economic benefits for city residents. The project has economic, financial, social, and quality design objectives. The economic objectives are to enhance tourism attractions, provide new business opportunities, and create a center for the economic development of vibrant urban neighborhoods for retail and commercial activities. The financial objectives are investment while sharing risks between the public and private sectors, and maximizing financial return. The social objectives are to integrate the residential neighborhoods, provide more housing units, around 10% of it being affordable housing, create sustainable development, provide a mix of housing types and qualities, while the partnership with GAM would share risks in housing development. The project encourages developing high quality public amenities and spaces, good accessibility, and sustainable design that is to be a showcase for sustainable design and development, a project of “a more viable environment for the Eastern areas of Amman and linking it with West Amman” (GAM, 2009c).

The mechanism of implementation is public-private partnership. The private partner is responsible for the design and construction, financing, marketing and sales. GAM's responsibility is provision of infrastructure, including the provision of water, sewers, storm drainage, electricity and telecommunication to the site boundary, in addition to ensuring adequate transportation and transit infrastructure (GAM, 2009c).

The project composes of three zones, the first is Wadi Philadelphia (9 hectares) which includes the Roman Amphitheater, the Old municipality building (to be rehabilitated as a boutique hotel), the Poets house, and the old Raghadan terminal to be developed (adaptive reuse) into a mixed-use development with an emphasis on tourism, since the terminal is not in operation. This zone is an important tourist zone that will provide more accessible and comfortable tourist attractions, and would link the Amphitheatre with the Citadel through a potential funicular. The second zone, Wadi Raghadan (22.5 hectares), includes mixed-use buildings and a pedestrian path, intended to provide more commercial areas for the local businesses and more housing units including 10% affordable housing. The third zone is Wadi Al-Mahatta (14.4 hectares) and includes a major inter-modal public transit facility and mixed use center. The terminal shall be located where the proposed Zarqa LRT line intersects with the Amman public transit system, including an urban LRT, buses, taxis and services (GAM, 2009c). The Raghadan terminal is proposed to be developed into a commercial area, a public library and a hotel (GAM, 2009b).

The rationale of the redevelopment opportunity is based on the current needs and expected demands serving the rapidly growing communities in Amman, where the site has development potential of up to 5 Floor Area Ratio ("FAR") or a gross floor area ("GFA") of approximately 470,000 sqm of land area. The project is a substantial densification of high density zones, building height is 24 m to 75 m high GAM (2009c). The Wadi Amman project (the urban strip) is meant to provide around 40% (6,000) of the expected needed jobs for 2025, in addition to other indirect jobs (Amman Institute, 2010). In another reference, the project's economic benefits are the provision of 22,219 jobs, and an increase of the local expenditure and taxes (Amman Institute, 2009b).



-  Density Nodes
-  Natural Heritage/ Park Space
-  Urban Plaza/ Open Space
-  Pedestrian Spine



Figure 51: Designation of zoning and heights

Source: GAM (2009c)

Use	Land Area (sqm)	Ratio
Residential (10% is affordable)	143,048	27%
Commercial uses on ground floors	77,955	15%
Offices	38,898	7%
public institutions and facilities	25,379	5%
Hotels	33,372	6%
Public spaces	206,137	39%
Total	534,789	100%

Source: Amman Institute (2009b)

Competitions proposals of the Urban Strip Project



<http://www.calthorpe.com/amman-urban-strip>, retrieved in April 24, 2014



<http://technoyugi.blogspot.com/2009/11/wadi-amman-urban-regeneration-proposals.html>, retrieved in April 24, 2014

5.4.3 Implementation

In a meeting with Amjad Maslamani, a parliament deputy, Yousof Shawarba, the mayor deputy, Fawzi Mesaad, City Manager of GAM), Monther Jamhawi, General director of the Department of Antiquities, some of traders demanded GAM to execute the Wadi Amman Project that was developed years ago. Fawzi Mesaad clarified that the project is an understudy (Jordan News, 2014). GAM's officials declared that the Urban Strip project was stopped because of the difficult financial situation of GAM, in addition to the lacking economic feasibility of the project, but the project will be a future development opportunity. According to Fawaz Mesaad most of these projects were proposed in 2009, when the economic situation was better, but currently, 90% of these projects are difficult to implement (Bebars, 2015). Through an interview with engineers from GAM, the decision regarding the assembled lands for the Wadi Amman project was cancelled and the lands were returned to the owners (Dawood, 2016).

5.5 The Cultural Strip

The cultural strip is a mix of municipal uses and cultural uses. The purpose is to revitalize the center of Amman in order to achieve social, cultural, and economic benefits. GAM's policy to develop the Cultural Strip started in the 1990s, through many projects: the Hussein cultural center completed in 2002, the City Hall in 1996, and the building of GAM in 1997, in addition to developing the Fountain Plaza and the improvement of the existing Ras al Ain Park. The Hussein Cultural Center includes exhibition halls and theaters, the National Institute of Music, and a press center (Dawood, 2002).



1: Hussein cultural center, 2: GAM Building, 3: The City Hall, 4: National Museum, 5: Plaza, 6: the Amman Artisan Market, 7: the Centre for the Performing Arts (proposed) 8: Rasi al Ain Park,

Source: based on Google 2016

Lately, new cultural facilities were established: The National Museum in 2013 and the Amman Artisan Market in 2010. A proposal of Centre for the Performing Arts was prepared. The Amman Artisan Market is located on a site area of 2.5 donums. The project objective is urban, economic and social development serving the local community through the rehabilitation of the steel hanger, which was for the electricity company, into a public market and plaza with the provision of parking. The Centre for the Performing Arts was designed, but not implemented. It was proposed on the site of the old cigarette factory, and inspired to be an anchor for arts and cultural activities in that area that is accessible to different areas and classes of society (GAM, 2008). The design was selected by launching a competition invitation of international renowned architects. The first prize was shared between Zaha Hadid and Delugan Meissl Associates Architects. The project cost was estimated by 80 million JD (Alwakaai, 2014).



Figure 52: The Center of Performing Art, by Zaha Hadid

Source: <http://www.zaha-hadid.com/architecture/king-abdullah-ii-house-of-culture-art/>,
retrieved in March 13, 2015

5.6 Assessment

According to Kamal Jalouqa, the 1989 Study has not been implemented (Jalouqa, 2016). Some of the 1989 Study projects and policies are re-proposed in ADPRS. The assessment focuses on the Downtown revitalization policy: “The Amman Downtown Plan and Revitalization Strategy, 2010”, GAM’s interventions and projects of the 1990s Tourism Study, the Cultural Strip projects and the Urban Strip.

5.6.1 The Downtown planning Approaches

The 1989 and 2010 Studies use the framework approach, providing a comprehensive analysis and proposals for different systems and aspects of demography, employment and economic activities, housing, land use, infrastructure, transportation, the public realm and building form. But the important missing studies are market and social studies. The 1990s Studies use strategic planning approaches which define a master plan and a set of projects.

The urban study (1989, 1990s, and 2010) approaches for revitalizing the Amman Downtown are economic, social, cultural, environmental and physical approaches (Table 25). The main focus of these approaches emphasizes the improvement of the place quality, heritage-tourism, mixed use development and accessibility. The unique features of the Downtown are the local traditional shopping activities, historical identity, heritage and physical form, the memory and soul of the place, the meeting place between East and West Amman, the human scale and social interaction. The potentials and opportunities of the Downtown include historic sites, the existing pattern of mixed use development, specialized markets, and the vital area of the Faisal Street and the Hussein Mosque.

Table 24: Amman’s Downtown Revitalization Strategies

GACP, 1988	Tourism Projects, 1996 & 2000	ADPRS
Objectives		
Improve the Downtown role on the national, metropolitan and local levels as a historic, cultural, commercial, employment and transport center	To make Amman “Jordan’s true international core”, increase attractiveness, promote tourism, and enhance economic activities	Retain the authentic function and role of the Downtown, and revive physical and economic conditions for the coming 20 years
Main issues		
Lack of touristic services, poor accessibility, housing, and poor quality environment	Need for tourists’ amenities and infrastructure	Loss of the authentic role and function, congestion, poor public uses, poor pedestrian environment, and lack of housing variety
Main strategy		
Enhance historic sites and cultural facilities, improve the transport system and pedestrian environment, improve facilities and services, housing, and open space, controls to maintain the visual quality, and intensity	Improve tourist facilities and destinations, physical environment, and enhance pedestrian walkability, develop a zone of trails and paths connecting different facilities and historic sites with the Downtown	Designate the Downtown as special planning area, preserve the cultural heritage, protect historic identity and physical form, encourage future growth and new investments, revive the Faisal-Husseini Area as the Downtown core, and integrate the Downtown core with surrounding areas
Policy		
Projects and actions on the short and long term, urban design policies	A master plan defines a Tourism Zone, projects	development framework and policies, regulation, projects and community participation
Projects		
Projects related to tourism, environment and public spaces, transport, and housing.	Tourism projects such as tourist trails, view terraces and tourist terminal.	Public projects (open spaces and physical improvement), Social and economic development projects
Approach		
Environmental- Heritage	Heritage- Tourism development	Mixed use, Economic, Environmental and physical, Heritage- Tourism

The goal of the Tourism Projects of the 1990s and 2000 was to make Amman “Jordan’s true international core”, increasing attractiveness, promoting tourism, and enhancing economic activities. However, improving the tourists’ services and terminal, and developing tourist trails and view terraces would not make Amman’s core international. The Tourism Projects increase attractiveness, promote tourism, and enhance economic activities. Well, improving the tourists’ services and terminal, and developing tourist trails and view terraces have improved the place quality, and provided additional activities, but would not make Amman’s core global. The Downtown has an important role on the national level where Amman is the capital of Jordan. The urban studies heritage approach aims to protect historic identity and physical form, promote tourism, and enhance economic activities. The urban studies strategies focus on improving the place quality and enhancing pedestrian walkability, developing public spaces and tourist services, protecting heritage areas and improving the conditions of the historic sites.

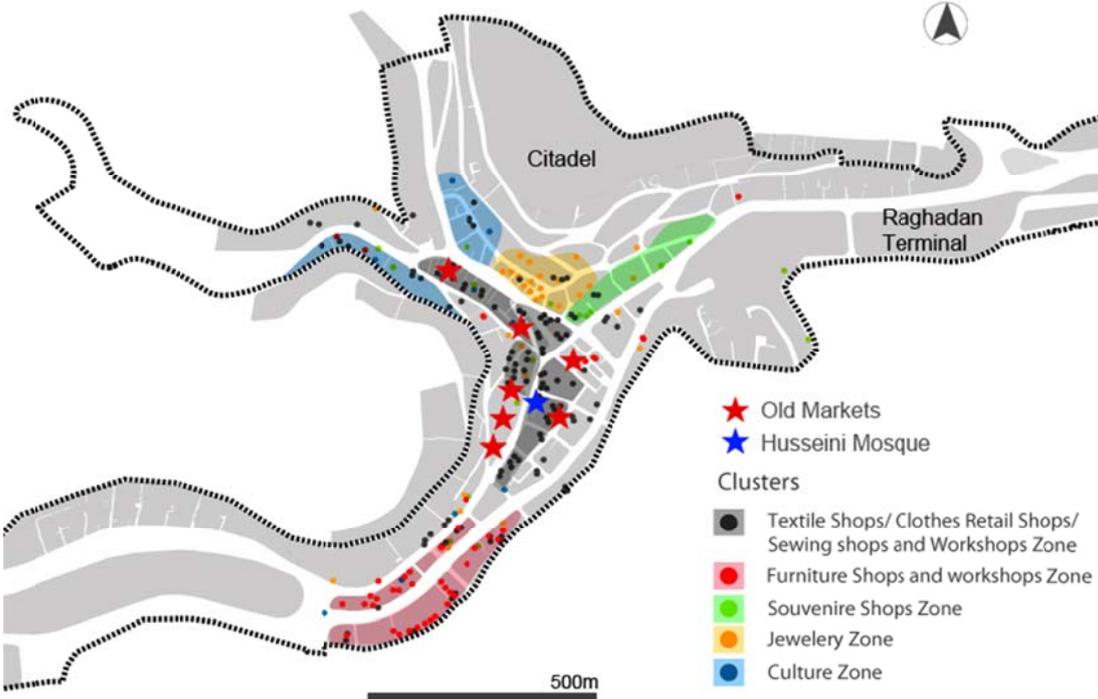


Figure 53: Specialized Markets

Source: Amman Institute (2010)

The tourism approach for a downtown’s revitalization is based on capitalizing on the heritage and historical assets of the downtown. The tourism approach is interrelated with the economic and environmental approaches, where traditional markets (Figure 53) have both values in tourism and economy. The urban studies emphasize on the Husseini Mosque and Faisal Street, the role of landscaping and environmental improvements to present the

downtown's uniqueness, providing better tourists' facilities and services, in addition to proposals for traffic management and major improvements on the longer term. Urban studies emphasize the Hussein Mosque's importance as a religious and social focal point by improving the Al-Hussein Mosque Plaza (expansion, pavement and planting). The ADPRS strategy concept focuses on the revival of the Faisal-Hussein Area as the core of Downtown and the integration of the Downtown core with surrounding areas. The revival of the Faisal-Hussein Area proposes encouraging developing diverse commercial markets (through emphasis on themes, clusters, and incentives for high quality services), enhancing the public realm, and developing a civic plaza. Integration of the Downtown core with surrounding areas is proposed by developing public realm qualities such as pedestrian connections, landmark and symbols, the changing of zoning and land use to meet desired growth expansion, anchor desired expansions by pilot/demonstrating examples, and connecting the peripheral public spaces to the downtown core.

Indeed, the Faisal Street, old markets, and the Hussein Mosque and its surroundings are the core of the Downtown where the original shopping activities were developed. The core of old Arab cities is the traditional specialty markets were linked to the main city mosque (Hakim, 1986; Mortada, 2003; Bianca, 2000 and Raymond, 2008). The proposals for developing the core of the Downtown are successful strategies. Markets are specialized trade areas such as bookshops and perfume, clothes, and jewelry markets. Markets are the main economic contributors, hotels and storerooms mixed with commercial buildings and institutional facilities were attached with the major mosque. In economic theories, a specialized markets or niche markets strategy is also a common strategy for improving the economy. Fortunately, the Amman Downtown also has this important character of specialized markets close to the main mosque (Hussein Mosque). Focusing on strengthening the specialization of the traditional market of the Downtown is an essential strategy that would develop a distinctive character of the Downtown. Emphasis on the traditional characteristics of the Downtown and the enhancement of its unique features will make the Downtown a distinct center that will increase its competitiveness over other urban centers and shopping malls.

The 1989 study proposes enhancing outdoor prayer spaces of the Hussein Mosque to emphasize the mosque's importance as a religious and social focal point, landscaping and creating more views of the mosque and enhancing outdoor prayer spaces for Hussein.

ADPRS proposes developing a civic plaza in front of the Hussein Mosque, landscaping, beautification and improving the surrounding building facades, adaptive reuse of some of the surrounding buildings, pedestrianization, improving and managing the informal market in Souk Al Sukkar, and setting out urban and architectural design guidelines. The Hussein district to be integrated with the Faisal Street shall form the core of the Downtown. But, on ground, the only activities that were done were cleaning and enhancing the Hussein Mosque façade and plaza (Jariri, 2014). The Hussein Plaza project is under study by GAM.

The Downtown boundary includes West El-Balad, the Cultural Strip and the Urban Strip (a new proposal). The development of the Cultural Strip of municipal and cultural facilities has strengthened the Downtown civic functions. The Urban Strip Project is a proposed mixed use development at the eastern area of West El-Balad and aims to revitalize the Downtown through creating mixed use development to improve the social and economic situations of people there. The Strip development approach focuses on mixed use development and design excellence. The project composes three zones: the tourist zone, mixed use development, and an inter-modal public transit facility including a mixed use center. The impact of the strip project will be discussed in the following sections.

5.6.2 The Economy and the Real Estate Market Development Impact

5.6.2.1 Cultural and Touristic Facilities

There are 57 hotels (1,715 beds) in the Downtown, most of them (44 hotels) are unclassified, and the rest of the hotels are either 1- or 2-star hotels (Amman Institute, 2010). About 117 hotels out of 229 hotels are classified in Amman. The highest number of nights spent was at 5-star hotels. “This reflects the status of visitors to Jordan who are typically high-income Arab and Gulf tourists”. There are three types of tourism in Amman: Educational Tourism, Medical Tourism, and Meetings Incentives Conferences and Events Tourism. “Museums, art galleries and culture heritage exhibitions, are major attractions in Amman, especially for tourists visiting for a short period of time” (Amman Institute, 2009a). Since the three types of tourism are more related to specific destinations (education, medical, and meetings), this means the opportunities of the Downtown to attract those tourists is very low. Most of the Downtown hotels are unclassified. In addition, the Downtown has few revealed historic sites that will not be enough to promote Amman globally. Many cultural facilities were developed in the Downtown. The National Museum project was proposed in the 1996 Tourism Study.

The museum role is a cultural resource to present the history of Jordan including spaces for exhibitions and seminars. The museum was seen as a potential for generating economic and educational benefits. The museum, funded by JICA, was opened in 2014. The Amman Artisan Market aims to improve urban, economic and social activities and to serve the local community through the rehabilitation of the steel hanger (was for the electricity company) into a public market and plaza with the provision of parking. The project was implemented with cooperation between GAM and USAID (GAM, 2009b). The project is funded by USAID.



The Artisan Market, <http://www.menbar-naqabi.net/?p=32650>, retrieved in December 10, 2016

The proposed Center of Performing Art was to be located at the Downtown western gateway. Currently, the allocated site for the center is occupied by the Friday public market that will be relocated to another location later on. Prime Minister Abdullah Anossor declared that the project will be stalled for financial difficulties (Alwakaai, 2014). News was published that the Jordanian Anti-Corruption Commission raised a corruptions claim of 16 million JD against some of GAM's employees (Amra News, 2013). Some people consider the demolition of the Cigarette Factory building as a mistake, and GAM had to renovate it into an institutional building, a school or a training center. These facilities have enhanced the cultural activities and events in the Downtown, but none of them was a catalyst for further regeneration projects or activities in the area. For example, although a large institution, the National Museum, is located at the cultural strip close to the Fountain Plaza, the commercial

activities in this area were unsuccessful, the stores are vacant. According to Eng. Nisreen, many times the stores were rented, but they failed to continue (Dawood, 2016). There are some key sites in the Downtown that lack restaurants and other entertainment facilities that would enhance the tourists' services, such as near the Qalaa and the Roman Amphitheater. Although many improvements on tourists' facilities and services have taken place, some of them are in bad conditions. Weak operation and maintenance are affecting the quality of these services, such as the information center being inactive, the proposed café at the Hashmite Plaza being inactive, and the public toilets near the fountain plaza being closed and in bad conditions.



Photos of the Friday public market at the proposed site of the Center of Performing Art

5.6.2.2 A Primary Urban Center

No market study was conducted as a preparatory study for the revitalization strategy of 2010. ADPRS suggests that a market study should be done to analyze gaps and identify opportunities and strategies for improving and expanding the existing retail and office sector. ADPRS emphasizes the existing pattern of mixed use development of the Downtown, and proposes land use designation to strengthen the mixed use character of the Downtown (scale and type) of different uses:

- re-establish the Downtown as a primary urban retail destination, protect and retain the existing traditional retail fabric
- re-establish the Downtown as a significant employment center in Amman: corporate offices, professional offices, education employment, government offices
- enhance tourism services and attractions, provide cultural activities and a cluster for tourists around the Hashemite Plaza, and define a Heritage District

- encourage affordable housing and housing variety
- strengthen the existing entertainment uses (restaurants, clubs, cinemas, etc)

ADPRS aims to re-establish the Downtown as a primary urban retail destination with competing suburban shopping malls by emphasizing providing an interesting and vital alternative environment, protecting and retaining the existing traditional retail fabric of Downtown Amman (souks, vegetable markets, informal vendors, book printers & sellers, etc.), theme markets and cluster enhancement. The proposals for developing theme markets, a heritage district and entertainment zones, and attracting high-profile restaurants and retail businesses to the area - if implemented - are rational strategies that would strengthen the place identity and distinguish the Downtown from other commercial centers. But would that be enough to re-establish the Downtown as a primary urban retail destination on the city level? ADPRS objectives are responding to the city needs in achieving a high quality urban center and providing jobs, but the supply of commercial uses exceeds the city's demand. Many factors would have influence on the attractiveness and success of the Downtown: the purchasing power, travel distance, traffic congestion and availability of parking, and type of products. The main trade area of the Downtown is the surrounding neighborhoods that contain low purchasing power, wealthy customers have many other alternative centers that are more accessible and convenient. The Downtown, if to be a regional destination, should provide goods and services that are worth traveling for on the city level. The Downtown is not a prime commercial center on the city level; Downtown commercial spaces compose 1.3% of the city commercial spaces including retail, warehouses, and other services. There are many competitive commercial centers to the Downtown on regional and local levels. Offices in Amman are polarized in the western areas, specifically at Zahran, Abdali, Wadi al-Seir as clarified in Section 4.4. The offices areas compose 0.17% of the total city office spaces, indicating that the Downtown is not a preferred center for office activities

Year	1994	2004	2009	2016
Population	1,382,426	1,896,426	2,315,600	4,019,100
Commercial uses				
Medina District (Old Downtown)	31,938	44,960	68,169	118,281
Total in Amman	1,634,337	3,531,897	5,491,060	8,878,738
%	1.95%	1.27%	1.24%	1.33%
Offices				
Medina District (Old Downtown)	940	1,164	2,003	3,016
Total in Amman	178,172	535,412	934,385	1,779,678
%	0.53%	0.22%	0.21%	0.17%

As clarified in Section 4.5, the boundary of Amman’s city center (Figure 54) includes the Abdali District, Tlaa al-Ali, Umm Summaq and Khaldaa District, Zahran District, Wadi al-Seir District. This boundary is drawn where the highest concentrations of commercial activities and the highest land values are located. The designated center provides services to middle and high income people.

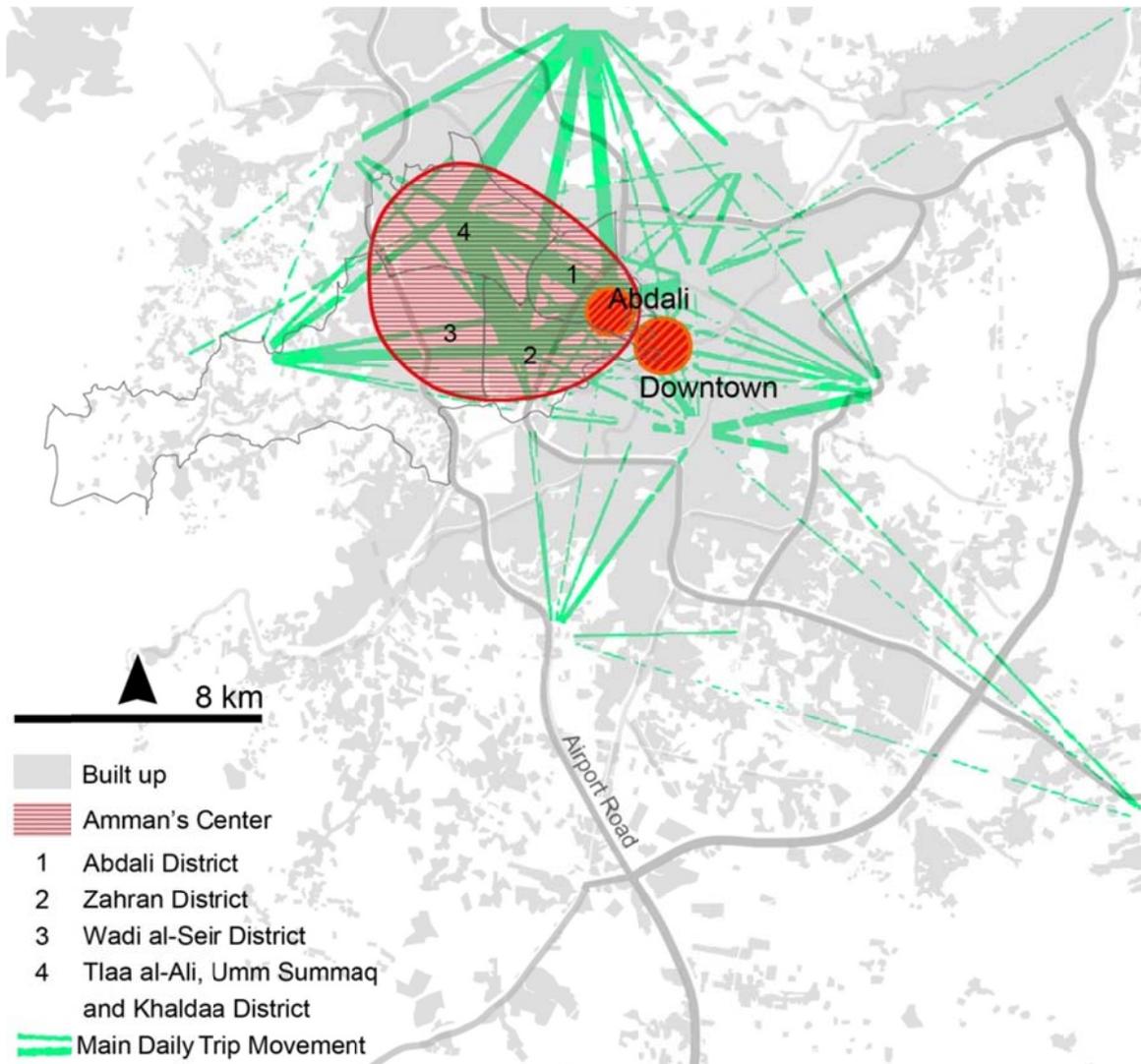


Figure 54: The City Center of Amman

Source: the Researcher based on Amman Institute (2009a), GAM (2008) and the Amman Chamber of Commerce (2015)

The Downtown market provides commercial services for middle and mostly low income people. The Downtown is not the prime activities center of Amman, but a center similar to other district centers. The district centers are competitive commercial centers to the Downtown, for example, the commercial centers of Jabal al Hussein and al-Hashmi provide goods of suitable prices for middle and low income people.

5.6.2.3 *New retail spaces*

Although commercial activities were considered in the redevelopment of many places and are incorporated within public spaces at prime locations, such as in the Fountain Plaza and Raghdan Terminal, most of them are vacant. JICA's proposal was to upgrade the terminal and to provide touristic services, but GAM has just four touristic buses, civil defense trucks and excluded other public transportation systems that were previously there. The terminal, prior to development, was vital and attracted different people and activities including from the surrounding streets. Public transportation is a key economic driver in urban areas. The picture is reversed to Mahatta. The impact of the transportation terminal as a generator of commercial activity is obvious in the Mahatta Terminal. A new market has been developed there, vendors and kiosk owners seek high foot traffic spread along the Mahatta Terminal streets and spaces, legally and illegally. According to Majed al Omari, a member of Wast El-Bald Committee, a kiosk owner in the Mahatta terminal said that the traffic at Raghadan was better, whereas the Downtown generates more traffic.



Deserted Stores at the Fountain Plaza



Deserted Stores in the Raghadan Terminal



Photos show the commercial activities in the Mahatta Terminal

5.6.2.4 Large scale Development Project

Another strategy proposed by GAM for “revitalizing” the Downtown is the Urban Strip Project, a large scale project that was meant to be located at the eastern areas of the Downtown. The Strip aims to “revitalize” the Downtown by creating mixed use development of high density zones on a land area of 470 dunum. The Strip includes retail, offices, housing, the Bazar, a library, workshops, a vocational school and training center, etc. The proposed commercial use (retail) in the urban strip is around 80,000 sqm, this supply is similar to the existing commercial uses (retail and offices) area in West El-Balad of 84,925 sqm. These numbers indicate that the Strip is a large scale development that may have a major impact on the Downtown. Maybe there is another inspiration behind this proposal; the Strip is overlooked by the Raghadan Palace, an area of high importance, politically and culturally.

Two scenarios are possible with the impact of the project on the Downtown. One scenario is the project will be competitive to the Downtown by attracting investors and customers when providing an attractive urban center of design excellence, higher quality amenities and services, and better physical and environmental container. The second scenario is that the project would not have a bad impact on the Downtown, because it supplies higher quality

goods and products that are not competitive to the Downtown market that attracting the middle and low income people with weak purchasing power. But if the project will provide goods and products that are not demanded by the surrounding communities, then a question here would be whether the project would attract customers from all of Amman or not. In case of commercial uses, there are many regional centers, commercial corridors and regional malls that are competitive markets on more accessible and favorable locations. The demand for office spaces is concentrated in the western areas of Amman as indicated in Figure 52. In addition, with the completion of Abdali, the market will be over supply of offices, hotels and retails (discussed in Chapter 6). Regarding the residential uses, there is a concern about the socioeconomic situation of the residents who will be interested in living at this location. The Strip project is a large scale mixed use development. The economy focuses on commercial activities. The existing land uses are a mix of workshops, a flour mill, a pasta factory, warehouses for clothes relief and a specialized commercial market of car accessories shops. The Strip project, if implemented, would have a bad impact on the local economy and would cause social displacement.



Another issue is the transportation strategy on the city level, where the Mahatta was envisioned to be developed into a hub and inter-modal meeting point for the regional and municipal transit systems. This proposal is not logical; the daily commuting mass from

Zarqa should be gathered in the North Terminal that is located closer to the Amman center; the business activity of the city as defined in this research. The commuters shall be gathered in the North Terminal that is closer to the city center.

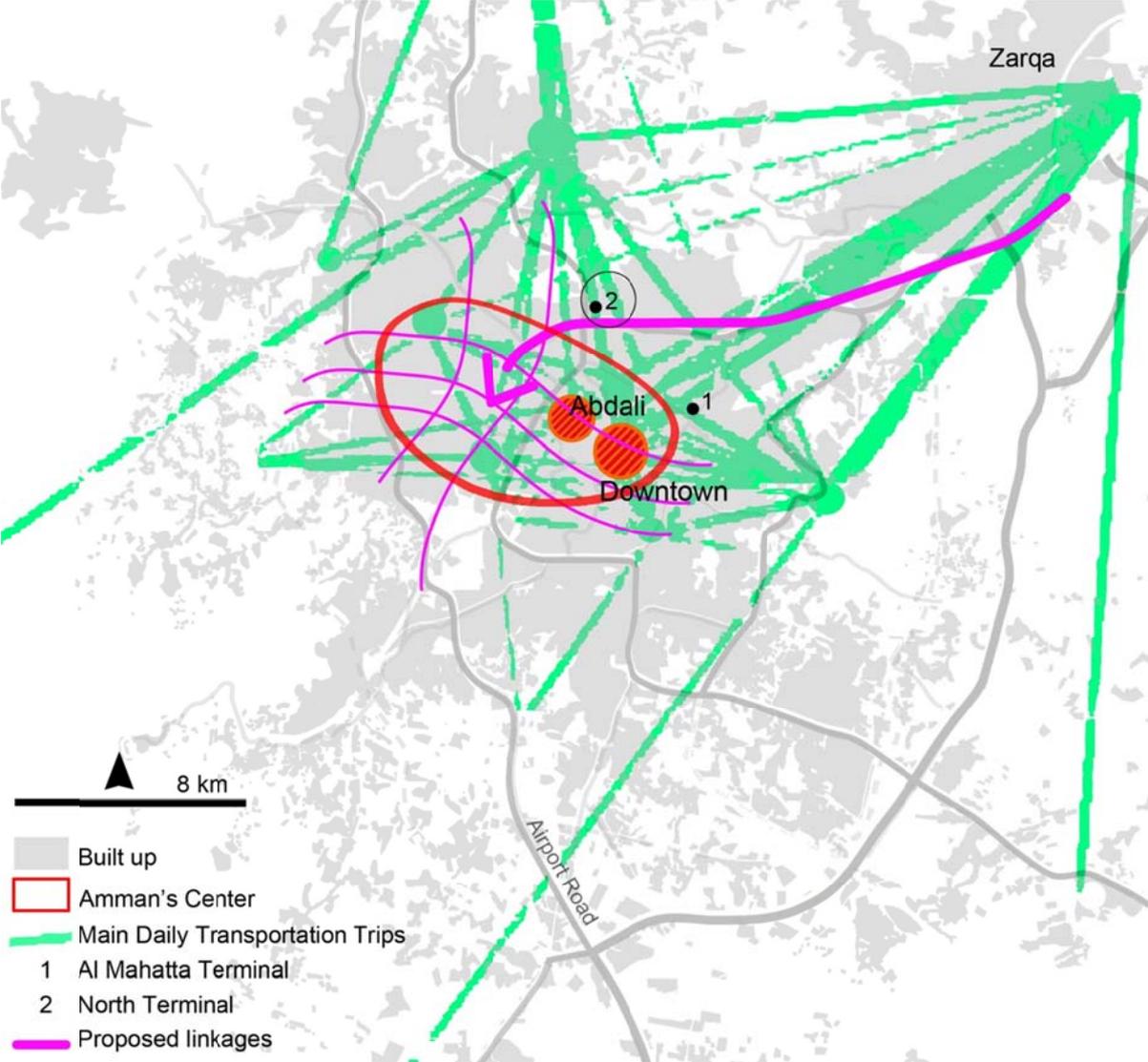


Figure 55: Proposal of a regional terminal at the North Terminal

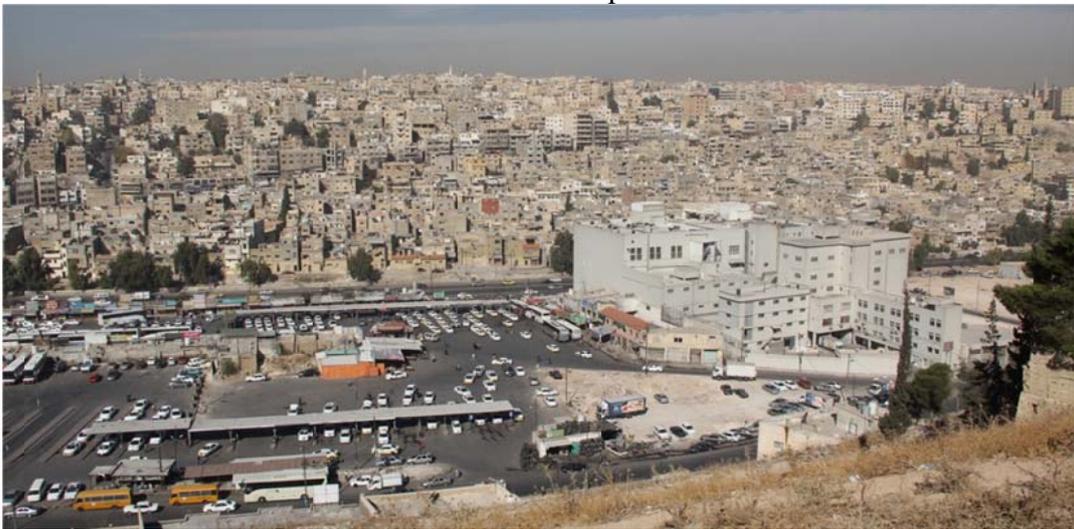
Source: the Researcher based on information from Amman Institute (2009a) and maps from GAM (2008) and the Amman Chamber of Commerce (2015)

At all events, GAM’s officials declared that the Urban Strip project was stalled because of the difficult financial situation of GAM, in addition to the lacking economic feasibility of the project, but the project would provide a future development opportunity (Bebars, 2015).

Current activities at the Urban Strip



Car workshops



The Mahatta Terminal and the Pasta Factory



The Flour Mill and other workshops

5.6.2.5 Market Stalls / Street Vendors

ADPRS recognizes the importance of the informal vendors to the Downtown's character and its low-income market sector, and proposes that regulation should manage these activities. There are different parties and interests in the market stalls. Currently, GAM is enforcing the removal of the stalls. The Downtown traders (the shops owners) are against the unauthorized stalls that have an impact on their benefits where they have to lower prices to compete with the street vendors who do not have to pay any taxes or expenses. In addition, the traders consider the street vendors disturbing to the heritage image of Amman (Alwakeel News, 2012). Akel Biltaji, GAM's Mayor, with Issa Haider Murad (Amman Chamber of Commerce (ACC)) and Dawood Hakouz (Director of Traffic Department) did a tour in the Downtown, their focus was on exploring the random spread of stalls that make troubles for the shop owners, traffic disruptions, and obstacles to pedestrians. The group agreed on managing traffic with adding traffic signs and managing parking (Amman Chamber of Commerce, 2014).

The head of the Downtown traders' commission, Yahya Awamra, appreciated GAM's effort to removing the stalls and managing the main roads and the store fronts of the Downtown. According to Awamra, GAM has extensively worked on reorganizing the Downtown and enhancing the Downtown's heritage image. He demanded GAM to continue all efforts in this direction that will preserve the Downtown's image for its historic and touristic role in the city of Amman (Alrai, 2014). GAM, in cooperation with security, tried to enforce clearing stalls out of sidewalks especially in the Quraish and Talal Street. Some traders claimed that GAM deliberately delayed removing the stalls, and they raised claims to GAM that many of the stalls were owned by GAM's employees. On the other hand, the street vendors declared "they want us stealers instead of workers", before removing stalls, GAM has to find alternative locations (Balbesi, 2014). Market stalls exist in different locations in Amman. In other areas of Amman, specifically at the Wehdat Camp commercial area, there was violence between police forces and the market stall owners who refused to remove their stalls, and they set fire to their goods protesting against GAM's regulation (AlMadenah News, 2016).



Source: AlMadenah News (2016)

Another experience of market stalls is the Friday public market, second-hand clothing and shoes. The allocated site for the performing center is occupied by the Friday public market! The Friday public market was located previously in the old Abdali terminal that is planned to be the Abdali Park and Library, and then relocated to the site of the Performing Arts temporarily. The planned location of the Friday Market is Attota area, near the Mahatta station (Mihsen, 2014). The stall owners have protested against transferring the public market from Abdali to Rasi Al Ain. They consider the Abdali site more central and larger (Cozzens, 2014). One proposal for the development of the old Abdali terminal was a park and a library, aiming to create an urban node that is vital and full of activities to be a gathering space for different ages (GAM, 2009a). The old Abdali terminal site is allocated for parking until a specific plan can be decided.



“Our families and the livelihood of our children is more rightful than any project on earth”.
Source: Cozzens (2014)



The previous location of the public market at the old Abdali terminal,
<http://khaberni.com/more.php?newsid=110597&catid=1>



A proposal for Abdali Park and Library at the old Abdali terminal , source: documents from GAM



The current location is occupied with the public market at the old cigarette factory



A proposal for a Centre for the Performing Arts at the old cigarette factory (<http://www.zaha-hadid.com/architecture/king-abdullah-ii-house-of-culture-art/>), retrieved in March 13, 2015



5.6.3 The Physical and Environmental Impact

5.6.3.1 *The Quality of Urban Design*

The urban design quality will be assessed with seven objectives of good urban design: Urban Character, Continuity and enclosure, Quality of the public realm, Legibility, Adaptability, Diversity, and Ease of movement.

a. Urban Character

“A place with its own identity is to promote character in townscape and landscape by responding to and reinforcing locally distinctive patterns of development, landscape and culture” (DETR, 2000). As proposed by the studies, the Downtown has a significant character, an urban form of a “dramatic topography”, a center of traditional retail and thematic markets within areas of heritage values.

Urban Form

The urban form will be discussed by criticizing GAM’s policy of building heights and scale, intensification and densification, and the impact on the Downtown character. The urban studies emphasize the urban design role in improving the place quality and character. The major concern is preserving the urban form of the Downtown that has unique physical characteristics of hills and valleys. The 1989 Plan recognized the topographic features of the Downtown as a heritage to be preserved, a policy was proposed to preserve the hilly skyline by restricting the buildings’ height at the hills crest with three to four floors, while higher buildings were to be developed on the lower slopes. None of these guidelines have been adopted.



Figure 56: The 1987 height’s proposal

Source: GAM (1987)

The current zoning and regulations, if developed as of right now, the outcomes would be devastating. ADPRS states: “If future development has continued as indicated in assumptions 1 and 2 “As of Right”, the built form will be unbalanced combination of over 9 floors buildings (20-23%) and low-rise buildings (59%). This growth will have bad impact on heritage character of older areas, create undesirable shadowing, traffic management issue, and negatively affect view-sheds between the valley and the surrounding hills”, see the below images (Amman Institute, 2010).



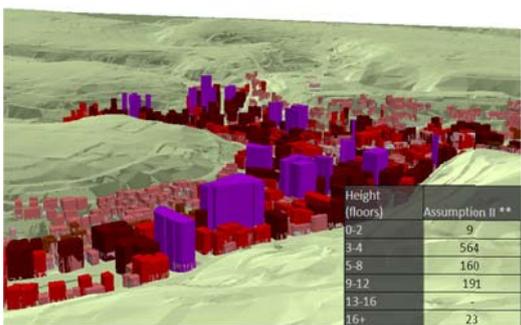
The Situation in 2008,
Source: Amman Institute (2010)



The current situation 2016



a: As of Right Built Form: Many more 8-10 storey buildings. Assumption 1: All properties built to their as of right provision using the maximum coverage allowed by the zone
Source: Amman Institute (2010)



b: As-of-right built form: assumption 2. height map ranging from 2 to 21 storeys 72m. assumption 2 : all properties built to the as of right with properties 1000m (1 dunum) or greater using only 60% (slimmer floor plate) of the max permitted coverage
Source: Amman Institute (2010)

The absence of a clear vision of the value of the urban form has an obvious impact on the Downtown urban form. Many high buildings are obstructing views to the surrounding hills, and destructing the heritage urban form of the valley form. The strange thing is GAM’s approval of a high building, a police center, adjacent to the Roman Theater. Refer to the following photos.



Photos show the distortion of the Downtown urban form by constructing high building

In spite that the 2020 Study recognized the problem of the impact of the zoning law on the urban form of the Downtown, the proposed regulations for building heights and zoning also would have a bad impact on the Downtown's character. ADPRS proposes large scale developments (Figure 58), new zoning and height regulations (Figure 57), encouraging density bonus areas, and facilitating land assembly. These proposals, if implemented, would have also a negative impact on the Downtown character and morphology, the natural heritage, view openness and the urban form of the Downtown. Building more than four stories in the Downtown valley (adopting the proposal of the 1989 study), would remove the strong shape of valley-hills profile and obstruct views to the surrounding hills. Proposing large scale developments interferes with the Downtown qualities of small scale plots and developments that are contributing to the Downtown's distinct character. The fine grain of the Downtown urban form is the heritage establishing the place character. Development in the Downtown shall be limited to small size and low height buildings to protect the place character as described in MGP: "Amman is a city with a view, a series of stairs, and a river downtown". The proposed building heights in the 1989 and 2010 studies are not rational.

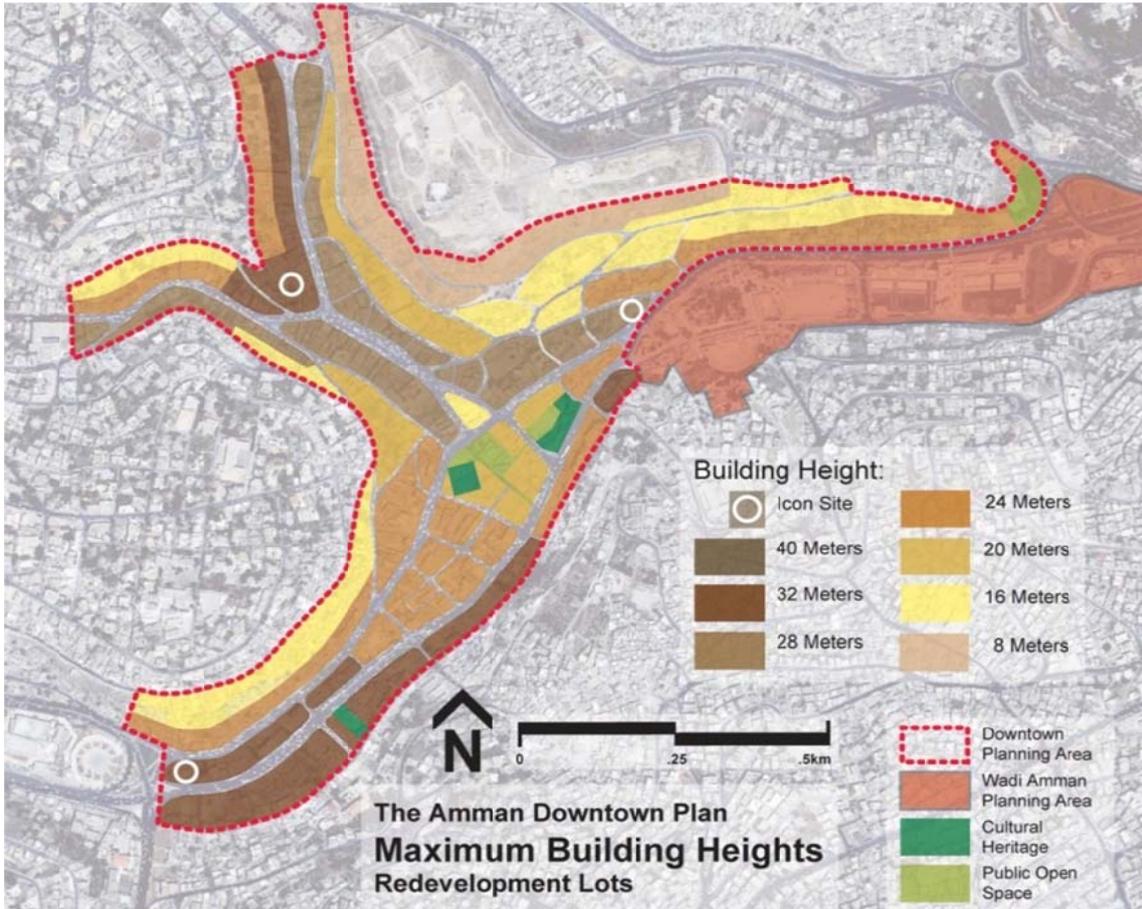


Figure 57: ADPRS -Building Height Proposal

Source: Amman Institute (2010)

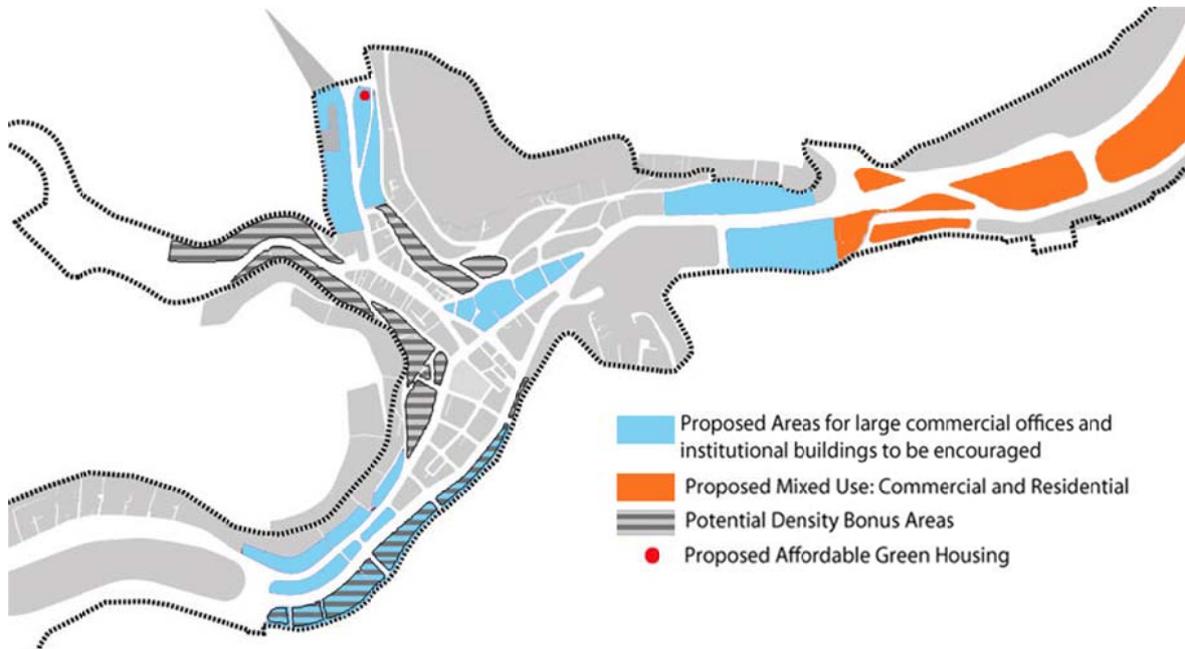


Figure 58: ADPRS- Large scale development Proposal

Source: refined map based on Amman Institute (2010)

The Downtown as a valley would have a distinct character with emphasis this quality. Greening the Downtown would create its special sense of place. Some areas already reflects this feeling, see below photos.



Photos taken along the Cultural Strip

The scene of the Downtown surroundings

GAM has done some interventions to improve the visual scene of the Downtown surroundings. The first phase of painting and enhancing buildings in the Downtown was done in cooperation with National Painting. The second phase of improving the visual image of the Downtown was done in cooperation between GAM and Taameer, Jordan Holding Company to complete paint and renovations of 18 areas that cost JD 100,000. This process is part of a plan that would cover Greater Amman in general with an estimated cost of a JD 3-4 million to be executed within 3-4 years. These initiatives employ the concept of the

Corporate Social Responsibility (GAM1, 2007c). Views overlooking the Downtown from the hill crests are polluted with improper deteriorated buildings and water tanks on buildings' roofs, distorting the views. ADPRS proposes pilot interventions to improve the appearance of facades and roofs to encourage property owners to do the same.



Defining the core of the Downtown

ADPRS defines the Husseini mosque, the Faisal Street and the specialized old markets as the Downtown core that should be integrated with the surrounding areas. These markets would distinguish the Downtown among other commercial areas.



Old markets at the Downtown

Heritage and Historic Sites

Urban studies emphasize the cultural role of the Downtown through policies to improve conditions of historic sites, cultural facilities, the transport system, and the pedestrian environment. Most of the urban studies emphasize the importance of linking the Citadel with the Downtown through funiculars or bridges. The 1989 study proposes projects in the Citadel including construction of a new national archeological museum, the Jordan Craft Centre and a hotel on the Citadel slopes, the redevelopment of the site between Anbat and Shabsogh Streets into terraced housing (land acquisition and land assembly of sites on the citadel slopes), a multi-story car park and completion of the restoration of the Citadel, in addition to the demolition of the old municipality (the Philadelphia Hotel) to establish a multi-use building and re-establish a bridge connecting the Hashmite Park with the Citadel. The 1989 study proposes excavation, restoration and improvements of the Rom Nymphaeum. ADPRS proposes enhancing open space around Nymphaeum. In 2014, the U.S. Embassy in Amman has awarded a \$200,000 grant for the restoration and rehabilitation of the Roman Nymphaeum in downtown Amman. The grant is from the Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation (AFCP) supporting the preservation of cultural sites, cultural objects, and forms of traditional cultural expression around the world (Embassy of the U.S., 2014).



The Roman Nymphaeum

The 1996 and 2000 studies propose developing a tourist zone including the Citadel, the Roman Theater, tourist trails, view terraces, tourist terminal, a national museum, and paths connecting different facilities and historic sites with the Downtown. ADPRS defines the Downtown Cultural Heritage Zone where redevelopment is to be controlled by regulations. The Urban Strip Project, 2009, identifies a tourism zone “Wadi Philadelphia” including the

Roman Amphitheater, the Old municipality building (to be rehabilitated as a boutique hotel), the Poets house, and the old Raghadan terminal to be developed (adaptive reuse) into a mixed-use development. The only implemented proposals are some projects proposed by the Tourism Studies. The museum was established in 2012.



Maha Al Khateeb, the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities, stated that the Citadel site rehabilitation is important for the significant location that overlooking the Downtown. The Citadel is one of the seven oldest mountains in Amman (Saraya News, 2009). GAM’s policy aims to develop Amman as a tourist destination and lengthen tourists’ stay. The implemented projects on the Citadel area are pathways and shaded areas, infrastructure, lighting, signage, event areas, the visitors’ center and parking. The project was implemented with cooperation between GAM, DoA, MoTA and USAID (GAM, 2009a).



The absence of regulation on the type of building materials, form, signage, etc. has a bad impact on the Downtown character. Regulations were enforced on the Faisal Street only, where a special project was implemented.



Photos show inappropriate signage and building materials

Land acquisition and land assembly of sites on the citadel slopes was proposed in the 1989 Study. In 2009, GAM started the land acquisition of the citadel slopes. Later, Omar Maani declared that GAM has not possessed any lands at the Citadel slope, and no houses would be demolished, but rumors about these issues were not true (Amman Net, 2009).



Deteriorated buildings on the Citadel slopes

Then, many people had complains that GAM officially informed about 46 families to empty their properties for demolishing purposes. GAM considered most of these houses derelict, in bad conditions, vacant or rented by foreign workers (Hamdan, 2009). Many deteriorated buildings around the Citadel are distorting the views. The surrounded areas around the Citadel have strategic locations for sights and views to the Downtown. It would be an asset to develop the Citadel slopes into terraced boutique hotels and restaurants. GAM and the

World Bank have initiative to green the buildings' roofs. The project aims to enhance the visual appearance of the Citadel area overlooking the Downtown by removing waste, and adding paint and planters (GAM, 2010). The project is financed by the World Bank and managed by GAM (Ammon News, 2010).



Source: GAM (2010)



<http://ar.ammannet.net/news/83486>

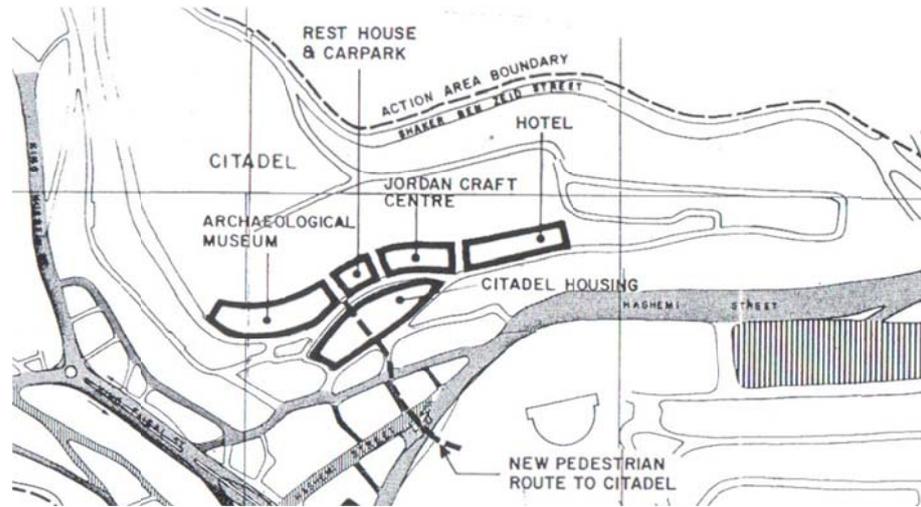
The idea to connect the Downtown with the Citadel was proposed in the 1989 Study through re-establishing a bridge connecting the Hashemite Park with the Citadel. The 1990s Tourism project proposed tourist trails and viewing lookouts to increase connectivity to the Roman Theater and the Downtown. ADPRS proposes the development of a pedestrian loop connecting the Downtown with the Citadel. ADPRS proposes two connection points with the Citadel, one to the Hashemite Plaza, and the other with the Faisal Street. The Citadel funicular railway project was in the process of design and development. According to Yousef Al Dalabeeh, the City District Manager, the funicular project is on hold because of financial difficulties; GAM has more important priorities than executing this project (Al Dalabeeh, 2015).



Improvements on stairs, a bridge, and a lookout

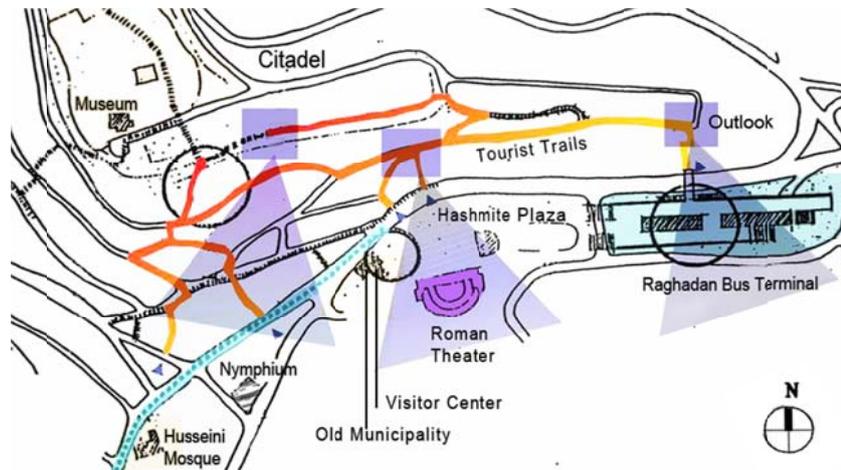
The 1989 proposal: archaeological museum, café, hotel, citadel housing, craft center, pedestrian route to the Citadel

Source: GAM (1987)



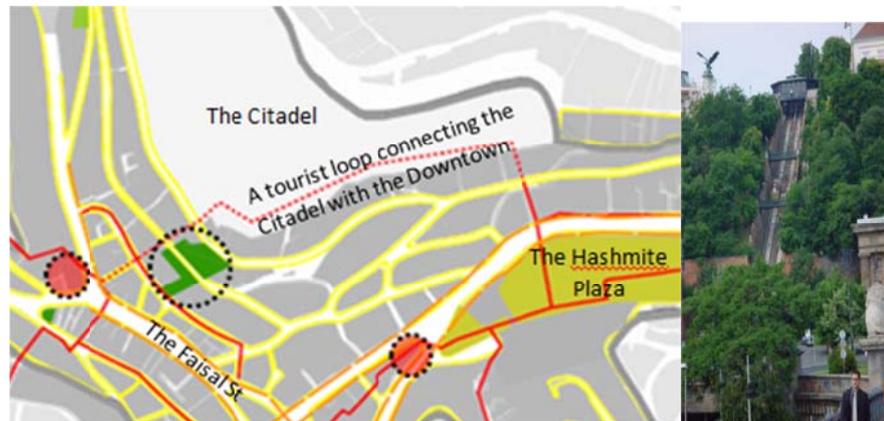
The 1990's proposals: Tourist trails, tourist street, visitor center, Husseini plaza

Source: documents from GAM



The 2010 proposal: Tourist loop, pedestrian connections with the Citadel

Source: Amman Institute (2010)



Connectivity between the Citadel and the Downtown would increase the flow of tourists and encourage walkability. More activities and entertainment should be created on the slopes of the Citadel as proposed in GACP. Some projects of the Tourism Study were implemented including the lookouts, pavements at certain areas, and the improvement of stairs. Further development of the proposed trails would enhance the environment quality and walkability.



The proposed tourists trails were not improved

Urban Fabric Quality

The urban fabric quality – buildings and walkways – is low. Many measures and improvements are required to enhance the physical environment of the Downtown.



b. Continuity and enclosure

The Downtown has continuous frontages. Distinct enclosures were developed in the old markets, where narrow paths connect many shops. These traditional and specialized markets were developed by the traders a long time ago.



ADPRS proposes improving the street frontages with façade beautification, cleaning and the removal of random additions that harm historic and architectural features. The policies for

improving façades are implemented only on the Faisal Street. No guidelines are enforced for development in other areas of the Downtown.

c. Quality of the public realm

The 1989 Plan proposed urban design guidelines to encourage building conservation and façade improvements, public spaces and pedestrian routes, ... but none of these guidelines have been adopted. ADPRS also proposes to connect the Downtown core with the surrounding area by developing pedestrian and public transport loops connecting key public uses, open spaces and commercial areas, upgrading the pedestrian environment, improving the quality of open space in the historic core, and defining gateways and thematic landmarks. The proposed policies are applying typical objectives of improvements of the public realm. The improvements were implemented in open spaces and the “Faisal Square”.

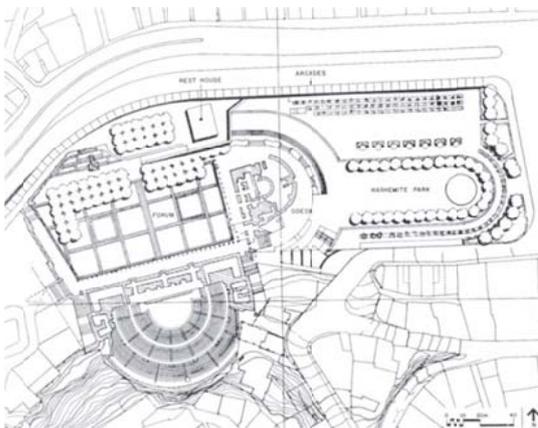


Figure 59: Public Realm Strategy

Source: Amman Institute (2010)

The Hashemite Plaza

The 1989 study proposed landscaping the Hashemite Park, improving the Raghadan Transport Terminal that provides facilities to the passengers and landscaping, and the demolition of the old municipality (the Philadelphia Hotel) to establish a multi-use building and re-establish a bridge connecting the Hashemite Park with the Citadel. ADPRS proposes the rehabilitation of the Hashemite Plaza. The proposal was implemented on an area of 26 donums. The Hashemite Plaza has an important historic value. The project revives the memory of the past Amman stream that was a node of city growth through reflecting a symbol of a curved path, celebrating the Roman Amphitheater with the establishment of a plaza for gathering and activities, and emphasizing the natural characteristic of green open spaces and landscaping. The project components include paths, plazas, open spaces, administrative centers, cafés, media walls, colonnades and pavilions for tourist services, in addition to signs and lighting (GAM, 2009a). In 2014, GAM completed the rehabilitation of the Hashemite Plaza that has become more attractive public space where many events and activities take place, encouraging social integration in the Downtown.



The 1987 Proposal, GAM (1987)



The Hashmite Plaza, Google (2017)



Source: <http://www.alwakaai.com/74754->, retrieved in November 15, 2016

According to the Amman Plan, “a major anchor of the downtown cultural corridor is the Raghadan Regeneration Project, which has been designed to celebrate the Roman period of Amman’s cultural heritage. The centrepiece of the project is the Roman Amphitheatre; it will be surrounded with generous public spaces and facilities that complement this important archeological marvel” (GAM, 2008). Although the Roman Amphitheatre has an important historic value, it does not relate to the city culturally or contribute to Amman’s definition as an Arab city. The applied policies overly celebrated this iconic feature. The last redevelopment of the plaza in front of the Amphitheatre is designed into a formal plaza that exaggerates and glorifies this monument, but it is a good space for organizing different events and activities. More commercial activities had to be incorporated in the area, and better shade had to be considered there.



No enough shades at the Hashmite Plaza

Faisal Square

Both the 1987 and 2010 Studies propose improvements on the Faisal Street that was a square where many political, economic and social events took place in the 1950s. The 1989 study proposes improving the Faisal Square through design control creating shopping arcades, establishing a pedestrian bridge linking first floor shops together, and also connecting the upper level shopping street in the Basman Street. ADPRS proposes the creation of a good quality and more pedestrian friendly urban space, identifying and protecting its heritage, and facilitating economic regeneration through urban design and landscape improvements, façade beautification, the rehabilitation of two anchor buildings that demonstrate examples of heritage conservation and adaptive reuse (i.e. the Duke House and Central Café), and proposals for urban management and regeneration mechanisms. The urban design of Faisal Street focuses on the management of pedestrian and vehicle movement, cultural activities and exhibitions to revive the memory of the area, strengthen the links with surrounding

neighborhoods, especially Jabal Amman and the Citadel through the improvement of alleys, stairways and tourist paths, the improvement of pavement, drainage, underground wiring, lighting and planting, the provision of attractive street furniture (benches, shelters, rubbish bins, flowerpots), signs, the improvement of stairways, enhancement measures, guidelines for the suitable façades and activities, in addition to the improvement of selected buildings like Central Café or Duke building (GAM, 2009a). The tender document of Faisal Street includes improvement on pavement, the middle island, pedestrian paths, streetscape furniture and frontages, the Duke building roof, and the Central Café (GAM, 2009a). Most of the proposed improvements of the Faisal Street (of the tender document) were implemented. The “Faisal Square” after improvements has wider pedestrian walkways and a better streetscape, but it is not a square, or a gathering space.



The Faisal Plaza in 1940s, Source: documents from GAM



The “Faisal Square” in 2016

Streetscapes

The only improvements that were done on the sidewalks are the Faisal ST, and Talal St. The Faisal St. was improved as a separate project. Improvements on the Talal St. were proposed in the Tourism Projects. ADPRS proposes a strategy for improving streetscapes (vegetation, street furniture, removal of obstructions). GAM's interventions are focusing on removing stalls along walkways to enhance the pedestrian mobility. The below Google map illustrates the streets void of vegetation in the Downtown in comparison with Jabal Amman. Trees in the Downtown were planted mainly on the middle island of streets.



Planting trees along the walkways would enrich the pedestrian experience and improve the visual scene. Planting trees along the walkways, similar to the landscape of the King Talal St., see the below photo, is essential for both enhancing the Downtown environment and creating a distinct character reflecting the natural qualities of the valley.



A photo was taken at the king Talal St.

Many walkways at the Downtown are in bad conditions; they are interrupted and lack shade, are inconvenient, and require rehabilitation.



Figure 60: bad conditions of sidewalks

The main streets of the Downtown have middle islands, fences and pollards that would give vehicles movement priority over pedestrians, thus the connectivity between the two sides of commercial areas is weak. This is also seen in areas where major development and improvements were done, but no benefits affected the surroundings. The case in the Jordan Museum explains the idea; the museum was supposed to bring economic benefits to the adjacent streets, but the high speed traffic and fences are affecting pedestrian connectivity.

Walkability in the Downtown core should be improved to create a pedestrian friendly environment and shared space for both vehicles and people.



d. Legibility

The bold topographic characteristics of the Downtown of a valley surrounded by hills, makes places in the Downtown legible. ADPRS proposes gateways and nodes at main intersections to give signals for the arrival at the commercial core of the Downtown and integrate different activities. The proposed gateways would define West El-Balad, but the Raghadan Terminal and the Cultural Strip are outside these gateways, so main gateways should define the boundary of the Downtown at the main integrations to incorporate the Raghadan Terminal and the Cultural Strip (Figure 61).

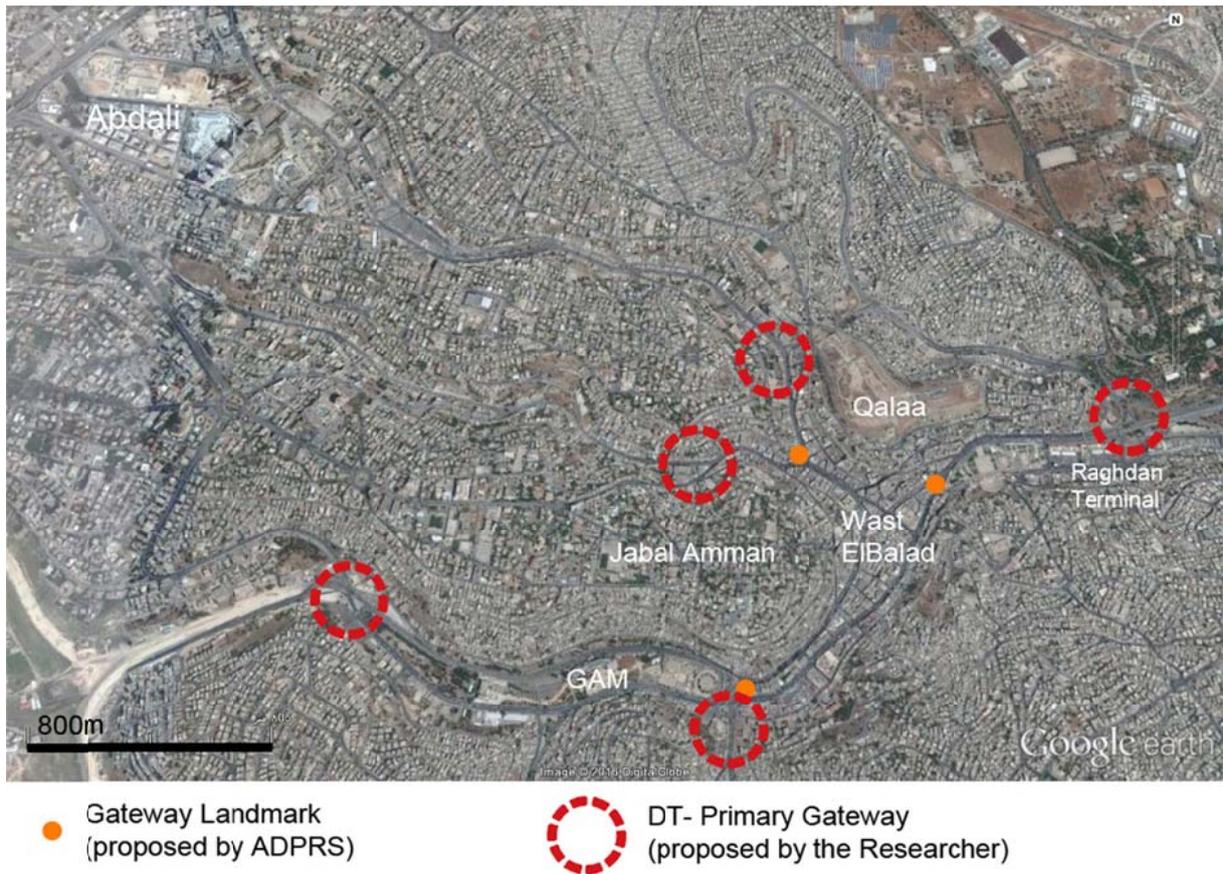


Figure 61: The Downtown Gateways

Source: the Researcher based on Google (2016)

e. Adaptability

Most of the fabric of the Downtown is supposed to have a limited adaptability for having heritage value. ADPRS encourages adaptive reuse policy, where GAM was supposed to manage the process and provide incentives. The Downtown Cultural Heritage Zone had to regulate adaptive re-use under specified circumstances. ADPRS proposed pilot interventions of adaptive reuse of the Duke House and Central Café. Only the roof of the Duke House was repaired.

f. Diversity

The Downtown is already a mixed use development of offices, retail and residential uses. ADPRS emphasizes the mixed use concept and designates emphasis on specific activity (Figure 62). But this proposal has not yet been adopted.

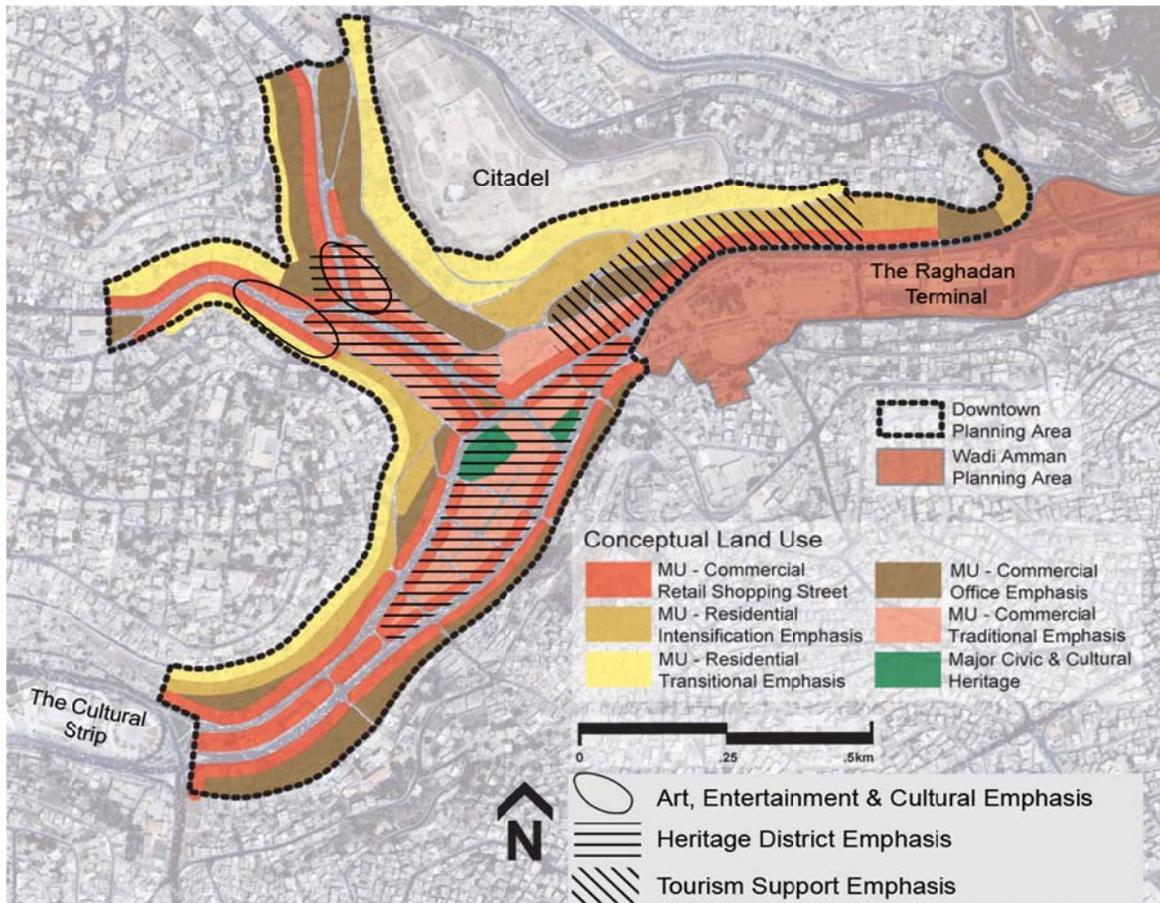


Figure 62: Conceptual Land Use

Source: based on Amman Institute (2010)

g. Ease of movement

ADPRS presents the MGP proposals on Near, Medium, and Long-terms. The proposed policies concern physical improvements of bus services, sidewalks and furniture. A ‘pedestrian priority’ environment will be improved through transit facilities. The plan aims to reduce vehicular traffic passing through the Downtown, restructure traffic flow, and reduce vehicular and pedestrian conflicts by increasing sidewalks, one-way streets, signaling and signage, and minimizing surface parking and using vacant plots for parking, increasing bus transit, preparing higher order transit (light rail or metro), and restructuring the density and land use mix introducing higher order transit. The parking policy focuses on an increase of off-street parking facilities and identifying key sites for new parking facilities, regulating parking inside the downtown, and implementing traffic disincentives such as forcing fees.

Until now, the implemented improvements on transportation focused on traffic management, street and sidewalks pavement, and removing unauthorized stalls and enforcing regulations (Jariri, 2014). GAM has imitated a policy for operating shuttle buses in downtown Amman (every 10 minutes). The bus route extends from the Raghadan complex to Muhajireen passing through main areas including the Al Hussein Mosque, Shabsough Street, the Al Hussein Cultural Centre in Ras Al Ain and King Faisal Square. The project aims to reduce traffic jams in downtown and provide affordable transport that would also help reduce the parking issue (Freij, 2014). Touristic buses have operated lately.



Although GAM has the priority to remove stalls from the walkways to ease mobility, useless stalls are expanding there.



Stalls along the walkways

Recently GAM has prohibited car parking along the Downtown streets. Shop owners in the Downtown have protested against GAM’s regulations and shut their shops. They consider the strict parking measures to have a bad impact on businesses, making people avoid the area, the measures “destroyed the heart of the downtown area”. Many of them claimed that more than 70% drop in sales was the result of GAM’s traffic measures (Azzeh, 2016). Then GAM set parking hours for shoppers in downtown. GAM’s City Director Omar al Louzi

declared that the number of shuttle buses would be increased to six buses that offer free trips into the Downtown while people park in public parking at certain areas (Jordan Times, 2016).



Shops owners: “we are frustrated, spiritless of buisnesses’ losses”, Khalifa (2016)

Raghadan Terminal

The 1989 study proposes improving the Raghadan Transport Terminal to provide facilities serving passengers. Raghadan was proposed to be a station for a new light rail system in a study for the Ministry of Transport in 1995. The 1996 and 2000 studies proposed upgrading the existing Raghadan bus and service taxi terminal including all existing terminal administration facilities and shops for commuters, additional tourist facilities (ticket center, airline offices, transport information, etc.), and installing a pedestrian overpass to Raghadan Access. The Raghadan terminal was upgraded into as Touristic Raghadan Terminal serving the buses for tourists. After the completion of the upgrading, a new proposal, the 2009 Urban Strip project, proposed developing Raghadan (adaptive reuse) into a mixed-use development with an emphasis on tourism, in addition to a public library and a hotel (GAM, 2009c). Transferring Raghadan to Mahatta was temporary until the completion of the terminal upgrade. Transferring the terminal has a bad impact on the commercial activities around Raghadan. GAM proposed a study to find alternatives to reduce economic decay. Through a meeting with the Downtown Traders, Eng. Ennab, GAM’s representative, proposed two alternatives; one is to divide the Raghadan Touristic complex into three parts consisting of specialized handicraft markets, parking, and touristic bus parking. The other alternative is a combination of public transport and touristic transport, connecting the Raghadan and Mahatta. Eng. Ennab declared that years ago, two groups were affected with the transfer of the station: the traders around the Raghadan terminal and the traders who transferred their activities to Mahatta if they wish to move to Raghadan terminal again. Some people

attending the meeting proposed either moving the whole terminal to Raghadan or keeping it in Mahatta. Eng. Ahmed Warawreh from Traffic Administration declared that relocating the terminal to Raghadan would create congestion in the Downtown (Petra News, 2012). Abdel Halim Kilani states that GAM is going to prepare a comprehensive study seeking to revive the city spirit through economic and touristic revival while preserving the city's distinguished heritage. The study seeks to provide parking and stimulate traffic in Raghadan's touristic terminal, managing the Street hawkers by creating popular markets, in addition to enhancing the traffic through managing the transport system. Eng. Kilani assured that public and private collaboration is important in order to achieve commercial revival. He mentioned also that the numbers of tourists could reach one million yearly after establishing development projects including two hotels and linking the citadel with the Downtown through a funicular that would increase attractions and lengthen the tourists' visit (Amman Net, 2012). In another meeting, GAM's officials promised the traders that there are many plans on the short and long term that will be developed to trigger the economic situation around the Raghadan Terminal, the tourist buses, offices and services will be transferred to the Raghadan Terminal. Then, the traders requested the rehabilitation of the sidewalks of the Hashmi Street, provision of parking, public toilets, improvement of streets and stair lighting (Petra News, 2013).



The opening of the Touristic Raghadan Terminal was in October 2014. Biltaji stated that the terminal was executed as a response to royal guidance aiming at the Downtown revival in alignment with other redevelopments such as the Hashemite plaza renovation and improvement of the urban visual image of the buildings surrounding the Downtown, and traffic improvements. The touristic terminal will provide services to tourists in Amman. The terminal includes different activities of transportation, bazaars, restaurants and an information center. GAM has launched a shuttle bus covering the downtown leaving every

10 minutes (Zyud & Zu'bi, 2014). Through my tour in the Downtown, the merchants' priorities were to relocate the transportation from the Mahatta Terminal to the Raghadan terminal (as it was previously). They clarified that the commercial activity was much better when the terminal was at the Downtown, as the new mayor of GAM previously promised. Yousef Al Dalabeeh, the City District Manager, confirmed that the Raghadan terminal will function as a touristic terminal in addition to other touristic services, and most of the retails are rented. There are no intentions to relocate buses and service cars from Mahatta to Raghadan. Al Dalabeeh said that he many times announced this fact to people (AlDalabeeh, 2015).

ADPRS addresses the issue of lacking parking serving the Downtown. There are many parking lots intertwined with the Downtown fabric (Figure 63). The car ownership in Amman is high, and there is a culture of dependency on cars which is less oriented to walkability.

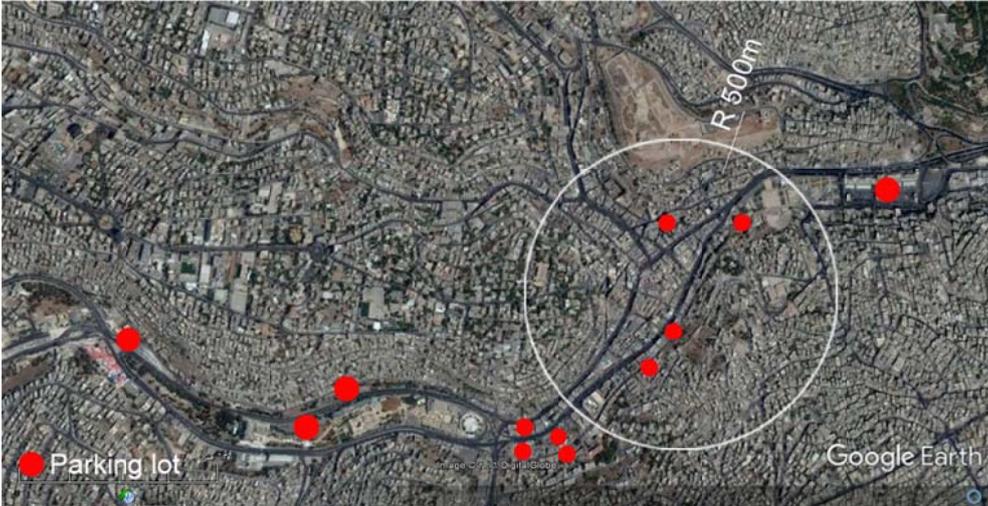


Figure 63: Existing parking lots
Source: the Researcher based on the Google Map



5.6.3.2 *The Quality of Environment*

a. Sustainable urban form

ADPRS regulates building heights on balance between maintaining the Downtown character and the future densification that supports planning for high order transit. Although a compact city and urban intensifications are principles for achieving sustainable development, these concepts are not appropriate for Downtown Amman as discussed previously with the urban form.

b. Pollution, noise and air quality

Congestion has an impact on the Downtown environmental quality, where noise and air quality is a problem. GAM has provided electric cars as transportation services. As mentioned previously, the Downtown has little vegetation. GAM has to increase trees and vegetation in the Downtown to improve air quality. More management of waste collection is required in the Downtown.



c. Infrastructure

ADPRS proposes that an assessment of the storm-water drainage network and the electricity networks be done. Although ADPRS recognizes that improving the storm-water networks is needed, nothing was done. Last year, a raining day caused flooding in the Downtown. 15 minutes of continuous heavy raining damaged a lot of the retail goods. According to Asaa Quasmi, the merchants lost from four to six million JD because of the flooding (Abed,

2015). In spite of the recent upgrading and rehabilitation of Faisal Street, the upgraded storm water network failed to catch the rain of the last winter. According to merchants at the Faisal Street, new manholes are small in size, and rain flooding rose into many stores; the previous network was more efficient. The flooding has also many other impacts, such as pollution and bad smell as a result of sewage flooding, damage to the sewage manholes, and damages to the road pavement at the Quraish Street (Jafra News, 2015).



Flooding at the Faisal Street, Source: <http://jo.arabiaweather.com/content/>, retrieved in November 15, 2016



Storm water, a pool at the Roman Amphitheater, AlBawaba (2015)



Storm water flooding in the Downtown , Jafra News (2015)



Sewage flooding in the Downtown , <http://www.alwakeelnews.com/print.php?id=108435>, retrieved in November 15, 2016

d. Use sustainable solutions

ADPRS proposes a modest project of affordable green housing encouraging sustainable solutions. The project is supposed to be environmentally friendly, resource-efficient and low-cost. This proposal has not been implemented.

e. Re-use / redevelop derelict land and buildings

As discussed in the adaptability aspects, ADPRS encourages reuse adaptive and provides incentives.

5.6.3.3 Summary

Thus, reviewing the rationality of the physical and urban design policies show that many of ADPRS proposals achieve good design objectives (Table 28). But some important policies should be revised including:

- The Downtown has a distinct character formed by its topographic features. Many of existing buildings are more than four stories tall. The old and new height regulations are contributing to the destruction of distinct features of low structures along the valley.
- The proposed large scale development creates a new different character from the existing one of fine grain buildings.
- ADPRS defines gateway landmarks at the commercial core of the Downtown. Other primary gateways should be identified at the main entries to the Downtown to define clear boundaries including the Raghadan Terminal and the cultural Strip.
- Upgrading the storm-water network is essential to prevent flooding that would have a bad impact on the Downtown physical and economic situation.
- More sustainable solutions shall be encouraged.

Table 25: ADPRS- physical and environmental quality

Aspect	Tick
Urban Design	
Urban Character	P
Continuity and enclosure	E
Quality of the public realm	✓
Legibility	P
Adaptability	✓
Diversity	✓
Ease of movement	✓
Environmental quality	
Sustainable urban form*	✓
Noise and air quality	✓
Infrastructure (sewage, water and electricity networks)	N
Use sustainable solutions	P
Re-use / redevelop derelict land & buildings	✓

E: Existing, P: Partially, N : No specific proposal

* : intensification is contradicting the Downtown character

5.6.4 The Social Impact

ADPRS proposes policies encouraging affordable housing and housing variety through land assembly, improving infrastructure and urban service, incentives, density bonuses, and neighborhood protection against densification or incompatible uses. ADPRS proposes many programs that would improve the socioeconomic situation of people, if implemented. The provided open spaces and parks in the Downtown do not seem that attractive, as few people go there. This observation is applied on the Hashemite Plaza, the Ras Al Ain Park and The Fountain Plaza at the Cultural Strip.



Ras Al Ain Park



Fountain Plaza

As discussed previously, the existing open spaces were improved and redeveloped to achieve better quality spaces where people would interact and socialize. If the Downtown revitalization strategy is implemented, it would achieve most of the social cohesiveness indicators.

Social cohesiveness	
Social mixing (in terms of age, ethnicity, family structure and income)	x
Inclusive decision-making, respond to local needs, community involvement	✓
Increase social capacity and skills	✓
Provide quality affordable housing stock, education and health facilities and amenities for disadvantaged populations	P
Provide public space and improve social interaction *	P
Social pride	✓
Improve life experiences	✓
Increase opportunities and choices for residents	P

*: the only implemented strategy, others are proposed objectives, P: Partially

5.6.5 Factors contributing to the decline of downtown Amman

This section discusses many factors contributing to the downtown decline. Identifying these factors is essential in the discussion of the urban revitalization policy, and identifying the changes in the city development that have impacts on the downtown development.

ADPRS discusses the loss of an authentic role of the Downtown as a main commercial, employment, and civic center, while it functions now as a “through-link between East and West Amman”. The identified urban problems in the community are about environmental and visual pollution, traffic congestion and parking difficulty, lack of residents and social interaction, and abandoned buildings and high vacancy rates (Amman Institute, 2010). By comparing the downtown urban problems addressed by the 1987 study and ADPRS, the common issues are related to traffic and congestion, poor public uses and pedestrian environments, a lack of housing variety, a low quality environment, and poor tourists’ services and facilities. The 1987 study focuses on the Amman Downtown role on the national, the metropolitan and the local level, as a cultural, commercial, and employment center by improving the economic and physical conditions.

Table 26: Indicators of Downtown Amman Decline

Environmental/ Physical	Economic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of open space and formal plazas – Poor management of vegetation on the hill edges – Accessibility network is vibrant, but not attractive or safe – Limited public spaces such as pathways, stairways. – Lack of facilities to serve tourists – The downtown heritage is at risk. – Traffic congestion – Public transport and parking are inadequate – The existing road network needs upgrading – Difficult pedestrian access such as crossing area, narrow and discontinuous sidewalks. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – High vacancy rates in the upper floors – Low property values and substandard fabric – The full economic value of buildings are not utilized
	Social
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lack of public spaces and social interaction – middle class migration and blue-collar immigration (non Jordanians populations are 28%) – Vacancy rate of housing units is high – new construction is limited – half the schools are rented buildings

Amman Institute (2010)

“The Old Downtown served as Amman’s central business district with a mixed use pattern of religious institutions, residential neighbourhoods, government offices, and commercial streets. Despite the westward expansion of Amman, the Old Downtown remains a vibrant area of Amman but no longer plays a dominant role in local commerce and government. The commercial and residential markets active today primarily cater to the middle to low income households of the eastern portion of the City” (GAM, 2008).

5.6.5.1 Physical and Environmental Factors

a. Natural and Spatial Constraints

At the beginning of the 20th century, Amman was a small town. The Amman Downtown was the main commercial, political and institutional center, surrounded by residential neighborhoods on the hills. The physical characteristics of the downtown that have been developed in a valley limited to some extent the development potential for expansion. The small plot size in the Downtown (approx. 200 m², only 49 plots are larger than 800m²) restricts the demand for establishing large developments with heights ranging from 2 to 6 stories (Amman Institute, 2010). According to the 1989 study, the CBD of Amman at Shmesani was a result of Amman’s rapid expansion combined with the natural characteristics of the downtown’s “dramatic topography”, and influenced by the urban expansion along the highways radiating from the center (GAM, 1987).



Shmesani District

The Downtown has been developed within floodplain areas. Although the natural characteristics of steep slopes and surrounding hills are restricting the horizontal expansion of the Downtown, the high vacancy rates of the upper floors, in addition to the non-utilization of the maximum allowable numbers of floors, indicate that other factors have impacted the Downtown growth.



The Downtown valley surrounding by hills

b. Aged Building Fabric

Most of the buildings (69%) in West El-Balad are in average condition and require maintenance, and 23% of the buildings are in poor condition (Amman Institute, 2010). The demolition of buildings is subject to the authorities’ approval. Thus West El-Balad has an image of aged urban fabric with many constrains on redevelopment. This image has pushed property owners to develop in areas of better qualities and services.



Deteriorated buildings at the Downtown

c. Low quality environment

A low quality environment has an impact on attracting new investments. The low quality environment is a result of many aspects such as pollution, congestion, low quality air and deteriorated properties. Both the government and property owners are responsible for these issues. A higher quality environment will encourage pedestrians to experience the Downtown. The lack of investment in urban infrastructure degrades the quality of services. Improving the infrastructure services of a storm-water drainage network and the electricity networks and telecommunication is required in the Downtown.

d. Accessibility

Traffic congestion and inadequate parking services are important issues to attract both investors and customers. The high dependency on car use pushes investors to search locations on wide roads that provide the required parking.

5.6.5.2 Social and Economic Factors

a. Change of Population Structure

The Downtown suffers from the middle class migration and blue-collar immigration; non-Jordanians populations are at 28% (Amman Institute, 2010). In the last decades, the Downtown has attracted Iraqi and Syrian refugees.

b. Changes of Shopping Habits

Other changes that have impacted the degradation of the Downtown's role are changes in mobility (more dependency on cars), retail patterns and shopping habits. According to Rybczynski (2000), technology has influenced the urban culture, for example the refrigerator is the intervention that accelerates developing supermarkets and regional malls on the main highways. Malls, the managed serviced places, have a mix of commercial stores, entertainment and restaurants which changes shopping habits, and introduces a new lifestyle. Having a car means you can go far distances, and having a refrigerator means you do not need to go shopping every day. In addition, malls create internal environments, bazaars, concerts and public spaces where people socialize and interact (Rybczynski, 2000). The relationship of the sensory contexts of people such as touch, smell, sound and taste are

changed or transferred to another shape; people were more related and close to nature, but these changing habits and culture create new forms of urban structures, "In nineteenth-century Paris, the growth of restaurants and cafés encouraged the habit of eating out and a discourse centred on gastronomy" (Steward, 2007).

In the last decades, many shopping malls were established in Amman. Malls appeared in Amman to meet the urban culture desire for new settings and habits of consuming desire in places within the big box of clean grounds and painted walls, surrounded by panoramic advertisement encouraging mass consumption. Malls with their services of parking, a variety of goods in a clean environment where higher-order goods and services are provided, have attracted shoppers. Most of the shopping malls are located in West Amman serving higher income people. Lately few shopping malls were established in East Amman.

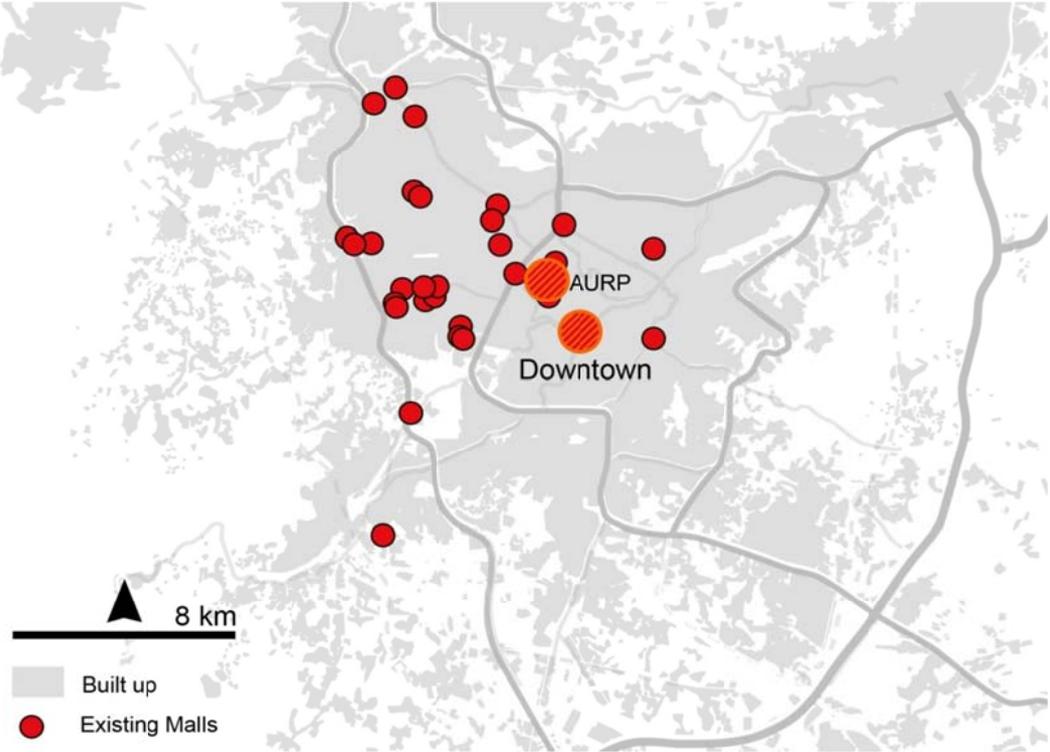


Figure 64: Malls Distribution in Amman

Source: based on information in Amman Institute (2009a)

c. The socioeconomic situation

“The current predominantly low income, retail centered employment does not provide income levels sufficient to support a healthy downtown economy”. Most of the housing units, 64%, in Wast El-Balad are rented (Amman Institute, 2010). Ownership is an important

factor that encourages people to best use and maintain their property. The socioeconomic situation of the owners and tenants has an influence on the property conditions as well. Disinvestment in the stock of capital assets such as houses, retail and offices is also degrading the built environment. Change in the socio-economic composition of the inner city population has also impacted the Downtown; this includes the low income employment and residents in the Downtown, and the low income surrounding neighborhoods. Decades ago, the Downtown was a destination of higher income people, but now the Downtown is serving middle to low income people. Most affluent people have moved to west Amman with better quality environments and services.

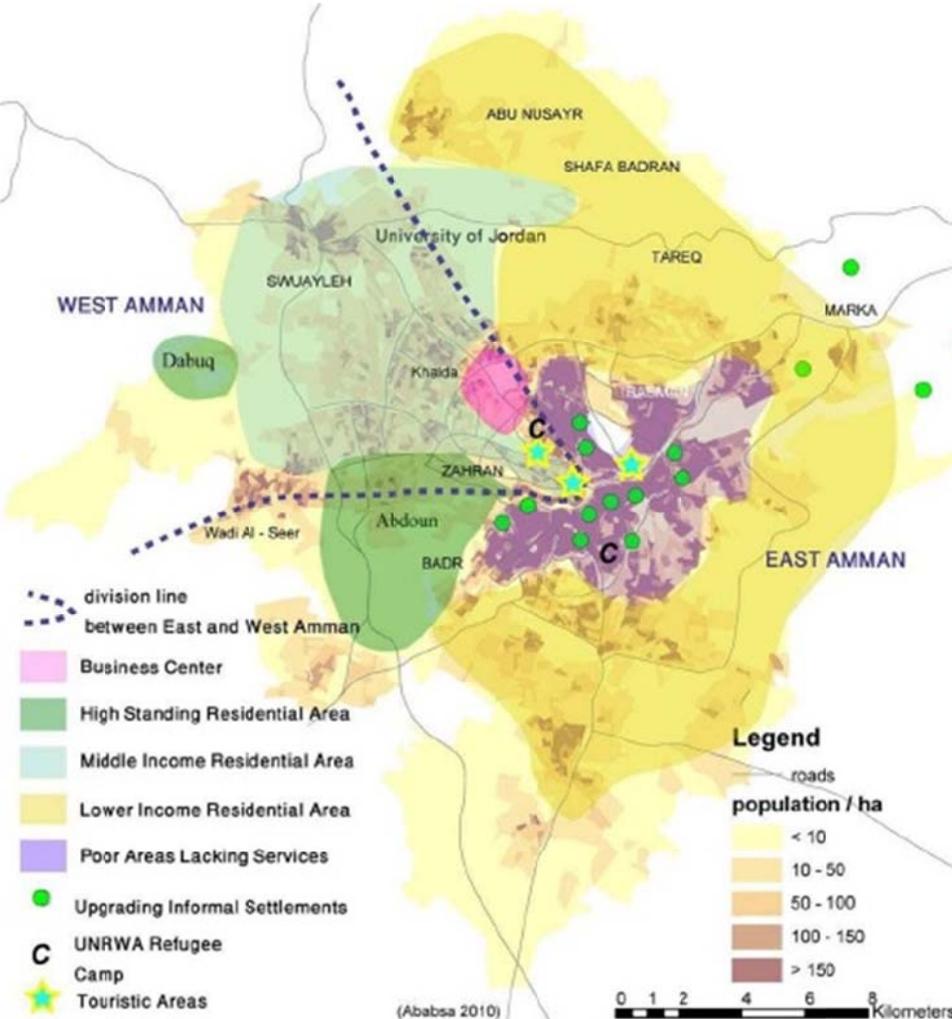


Figure 65: Amman Urban Morphology and Approximate Division Line between East and West Amman

Source: Ababsa (2011b)



Figure 66: Photos of the neighborhood surrounding the Downtown

d. The Market Demand

The Downtown has the oldest building structures in Amman. The people's preferences to develop in new areas where better environment and higher quality of services are provided have guided city expansion to the western areas of Amman. The investors' preferences of relocating their businesses to sites of favorable environments have impacted the Downtown. Ribbon development and allocating services in more favorable locations such as shopping malls adjacent to highways are examples of changes that have transformed the overall pattern of activities and movement in Amman. The image perception from outside/inside could also have an impact on the Downtown. Although people appreciate the heritage value of the Downtown, it is perceived as a retail destination for underclass poor people. The residential areas of eastern Amman around the Downtown are lower income groups.

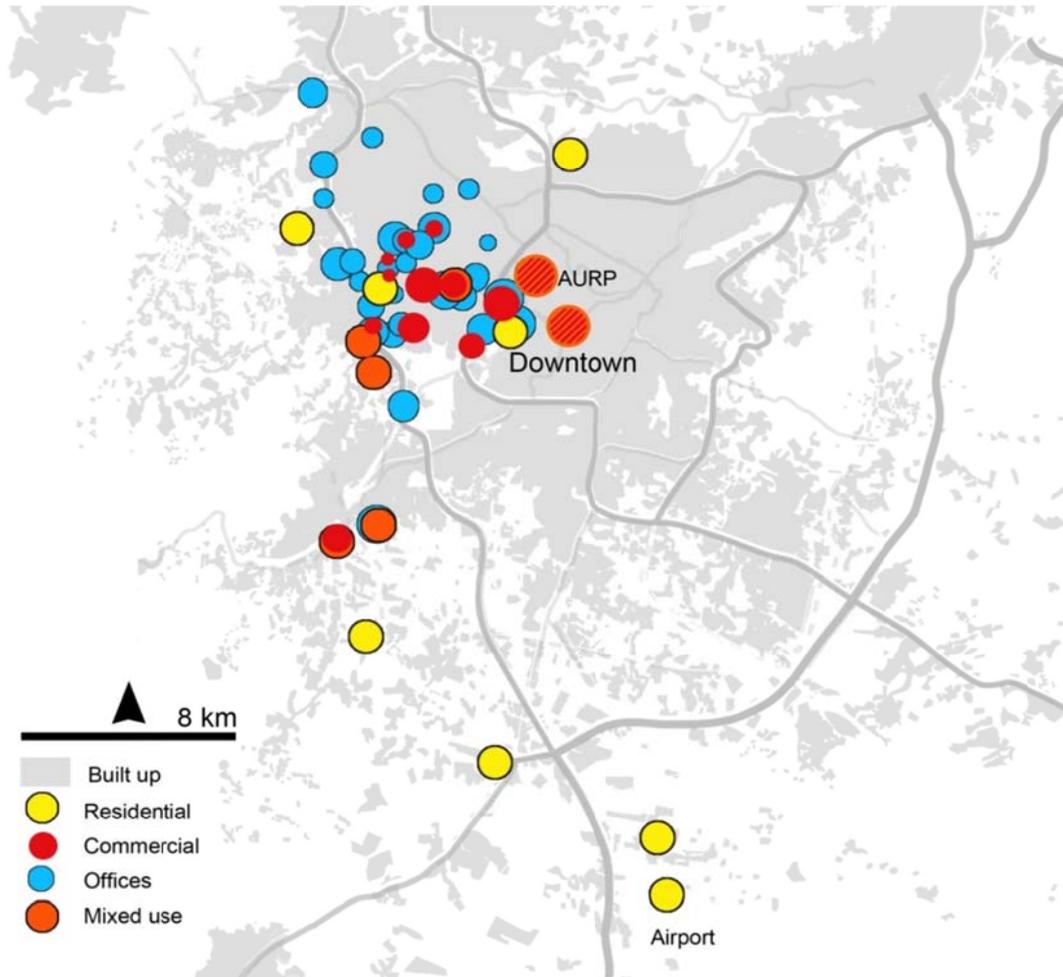


Figure 67: Proposed Major Projects in 2009

Source: based on Amman Institute (2009a)

5.6.5.3 The Urban Policy

Amman's rapid expansion and growth has impacted the Downtown. The urban planning policies, the market demand, and the government decisions responding to the vast growth and the urban development have the main role in shaping Amman and the Downtown.

a. Dispersed Economic Activities

The 1987 Study justifies the existence of a Central Business District (CBD) as a result of Amman's rapid expansion, combined with the natural characteristics of the downtown as a valley restricting expansion, where the Downtown could not be able to attract more commercial activities, in addition to the influence of the urban expansion along the highways radiating from the center. The 1987 Study proposes a policy for distributing the government and administrative centers out the Downtown and even out the CBD aiming to reduce

pressure (GAM, 1987). Moving the governmental, health, and up market commercial uses outside the Downtown into the western expansion areas has created several areas dominated by “single uses”, such as banking in Shmeisani, and health services in Jabal Amman, while government offices were scattered throughout the City (GAM, 2008). The urban policy of the development of new subcenters as proposed in the 1987 Study has influenced the Downtown’s function. Many competitive centers have been developed such as Jabal Hussein and Swiefia.

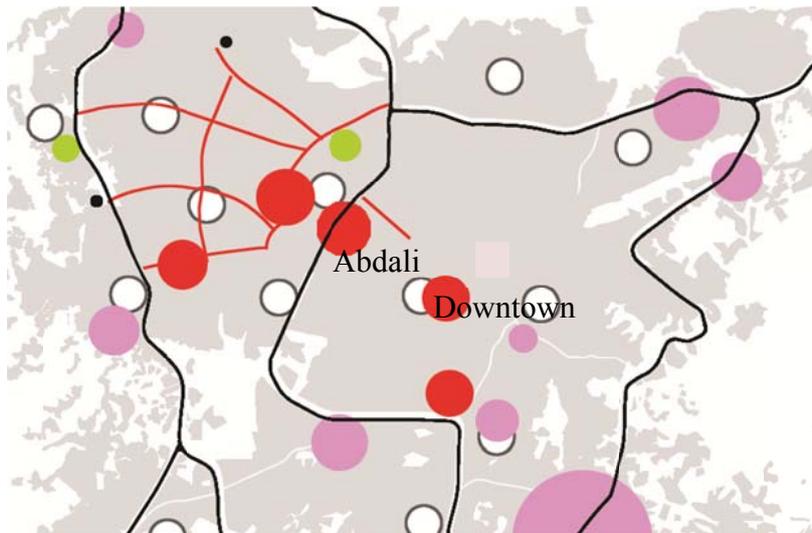


Figure 68: Dispersed Economic Activities

Source: the Researcher based on GAM (2008)

b. Shifting the Cultural Center

“Relocating the cultural and civic facilities outside the downtown, it sends a negative signal to the private sector, means the public sector has given up on the downtown” (Burayidi, 2013). Other governmental decisions have an impact on the Downtown, shifting the cultural, political and financial role of the city center. The city’s main mosque, the Friday Mosque, is the city's first congregational mosque, where the Friday prayers sermon is on a live broadcast on the official city TV, was the Husseini Mosque in the Downtown, which was then replaced by the King Abdullah Mosque in Abdali, and then by the Hussein Mosque in Dabouque at the city’s fringe. While the Raghadan palace was established in the Downtown, the main court and the Parliament of Jordan were developed in Abdali. Shmesani has become the financial center of Amman. The decision of developing the Abdali area as a “new downtown”, a new spirit for the city, would create questions regarding the Downtown role.

Thus, the Abdali area and Shmesani has become the main political, commercial, institutional and financial center of Amman.

c. Transportation policy

The 1987 Study considers transferring the transport terminals outside the CBD, which would provide potentials for developments, “Major long term development opportunities will be available when...the existing transport terminals are moved out of the Central Business District” (GAM, 1987). The studies of 1996 and 2000 propose upgrading the Raghadan Terminal and providing tourist services, while keeping the original function of the terminal serving commuters. Many proposals were developed for the terminal; in the end, although a proposal for the terminal was to serve both commuters and tourists, it functions now as a tourist terminal only. Transferring the transport terminal from Raghadan to Mahatta has reduced the level of economic activities in the surrounding areas as expressed by the traders (Traders, 2015). Traders protested against transferring the terminal and have asked for a relocation of the terminal to Raghadan. The Downtown traders protested in the old municipality building close to Raghadan terminal. The traders asked for indemnity against the commercial decay after moving the terminal to Mahatta in 2000, in addition to relocating the terminal to Raghadan. The traders stated that the relocation of the terminal to Raghadan would revive the Downtown (All of Jordan, 2011). The transferring of Raghadan to Mahatta has a bad impact on the commercial activities around Raghadan.

5.7 Summary

5.7.1 Challenges and Potentials of the Downtown

The Downtown has many challenges to overcome. The Downtown shall be improved to be attractive and a destination at the city level. It should have a clear role and function, and a distinct character to compete with other urban centers. The Downtown needs realistic and applicable policies to attract visitors and residents. The Downtown has to tackle many urban problems such as congestion, parking, quality of buildings and type of products. The potentials of the Downtown are the heritage and memory of place, specialized markets, and its central location surrounded by high density areas.

5.7.2 Rationality and Impact

Applying the checklist of rationality and impact of urban regeneration (Table 27) shows that ADPRS would achieve many of the objectives of sustainable regeneration, if implemented. ADPRS proposes the vision of the Downtown with considering community participation. The defined priorities are about retaining and enhancing the Downtown's historic role as Jordan's capital city, celebrating unique heritage, revitalizing commercial areas, creating vibrant gathering places, and attracting housing options. ADPRS aims to "retain the authentic function and role of the Downtown, and revive the physical and economic conditions for the coming 20 years". Re-establishing the Downtown as a primary retail and employment center is unrealistic. The center of Amman has been shifted to the west. The analysis indicates that the Downtown's share of retail activity composes 3% of the city retail spaces, and 6% of the city office spaces. The required upgrading of infrastructure should be GAM's priority to enhance the services and attract investment.

ADPRS policies are rational regarding strengthening the mixed use character of the Downtown, with an emphasis on the specialty markets and improving the streetscapes and open spaces. In general, the urban design and environmental policies are rational, except the policy related to the proposed scale and heights of development. The fine grain of the Downtown fabric should be preserved. The policy should include more public spaces and social facilities. The proposed large scale mixed use project "the Urban Strip" would have a bad impact on the Downtown; it will be a competitive center located at a more accessible site to the proposed, a major inter-modal public transit facility at Mahatta.

Table 27: Downtown- Rationality and Impact of Urban Regeneration

Rationality of Approach	
Relevance to the city needs	✓
Realistic use of market appraisal techniques in the selection of the strategy	x
Achieve objectives of good urban design	P
Mechanism of Implementation & Main Interventions	
Adequate initial investment from the public sector to attract private sector	x
Partnership	P
Environmental/ Physical Impact	
Sustainable urban form; compact city and urban intensification*	✓
Mixed-use development	✓
Re-use / redevelop derelict land and buildings	✓
Improve environmental quality, provide amenities, enhance quality of life	✓
Improve accessibility and use integrated public transport systems	P
Design excellence and high quality urban design	✓
Decrease car use, promote public transportation and walkability	✓
Use sustainable solutions (efficient energy resources, renewable energy,...)	P
Overcome physical isolation of declining areas	P
Emphasis on the place character and identity, preserve the heritage	P
Economic Impact	
Provision of cultural and leisure amenities	✓
Create jobs	P
Increase contribution of culture, knowledge, and new industries	P
Entrepreneurship: improving the knowledge base, encouraging enterprise, education and training; and empowering local businesses	✓
Improve local economy	✓
Attract investment, improve the urban image and environment	✓
Social Impact	
Social mixing (in terms of age, ethnicity, family structure and income)	N
Inclusive decision-making, respond to local needs, community involvement	P
Increase social capacity and skills	✓
Provide quality affordable housing stock, health facilities and amenities...	P
Provide public space and improve social interaction	P
Social pride	✓
Improve life experiences	✓
Increase opportunities and choices for residents	P

P: Partially, N : No specific proposal

* Urban intensification of the Downtown has bad impact on its heritage

The following is a summary of GAM's interventions and projects in the Downtown since the 1990s:

- In the 1990s, the Cultural Strip projects: GAM's building, the City hall, the Hussein Cultural Center, the fountain plaza and Ras al Ain Plaza.
- Between 2000-2014, many projects proposed in the Citadel Tourism Study were implemented, including lookouts and view terraces, renovation of the visitor center, provision of 10 kiosks in the plaza and one information kiosk, improvement of the Old Municipality Plaza, improvement of the existing stairways, improvement of Al Husaini Mosque plaza, upgrading the Raghadan Terminal, the national museum, pavements of sidewalk at Al Hashimi and King Talal Streets, establishing an overpass bridge at Raghadan bus terminal across Al Hashimi Street.
- Developments of the Citadel open spaces including the visitors' arrival gateway, pathways and shaded areas, and improvements on the archeological museum garden.
- Redevelopment of the Hashmite Plaza to improve the open space quality and create a formal plaza suitable for events and activities.
- The Faisal Street: improvements on the streetscape, pavement and widening of walkways, lighting, street furniture, and cleaning of facades.
- Establishing the Amman Artisan Market including new buildings for art craft, and adaptive reuse of the old electrical hanger into a multi-use hall, a space for events and activities.
- Restoration of the Nymphaeum.
- Special transport services for tourists and visitors include shuttle buses, electric cars.
- GAM has applied many measures for traffic management in the Downtown.

GAM's developments include the Cultural Strip and the GAM buildings, the redevelopment of open spaces, and the improvement of touristic attractions and facilities, which have achieved a successful contribution to increase the role of the Downtown as a center representing the origin of Amman. Most of the implemented interventions are related to tourism development. Many cultural events and festivals have taken place in the formal Hashmite plaza, the Jordan Museum, the Hussein Cultural Center, and the Amman Artisan Market. The achievements on the cultural aspects have a reflection on the social advantages also; the cultural activities have increased the social interaction and thus contributed to the Downtown qualities as a place of gathering. On the other hand, the heritage Wast El-Balad is

at risk, no regulations or guidelines manage the development there. Many deteriorated buildings require rehabilitation or redevelopment.

The impacts of the projects are mainly physical improvements on streetscapes and existing open spaces; no new open spaces were created, but strengthening the civic, tourism and cultural activities in the Downtown has been respectively achieved. The implemented projects have not had a strong impact on the economic benefits. The tourism and cultural activities would not be enough to attract tourists worldwide or promote Amman globally. The projects have not improved business opportunities, encouraged investments, or increased residents, tourists or visitors. Some projects have a bad economic impact on the surroundings, such as upgrading the Raghadan Terminal, where it provides services for tourists. Moving the transportation system (buses and cars) from the Raghadan to the Mahatta has caused economic decline in the surrounding areas. The initial plans aimed to upgrade the terminal, and the relocation of the transportation services had to be temporary, but GAM took the decision to keep the terminal in Mahatta. Then, many proposals were done, sending a message about the uncertainty of the best utilization of the terminal, and that the proposals were not really reflecting the city needs and priorities. Some of GAM's projects lack the economic driver that would bring foot traffic and create commercial activities.

Provision of open spaces and improvement of public spaces are a few objectives of the social aspects. Affordable housing in Amman is a key issue for people. No housing variety or convenient housing is available in the Downtown. The vegetable market requires improvements and better services.

5.7.3 Plan Conformance and Effectiveness

In accordance with the 2010 studies proposals, GAM's Strategic Plan 2011-2014 defines many objectives related to the revitalization of the Downtown (GAM, 2011), including the following:

Intervention	Tick
Management of the Downtown revitalization through a private organization	x
Incentives for the Downtown revitalization	x
Redevelopment of the Hashemite Plaza	✓

Rehabilitation of the Faisal Square	✓
Rehabilitation of the Artisan Market	✓
Studies for adapting-reusing of the Raghadan Terminal and the GAM library to create more activities, markets and hotels in partnerships with private sector	x
Set out regulations and contextual zoning for Wast El-Balad as a special planning area	x
Studies and designs of Maydan Amman; an enlargement and redevelopment of the existing plaza at Husseini Mosque as a central area located at the intersection of two planned higher order transit lines	Under study
Design competition of the southern-western gateway of Wast El Balad	x
Upgrade of the street lighting at Wast El Balad	x
Redevelopment of the citadel southern and western gateways	x
Tourist bus	✓
Shuttle bus	✓
Infrastructure and services for development of the Urban Strip	x

Administrative changes in GAM have affected the implementation process of the ADPRS proposals and the Strategic Plan of GAM 2011-2014. Omar Al Maani, served as mayor of GAM between 2006 and 2011, but he was accused of corruption (Freij, 2011), and then many proposals and programs were disrupted accordingly. Some of the 2011-2015 strategic plan projects were implemented, including the Faisal Street Project, the Hashemite Plaza, and the Citadel Open Space. As declared by many engineers in GAM, changing the Mayor of GAM and closing the Amman Institute has an impact on finalizing ADPRS, and therefore its implementation. No official plan has been adopted to guide the development of Downtown.

Mayor Akel Biltaji, has not adopted ADPRS, but he followed a different approach. According to Yousef Al Dalabeeh, the city district manager, he and Biltaji do not believe in blue print studies, but prefer working on solving urban problems based on immediate and direct actions (Al Dalabeeh, 2015). Thus, Biltaji defines GAM's priorities according to his expertise. Biltaji assured that GAM's policy has improved traffic and enforced regulations in the Downtown to increase the commercial and touristic attractions. He stated that GAM shall continue managing the Downtown to provide parking, manage pedestrian mobility and the Hussaini Mosque Plaza, that was misused by immigrants and street vendors, manage circulation in Basman Street, enhance the environment by cleaning up streets from rubbish, and dealing with vendors violation of the public areas (GAM, 2014). There was no commitment to the proposed plans; the new mayor of GAM apparently has shoved aside

the previous plans and studies, and started improving the existing situations according to his own vision, although at the same time he has picked some projects proposed by ADPRS to be implemented. GAM's strategy (2014-2017) for Amman focuses on three issues: improving environment and cleanliness, enforcing regulations, and preserving Amman's identity (Shamayla, 2013). GAM's 2014-2017 strategy has had little success. GAM failed to achieve most of these strategies; the Downtown environment has not been improved, the Downtown is dirty except the main streets, enforcing regulations on the street vendors is useless, Amman's heritage is threatened, no clear regulations for façade improvement were done except at the Faisal Street, and there are many actions harming the heritage. GAM's Strategy 2015-2017 proposed a project to rehabilitate GAM' building library into a hotel (GAM, 2015). This project is under study. In general, Biltaja has started to rethink the ADPRS (Dawood, 2016).

5.7.4 Long-Term Implementation

Long-term implementation would be viable in help of many factors: capacity building, a strong management system and financial resources. The development vision of the Downtown should be clearly defined, and commitments to follow a framework should be a protocol in the GAM management system. Without the framework, long term objectives of urban development would not be achieved. Most of GAM's cultural projects are externally funded. GAM's funding was mainly on roads and infrastructure.

Project	Completion date	Funded by
The Raghadan Bus Terminal	2010	JICA/ Japan
The Citadel open space	2011	GAM, DoA, MoTA and USAID
The Amman Artisan Market	2011	USAID and GAM
The Faisal Street	2012	GAM
The Hashemite Plaza	2014	GAM
The National Museum	2014	JICA/ Japan
The Roman Nymphaeum	2016	The U.S. Embassy in Amman
Touristic bus, electric cars	2016	Private companies

6. THE ABDALI PROJECT – “NEW DOWNTOWN”

6.1 Urban development of Abdali since 1980s

Although Abdali’s development was proposed in 2000s, the Abdali site was considered a high potential opportunity for future development since the 1980s, the Amman Plan of 1987 states: “Major long term development opportunities will be available when the military and security complex at Abdali is relocated, and when the existing transport terminals are moved out of the Central Business District” (Figure 69). The Abdali military site was envisioned as a potential site for a “Future Financial Center” (GAM, 1987).



Figure 69: Proposal of the Amman CBD in 1987

Source: GAM (1987)

The Abdali site is government-owned land, a brownfield land that was dedicated for military use. The project has been promoted under different labels: a New CBD, a New Center and envisioned a New Downtown of Amman. Abdali seeks to flourish the “image of modern Amman”, the capital of Jordan, in a valuable land at a central location, envisioned as a “New Downtown”, high-end mixed use development of residential, retail, hotels and offices. The initial master plan of Abdali (Figure 70) was prepared by LACECO, a Lebanese consultant.



Figure 70: The Abdali Master Plan

Source: Abdali-PSC (2016a)

At the beginning of the 2000s, the development of Abdali at the military site was sparked and determined by King Abdullah II. According to Abu Hamdan, MAWARED's Director General:

"The development of major urban sites by MAWARED, in Amman, Zarqa and Aqaba, was inspired by the vision of his Majesty King Abdullah, who took the bold and pioneering decision to expedite the relocation of military installations out of the city centres, thus freeing prime and valuable land for development in support of the national economy" (Abu-Hamdan, 2006).

The MGP (2008-2025) has emphasized the Abdali military site as a potential for a major employment area. The Abdali development is mentioned in MGP as a CBD, "a major employment area, a vibrant centre for commerce and modern living, and has been connected with a public transit system that provides easy access from all parts of the metropolitan area". The economic policies of MGP recognize Abdali as a major employment area at a central location, to be linked and accessible through public transit and transportation systems. The Abdali project was planned to be developed in the short term 2008 – 2013. In addition, GAM has developed special zoning regulations for Abdali area and other High Density Mixed Use (HDMU) Development Areas (GAM, 2008).

Abdali's development has been triggered through a public-private partnership. "Abdali Investment & Development Psc" (Abdali Psc) is a privately-owned land development

company established to develop and manage mixed-use urban developments. Abdali Psc was formed in 2004 as a partnership between the government-owned real estate developer, the National Resources and Development Corporation (MAWARED) and Horizon International for Development, an international construction institution specialized in large scale real estate and construction projects owned by Sheikh Bahaa Rafic Al-Hariri. The joint venture was enlarged after a new partner joined, the United Real Estate Company - Jordan, under the group of Kuwait Projects Company (KIPCO), a partner with wide experience of mega urban regeneration projects. Abdali Psc has many partnerships with private investors, composed of the Abdali Boulevard Company (ABC), Abdali Mall Company (AMC), and Jordan District Energy (JDE). Akel Biltaji, GAM’s Mayor, is as director a member of board of the company (Abdali-PSC, 2015a).

MAWARED vision is: “To further its status as major player in real estate development and a guiding force in regional investments; helping to create new lifestyles by building thriving communities for present and future generations”. MAWARED mission is “to embody Jordan’s pioneering move towards the development of urban military sites into real estate investment projects with sustainable revenue in support of the national economy and provide a model of public-private partnership providing substantial development opportunities for the private sector” (MAWARED, 2010b). MAWARED intends to redevelop in different locations in Amman and Zarqa. In Amman, the two military sites in the Abdali (38 Hectares) and Marka (50 Hectares) areas. In Zarqa, the Zarqa Military Camps Site (2500 Hectares) is redeveloped as King Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz City (MAWARED, 2010c).

<p>PARTNERSHIP FORMULAS (MAWARED, 2010b):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides an opportunity for the DEVELOPMENT OF PRIME URBAN SITES and offers its partners opportunities to lead, regulate, and sustain each venture. • Becomes an investment partner by PROVIDING PRIME LAND as its share of the venture capital. • Helps identify potential anchor occupants and PROMOTES ITS PROJECTS regionally and internationally. • Offers developers various flexible PARTNERSHIP FORMULAS <p>Role of Developer</p> <p>Developers or development partners will actively participate in the development process including:</p>
--

- Developing a master plan for the site and conducting the developer's own feasibility studies providing equity and arranging financing for the project, in addition to ensuring that the master plan is properly executed (time, budget, and quality).
- Marketing and selling the development project locally, regionally and internationally.
- Participating in operational management, continuous maintenance and renovation of the project facilities

Abdali is located in Jabal Alwibda neighborhood as defined by GAM. Abdali is 3km to the northwest of the now Old Downtown Amman. Abdali is surrounded by the neighborhoods of Alshmesani, AlMadina Alriyadhiya and Jabal Alhussin (Figure 71). Important gateways are connecting Abdali at the intersections of major arteries, and increasing the traffic flow to Abdali.

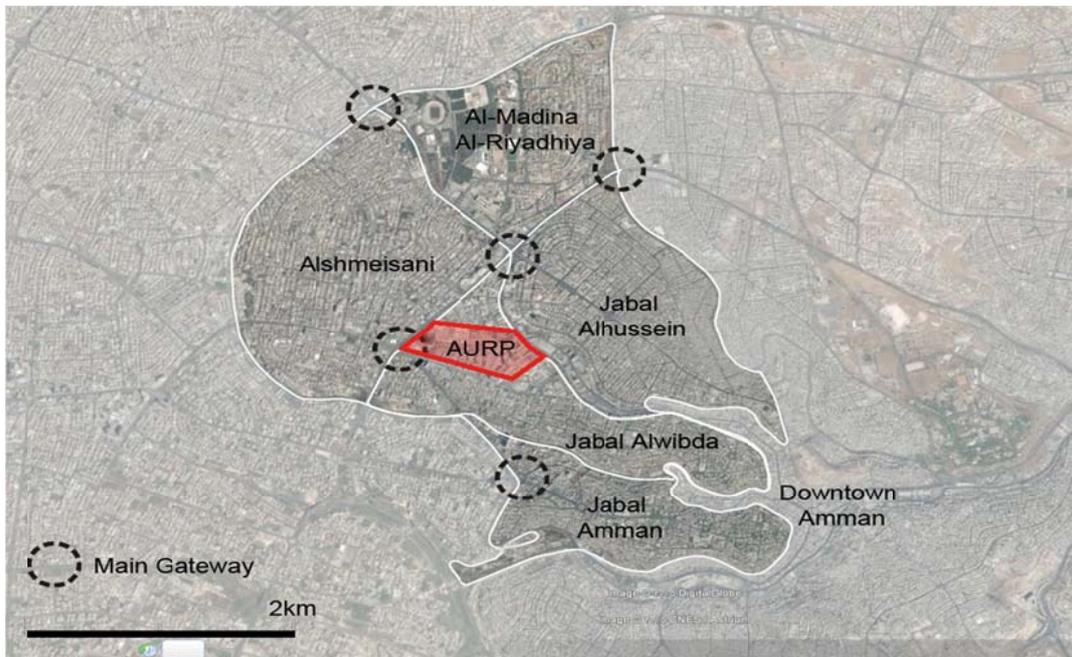


Figure 71: Abdali -Location

Based on GAM (2008) and Google Earth (2015)

The Abdali “New Downtown” has a strategic location in the center of major commercial, financial, public and touristic institutions and buildings in the core of Amman (Abdali-PSC, 2012a). In the east area of Abdali, the King Abdullah Mosque, the Parliament of Jordan, the Main Court and Ministry of Education are located. Alshmesani District is known as the financial center of Amman. Many headquarters of banks are located there, in addition to hotels. Major hotels are located close to Abdali in the 3rd circle area (Figure 72). The Jabal al

Hussein neighborhood has a main mixed use corridor serving residents on the local and city level.

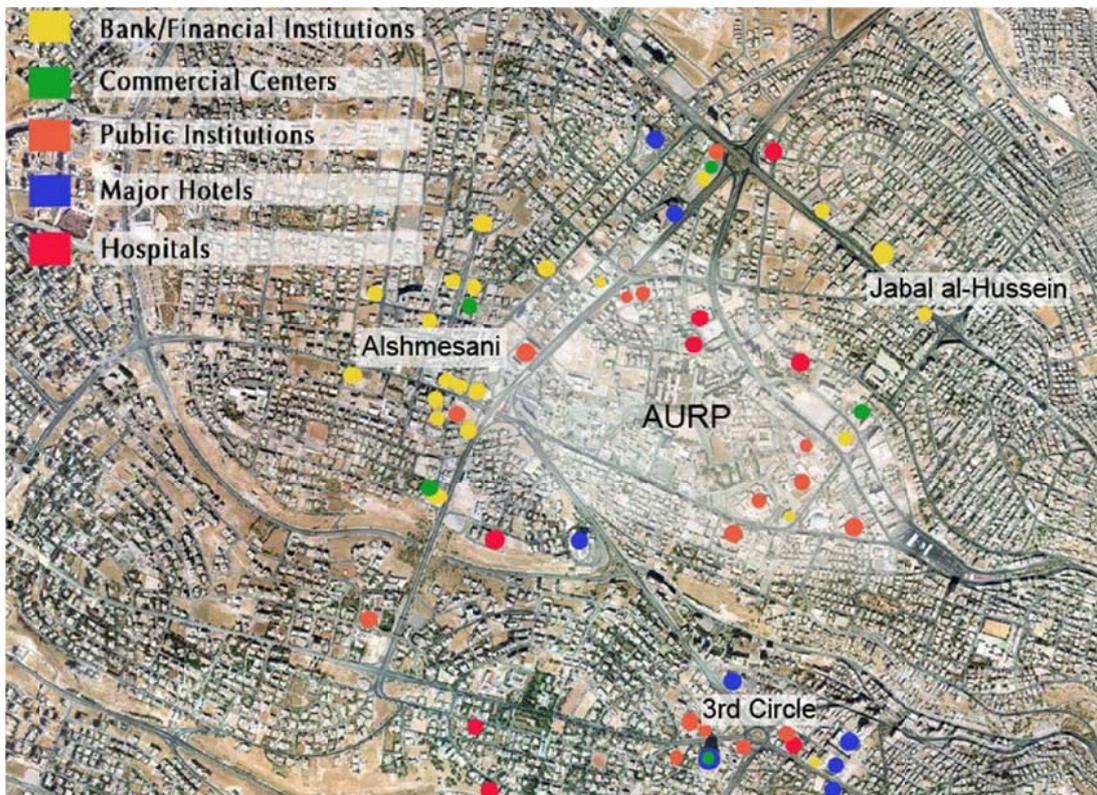


Figure 72: Main institutions and facilities around Abdali

Source: GAM (2007b)

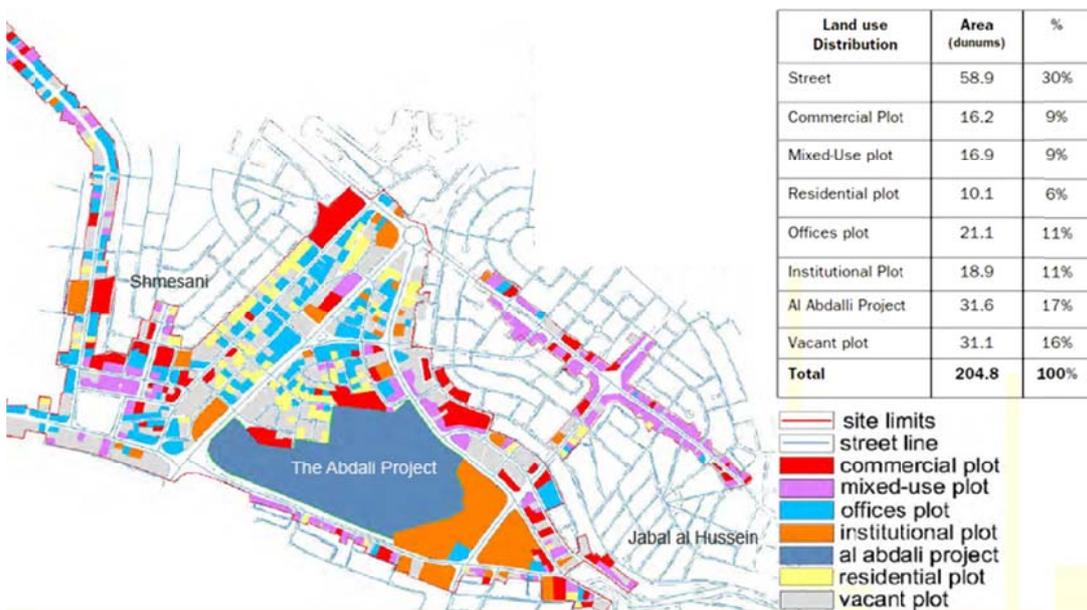


Figure 73: Existing land use around Abdali

Source: GAM (2008)

6.2 Goals of the Abdali project

Abdali was inspired to be the new downtown of Amman, the largest mixed-use development project in Jordan, composed of residential apartments, commercial offices, hotels and serviced apartments, retail outlets as well as medical and entertainment facilities. Abdali is developed on 384,000 m² of land, with a total built-up area (BUA) of over 2 million m². Abdali will be “the premium central business” of mixed uses, developing Amman into the 21st century as one of the world’s renowned modern city centers. Abdali will be developed as a smart downtown to deliver state-of-the-art technologies through using media and telecom infrastructure, advanced building management systems, and district energy solutions and central gas systems to save energy cost. Abdali emphasizes pedestrian friendly roads and traffic solutions to facilitate the flow of around 100,000 persons (visitors and residents) (Abdali-PSC, 2012a).

“Abdali creates a modern downtown previously missing from Amman which will cater to business and lifestyle requirements, as well as create additional employment opportunities and provoking an unprecedented influx of investments from Jordan and the region” (Abdali-PSC, 2012a).

“Abdali is Amman's new downtown that provides the Jordanian capital with the central business, social and residential destination it needs as a regional business and tourism hub. Abdali is a unique endeavor in smart urban planning where business, living and leisure smoothly intertwine to create a model of modernization in the Kingdom and the region. Valued at more than US \$5 Billion, the Abdali project create a new visible centre for Amman and act as the major business district for this ever-thriving city. Amman's new downtown that Abdali Psc is creating will cater to the needs of thousands of Jordanians and foreigners who choose Jordan as their living and investment destination” (Abdali-PSC, 2012c).

The official web site of Abdali PSC promotes Abdali as:

- “The New Downtown of Amman
- A Dynamic Central Business District
- Business, Lifestyle and Entertainment in One Prestigious Address
- Vibrant Cosmopolitan Lifestyle
- State Of The Art Technologies in Every Home, Office and Outlet
- Built with Sustainability in Mind
- Pedestrian Friendly Traffic Solutions
- A Rising National Landmark

- A True Urban Marvel
- Creating a Better Future”

(Abdali-PSC, 2012c)

The goals of developing the site of the Abdali project as clarified at the project report of the consultant Laceco are:

- “To develop a vibrant, tightly knit, architecturally distinctive, and a modern urban nucleus that changes the past image of the site and becomes a pole of excellence attracting the best talents to live, study, work, and entertain.
- To create a smart urban community that thrives on its links to surroundings, the interface between business and education, state-of-the-art infrastructure, and communication network.
- To create the conditions for increased local economic development by attracting local and international investment” (LACECO, 2007).

The Abdali project objectives are:

- “To develop proper planning
- To create a sense of community ownership of the project
- To create sectoral massing of the major growth sectors of the Jordanian economy
- To create a viable commercial environment that is based on sound market analysis, a prestigious address, quick and smooth accessibility, with availability of ample pedestrian areas, availability of parking. and effective parcelization”

LACECO (2007)

“With a broad clear mission, the Abdali project is created as a national landmark on the Jordanian real estate scene, and a pioneering urban project envisaged reshaping all aspects of modern living in Amman. As we travel through the twenty-first century and continue through the path of urban development, we look with utmost eagerness to build a smart city center that encompasses an interactive infrastructure, which will enable the delivery of state-of-the-art technologies and contemporary urban lifestyle to every home, office and outlet, hence combining business, lifestyle, culture, and entertainment in one prestigious address. In line with King Abdullah II's vision for socio-economic progression and growth, Abdali will play a visible and proactive role in forming Amman's new image and driving its potential as a world-class regional

business and tourism hub, stimulating foreign direct investments and creating a wide array of diverse jobs for the continuously growing Jordanian workforce. Abdali will also play a central role in the great city of Amman's ambitious future vision as a whole” (Helou, 2012).

According to George Amireh, post CEO of Abdali Psc , “Abdali, a pioneering urban project that will be the pride of Jordan's capital, a new downtown reflective of the great people of this country... a thriving high quality urban destination” (Amireh, 2012). Nicolas Saba, the new CEO of Abdali Psc, states: “Abdali is the regional hub for commercial, touristic, residential, medical, and entertainment offerings from the heart of the Jordanian capital” (Saba, 2015).

“Abdali has added a spark of contemporary living to Jordan by introducing a dynamic, cosmopolitan, unique and integrated mixed-use development that features luxurious shopping, entertainment and business outlets. In fact, we have created a central business district for the capital that will work as a catalyst in placing Amman as the main hub of business for the Levant. Today, we are home to many multinational and regional companies in Jordan, and we continue to attract the regional offices and operations of many others corporations. This combined with the creation of more than 20,000 career opportunities for the Jordanian workforce, will have a tremendous effect on bolstering and further thriving the Jordanian economy” (Saba, 2015).

Abdali is a “modern urban city centre”, planned to be a vibrant center where living is mixed with a dynamic park, pedestrian plazas, cafes and restaurants, unique business offices, and luxurious top fashion outlets, entertainment and recreational facilities within walking distance, in addition to adequate parking facilities. Abdali is Jordan’s business hub of smart and modern office designs, business districts with a mix of modern high-rise and mid-rise buildings with an intelligent tenant mix attracting multinational companies. Abdali will become the high-end shopping destination of Amman. The Boulevard and the Abdali Mall will attract brands and elite address in the market. “For those looking for an exceptionally rewarding living location, Abdali will give them the prestigious address they deserve... to be the host of brand names from all over the world, the new downtown will create a lively epicenter for Amman and enhance a city already rich in culture and fine taste”. Leisure is created on rooftop restaurants, lounge bars and fitness clubs with external pools and large terraces. The Boulevard is planned to introduce the “heart of the city”, “The carefully designed network of small streets with walkways and the main pedestrian boulevard along with piazzas, will give Ammanites and visitors alike a chance to get to know the heart of the city”. Abdali will be a distinctive modern tourism hub, offering a host of inviting

entertainment venues and elite hotel chains in the world, such as Rotana & W hotels, in addition to serviced apartments provided for medium to long term tenures (Abdali-PSC, 2012a).

Abdali is a mixed use development, planned to be implemented in two phases. Phase one is envisioned as the business and commercial center of Amman, composed of residential use 29%, offices 36%, hotels 11%, and retail 24%. Phase two is envisioned with a “central dynamic park” as a focal theme for mainly residential development as well as office, hotel, and retail developments. Abdali is planned as a mixed-use development, serviced by state-of-the-art infrastructure, technology and security (Video Conferencing, Video on Demand, IP Centrix, E-Learning and Appliance Control District Energy, etc.), and built using international standards of building management systems (Abdali-PSC, 2012a). Abdali is environmentally responsible through policies adopting grey water treatment and energy efficiency, and encouraging developers to attain LEED certification (Abdali-PSC, 2012d).

Abdali has aspired to improvement the economy on the city level as well as on the country level. Abdali has been expected to achieve the long-term goals as follows:

- “Consolidate city center in Amman, currently non-existing.
- Create an urban place, a modern pole for business.
- Improve image of Amman.
- Create a "physical presence"/“urban place”: The development of a modern city center would be a major tangible achievement towards modernization of the city and the country.
- Increase businesses quantity and quality in the new central city center.
- Increase number of developed properties and public spaces, including green zones, for communal and tourist purposes.
- Raise property values in and around areas of intervention.
- Increase employment for the young and professionals in Amman.
- Increase size of private sector investments.”

(LACECO, 2007)

6.3 Assessment

The assessment is guided with the following concerns:

- Evaluating the approach of development of Abdali.
- Evaluating the strategy of developing Abdali from real estate perspective.
- Evaluating the success of Abdali implementation.
- Evaluating the impact of the project, who benefit.

6.3.1 The Development Approach

Many critiques were raised after the announcement of the Abdali project. Many people consider Abdali to have a bad impact on the city image, structure and social aspects. According to Jarra, 2015, Abdali's architecture has no relations to the place identity or the local environment, Abdali applied the international style of architecture of tall glass buildings. Abdali is increasing the polarization in Amman's divide between poor and rich, but moreso, Abdali is marking the divide at the core of Amman (Jarrar, 2015). Rami Daher analyzes the players who influence urban regeneration in Amman. He considers neoliberal investment to have a main role in the urban restructuring of Amman, in particular, the Abdali project. GAM, with its role in providing infrastructure services and regulating land development, is reshaping Amman's structure. The global neoliberal economic system opened the door for international investment groups to play a role in restructuring the city as the Abdali project, the new gated community and large malls. Thus neoliberalism will increase the division between West and East Amman, and create a privatized public space (Daher, 2008).

According to Samer Abu Ghazaleh, with the intention of benefiting from economic globalization through attracting international investors and multinational corporations, many strategies and policies were entailed to marketing Amman. "Amman's situation is a mixture between state control and economic liberalism in which urban development is determined by the planning vision of attracting foreign investment and reducing restrictions to free enterprise" (Abu-Ghazalah, 2007). According to Kamal Jalouqa, towers and Dubai-like mixed use developments have improved the image of Amman and increased the inflow of investment to certain sectors of the economy (Jalouqa, 2016).

The idea of neo-liberalism is about removing restrictions of the government's control to encourage free markets, individual autonomy, and businesses. "Usually incorporating arguments for privatization, deregulation, and competitiveness, neo-liberal proponents argue that planning introduces inefficiencies, restricts freedom, stifles entrepreneurship, and limits economic growth" (Fainstein & DeFilippis, 2016). A neoliberal approach has many characteristics: a decentralized government, financialization, deregulation, the government and private sector relationship is based on marketization and privatism (Wright, 2013). In the case of Abdali, the Jordan government is a centralized government, and the project was developed according to the regulations of GAM, but the regulations were set out after the preparation of the Abdali master plan. Abdali is developed by a group interest of public-private partnerships, not only an individual interest of the elite strata. MAWARED was established in 2002 before enacting the new high rise regulations. The King Abdullah II has encouraged investments and increased the involvement of the private sector in the local economy:

"Under the prudent leadership of H.M King Abdullah II, Jordan has embarked on a set of financial and judicial reforms aimed at encouraging larger involvement of the private sector and transforming the role of the government from that of a domineering actor in the economy, to that of a regulator and ultimately a stimulator in competitive markets providing a level playing field for the private sector to lead the process, as well as attracting foreign direct investment. To this end, the Government of Jordan has initiated a rigorous privatization program aimed at freeing up tied investments and labor, inculcating business incentives and motivation, attracting foreign direct investment, and developing the financial market. Since 1998, ten privatization transactions have been successfully completed and many more are in the pipeline. The new Privatization Law stipulates the use of privatization proceeds to repay loans owed by the privatized firms to the government and finance economic and social development projects" (MAWARED, 2010a).

"Exporting Solidere the Hariris' Jordanian megaproject begins to open after years of delay" is a magazine article stating that Abdali is "the brainchild of the late Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and Jordan's King Abdullah II" (Nash, 2014). Bahaa Al-Hariri states in an interview with T. Abbas from Asharq Al-Awsat about the origin of establishing the Abdali project the following:

"Fourteen years ago, when my father, the late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, was having a meeting with King Abdullah II, my father asked the King for advice. In return, the King asked for suggestions, including how to bring investments to Jordan. There were several ideas, one of which was putting a [commercial] center in the middle of Amman. . . that would attract

Jordanian, regional, and international investors to the country. Conversations took place that eventually resulted in a partnership between the public and private sectors. After the death of my father, I decided to see the process through” (Abbas, 2014).

“Hariri strongly believes as well that Jordan is a hub with a great potential to attract local, regional and global businessmen” (Halawi, 2014). Bahaa Al-Hariri states:

“The Abdali project, will contribute to classifying Jordan as a regional center through attracting regional and international companies. On the latest developments in the region and their impact on investment, that stability in the region, mainly in Iraq and Syria, will be beneficial for Jordan as the Kingdom is a regional center and serves as a gateway for exchange with Iraq and Syria” (Gerasa News, 2014).

Joseph Helou, chairman of Abdali PSC states: “The project started in 2003 with a vision by King Abdullah and it was enhanced by [then-] Prime Minister Rafik Hariri to form Abdali Investment and Development” (Halawi, 2014). Previously, at the Chairman’s Message on the official website of Abdali, Joseph Helou states:

“Furthermore, as a strategic alliance between the private and public sector, Abdali embraces the vision of Sheikh Bahaa R. Al-Hariri, driven by the legacy of his late martyred father, Sheikh Rafic Al-Hariri, which strives to develop sustainable landmark projects that illustrate the dreams and aspirations of the people in the region. This partnership will contribute in delivering a unique sustainable project, assembled as a safe, vibrant and eco-friendly integrated mixed-use development that prides itself as the first urban regeneration project of its size in the city” (Helou, 2012).

Also George Amireh, Abdali PSC’s CEO, considers Abdali a potential business hub that does not intend to compete with Dubai, but intends to function as a gateway to the Levant. Abdali aims to attract large companies from countries such as Iraq and Syria (Nash, 2014).

Therefore the decision of developing Abdali is a top-down decision, a rational planning policy, the main objective of which is achieving economic development and branding Amman to attract investment. Abdali is a large scale project that requires a strong private partner who is at the beginnings the Hariri family.

6.3.2 The Real Estate Market Development and the Economic Impact

6.3.2.1 The Real Estate Market Development Plan- The Master Plan

The initial master plan of Abdali was prepared by LACECO (Figure 74), a Lebanese consultant. Many modifications were done on the master plan of Abdali. The initial concept includes a civic plaza, an IT district, a pedestrian spine, a residential quarter, a cultural quarter, a medical quarter, a university campus, in addition to offices, retail and entertainment facilities. Abdali was to incorporate the urban campus of the American University. The campus was considered an anchor institution, to occupy 20 % of the site. The complex of the proposed civic plaza, a national library and a performance arts center, were to be linked with three national landmark buildings adjoining the site: the Houses of the Parliament, the Palace of Justice and the King Abdullah I Mosque. The master plan emphasizes a pedestrian-friendly environment (Government, n.d.). According to Akram Abu Hamdan, MAWARED's Director General, Abdali would be the new center of Amman that would include a university, a conference center and a memorial library. The American University was to be the main node of the project, located on 62 dunums, and would be a unique educational center on the regional level of Arab countries. The university had to play a vital role in attracting other commercial and recreational activities that would achieve social and economic benefits (Addustour, 2003). According to Randa Abu-Rayyan, the proposed American University in Abdali was cancelled because of the small size of the site plot (Abu-Rayyan, 2015).

Abdali was planned to be implemented in two phases. Phase I was envisioned as “the business and commercial center of Amman”, which planned to provide a highly efficient and planned pedestrian-oriented mixed-use community. Phase II was envisioned as “a central dynamic park” of 30,000 sqm land surrounded by mainly residential developments in addition to offices, hotels, and retail areas, and developed while considering “impressive designs based on a well-studied master plan” (Abdali-PSC, 2012a).

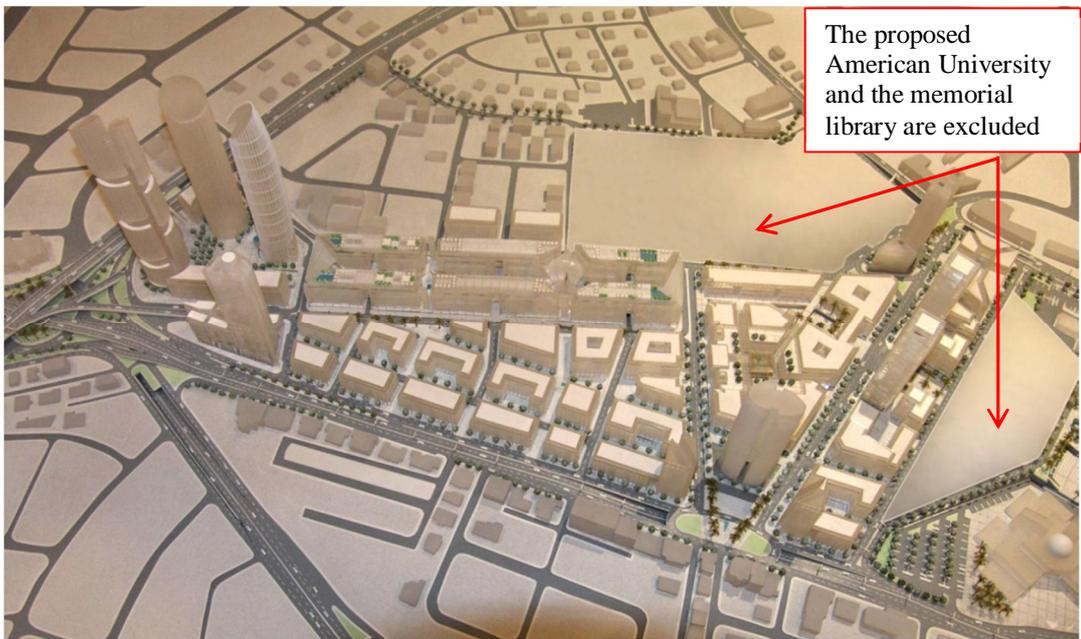
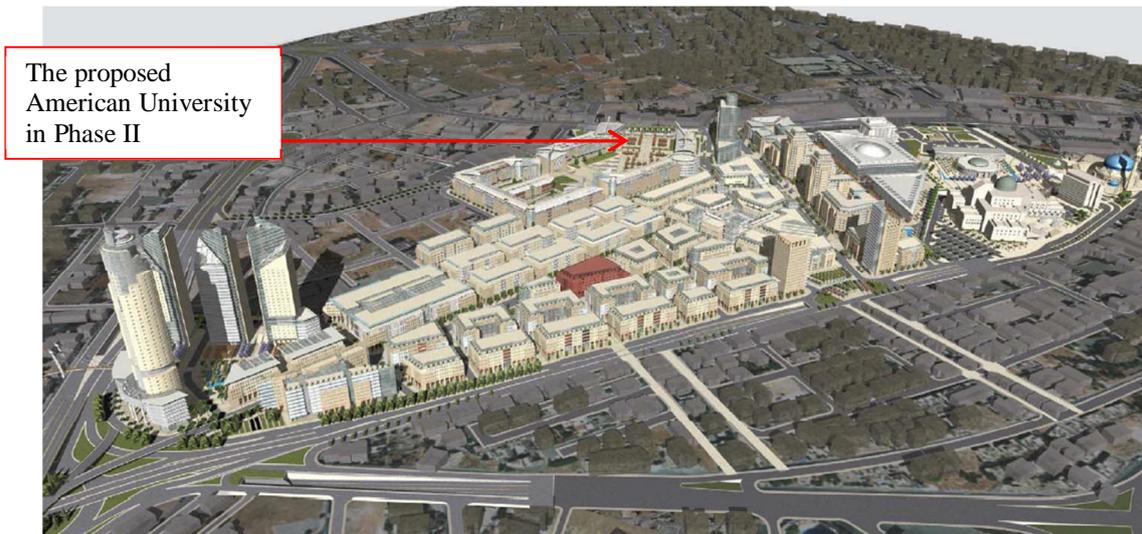


Figure 74: Initial master plans of Abdali

Source: GAM (2007b)



The proposed American University in Phase II

Source: A/E Business Council (2009)



The previous location of the proposed American University in Phase II

Figure 75: Models of Abdali

The Abdali master plan identifies several zones (sectors) based on the characteristics of the surrounding areas. “This strategy leads to a highly differentiated zone formed of an aggregation of sub-areas, each with a morphologically identifiable sector, a distinct texture, and function”. The master plan composes of eight sectors: IT Sector, Pedestrian Spine Sector, Naboulsi Street Sector, Central Market Place, Transient Housing Sector, Residential

Quarter, and the Park (Figure 76). The IT Sector (Sector 1). Adjacent to the Shmesani area will be a landmark for the new economy in Amman, composed of three towers visible at the intersection to “create a visual dialogue with Shmeisani financial district” and a new business image. The Pedestrian Spine Sector (Sector 2), the Boulevard, is an east-west pedestrian spine connecting the IT district to the retail entertainment center. The spine will comprise of restaurants and retail spaces at a lower level, along with residential and office spaces at upper floors. The Naboulsi Street Sector (Sector 3) will contain office buildings for corporate companies and the banking sector, connecting with walkways and activities along Naboulsi Street. The Central Market Place (Sector 4), “a modern commercial hub, similar to traditional cities where the market place developed at their gates,” includes a tower. The Transient Housing Sector (Sector 5) is punctuated by a major square that forms the continuation of the piazza of the Residential Quarter and is marked by two high-rise buildings that flank the piazza on its entire sides along the western edge of the sector. The Residential Quarter (Sector 7) composes of hotel and residential uses adjacent to the civic pole (the King Abdullah Mosque and the plazas). “The Park” (Sector 6 & 8), Phase II, provides a green park planned along an east-west axis, with high-rise and mid-rise mixed use buildings as landmark anchors at the gates and focal points (LACECO, 2007).



Figure 76: Layout of the master plan sectors

Source: LACECO (2007)

Abdali has been promoted as a destination for high-end offices, shopping and living:

“For the first time in Jordan a Central Business District is rising to serve as Jordan's premier business hub where multinational companies are intertwined with leisure and urban living... Set to become the high-end shopping destination of Amman, the Boulevard and the Abdali Mall will be where popular brands choose their elite address and where discerning shoppers seek out the finest brands in the market. For the first time in Amman, luxury rooftop entertainment will be introduced... provide rooftop restaurants, lounge bars and fitness clubs with external pools and large terraces. For those looking for an exceptionally rewarding living location, Abdali will give them the prestigious address they deserve. The bustling city center of Amman will house a number of the elite hotel chains in the world” (Abdali-PSC, 2012b).

Although Abdali is located in the center of Amman, it is mainly targeting the higher class population, providing high end offices, “prestigious address”, and high-end shopping destinations of Amman Business, “Lifestyle and Entertainment in One Prestigious Address”. Two main issues contribute to the success of a project: the market demand and the attraction of the project. Abdali is targeting a specific class of residents, visitors and shoppers. The main trade area of Abdali is the external market. According to Jamal Etani, the CEO of the Abdali PSC, the project aims to attract international visitors and investors:

“Internationally, the challenge is that by building such a state-of-the-art downtown, the city will attract tourists and investors and become a viable destination in the region...To that end, Abdali seeks to raise the standards of living by attracting a more urban and cosmopolitan population” (Magazine for the Real Estate Sector in the Middle East, 2008).

Table 28 shows an analysis of the land use changes of Phase I. It indicates that the office area decreased from 35% to 28%, the residential area decreased from 28% to 25%, hotels increased from 7% to 11%. Then, after cancelling the university and the memorial building, most of Phase II is designated residential areas. New designated medical uses compose of 7% of the total land area. The following table presents the changes of the land use:

Table 28: Changes of the Abdali land uses built up areas

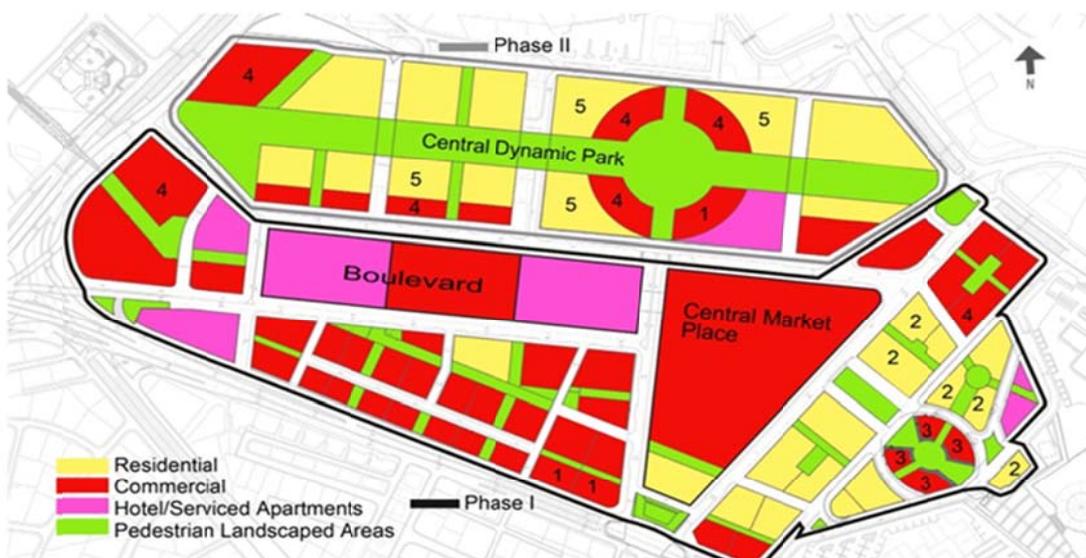
	Residential	Offices	Retail	Hotels	Medical	Total
Phase I*	180,000	490,000	260,000	70,000	-	1,000,000
	18%	49%	26%	7%		
Phase I**	287,000	363,000	273,000	111,000		1,034,000
	28%	35%	26%	11%		
Phase I***	261,000	286,000	263,000	151,000	69,000	1,030,000
	25%	28%	26%	14%	7%	
Phase II**	457,000	156,000	47,000	62,000		722,000
	63%	21%	7%	9%		
Phase II***	708,000	43,000	143,000	75,000	-	969,000
	72%	5%	15%	8%	-	
Total *	180,000	490,000	260,000	70,000	-	1,000,000
	18%	49%	26%	7%	-	100%
Total **	744,000	519,000	320,000	173,000	0	1,756,000
	42%	30%	18%	10%		100%
Total ***	969,000	330,000	406,000	226,000	69,000	2,000,000
	48%	17%	20%	11%	4%	100%

Area is sqm

* Source: GAM (2007b), the land area is 300,000 sqm

** Source: Abdali-PSC (2010) (40,000 residents, 50,000 commuters, 25,000 parking spaces), the land area is 384,000 sqm

*** Source: Abdali-PSC, (2016b), the land area is 384,000 sqm



1: was commercial became hotel , 2: was residential became medical, 3: was commercial became medical , 4: was commercial became residential , 5: was residential became commercial

Figure 77: Amman- Land Use Plan

Source: based on Abdali-PSC (2012a & 2016b)

a. Retail

“As for retail, Amireh argues the project is aimed at the general Jordanian public, but says retail spots will be targeted at medium to high-end customers... Abdali’s advertising brochures repeatedly use the word ‘luxury’ and seem geared toward the wealthiest Jordanians rather than the masses. But Amireh insists “Abdali is not meant for only a special category in the market.” “It’s not only branded for the high-end retailers. Abdali has the medium — and the high. It has the medium-end and the high-end retail offers,” he says, adding “It’s open to everybody.””

Nash (2014)

Taher Jaghbir, CEO of the Abdali Boulevard Company, states: “The Boulevard will play a key role in boosting Jordan’s economy by attracting more foreign and local investments and by positioning Amman as a class destination for tourists, businesses and shoppers”. According to Jaghbir, prices will be relatively high compared to the local market but cheaper than competing projects in regional countries. The Boulevard Company has leased over 35 per cent of the retail space (Obaidat, 2013).

As clarified in Section 4.4.1, the supply of retail in 2016 is 2.21sqm/population is respectively logical in comparison with the historic trend of the retail supply, in 1994 was 1.18sqm/population, in 2004 was 1.86sqm/population, and in 2009 was of 2.37. These numbers do not include all the retail supply in Abdali that is 263,000 sqm in Phase I where high vacancy rate is obvious. Adding Phase I retail of Abdali would raise the ratio to 2.21sqm/population. These numbers indicate that Abdali would have a good opportunity to compete in the retail market. Abdali may attract tourists and visitors from outside the country, where hotels in Abdali would increase shopping activity there. Locally, the primary trade area of Abdali is the western areas of Amman: Abdoun, Dabouq, Rabia, Khalda, etc. These areas have the higher income level, and have interest in high end goods and restaurants. But west Amman is served by other competitive markets and shopping centers located in more accessible locations with a convenient level of mix and quality. The Swifieh shopping area, commercial corridors (such as Mecca Street, Medina Street and Gardens Street), in addition to shopping malls are providing competing goods and services to Abdali, and in a better proximity to the population who are expected to be the trade market of Abdali. Therefore attracting people from west Amman where the availability of competitive centers in more accessible locations is a big challenge (Figure 78). But since the project is a mixed use

center, there is a good chance to get more visitors and residents after operating the medical center, the residential buildings and the hotels.

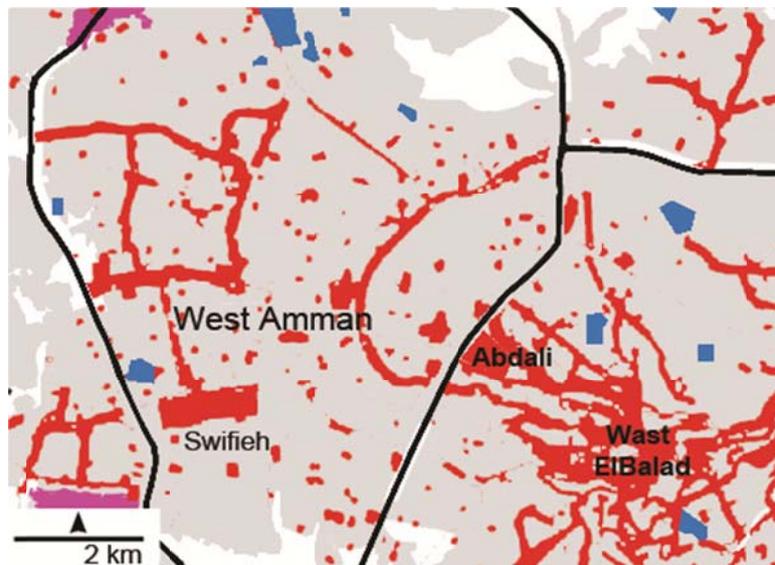


Figure 78: West Amman Commercial Services

Source: based on maps in “The Amman Plan”, GAM (2008)

In 2016, many international franchises have closed stores in Amman, they complained that taxes and operation costs in Amman are very high. The closed companies were employing around 2,000 people. The minister of the trade and industry has failed to convince them to stay in Jordan. The number of registered stores has decreased in the last two years (Alghad, 2016). Nael Kabariti, President of the Jordan Chamber of Commerce, assures that investment and tax laws have many more negative impacts than benefits, a consultation with the private sectors had to be done, and laws shall be revised (Majid, 2014). The question here is whether Amman able to attract international brands or not. Maybe Abdali would be competitive enough to other shopping centers, to the extent that franchises would relocate their stores to Abdali.

b. Offices

Bahaa al Hariri and the Abdali Psc’s CEO justified the demand for a regional hub in Amman, on expectations that office spaces for international companies would be required after the stabilization of Iraq and Syria. Bahaa al Hariri considers the ultimate aim of the project is to develop a key location for companies wishing to work in the region, and some companies already have this intention. The expected demand for spaces at the Abdali project would be required by companies to manage reconstruction and development projects in Syria

and Iraq when they have stabilized. And if this does not happen, Jordan is growing anyway, and new developments will be needed (Abbas, 2014). Bahaa al Hariri states:

“Abdali is viewed as a regional hub for Jordanian, regional, and foreign businessmen. Several Arab and Gulf businesses already want Abdali, for two main reasons: first, the Iraqi diaspora is 2-million strong, and if stability comes to Iraq, Jordan has historically been the gateway to Iraq, and thus it will become a regional center for attracting business in Iraq and between the two countries. When stability is achieved in Syria, reconstruction will cost over 200 million US dollars. Jordan will become a hub for accommodating this work” (Abbas, 2014).

George Amira replied to a question regarding the impact of the political instability in the surrounding countries on Abdali that “رب ضارة نافعة”, similar to the English proverb “every cloud has a silver lining”, there are international companies that are planning to move their headquarters from Egypt to Jordan, for example, an international financial institution of the World Bank has moved from Egypt to Abdali (Islah, 2014). The 2009 Real Estate Report clarifies that the majority of office buyers are Jordanians at 98%, while the non-Jordanians compose of 33% of the high end offices buyers (Amman Institute, 2009a). The Emerging and Frontier Markets Report of 2015 assesses the market of the office spaces of Grade A in Jordan as follows:

“Despite sustained occupier demand, it is expected that the lack of Grade A supply will restrict the number of lettings over the coming year. Rents will come under downwards pressure due to an oversupply of poorer grade space. The opening of the Abdali mixed use city centre project where c. 280,000 sq.m is planned for delivery during Phase 1, which is now being marketed, will also test the level of demand, with landlords having to discount rents and offer incentives on a number of schemes” (Wakefield, 2015).

These indicators show that marketing high end offices is risky. Abdali has a big challenge to attract customers who are mainly international companies for marketing the high-end offices. The supply of office space in Amman is high, and the market of high-end offices depends on the external market. In case of the scenario that no demand by international companies has taken place, the space for office spaces will be subject to the local needs. As clarified in Section 4.4.2, the supply of offices in 2009 was 0.4 sqm/capita and in 2016 is 0.44 sqm/capita, while in the offices supply in 2004 was 0.28 sqm/capita and was 0.13 sqm/capita in 1994. When adding the office areas of Abdali, the supply would be 0.57 sqm/capita, this ratio is very high. This indicates that the available supply of office space is very high and not

relevant to the population growth (sqm/capita). Abdali, if it succeeds in pulling the local companies to relocate at Abdali, it would cause a negative impact to other centers in Amman. The site survey shows that most of Abdali’s office spaces are large units supposed to be leased for big companies. This issue would determine the market into specific sectors and classes. The rent price of offices in Abdali in comparison with other areas like Shmesani and Zahran is high, refer to Table 29. Abdali would have a challenge to marketing the office spaces where its offers high cost properties to oversupplied markets.

Table 29: Rent Prices of offices

Area	Price (JD)/ Sqm.
Shmeisani	70
The Abdali Project	130
Abdali District	80
Abdoun	130
Swafieh	65
Khalda	90
Zahran	70

Source: <http://www.century21jordan.com/offices-for-rent>,
retrieved in August 23, 2016

c. Hotels

“The bustling city center of Amman will house a number of the elite hotel chains in the world; including Rotana & W hotels. In addition, serviced apartments will be available for medium to long term tenures at the Boulevard. With its comprehensive offering, Abdali will serve as a distinctive modern tourism hub, boosting Amman’s current room capacity while offering a host of inviting entertainment venues” (Abdali-PSC, 2012b).

As explained in Section 4.4.3, during the last decade, the tourists’ number has not increased significantly, and the occupancy of nights has not exceeded 50%. There has been no growth of tourist’s numbers, but an increase of hotel rooms and apartments. These indicators mean that the hotel real estate in Amman is facing difficulties. Tourism in Amman does not have high growth potential. The three types of tourism in Amman – the educational, medical, and conferences – could be steady at specific rates, if no strategies and plans developed to increase the number of tourists and visitors. Thus Abdali has a high competition to attract tourists. Rotana hotel and the serviced apartment at the Boulevard have achieved a high occupancy rate of over 90%. The prices are competitive to other hotels (Al-Khazali, 2016). The Abdali hotels would attract tourists if they provide competitive prices, see Table 30, pulling customers, and this would have a bad economic impact on other hotels.

Table 30: Hotel cost per night

Rotana	from 122JD -500 JD source: https://www.rotana.com/rotanahotelandresorts/jordan/amman/ammanrotana?awsa_c=BPNAMMAR-PPC&awsa_k=Generic&iatanumber=PPCRO-AMMAR&pk_campaign=BPNAMMAR&gclid=CPjL0Ze0184CFZiaGwod-rkFZw
Le Royal 5* / Jebel Amman	90JD-2,000JD Source: http://www.leroyalamman.com/
Grand Hyatt Amman / Jebel Amman	130JD-4,130 JD Source: https://amman.grand.hyatt.com/hyatt/reservations/roomsAndRates.jsp?language=en&xactionid=156b729e8d9&isFromHICBookingValidator=HIC&requestid=1359411
Kempinski Hotel / Shmesani	from 105 JD Source: https://www.kempinski.com/KIAMM1/en/booking/booking-room-availability/

Retrieved in August 23, 2016

d. Residential

Abdali introduces a new type of housing in Amman, the high rise residential towers are a new trend in Amman's housing market. Abdali promotes towers as high-end living spaces. The question here is who are the consumers of these spaces? Rich Jordanian people prefer living in villas in the western areas of Amman. Dr. Abu Ghazaleh recommends that residential towers shall be not allowed because people⁶ in Amman do not prefer to live in towers (Abu-Ghazalah, 2007). In 2008, most of Damac's buildings, the 90% residential tower units and the lofts building and 40% of the commercial area were sold (Development-Psc, 2008). Damac has succeeded in selling these units although their prices are higher than the market with two-and-a-half times. Over 70% of the units have been purchased for investment purposes (Amman Institute, 2009a). Damac Heights targets high income Jordanians (Hajla, 2006). According to employees in Damac, most of the apartment owners are Jordanians living in the Gulf, and some are Iraqis. Bahaa al Hariri declared that housing in Abdali is not an essential component of the project; it composes only of 20%, the commercial components are important to the benefit of businesses and companies (Abbas, 2014). This ratio is true if applied to Phase I only. Cancelling the university and designating

⁶ (A sample consisted of 125 professionals and 250 inhabitants living around the Abdali district, stresses that 28% of specialists and 45% of inhabitants do not like to live in a high rise building)

most of Phase II residential uses have increased the ratio from 18% in 2007 to 48% in 2016. According to Fahmi Seffi, the director of Abdali Psc, the Abdali Phase II will be revised taking into considerations the trends of the local real estate market (Qarawleh, 2013).

e. Mixed use development

Abdali as a mixed use project of high quality designs and services is a pioneer intervention in Amman. Having a mix of uses may create a vital center where different activities support each other and attract different users and investors from the local area as well as from regional and international markets. “A mixed-use development can have multiple trade areas; residential, office, and retail space could draw potential buyers or tenants from different parts of the metropolitan area” (Brett & Schmitz, 2009).

6.3.2.2 Status of the Abdali development projects

The construction schedule of Abdali set out the planned completion year of Phase I to be in 2010 (Magazine, 2008). According to Salim Majzoub, deputy CEO of Abdali Investment and Development, construction work on some projects was stopped, and 15 % of the developments in Phase I were on hold (Speetjens, 2012). According to Joseph Helou, chairman of Abdali Investment and Development PSC, “18 of phase one’s 33 projects are completed, 10 are under development, and the rest are still in the planning and designing stage”, and the first phase is expected to be completed in 2018 (Nash, 2014). George Amira said that the whole phases of Abdali will be completed by 2022 (Islah, 2014). Based on the site survey, the following are remarks on the Abdali status (Table 31 & 32):

- The current situation of the project’s completion of Abdali shows that 6 plots out of 33 plots are undeveloped. The 6 plots compose 33% of the total built up; most of them are towers.
- No development in Phase II.
- About 40% of the retail units at the Sulaiman Nabulsi Street are occupied, but stores along the internal streets are vacant, except at the Boulevard area where less than the half are occupied. Approximately, the occupancy is 50% in the Abdali mall.
- Most of office spaces are vacant.

Table 31: Summary of the status of the Abdali development

Sector 1 - IT Sector, adjacent to Shmesani, the proposed 3 IT towers, only one tower is developed.

Sector 2 - Pedestrian Spine Sector, the Boulevard, the project is developed.

Sector 3 - Naboulsi Street Sector, office buildings for corporate companies and the banking sector, the area is developed.

Sector 4 - Central Market Place, “a modern commercial hub, the Abdali Mall, the mall is developed except the residential tower.

Sector 5 - Transient Housing Sector, most of the area is developed; a residential tower is redeveloped into a “hospital”.

Sector 6 & 8 – “The Park”, Phase II, a green park surrounded by high-rise and mid-rise mixed use commercial buildings and residential buildings, undeveloped.

Sector 7 - Residential Quarter, hotel and residential uses, undeveloped.

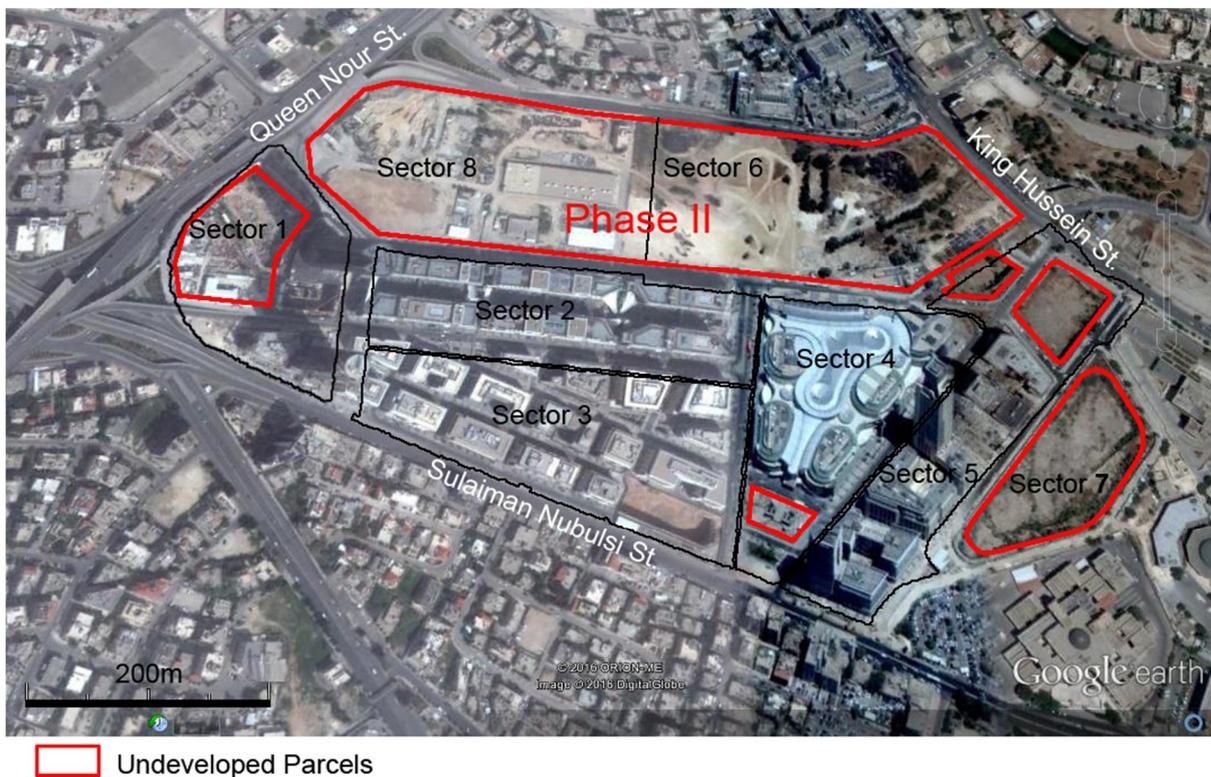


Figure 79: Abdali's Completion Status

Source: based on site survey and Google (2016)

Table 32: Status of the Abdali development projects

	Company/ Project *	Use/ No. of floors/ height/ NDR *	Status/ leasing ratio	Nationality of developer/ remarks
1	Saraya Jordan	Commercial 52 floors / 220 m 87,658	undeveloped	Saraya Holdings, based in Dubai, Saad Hariri, (Speetjens, 2012)
2	N. Sahawneh & T. Fakhouri	Mixed Use 58 floors / 190 m 98,369	undeveloped	
3	Emirates Tourism Investment Company LLC "Rotana Hotel"	Hotel 50 floors / 185 m 45,194	Developed Occupancy: 91%	Rotana Hotel Management Corporation PJSC. based in Abu Dhabi. https://www.rotanatimes.com/news/10084 , https://www.rotana.com/aboutrotana
4	Al Riyah Real- Estate Development Company	Commercial 9 floors /34 m 11,055	Under construction (10% completion)	
5	Saraya Abdali for Real-estate & Investment "W Hotel"	Mixed Use 40 floors / 125 m 42,977	Under construction (80%)	Saraya Holdings, based in Dubai/ Lebanese Saad Hariri, (Speetjens, 2012)
6	Abdali Boulevard Company "The Boulevard"	Mixed Use 7 to 9 floors / 25 to 32 m 121,000	Developed Retail occupancy is 35%	Mawared (Jordan, Lebanese) and URC-Jordan, http://www.abdali-boulevard.jo/business/50-Abdali-Investment-%26-Development-PSC.html
7	Jordan Dubai Properties for Land Development Company	Commercial 7 floors / 25 m 7,758	Developed (unoccupied)	
8	Jordan Dubai Islamic Bank	Commercial 7 floors / 25 m 6,503	Developed 100% occupied by the developer	Jordan Dubai Islamic bank/ Jordan-Dubai
9	Al Eqtidar Real- estate Development	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 9,049	Developed. only two floors are occupied by the developer 300- 600JD/sqm Large offices 1400m2	Omar Abdel Aziz Rajhi/ Saudi

10	Issam Al-Khatib Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 4,045	Developed unoccupied	Issam al-khatib Company/ Jordan, http://www.ikhatib.com/en/History/ /tabid/65/Default.aspx
11	Ziad Odeh	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 4,274	Developed unoccupied	Ziad Odeh Group/ Dubai
12	Mediterranean & Gulf Insurance & Reinsurance Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 3,426	Developed unoccupied for the developer	
13	AJIB Real-estate Investment Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 10,168	Developed unoccupied	
14	Juba Development & Investment Company "Commerce One"	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 9,947	undeveloped unoccupied	
15	Matrix Development "Crystalle Residence"	Residential 8 floors /25 m 11,196	Under construction 80%completion	
16	Sawa International Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 5,195	Under construction 90%completion	
17	Irsa'a Real-estate Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 5,172	Under construction 50%completion	
18	Saden International Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 4,847	Developed unoccupied	
19	Advanced for Investment Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 4,665	Developed unoccupied	
20	Al Taher Real-estate & Development Company	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 10,895	Developed	First Jordan Investment/ Jordan- Kuwait- Bahrain http://www.firstjordan.com.jo/?q=en/ /node/42, http://www.firstjordan.com.jo/?q=en/ /node/37
21	Al Waleed Real-estate	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 6,791	Developed unoccupied	Dubai and Saudi Arabia

22	Audi Bank	Commercial 7 floors /25 m 5,116	Developed occupied by the developer	Lebanese, Kuwait and UAE
23	EDGO Ventures Ltd. "The Atrium"	Commercial 8 floors / 28 m 14,342	Developed two floors are occupied by the owner, 5 floors are unoccupied	
24	Adnan Saffarini	Commercial 8 floors / 28 m 6,311	Under construction 90%completion	
25	Societe General Bank - Jordan	Commercial 8 floors / 28 m 14,247	Developed three floors are occupied by the owner, 4 floors are unoccupied	Lebanon-based, http://www.venturemagazine.me/2017/03/societe-generale-de-banque-jordanie-banking-jordan/
26	Al Seraje for Real- estate Development "Le Gray Hotel"	Hotel 22 floors / 28 to 70 m 20,512	Just started construction	Cyprus, the Audeh Group, http://campbellgrayliving.com/about , http://www.audeh-group.com/
27-a	Abdali Mall Company "Abdali Mall"	Commercial 6 floors / 21 m 84,569	Developed 60%	Jordanian, Lebanese and Kuwaiti, https://abdalla-abdelrahman-g6eg.squarespace.com/shareholders/
27-b	Abdali Mall Company "Tower"	Residential 40 floors / 125 m 42,291	undeveloped	Jordan, Lebanese and Kuwaiti, https://abdalla-abdelrahman-g6eg.squarespace.com/shareholders/
28	Al Seraje for Real- estate Development "Abdali Gateway"	Mixed Use 10 to 24 floors / 28 to 70m 34,418	Under construction 90%completion	the Audeh Group, headquarters is located in Cyprus, http://www.audeh-group.com/
29	Damac Properties Company LLC "The Residential Heights, Lofts & Courtyard"	Retail + Residential 38 floors / 125 m 51,334	Developed	luxury real estate development company in Dubai (https://www.damacproperties.com/en/investor-relations)
30	Maouj Development & Investment Company "Vertex Tower"	Retail + Residential 36 floors / 125 m 44,654	Under construction 50%completion	The use is converted after construction to a medical center, "Clemencu Medical Center" Lebanese Maher Abu-Ghazaleh (http://www.executive-magazine.com/business-finance/real-estate/exporting-solidere-abdali-boulevard-amman)

31	Philadelphia for Commercial Complexes LLC. "The Avenue"	Mixed Use 9 floors / 29 m 33,711	undeveloped	Beirut and Dubai
32	Paradise Towers for Real-estate Investments "K-Tower"	Commercial 29 floors / 125 m 32,120	undeveloped	Union Land Development, Jordan and the Gulf, http://www.uld.jo/Whoware/tabid/52/Default.aspx
33	Sino Gulf for Real-estate Investments	Residential 30 floors / 105 m 35,566	undeveloped	UAE, http://www.tradearabia.com/news/CONS_138314.html

Source: based on site survey

*: Source: Abdali-PSC (2015b), and websites are retrieved in November 10, 2016



Figure 80: Abdali's Developers Key Map

Source: Abdali-PSC (2015b)

6.3.2.3 *The Economic Impact*

According to George Amira, the impact of the project is to provide jobs, by 2022 over 20,000 jobs will be provided, Abdali will strengthen the tourism sector and attract foreign investment and thus improve the economy. Abdali has succeeded in attracting investments of about 5 billion dollars, in addition to providing thousands of job opportunities (Islah, 2014). According to Amireh, Abdali is already providing around 5,000 jobs (Halawi, 2014). During

construction, Abdali has provided around 10,000 jobs (Qarawleh, 2013). It would be difficult to estimate the actual economic benefits of Abdali, where most of the design consultants were abroad, as were the labor forces. Many Lebanese companies have investments or businesses in Abdali. Bank Audi, Société Générale de Banque au Liban and MedGulf all own buildings in Phase I. Beirut-based Laceco Architects and Engineers have built five of the 33 first phase projects (Nash, 2014). According to Etani, most of the developers (60%) of Abdali are Jordanians, and the rest are from Lebanon, UAE and Saudi Arabia (Hadidi, 2009). In other references, most of the developers are foreigners (Magazine for the Real Estate Sector in the Middle East, 2008). Table 33 shows that most of the Abdali developments are owned by foreign investors.

The 2009 Real Estate Report shows that the Amman real estate development of hotels, offices and retail uses, is mainly influenced by tourism and FDI. Depending on external forces is risky and uncontrollable. External markets are in fluctuation and influenced by oil prices and the global financial status.

Table 33: Key Market Drivers

Use	External	Internal
Retail	Tourism FDI	Shopping habits and preferences Income per capita
High-end offices	Demand by regional and international firms FDI	
Hotels (4 & 5)	Tourism	

Source: based on Amman Institute (2009)

Depending on the FDI is risky. For instance, Shikh Mohammad bin Zayed, the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi, has granted the Abdali 15 million dollars to secure financial problems associated with Bahaa’ Hariri’s financial problems. Bahaa’ Hariri is going to withdraw the Abdali Company and the Arab bank (jordanzad, 2014). Foreign investments have an influence on different areas in Amman. In 2005, the King Abdullah II led the initiative to develop the Jordan Gate towers to become the business address in the Hashemite Kingdom. The Jordan Gates consist of two towers; one of them is an office tower, and the other is a hotel. The towers were financed by Gulf Finance House (GFH), a Bahrain-based investment firm of about \$300 million. The 2008 financial crisis impacted the completion of the towers’ construction. GFH had also other projects that have not been established such as the \$800

million Royal Village (high end residential compound in Marj el Hamam). The 2008 crisis is also affected other projects in Amman such as the Living Wall, a mixed use project, and Dubai World's Limitless Towers (Speetjens in Executive Magazine, 2012). The Jordan Gates were planned to attract major international companies (ITP.net, 2004). Until now, 2016, the towers have not been completed. The project was launched in 2005, and was supposed to be completed in 3 years. The tower's construction has stalled with the beginning of the 2008 crisis, as the partners had financial problems. Other reason for the delay was disputes between the partners. Then the GFH sold the project to Kuwaiti investors (Addustour, 2015).

Abdali Psc recognizes the Abdali problem, where Amman is not a worldwide destination for tourists and business. Upon request from Abdali PSC, Memac Ogilvy Advize, a Middle East Marketing and Advertising Company, has prepared a marketing study for Abdali to enhance Abdali's position worldwide through promoting Amman as a business and leisure-orientated destination. The study goal is to "publicize Abdali's regeneration project". The study aims to market and sell the land serving local people and visitors, and stimulate national and foreign investment. "The campaign will build awareness and recognition for the project amongst Abdali's target audiences....portray Amman as a modern and business oriented city". Abdali needs to attract large, well-reputed investors and developers to invest in the project, and attract many international visitors and tourists to visiting Abdali. The study seeks to increase awareness about Abdali through events, conferences, press releases and festivals. The campaign messages about Abdali are: "The best place to invest, the best place to trust", "Investors will be secured today, tomorrow, together", and "Designed for business, engineered to last" (Campaign, 2012).

A study for marketing and advertising Abdali identifies its strengths, weaknesses and threats. Abdali has many strengths: it is located within an area of high density, in a location close to many vital activities of banks, hospitals, clinics, and public institutions; Abdali is a distinguished CBD of compatible mixed uses. Abdali has introduced social programs "The Abdali Innovation Award" that aims to motivate the youth, and social responsibility programs "Ru'yatuk" means your vision; Abdali has strong business partnerships; Abdali encourages cycling; Abdali is an environmentally friendly district through wastewater recycling technologies and effective cooling systems. The weaknesses of Abdali are: Abdali has added constraints on the surrounding streets such as congestion, and changes on the area structure; "Al Abdali has created unrest and anger amongst the people who are surrounding that area because they have torn down a com-

munity”. Since Amman has no bike lanes, Abdali’s cycling choice could be unpractical. Abdali’s regulations do not encourage enough open green space in the building lot. Threats facing Abdali are: Abdali has real estate competitors, mainly Zalloum which has been involved in many real estate projects for a long time. Other threats are related to safety such as high threat of terrorism, tribal violence, and Anti-U.S. and anti-Western sentiments in Jordan (Campaign, 2012).

According to Bahaa al Hariri, the global financial crisis of 2008 has had an impact on the implementation of Abdali (Abbas, 2014). According to Salim Majzoub, deputy CEO of Abdali PSC, the global financial crisis has not affected Abdali like other large mixed use developments; “since the start of the crisis, not a single investor has pulled out; however, construction work on some of the projects was halted for a period of time. Currently, some 15 percent of the developments in ‘phase one’ are on hold”. Since 2008, several loans from the Arab Bank, BLOM Bank and Bank Audi supported the construction of Abdali (Speetjens, 2012). According to Abdel Karim al Kabariti, the Chairman of Jordan Kuwait Bank Board of Directors, after the drop of oil prices, and the instability of the bordering countries, the Gulf countries have internal priorities; investments in Jordan would not be their interest (Ammon News, 2016). Lately, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has financed the Abdali mall project with USD 80 million as a long term loan (United Real Estate Company, 2013). The economic impacts of Abdali are:

- Provide high quality real estate properties: Abdali has provided high quality properties of retail, hotels, housing, cultural and leisure amenities in a mixed use urban center.
- Improve local economy: Abdali has strengthened the role of commercial activities (offices, retail, hotels and recreation) in the local economy. Most of Amman’s employees are working in these sectors. The high quality environment has increased residents, tourists and visitors to Abdali and thus contributes to the success of commercial and business activities.
- Attract investment: Both local and international investors have succeeded in developing most of Phase I.
- Create jobs: Abdali has created jobs in different stages of the project development: design, construction, marketing and operation.
- The impacts on surrounding areas: Abdali has increased traffic to the area and improved commercial activity.

- Under the circumstances of an oversupplied market, the success of Abdali would be at the expense of other competitive centers. Abdali may capture, because it has high quality spaces and environment that attracts businesses and visitors.

6.3.3 The Physical and Environmental Impact

6.3.2.4 The Quality of Urban Design

“The carefully designed network of small streets with walkways and the main pedestrian boulevard along with piazzas, will give residents and visitors alike a chance to get to know the heart of the city. Residents in Abdali will call it home: A warm verve, entertainment and recreational facilities all within walking distance, the green areas and the luxury of having top fashion outlets in close proximity will give them the true feel of being amidst a vibrant downtown, with everything within reach” (Abdali-PSC, 2012b).

Abdali has achieved developments of design excellence and high quality urban design. Since the public amenities are provided by the Abdali Company, the consistency of design would provide a unified look and character. Abdali’s urban quality will be examined by applying the seven principles of good urban design: Character, Continuity and enclosure, Quality of the public realm, Legibility, Adaptability, Diversity, and Ease of movement.

a. Urban Character

The place’s character is “a place with its own identity, to promote character in townscape and landscape by responding to and reinforcing locally distinctive patterns of development, landscape and culture” Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR, 2000). Although emphasis on the place character and identity and preserving the heritage are objectives that urban policies seek to achieve, Abdali is constructing a place with a distinctive identity for modern Amman. The skyline of Amman is influenced with the natural topography, the city skylines are mainly characterized with low height buildings that emphasize the human scale of the urban fabric. In the 20th century, many high rise buildings were developed in Amman; their heights did not exceed 90m. In the 21st century, many skyscrapers of more than 110m high were established. Most of the high rise buildings are located in the western areas of Amman, except in Abdali that is near the city center. The southern and eastern areas of Amman are compact residential uses for low and middle income people. New construction materials and building techniques have influences the

shape of Ammans' skyline; using metal and glass was prevailed using stone and concrete that is traditional building materials (Abu-Ghazalah, 2007).

“The 21st century skyline of Amman will not continue to be dominated by minarets and domes. The Le Royal building, the Jordan Gate buildings and the seven skyscrapers at Abdali, all exceeding 100 meters in height, will shift the skyline image of Amman towards economic impact. The shape and style of a skyscraper is so important in defining the city skyline as they have become the latest landmarks of the city. Using traditional Middle Eastern elements of the past, such as courtyards, mashrabiyyas, and wind towers in modern ways may reduce the impact of skyscrapers and provide for a better environment” (Abu-Ghazalah, 2007).

Abu-Ghazalah (2007) recommends that all new skyscrapers should be developed at one district; Abdali might be a convenient site for businesses, thus no further skyscrapers, neither mixed use or residential towers at the western areas of Amman, need to be developed. This is to preserve the human scale of the city that shaped the Amman skyline's character. The Abdali high rise buildings will present a new a landmark, a new skyline for the Abdali district and Amman as a whole (Abu-Ghazalah, 2007).

While conserving the site's natural features would provide a link between the new site and its environment, valuable forest trees (750 old forest trees) were removed in favor of constructing the new structures of Abdali (khaberni, 2012).

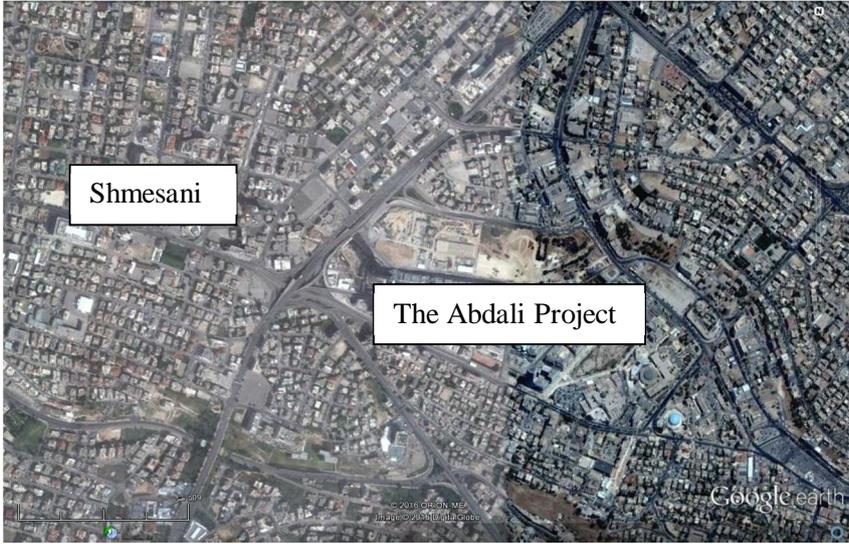


Figure 81: Forest was at Abdali before construction

Source: khaberni (2012)

The urban design principle: “responding to local building forms and patterns of development in the detailed layout and design of development helps to reinforce a sense of place” (DETR, 2000), has not been applied in Abdali. The Abdali urban development pattern introduces a

larger scale development, a larger layout of land parcels and higher density that are different from the local context of a fine grain pattern.



Abdali is a large scale project that was managed through a master plan and designed guidelines that are obligatory policies for developers to commit to. Abdali presents a modern urban image. As mentioned in the Abdali guidelines report, the Abdali architectural style is inspired by the old buildings in Amman’s historical downtown through revealing the style of dividing facades into three main parts, base, body and crown, with different proportions and materials. The guidelines define specific architectural details for facades, roofs and building materials to create a collective identity for the Abdali District (LACECO, 2007). The guidelines would enhance the harmony of architectural components and the overall character that would succeed to establish a sense of place.



Abdali has changed the area skyline. Locating Abdali close to the three domes has different meanings. The Abdali image introduces a different scale and character that appeared in the area; Abdali's high rise buildings have different architectural styles from the three domes that are low rise buildings of traditional, local material (stone). But the positive impact of enforcing using stone in most of Abdali's buildings contributes to reflecting Amman's architecture. I propose that the planned high rise building, located adjacent to the three domes, should be changed into a low rise building to keep the continuity of the skyline heights and massing at this critical area and preserve the character of the area. Abdali's towers reflect the economic power adjacent to the domes of the political power; the courthouse and parliament, and the dome of religion. Although Abdali has a different form and character, incorporating its commercial and economic uses into the existing institutional uses would create a multi-activity urban center. This center to a certain level imitates the traditional core of the Arab city, where political, cultural and commercial activities were located close to one another. The Abdali master plan planned to connect the mosque with the commercial uses through a pedestrian path crossing the parliament. Unfortunately, this path may not be applicable for security reasons as stated by Abdel Majid al Kabariti, the CEO of Abdali mall. He also proposes that it would be good idea if phase II of Abdali developed into a park, but he is doubtful that this would be achieved (Kabariti, 2016).





Although emphasizing the existing urban character of scale, material, height and pattern would create a continuous urban form and harmony of whole, Abdali's urban form of height and massing is different from the surrounding developments; Abdali has succeeded to create a sense of place through the development of distinctive building types and forms. Massing, heights, layout and land uses contribute to the overall character of Abdali. Constructing high rise buildings in Abdali would create a landmark and a new image for the modern Amman that is positive sign of a healthy economy to attract international investment. But phase II has a different story, the initial heights and forms were changed. The promoted images of Phase II show exaggerated building forms and heights that would distort the overall image.



Photos of the Abdali model shows the envisioned Phase II development

b. Continuity and enclosure

Abdali is planned into a grid system of clear delineation between building lines and streets. Open spaces were defined by the buildings and trees creating vital public areas. Many activities were generated along the street frontages through restaurants, cafes and other entertainment centers. The ground floors of buildings are designed to be active frontages of retail and restaurant activities, but still many stores are not occupied. The master plan also has a successful layout of continuous linear frontages and enclosed spaces that defined private areas. The implemented projects of Phase I have achieved the principle of “comfortable spatial enclosure with respect to the heights of buildings and the spaces they define” (DETR, 2000).



c. Quality of the public realm

The Abdali master plan designates different land uses including defining open and public spaces. Abdali public areas are established according to a comprehensive signage strategy, safety and amenities are well provided, and the visual appearance and ambience are well defined. The Abdali Company is responsible for executing the public services and amenities. The outcomes are obvious on the ground. Abdali is providing a good level of amenities: roads, walkways, plants, shading and other urban furniture. Many attractive outdoor spaces were established in Abdali such as the Boulevard and the roof terraces. Abdali has high quality street furniture and pavement material (granite). Well studied signage and lighting

contributes to the public amenity of Abdali. A variety of trees and plants influence the visual image of Abdali.



The Boulevard, well-designed public places as part of a network of pedestrian routes

d. Legibility

Abdali is developed through a grid network of streets that has a clear pattern connecting different spaces. Many towers are landmarks defining clear directions. Gateways are defined by palm trees and high rise buildings.

e. Adaptability

Although the land use was determined by a master plan, some uses are changed corresponding to the economic conditions and market demand, see section 6.3.2.1.

f. Diversity

Abdali is a mixed use project of many compatible uses close to each other: hotels, entertainment, shopping, etc. These uses and activities enhance diversity and vitality. Abdali has introduced different ranges of densities and activities. Abdali is providing a good level of quality of life for residents and visitors, and creating vital mixed uses of recreation, restaurants and shopping.

g. Ease of movement

The initial plans proposed a network of connected pedestrian spaces, such as connecting the King Abdullah Mosque with the civic plaza passing through the Central Market. But on the ground, the pedestrian route connection to the mosque may not be developed. In general, the overall project is pedestrian friendly for many reasons: 1) the project is a destination for only visitors and users of the project, so the internal street network is serving internal users, 2) the design adopts principles that would facilitate pedestrian mobility such as using wide walkways, reduced traffic speed, defined cross-walks, streetscapes and provides adequate parking. It is difficult to judge movement within Abdali now, because the occupancy is not full. The accessibility to Abdali from the surroundings at certain times is difficult. The courthouse and other institutional building adjacent to Abdali generate high traffic. The majority of visitors use private cars. A new operated transportation touristic bus is connected to Abdali. In addition, Abdali shall be better connected with its surroundings and specifically with the activities centers such as Jabal al Hussein (Figure 80). By that time, the Abdali would house thousands of employees, so it shall be effectively connected to the public transportation systems.

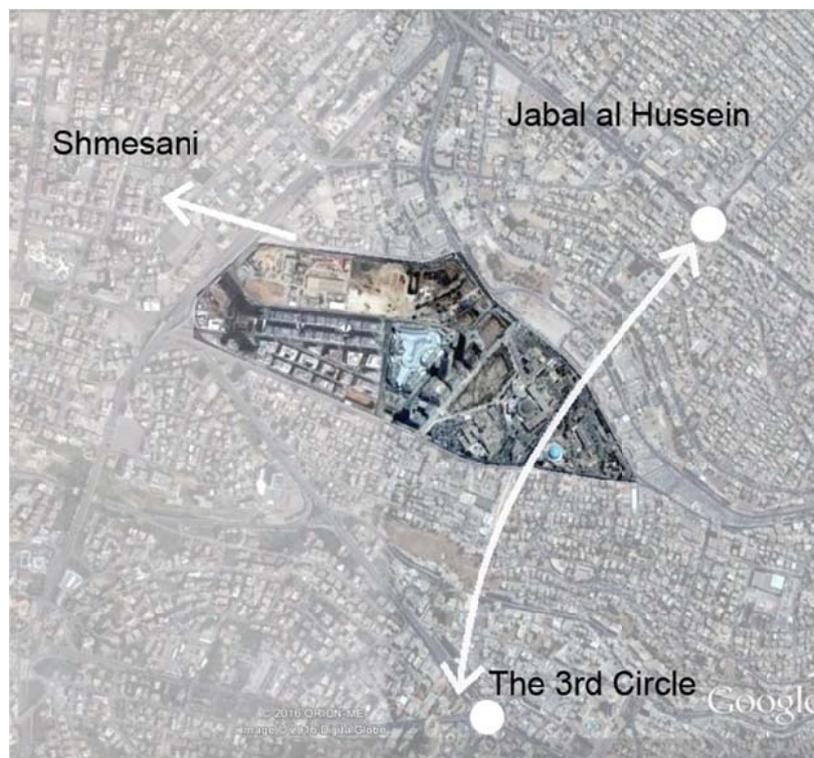


Figure 82: Connecting Abdali with the surrounding areas

Source: based on Google (2016)

6.3.2.5 The Quality of Environment

a. Sustainable urban form

Redevelopment of the inner city lands for economic and social purposes is a main strategy to achieve sustainable urban form. Abdali has been developed on a brownfield land that was dedicated for military use. Abdali is becoming an important activity center on the city level. Abdali's central location will reduce the expansion of the mixed use and commercial centers at the city's edge. Abdali will increase the intensity of economic activities into the core of Amman. Applying the principle of urban intensification through the development of high rise buildings would encourage the development of a compact center with sustainable urban form.

b. Noise and air quality

Abdali has increased congestion that has a bad impact on air quality and accessibility to the surrounding areas, but the measures to improve the air quality were considered in the landscape and streetscapes.

c. Infrastructure

Abdali is a new large scale development that was planned to take into consideration all the required services and utilities.

d. Use sustainable solutions

Abdali encourages using efficient energy resources and renewable energy schemes, such as in the Abdali mall, wind towers and solar panels were planned into the building's design.

e. Re-use / redevelop derelict land and buildings

Abdali is a redevelopment of a brownfield land that was dedicated for military use. Abdali is not about rejuvenating the housing stock, but is a redevelopment project, and the existing buildings were demolished. For some people, the development of the project has destroyed the memory of the place. The military forces would find a suitable location on the fringe of the city, thus establishing Abdali at a central location would achieve a high goal of

sustainable regeneration: “Re-use derelict land for high-density development”. Abdali is developed to optimize the utilization of the land for high density mixed use development.

The Impact of urban design policy is providing a high quality urban center. Abdali has succeeded in achieving most of the objectives of good urban design as follows:

Table 34: Abdali- physical and environmental quality

Objectives of good urban design	Tick
Character	✓
Continuity and enclosure	✓
Quality of the public realm	✓
Legibility	✓
Adaptability	✓
Diversity	✓
Ease of movement	???
Environmental quality	✓
Sustainable urban form*	✓
Noise and air quality	✓
Infrastructure (sewage, water and electricity networks)	N
Use sustainable solutions	P
Re-use / redevelop derelict land & buildings	✓

P: Partially, N : No specific proposal

6.3.3 The Social Impact

Abdali has little concern about achieving social advantages. Applying main indicators of social cohesiveness to Abdali presents the following:

Social cohesive	
Social mixing (in terms of age, ethnicity, family structure and income)	x
Inclusive decision-making, respond to local needs, community involvement	x
Increase social capacity and skills including immigrants and refugees	x
Provide quality affordable housing stock, education and health facilities and amenities for disadvantaged populations	x
Provide public space and improve social interaction	P
Social pride	✓
Improve life experiences	✓
Increase opportunities and choices for residents	P

P: Partially

Abdali does not provide significant contribution to social cohesiveness except creating jobs (considered economic value) and providing some open spaces that encourage social interaction. The open space has a low level of activity because it is a private open space that hosts larger numbers of people for limited events and occasions. Currently, during the day, Abdali is a deserted space; pedestrian activity in Abdali is often low. Having private buildings and offices around parks and open spaces will create a feeling of private space that the public are not welcomed into. Although Abdali is a PPP project, Abdali was initially developed for a specific class of people and visitors. Abdali is not a public-oriented project. The Boulevard Company imposed fees to enter the boulevard open space. According to Taher Jaghbeer, the Boulevard is a private project that costs 350 million JD, and the fee of 5 JD is a purchase voucher. Later on, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities has agreed with the Boulevard Company to cancel the entry fees (Addustour, 2014). This makes the Boulevard more public.



Source: Nidal Khairi as cited in Jarrar (2015)

In Abdali, most products and restaurants are suitable for high income people, but this would encourage social exclusion. Many people consider Abdali to have a bad impact on the city's image and the social aspects. According to Jarra, 2015, Abdali has not considered the people's needs, gathering, and interactions, Abdali is responding only to the business and investment market. Some people were moved out of Abdali by the power of authority or money. Abdali is increasing the idea of Amman's divide between poor and rich, increasing polarization, but more Abdali is marking the divide at the core of Amman, where only rich people would come for shopping or entertainment (Jarrar, 2015). Although some people have a negative image of

Abdali, others have a sense of national pride, starting from the King Abdullah II and ending with the local people. Abdali is an urban center of high quality spaces and environment, becoming a national pride. Although some opinions assume that Abdali is increasing the gap between East and West Amman, establishing Abdali as a high quality urban center at the core of Amman would increase the social interaction between different classes in Amman. Abdali's activities such as retail is targeting middle and high income people. There are some restaurants and cafes of reasonable prices, but a greater diversity of prices in different services and products would enhance social mixing and increase the trade area of Abdali. In time, people will be more attached to the place. Regenerating the city core through establishing a high quality urban center is a success.



Source: <http://en.ammonnews.net/article.aspx?articleno=25643#.WFHbltUrJdg>, retrieved in May 20, 2016



6.4 Summary

6.4.1 Challenges and Opportunities of Abdali

Many changes were done to the initial concepts of the project. Changing the land use designation of Abdali, and omitting main economic drivers such as the anchor institutions, the American university and the IT district, would have reduced the economic success of the project. These anchor activities would have increased demand for other activities.

With respect to the high supply of area per capita, Abdali has a challenge to market offices. Abdali also has a challenge to deal with the high supply of hotels that depends on external demand. This is also applied to the residential properties, where expected demand is in the external market. The retail market has a better opportunity, the supply of retail spaces is within the demand. Other issues are how to attract shoppers from the expected trade area. Part of the demand is the residents of the Abdali area itself. Abdali is relying on specific markets: the high income population from the western areas of Amman, and tourists and visitors from outside the country. There are many factors could affect the attraction of high income people to Abdali: accessibility, other competitive centers, preferences of both the property owners and users, and the market demand. Traffic congestion around the Abdali project is a main factor that could affect attracting customers. *“Traffic congestion, chronic traffic flow problems can limit the size of trade areas, deterring potential homebuyers or renters or office tenants from looking at an otherwise attractive site. Traffic can also diminish the market for a retail facility by reducing the distance people are willing to drive in order to shop”* (Brett & Schmitz, 2009). Abdali is facing a challenge to attract the population from western Amman where most of the high quality service centers and employment are located, and of better locations, higher environmental quality and accessibility. Preferences of investors and property owners in addition to the users and tenants have an impact on the distribution of the activity centers, offices, retail and hotels. The market supply of offices is high and exceeds the historical employment trend (space per capita) in Amman.

Although Abdali is located within the significant population density in Amman, the trade area is for international customers. Abdali’s users are expected to be from outside the country, in addition to the local employees and customers. Though all these challenges exist, Abdali has many opportunities and qualities that would strengthen Abdali’s competition and

success, including the central location of Abdali, proximity to Shmesani and to the high traffic volumes, qualities of the mixed use development, and the provision of amenities and high quality designs. The Abdali project has provided cultural and leisure amenities, restaurants, open spaces and entertainment of high quality designs and environment that have improved the urban image and attracted investments.

Abdali is a distinguished mixed use center on the national level. Abdali would compete with other urban centers through the provision of services of high quality environment and a mix of activities, and thus capture the market. Abdali's success to attract investments and users would have a bad impact on other service and activity centers, especially for office and hotel spaces. The market supply for hotels is high, and the market demand depends mainly on external factors (visitors and tourists). Amman does not have new potentials or assets to increase the demand for hotels. Regarding office spaces, Abdali is expected to attract international companies. If this assumption is false, Abdali would depend on local demand for office spaces. The market supply of offices exceeds the market demand; therefore Abdali has to provide competitive prices to capture the market.

6.4.2 Rationality and Impact of Abdali's Urban Policy

Abdali's development approach is a top-down decision, a rational planning approach. The King Abdullah has decided to redevelop military land into a CBD to attract investment and improve the local economy. Thus the city's needs were decided on a higher level. Abdali's development as a CBD is spatially rational; Abdali is located at the core of Amman, close to the financial center (Shmesani) that would consolidate the CBD of Amman. Abdali seeks to flourish the "image of modern Amman" by developing high-end mixed use development using state-of-the-art infrastructure. In general, the physical and environmental policies of Abdali have achieved developments of design excellence. Abdali is constructing high quality places of a distinctive identity for modern Amman. Abdali has provided services and amenities. The proposed public spaces of the initial plans were cancelled, and the implemented are private. The negative impact of Abdali is the congestion issue; Abdali is increasing congestion in the surrounding areas.

The economy and the real estate market development policies of Abdali have aspired to have economic improvements on the city level as well as on the country level. However, defining the market demand for different activities was unrealistic; the supply for hotels and offices

exceeds local demand. The spaces of Abdali were determined based on international demand; Abdali was expected to serve the demand of foreign companies for spaces managing businesses in Iraq and later in Syria. Currently, these assumptions have not come true. In parallel with the provision of a high quality environment, Abdali has to offer competitive prices to capture the demand from other competitive centers. Cancelling the anchor projects – the university and the IT district – would decrease the flow of people. Attracting enough mass of residents and visitors shall support the commercial activities there. Abdali is one of the projects that have introduced an emerging trend of residential towers in Amman, where some of them are serviced apartments. If it is true that the residential towers were purchased for investment purposes, then this would reduce the number of residents. The residential towers housing type is a new trend in Amman that may not be demanded by the local community. Therefore, proposals for Phase II shall be revised, taking into consideration the local culture and demand. Phase II would provide great potential to an anchor development project that would attract people and correct market failure.

Obviously, the main contribution of Abdali for the economic development is the provision of jobs. Jobs were created in different stages of project development: design, construction and operation. The provision of jobs would improve the local economy, where employees will spend money on services, and thus support the local economy (retail, housing, etc.). In Amman, the primary sources of employment are within the retailing and service sectors, the Abdali project is expanding retailing and commercial based activity. Abdali has attracted investment and provided thousands of jobs. There is no doubt that Abdali has generated foot traffic and had a positive impact on the surrounding commercial uses in comparison with the previous function of military uses. Benefits may increase if the connectivity of Abdali and the commercial activities on the other sides of street have been enhanced. High speed traffic on the streets circulating Abdali isolates it as an island with borders. One cannot move between the two sides of walkways and people often prefer not to do so. Abdali does not have many outcomes of social aspects except for the provision of high quality open spaces, in addition to establishing a high quality urban center at the core of Amman that would increase social interaction between Amman's different classes. Thus, Abdali is responding to the city's needs in achieving a high quality urban center and providing jobs, but the supply of commercial uses exceeds the city's demand. Thus, completing the development will be risky and the absorption rate will be slow.

Applying the checklist of rationality and impact of urban regeneration (Table 35), shows that Abdali has achieved most of the physical and economic objectives.

Table 35: Abdali- Rationality and Impact of Urban Regeneration

Rationality of Approach	
Relevance to city needs	P
Realistic use of market appraisal techniques in the selection of the strategy	x
Achieve objectives of good urban design	✓
Mechanism of Implementation & Main Interventions	
Adequate initial investment from the public sector to attract private sector	✓
Partnership	✓
Environmental/ Physical	
Sustainable urban form; compact city and urban intensification	✓
Mixed-use development	✓
Re-use / redevelop derelict land and buildings	✓
Improve environmental quality, provide amenities, enhance quality of life	✓
Improve accessibility and use integrated public transport systems	P
Design excellence and high quality urban design	✓
Decrease car use, promote public transportation and walkability	x
Use sustainable solutions (efficient energy resources, renewable energy ...)	✓
Overcome physical isolation of declining areas	✓
Emphasis on the place character and identity, preserve the heritage	P
Economic Impact	
Provision of cultural and leisure amenities	✓
Create jobs	✓
Increase contribution of culture, knowledge, and new industries	x
Entrepreneurship: improving the knowledge base, encouraging enterprise, education and training; and empowering local businesses	x
Improve local economy	✓
Attract investment, improve the urban image and environment	✓
Social Impact	
Social mixing (in terms of age, ethnicity, family structure and income)	x
Inclusive decision-making, respond to local needs, community involvement	x
Increase social capacity and skills	P
Provide quality affordable housing stock, health facilities and amenities	x
Provide public space and improve social interaction	P
Social pride	✓
Improve life experiences	✓
Increase opportunities and choices for residents	P

P: Partially

6.4.3 Urban Policy Conformance/Effectiveness

Abdali has succeeded to achieve most of the defined long-term goals that are:

- “Consolidate city center in Amman, currently non-existing.
- Create an urban place, a modern pole for business.
- Improve image of Amman.
- Create a "physical presence"/“urban place”: The development of a modern city center would be a major tangible achievement towards modernization of the city and the country.
- Increase businesses quantity and quality in the new central city center.
- Increase number of developed properties and public spaces, including green zones, for communal and tourist purposes.
- Raise property values in and around areas of intervention.
- Increase employment for the young and professionals in Amman.
- Increase size of private sector investments.”

The implemented projects are to some extent reflective of the desired quality. Abdali is a high quality urban center. Most of Phase I, around 67% of the total construction, is completed. The occupancy rate in Abdali is low, and the absorption rate will be slow. Phase II has not been designed and its development will be risky.

6.4.4 Long Term Implementation

The 2008 financial crisis has affected the completion of Abdali. Abdali was planned without the realistic use of market studies, where the supply exceeds the local demand. The financial resources commitment affected by the financial crisis had an impact on the completion of Abdali. Many developers have taken out bank loans in order to complete construction. The high dependency on external developers who changed their plans after the financial crisis may direct Abdali to re-plan Phase II. The absorption rate, occupancy and success of the developed projects in Abdali would market it and provides indicators for other developers on the success of the project.

7. SUMMARIZED ASSESSMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following table compares the two downtowns; Abdali and Wast El-Balad:

Similarities	Differences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Both are important urban centers of the Metropolitan Amman “downtowns”. – Supposed to serve the population on the city level (the market area is the whole city). – The planning approach is mixed use development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The Abdali project is targeting the upper class, while Wast El Balad is attracting low and middle income individuals. – The Abdali project provides real estate of high quality design, while Wast El-Balad has average to low quality properties, but that contain a heritage value.
Challenges	Potentials
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – How to reconcile the two centers on the identity and character as Amman’s “downtown”. – There is uncertainty of the success of the proposals in both centers. – How to utilize the qualities and potentials of both centers to achieve real values of economic, social and physical development. – To be competitive on the city level – High vacancy rate in both centers – Attract investors and consumers – Accessibility and traffic management – Long term commitment to urban policy and implementation – Financial difficulties of implementation – The success of commercial activities depends on improving the local economy and thus the purchasing power. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Both “downtowns” have a central location. – Each of the “downtowns” has a different character that could form an interesting dialog between two different identities. – High rate of demographic growth in Amman.

7.1 Summarized Assessments

7.1.1 Challenges for the Success of the Urban Regeneration of “Downtowns”

7.1.1.1 Impact of Urban Policies on Shaping Amman’s Urban Structure

To assess the role of the Downtown and Abdali, it is necessary to discuss the urban spatial structure of Amman. The development of the last decades has guided city development to a more dispersed structure to reduce pressure on the Downtown, through encouraging dispersed economic activities, governmental and administrative institutions, and the development of districts centers. Shmesani has been the financial center since the 1980s.

Most commercial centers and regional malls are located in the western areas of the city. The City Mosque was the Hussein Mosque in the Downtown, followed by the King Abdullah Mosque in Shmesani, and lately, it has become the King Hussein Mosque in Dabouq in west Amman. The Airport road has attracted international schools, universities and large furniture stores such as IKEA. The Amman Plan, 2008-2025 states: “Cluster employment uses to enhance competitiveness and reduce infrastructure costs”. Although the Plan is emphasizing the clustering concept, the proposed spatial development of growth centers and corridors are guiding the city to be more dispersed. The Plan proposes strategies of mixed use developments in the city through designation of: Metropolitan Growth Centers and Corridors, High Density Mixed Use Development Areas (Towers), and Corridor Intensification Strategy. These planned mixed use centers and corridors will increase the dispersion of the city structure.

7.1.1.2 Market demand and Urban Regeneration Policy

Amman’s center has expanded westward and shifted from the core of the city. Amman’s center as defined where the highest concentration of activities (retail, office, and hotel spaces of high land values) is located in four districts: Abdali, Wadi al-Seir, Zahran and Talaa al-Ali. Investors’ preferences have affected the development of different activities outside the core of the city.

Main findings on the relation between market demand and urban regeneration policies in Amman are as follows:

- Both Abdali and the Downtown are designated as more important business centers of the Metropolitan Amman “downtowns”. They are supposed to serve the population on the city level (the market area is the whole city).
- Strategies for Abdali and the Downtown are not based on a realistic use of market studies in the selection of the development strategy.
- Both Abdali and the Downtown have high vacancy rates.
- The Abdali project is targeting the upper class, while the Downtown is attracting the low and middle income individuals.
- The Abdali project provides real estate of high quality design, while the Downtown has average to low quality properties, but that contain a heritage value.
- In Abdali, economic regeneration is external through attracting investment from outside and focuses on mixed use development. In the Downtown, the proposed economic regeneration is internal, focusing on traditional markets.
- The Downtown is not a prime commercial center on the city level. To improve the Downtown’s role on the city level, many measurements and policies shall be executed.
- The Downtown trade area is of low purchasing power, demanding cheap goods and products, which has an effect on the supply of the markets in the Downtown.
- The Downtown has old urban fabric that requires renovation in order to attract users and investors.
- Abdali is located in the core of Amman, thus, Abdali has a challenge to attract customers from West Amman and outside the country. Traffic congestion could affect the attractiveness of Abdali to the people of West Amman, where there are already many convenient commercial and entertainment centers.
- Office supply in Amman exceeds the demand, so it would be challenging for Abdali to market office spaces.

7.1.2 Urban Regeneration Approaches

The Abdali project is promoted as an urban regeneration project, Wast El-Balad’s urban policy is promoted as a revitalization policy, and the Urban Strip is promoted as an urban regeneration project. As discussed in chapter three, revitalization overlaps with regeneration, and there is no strong distinction between them. Both terms, urban regeneration and revitalization, are used in Jordan. In the urban regeneration experiences in Amman, the Abdali urban regeneration project (New Downtown) was not about social capital or

community involvement in decision making, but is rather a redevelopment policy focusing on physical policies and a new function of the area. The Abdali, a redevelopment of the military site, was a top-down decision; a rational planning. The King Abdullah II took a decision to relocate military installations outside of city centers to utilize the valuable land for redevelopment, achieving economic growth, branding a new image of Amman, and supporting the national economy. The project was clearly defined through a master plan of mixed use development, but many land use changes were completed after the initial plan. Revitalization is used in the strategy of the old downtown Amman, focusing more on economic revival than on housing, education or health issues. The type of activities and uses in the Downtown and in Abdali is based on considerations that the economic development has a high priority in setting out the strategy. The Urban Strip project was also proposed as a master plan. In Amman, urban regeneration policy is a well-defined intervention presented through a master plan or specific projects. Urban revitalization policy in Amman is a collection of regulations and strategies in addition to key projects. The timespan of the implementation of revitalization is undefined, while the implementation of urban regeneration is more concretely determined. Revitalization in Amman describes limited physical intervention with minor modifications on the existing container, but urban regeneration describes major redevelopments and reconstructions, creating a new image and function. Another explanation could be that the development strategies of the Downtown were prepared under the lead of Canadian consultants who use the term revitalization in their region.

Abdali is promoted to be “the pride of Jordan's capital, a new downtown reflective of the great people of this country”. These promotions contradict the long history of many studies and proposals seeking to revitalize the old downtown by focusing on the national importance of the downtown: “To make Amman Jordan’s true international core”, “Retain the authentic function and role of the Downtown”. Promoting the Abdali project as the New Downtown sends a negative message to the private sector and community that the public sector has given up on the old downtown. While many studies are struggling to retain the authentic role of the Downtown, other policies, one of them is Abdali, guide towards developing competing centers beyond the Downtown geography.

The Old Downtown (Wast El Balad) and the New Downtown (the Abdali project) have similarities and differences. Both downtowns are centrally located in the city core. Abdali is

competing over the role of the city downtown. Although West El Balad is promoted as the old downtown, West El-Balad is a translation term of the middle of the city. The Abdali project is promoted under different labels of a New Downtown, a CBD, a New Center of Amman; these many labels show confusion and hesitation about the role of this new large-scale development in the city core. West El-Balad has many limitations to expand, such as the physical settings, the city natural growth, and changing shopping and housing trends. Decades ago, Shmesani became the main political, commercial, institutional and financial center of the Amman City, where many bank headquarters, hotels and offices are located. While a lot of discussion and objections were raised against the Abdali project, this project could be seen an expansion of the Shmasani CBD.

There could be many reasons for the promotion of Abdali as a New Downtown, for example attracting tourists and visitors, or branding Amman through a new presentable face that is more suitable for the 21st century as a “modern capital” and a “national landmark”. However, marketing the Abdali as a New downtown would not have that negative of an impact on the Old Downtown, because the oldness of West El-Balad is promoting its heritage and culture. The Old Downtown and the New Downtown are different entities. The trade market for each of them is different, as the Abdali “downtown” has a different catchment area. Even prior to the development of Abdali, other commercial and activity centers were developed in the western areas of the city. The primary trade area and tenants of Abdali are different from those of West El-Balad. The Abdali site is a central location in the core of Amman, and it is surrounded with other important public centers and activities. Thus, spatially, developing Abdali as a main employment center is rational.

As clarified in Section 5.6.6, many factors are contributing to the decline of downtown Amman including physical characteristics, social and economic factors, and urban planning policies. The Amman Downtown urban revitalization policies emphasize the heritage value of the Downtown on the national level. Tourism is the main economic advantage. Studies focus on physical improvement, accessibility, and economic revival. Most of the proposed projects are related to the improvement of the quality of space and the provision of open space. Some proposed urban policies and projects are achieved on ground. The tourism projects of the 1990s aimed to provide tourism services. ADPRS proposes mixed use development and economic themes of specialized markets to stimulate economic activities. Table 36 and 37 summarize the evaluation of the urban regeneration policies:

Table 36: Evaluation of the urban regeneration policy

	Wast El-Balad	Abdali
Objectives	To retain the role of the Amman Downtown, revive physical and economic conditions	“New downtown”, a modern center, the pride of Jordan's capital.
Approach	Mixed use, Economy, Environmental and physical, Heritage- Tourism	Economic development, Mixed use
Output	a framework, zoning, regulations and key projects	Master plan
Management	within GAM, a public institution	Semi-public organization
Funding	Mainly grants	PPP with foreign investors mainly
Outcomes	Improvement of physical environment and open spaces. Provision of tourists’ attractions and services are outcomes from the 1990s tourism projects.	Construction of a large scale business center
Evaluation		
Rationality / Relevance	Relevant to the community needs Unrealistic use of market conditions Applying most of good urban design objectives Irrational urban policy regarding the urban form Little concern about affordable housing	Relevant to the city needs, but not relevant to the community priorities Unrealistic use of market conditions Applying most of good urban design objectives No concern about affordable housing or community centers
Impact (positive)	Improvement of place quality Increased social interaction Enhance cultural and tourism services Ease of movement Strengthen the specialized markets* Improve the socioeconomic situation*	Create jobs Create an attractive business center at the core of Amman
Impact (negative)	Decline of commercial activities at certain areas ** Distortion of the Downtown distinct urban form and heritage **	Increased congestion Capturing the market demand at the expense of other competitive centers
Conformance/ Effectiveness	Most of regulations and projects are not implemented. Only little physical improvements were achieved	Most of Phase I is completed, but Phase II is not. High vacancy rate Changes of the land uses have effects on the economic outcomes
Long-term implementation	No commitment to implement the urban policy	Difficulties on marketing Phase II, but the organization has the intention to complete the project

* if ADPRS is implemented, ** effects would be by both the current and proposed urban policies

Table 37: Checklist of Rationality and Impact of Urban Regeneration

Rationality of Approach	Downtown	Abdali
Relevance to the city needs	✓	P
Realistic use of market appraisal techniques in the selection of the strategy	x	x
Achieve objectives of good urban design	P	✓
Mechanism of Implementation & Main Interventions		
Adequate initial investment from the public sector to attract private sector	x	✓
Partnership	P	✓
Environmental/ Physical Impact		
Sustainable urban form; compact city and urban intensification	✓	✓
Mixed-use development	✓	✓
Re-use / redevelop derelict land and buildings	✓	✓
Improve environmental quality, provide amenities, enhance quality of life	✓	✓
Improve accessibility and use integrated public transport systems	P	P
Design excellence and high quality urban design	✓	✓
Decrease car use, promote public transportation and walkability	✓	x
Use sustainable solutions (efficient energy resources, renewable energy...)	P	✓
Overcome physical isolation of declining areas	P	✓
Emphasis on character and identity, preserve the heritage	P	P
Economic Impact		
Provision of cultural and leisure amenities	✓	✓
Create jobs	P	✓
Increase contribution of culture, knowledge, and new industries	P	x
Entrepreneurship: improving the knowledge base, encouraging enterprise, education and training; and empowering local businesses	✓	x
Improve local economy	✓	✓
Attract investment, improve the urban image and environment	✓	✓
Social Impact		
Social mixing (in terms of age, ethnicity, family structure and income)	N	x
Inclusive decision-making, respond to local needs, community involvement	P	x
Increase social capacity and skills	✓	P
Provide quality affordable housing stock, health facilities and amenities,...	P	x
Provide public space and improve social interaction	P	P
Social pride	✓	✓
Improve life experiences	✓	✓
Increase opportunities and choices for residents	P	P

P: Partially, N : No specific proposal

The weaknesses and failure of implementing the proposed urban regeneration strategies in Wast El-Balad is due to the absence of base studies, economic and social studies to develop

strategies responding to the local needs, as well as the absence of organizations to manage and implement the proposed strategies, in addition to financial problems. In Abdali, also, there is no realistic use of market studies to determine the suitable components of the project and use key economic drivers. Urban regeneration approaches in Amman's "downtowns" focus on physical and economic revival more than social aspects. The urban regeneration approach of Abdali is based on quality design and economic development. Economic development is the main approach. Strategies in both "downtowns" emphasize mixed use development as a policy to achieve high economic values. The economic development policy is developed based on utilizing the local assets of the Downtown: heritage and traditional markets. On the other side, Abdali is promoted as a modern center using high technology. Although the economy is the main objective triggering interventions and proposals, at the end, the key economic drivers and anchor projects have been taken away from the implemented urban policies.

Urban regeneration projects in Amman were developed with funding from external bodies. In the Abdali project, the interest came from main external developers and investors from Lebanon (Hariri) and the Gulf (mainly Kuwait). In the case of West El-Balad, the development was funded by mainly donors such as JICA and the USAID. Abdali project is triggered using PPP, while West El Balad, new zoning and regulation were proposed, but have not been implemented. ADPRS was developed in absence of a real assessment of market conditions and social problems. PPP was proposed in the urban strip development, but then was cancelled. Most of Phase I of the Abdali project is established, but Phase II is not. In West Elbalad, the implemented strategies include physical improvement of public and open spaces, funded by GAM. The tourism projects of the 1990s were implemented. In practice, most of implemented large projects were financed by external grants such as the Jordan Museum and upgrading the Raghadan terminal. The implementation of the Abdali project has achieved more success than West El-Balad. Many reasons contributing to this success are: Abdali is developed through an organization using a public-private partnership approach; Abdali is a priority for national economic growth, as is the interest of international investors to develop in Abdali. Amman has more successful implementation when policy is developed through a strategic planning approach. The Abdali project is a project-oriented approach that makes achievements on the ground, but studies and long term approaches had little chance to progress.

There is no organization for managing the Downtown problem or to have commitment for development on a long term scale. Figures 83& 84 indicate (in red) the weaknesses in the process of achieving successful urban revitalization/regeneration in the Downtown and in Abdali. In the Downtown, partial improvement on the physical and environmental aspect has been achieved.

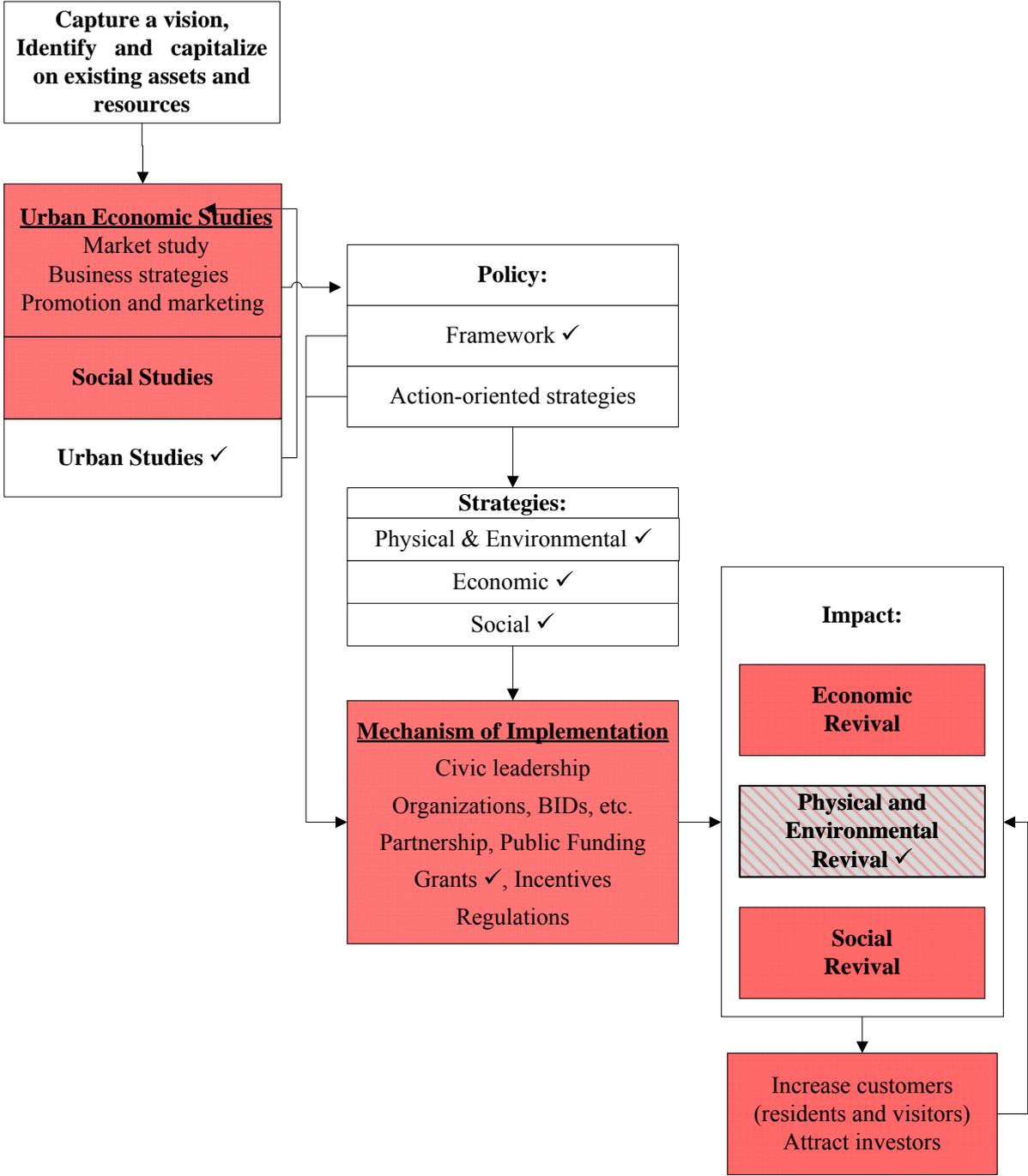


Figure 83: The Downtown Urban Revitalization Process

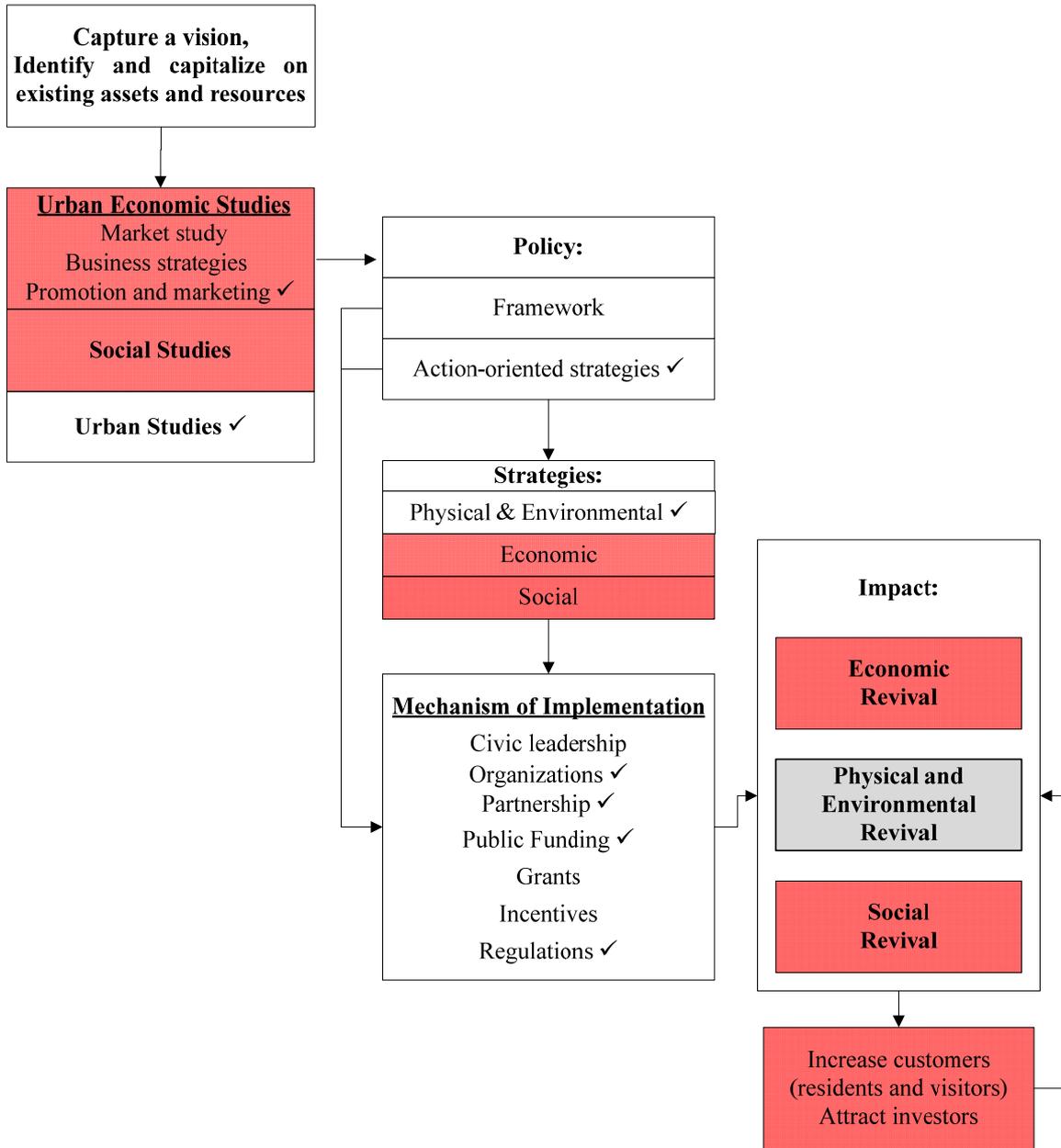


Figure 84: The Abdali Urban Regeneration Process

7.2 Recommendations

7.2.1 Strengthen the core of Amman

The research finds the boundary of the business center of Amman. Amman's center has shifted towards the more affluent population, in addition to better quality environments. Also it is widely discussed that Amman has different classes polarized spatially in certain areas. Urban planning and policies shall strengthen Amman's development and growth as a monocentric city. Amman's growth is expanding in the form of an edge city. Urban policy has encouraged this direction of growth deliberately or undeliberately. Amman's existing structure and future planning are increasing the threat of evolving to the edge city structure, in addition to the dispersion of activities. A centralized core will facilitate managing the traffic problems and create a more sustainable urban form. Congestion is a main aspect in Amman's urban problems. A hierarchy of centers is important to serve the local needs of neighborhoods. Main activities should be clustered and well-connected on the city level.

Developing the Abdali as a main employment center is rationale; it could be considered as an expansion of the Shmesani financial center. Many activity centers such as Shmesani, Zahran and Swifieh are older than Abdali. These centers have different markets than that of the Downtown, therefore Abdali will not have a bad impact on West El-Balad. Previous developments have shifted the city center to the west. The center of Amman has moved westward, where the higher income residents settled. In spite of many critics against the development of Abdali, on the city level, Abdali, if succeeded, would rebalance and relocate the center of gravity of the city into the core. Abdali is developed at a central location between "East Amman" and "West Amman". Abdali has significant influence on re-locating the city center to the core of Amman. Abdali and West El-Balad together would function as two poles tying and binding central Amman.

Urban policy should consolidate main activities and increase the connectivity in the center of the city. Creating a loop that connects different activity centers is essential. Defining the functions of the centers and defining a clear boundary to the core will help to integrate different centers and determine the required infrastructure and transportation systems. Improving the connectivity on a city level contributes to solving the accessibility issue to the Downtown and Abdali. The intention is not to evaluate the transportation strategy on the city level, but to point out some ideas. The existing terminals are connecting the commuters from

Zarqa and east Amman particularly to the city's main activity centers. GAM's strategy is to develop Al Mahatta as a main terminal connecting over 50,000 commuters from Zarqa to Amman. As the business center of Amman is located to the west, it is not practical to link commuters from Zarqa to Al Mahatta, they shall be linked to the North Terminal where another network will be distributing people to different centers. An effective transportation network shall be provided within the delineated city center.

7.2.2 Improve the local economy

As clarified in Section 4.3, the highest contribution to Amman's economy is the non-primary activities, with 35% in finance, real estate, restaurants, trade and hotels, while manufacturing contributes to 20%, and transportation and communications makes up 17%. Factors contributing to the success of the real estate market in Amman depend on improving the income and purchasing power of local communities. Income is generated from external sources by focusing on manufacturing, transportation and tourism. Thus, additional services of hotels, restaurants, offices would flourish accordingly. Manufacturing should be a priority of the national economy. The investment policy shall be reviewed, high taxes have pushed many investors to shut off their businesses in Amman. Tourism as an economic strategy has to be developed on the national level. Amman's potential as a tourist destination of historic sites is low, but the medical and educational tourism might have a better chance.

The demand for spaces at Abdali was envisioned to host international companies for managing reconstruction projects in Iraq. The stability of Jordan has introduced Amman as a regional center and a gateway to surrounding countries. This expectation failed at this time to capture demand. Instability of the regions accompanied with the financial crisis and low prices of oil that decrease the Gulf enterprises have had an influence on Jordan's economy. Economic development could be achieved through cross-border planning by connecting Amman to the pilgrimage cities of Mecca, al Madina, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. Increasing the flow of people and goods along west-east axis would improve tourism and trade and cause other industrial development.

7.2.3 Link the “New Downtown” Abdali with the Old Downtown

Abdali could be seen as an expansion of Shmesani, the CBD. The Downtown is the center of the traditional markets and heritage. Consolidating the two downtowns in addition to Shmesani forming a linear central business district, a “spine”, would strengthen the core of Amman. The two downtowns could be connected and integrated through mixed use development in addition to public and governmental institutions. The spine shall strengthen connectivity between Abdali and West ElBalad with emphasis on a pedestrian-friendly environment and run free shuttle buses along the corridor. On the city level, the connectivity of the CBD spine shall be improved with the provision of convenient public transportation and connecting main roads and nodes.

7.2.4 Strengthen the Old Downtown

The strategy to revitalize Downtown has to mitigate the causes of urban decline which are: 1) physical and environmental factors: natural and spatial constraints, aged building fabric, low quality environment, and accessibility; 2) social and economic factors: change of population structure, changes of shopping habits, the socioeconomic situation, and the market demand, and 3) the urban policy: dispersed economic activities, shifting the cultural center, and transportation policy. The revitalization of the Downtown is internal and external. Internal revitalization takes place through policy and interventions within the Downtown boundary. External revitalization is through the revitalization of the surrounding neighborhoods which are the local market area. Increasing visitors and workers in the Downtown is a main issue for the revitalization process. The role shall be defined according to the existing situation, potentials and qualities of the Downtown. Defining the role among other activity centers would help to identify strategies to revitalize the Downtown to develop a competitive center. Downtown Amman does not have the highest concentration of urban growth; it is not the prime center of retail, office, entertainment, or hotels, but it accommodates many governmental and cultural activities. Many existing activities contribute towards distinguishing the Downtown such as commercial activities in the traditional markets in addition to cultural, municipal, and civic uses. GAM has succeeded in developing most of these activities, except implementing the proposals of the traditional markets.

7.2.4.1 Develop a distinct identity and a sense of place

Emphasis on the traditional characteristics of the Downtown and the enhancement of its unique features will make the Downtown a distinct center that will increase its competitiveness compared to other urban centers and shopping malls. More improvements on the environment quality and tourism services would increase the Downtown attractiveness as a heritage and cultural center. It is essential to reinforce regulations and urban design guidelines that emphasize developing the distinguished character of and preserving the Downtown heritage landscape. The character of the Downtown shall be improved by focusing on preserving buildings of heritage values, protecting the urban form, improving the green valley character, and developing the specialized market. GAM shall set out clear guidelines for development in the Downtown, defining acceptable material buildings, forms ...The existing building height regulations and the proposed regulations both have a bad impact on the Downtown place identity. Large plots and high buildings are not responding to the heritage urban form of the Downtown. The heritage urban form is fine grain, small plots of low height structures spreading along the valley. GAM would have problems with the community if the buildings heights are reduced. Preserving the spatial quality is essential and should be considered to protect the significant form of hills and valley. Strengthening the character of the Downtown as a green valley would make it special. The green valley theme is genuine and presents the distinct quality of Downtown Amman, which would contribute to creating a sense of place there.

The Downtown will be able to compete with other centers through emphasis on identity and a sense of place. Focusing on strengthening the specialization of the traditional market of the Downtown is an essential strategy that will develop a distinct identity for the Downtown and develop attributes that are not available in other centers. As clarified by many writers: (Hakim, 1986; Mortada, 2003; Bianca, 2000 and Raymond, 2008), the traditional retail approach of specialty markets is a typical model used in the historic and traditional Arab or Muslim cities. In the Arab traditional city, the downtown or the urban core is the heart of the city, a gathering place for social interaction and economic activities. The main characteristics of the urban core are a major city mosque and surrounding Suqs (markets), Suqs being the places where the main economic activities take place, where institutional buildings (schools) are attached to the major mosque, and specialized markets, Hammams, storerooms and hotels are located. As proposed by ADPRS, Faisal Street and the traditional markets and the Hussein Mosque are the core of the Amman Downtown. The proposals of enhancing the

existing specialized markets should be a high priority for future development, and the Faisal Street shall be enhanced to function more as a gathering place. Improving the existing traditional specialty markets would create a distinct character. Tourism policies also have improved the environment and services in the Downtown area.

7.2.4.2 A well-defined boundary

The downtown boundary shall be redefined to include West Elbalad as now the commercial areas of the downtown shall be expanded to include Qalaa, Raghadan Terminal, and the Cultural Strip. Developing gateways will define the Downtown boundary and create landmarks and a sense of arrival. The main gateways to the Downtown shall be at the main intersections of the Downtown; joining the Cultural Strip to the west and the Raghadan Terminal to the east.

7.2.4.3 Strengthen different activities:

- Revitalize the core of the Downtown. The Faisal Street should be integrated with the Huseini Mosque and other traditional markets “souqs”. The Faisal Street shall be restored as a plaza with no curbs, remove the sidewalks and the middle island, and managing vehicle lines using pollards, the use of pavement material other than asphalt to create a flexible public space. This would restore the Faisal plaza as it was in 1950s, a public space in the main core of the Downtown.
- The municipal functions. Establishing more governmental offices and institutions is achievable, and would strengthen the Downtown role as an administrative center.
- Entertainment and leisure activities. The surrounding areas around the Citadel have strategic locations for sights and views to the Downtown. Most of buildings on the Citadel slopes are derelict, these areas have potential to be developed into restaurants, hotels and art craft centers serving tourists and lengthening their stay.
- Activities at public spaces. The Hashmitte Plaza is to be redeveloped into a public library of one floor, while the roof is to be utilized as a plaza. This will utilize the potential of the plaza and create vibrant public space.
- Provide public realm and improve urban quality. It is essential to reinforce urban design guidelines. Improving the physical environment, greening the walkways and improving the air quality will increase the attractiveness of the Downtown, and encourage pedestrian circulation.

- Support renovation and utilize upper floors. Incentives for utilizing vacant buildings to attract different functions will encourage utilizing upper floors. A pilot project of a group of buildings would demonstrate a successful strategy and visible impact to utilize vacant upper floors.
- No housing variety or convenient housing is available in the Downtown. Housing could be encouraged if a better quality of environment and services are provided. This includes the building conditions, schools and other community centers.

7.2.4.4 Increase connectivity and enhance accessibility

Urban policies should aim at improving the walkability in the Downtown core by creating a pedestrian-friendly environment and shared space for both vehicles and people. A fully pedestrian area is not recommended, as accessibility for both public transportation and private cars will help to avoid any possible economic decay in the area. A pedestrian-friendly environment could be achieved by introducing features such as wide sidewalks, slow speed limits, defined cross-walks, easy navigation, and less emphasis on vehicles. The sidewalks are to be wider and landscaped along the street edges to improve air quality and visual appearance. Streetscape and wide greenways would provide a unified look and character. Removing fences along sidewalks would encourage pedestrian crossing and movement for activities on both sides of street, and in doing so increase connectivity. Re-establishing the streets with pavement patterns without curbs would create a flexible public space. For example, the Faisal Street should be integrated with the connectivity between the Faisal Street and the Huseini District (Huseini Mosque and the surrounded areas). Removing the sidewalks, the middle island, and the pollards would restore the Faisal plaza as it was in the 1950s, a public space in the main core of the Downtown. This shall be applied on the all Downtown streets.

7.2.4.5 Retaining the Downtown as a core for the surrounding neighborhoods

The Downtown should be revitalized for the inner city population, redefining a community and increasing social integration. Another implication for the Downtown neighborhood is defining the needs of the communities on this level, such as community centers and recreational facilities. Responding to the people's needs and finding the suitable location for the market is important for the creation of an inclusive city. Provide the required services and community centers.

7.2.4.6 Key economic driver

Many of GAM's urban regenerated areas required revitalization! The stores at the fountain plaza including the Raghadan Terminal are vacant. Some modifications to the Hashmite Plaza are required. The Raghadan Terminal could be improved if a part of the terminal was specified for transportation, serving the surrounding neighborhoods and the Downtown visitors. The terminal will have an impact as an economic generator to the area around the terminal and encourage a flow of people to the markets. The existing vegetable public markets are in bad condition, with unmanaged markets and a lack of adequate infrastructure and parking. Part of the Raghadan Terminal can be developed into a vegetable market, where there is adequate parking, with the roof being utilized as a plaza in addition to the existing shops that are tourist oriented. The Raghadan market will serve tourists and residents, and become a regional destination on the city level. Some plans are required to attract investors at the fountain plaza which has high potential in proximity to the National Museum. More services are required at the Hasmite Plaza. Although there is a building for a café, it is empty. In general, the Downtown is known for the provision of low quality products. Attracting anchor retailers and markets will enhance the Downtown market locally and on the city level. Attracting anchor retailers will provide a mix of products and goods. On the Qalaa slopes, there are many deteriorated vacant buildings that provide potential for developing restaurants, cafes and hotels to attract tourists and residents. Further development of the proposed paths would enhance the environment quality and walkability of the area.

7.2.4.7 Improve social capital

- Improve social capital. Community participation and involvement is essential to implement programs and strategies. The Downtown property owners shall be partners in decision making and implementation. The implementation of the Downtown proposals will not succeed without real participation from the community, because the interest and ownership of many fragmented plots make the process complex.
- Creating an inclusive Downtown. Manage public activities such as street vendors, public markets that would achieve economic benefits and community inclusion.
- Employing the strength of the local community in activities such as housing renovation and craft-based businesses.

7.2.4.8 Improve mechanism of implementation

- Managing the Downtown through an organization including property owners and other stakeholders in coordination with GAM shall manage interventions, monitor progress, organize events, attract business, and promote the Downtown.
- Incentives and taxes to encourage utilizing vacant buildings.
- Revitalization as an ongoing process requires continuous efforts, monitoring and evaluation. To put plans into action, the GAM mayors have to commit to a framework for a long-term period.
- Community participation and partnerships would mobilize local resources to achieve many of the urban policy objectives, such as property renovation and emphasis on thematic markets.

7.2.4.9 Revitalize the Downtown through revitalization of the surrounding neighborhoods

External revitalization; revitalization of the surrounding neighborhoods (outside of the Downtown boundary) will have benefits and returns to the Downtown.

- Increase connectivity between the Downtown and surrounding neighborhoods. When planning the revitalization of the Downtown, defining the Downtown boundary at the local level in relation to the market area is essential. Improving Downtown connectivity (through transportation policies) to the surrounding areas will strengthen the Downtown role as a destination serving the communities.
- Improve the socioeconomic of the inner city population. The Downtown commercial and residential markets serve middle to low income households of the eastern areas of Amman. Improving the socioeconomic situations of the population through the provision of social facilities, health care, education, training and transport in the surroundings areas of the Downtown, will increase the purchasing power and expenditure, and thus will have good returns to the Downtown.
- Connecting Downtown to other employment and activity centers. Connecting residents, visitors, property owners and buyers to other employment and activity centers in Amman would encourage attraction to the Downtown and ease accessibility. A small terminal serving the surrounding neighborhoods located in the Raghadan terminal would be convenient.

- Developing an entertainment district. The proposed site for mixed-use development of the Urban Strip shall be developed as an entertainment and training space.
- Protect the trade market area of the Downtown. Restrict any competitive center to the Downtown eastern area.
- Protect the Urban Strip land use as is, an industrial employment center, and enhance the services there. Future plans shall develop the urban strip to utilize the vacant land.

7.2.5 Improve the New Downtown Abdali

7.2.5.1 Revitalize the Abdali: Incorporate key economic drivers

The changes of the land use of the initial plans have set aside the key economic drivers and the anchor institutions of the Abdali, the IT district and the American University. As discussed earlier, the primary types of tourism in Amman are educational tourism, medical tourism, and conferences. The land usage of Abdali Phase II shall be revised to include main economic drivers: another hospital, an international higher education college such as a medicine college, an international research center and a training center. These activities will bring visitors from outside the country as well as from the local market. Incorporating economic drivers and improving the local economy as clarified in section 7.2.2 would increase demand for offices, hotels and retail,..., and enhance the conditions of the Abdali project.

7.2.5.2 Strengthen the civic identity of Abdali

More civic and public activities are important to emphasize Abdali as part of the CBD. Establishing a convention center, distinct entertainment center and a large plaza are essential uses for celebrating national events. These activities could be developed on the vacant land of Phase II.

7.2.5.3 Increase social cohesiveness

Abdali's objectives are of a little concern among the local community. Changes in land usage would benefit both investors and local communities. At the local market level, the prices of office spaces should be reasonable and competitive to similar projects and locations in Amman. The medical center shall contribute to a certain ratio of healthcare services for poor people. The impact will include the provision of more jobs, training, and healthcare.

Although the initial master plans of Abdali designate routes for pedestrians and public open spaces, the final outcomes provide private open spaces such as the Abdali mall and Boulevard. The provision of public recreation parks and playgrounds shall be considered in Phase II.

7.2.5.4 Connecting Abdali with the surrounding areas

Improving accessibility to Abdali from its surroundings is a complex issue linked to the transportation strategy for the whole city. Accessibility and connectivity should be GAM's priority to ensure a better quality of life and attract investors and users. Abdali shall be better connected to the neighboring areas. The road network at certain areas is currently disconnected.

7.2.6 Capacity building and strengthening the municipality role

GAM should have a qualified urban planning team. Urban development is a process. The continuity of monitoring, evaluation and proceeding with plans is essential to achieve the desired objectives. GAM should have to commit to a well-defined approach that would guide city development to avoid the interruption of projects resulting from administrative changes, such as the changing of mayors. GAM has to follow a hybrid approach of urban planning with a long-term framework and action-oriented approach. GAM should have a general framework and defined priorities to be able to prevent the degradation of the Downtown heritage and economic decline. In accordance with the findings of the research, GAM has to take into consideration the following:

- The success of Abdali and the Downtown will be affected with other interventions of developing competitive centers on the city level. GAM has to review the city plans of land usage and the proposed growth centers.
- The research shows that the city center has been shifted outside of the core. Abdali contributes to strengthen business activities at the core. GAM should strengthen the core of Amman by developing the CBD of a spine linking the downtown, Abdali and Shmesani, and improving its connectivity.
- The transportation strategy shall be revised, taking into consideration the location of the center of Amman as delineated by the research.
- The local economy strategies shall be developed to solve the real estate market failure.

- GAM shall refine the Downtown urban revitalization policies, and enforce regulation to preserve downtown heritage.
- GAM should not set aside the key economic drivers and anchor institutions out the activity areas. GAM should develop both the content and container.

7.3 General implications for urban regeneration development

Lessons learned from the urban regeneration experiences in Amman as a city in the Middle East:

- **Urban regeneration policies and the external players:** An urban regeneration project depends on external forces (investors and users); it becomes an island interrupting the city fabric. Mixing strategies on the local, national and international levels would reduce risk and failure.
- **Urban regeneration policies are influenced by the function of the area:** The type of activities taking place in the regenerated area has a main role in defining the priority of economic, social or environmental aspects to be considered in setting urban policies. The revitalization of a neighborhood or a site on the fringe of the city is different from the revitalization of the city commercial center.
- **Linking market demand with the urban development policy:** It is crucial to conduct real estate and market studies prior to enacting urban development policies. Analyzing market demand will guide planners to rationalizing land uses in accordance with the city needs.
- **Linking urban regeneration with spatial planning concepts:** Linking activities and employment centers with people and catchment areas, and analyzing the spatial distribution of activities on the city level, would help decision making and determine the right strategy.
- **Key economic driver.** Many regeneration policies and projects contain important economic drivers, but during the process of development, they end up with different outcomes. Removing the content, the anchor project would provide an empty container that would require revitalization.
- **An opportunity to re-manage the city core:** Large scale urban regeneration projects are opportunities to re-manage the city's structure and growth, and offer opportunities to re-correct urban planning faults.

- **Mechanism of implementation in urban regeneration policy:** Long-term commitment to urban policy implementation is essential for successful development. Focusing on the objectives and working with different stakeholders would insure delivering the intended objectives and overcome obstacles of implementation to gain the desired outcomes.

7.4 Further Research

In accordance with the findings of the research, further research on the following issues is encouraged:

- Further development of the CBD spine linking the downtown, Abdali and Shmesani.
- GAM has to review of the city plans of land uses, growth centers and transportation strategies.
- A study on the redevelopment of the Urban Strip is required.
- GAM shall refine the Downtown urban revitalization policies, and enforce regulation to preserve the downtown heritage.
- Strategies for improving the local economy are essential.
- Phase II of Abdali shall be revised taking into consideration the local market demand.

8. APPENDIX 1: THE AMMAN DOWNTOWN PLAN AND REVITALIZATION STRATEGY, 2010

This Appendix summarizes issues, policies and strategies of the Amman Downtown Plan and Revitalization Strategy (Amman Institute, 2010). The following are issues identified in the ADPRS:

Environmental/ Physical
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of open space and formal parks/ plazas – Poor management of vegetation on the hill edges – Accessibility network are vibrant, but not attractive or safe – No good pedestrian connection to the core, and distinguished public spaces are peripheral – Most vacant land is private – Public space such as pathways, stairways, markets and malls are available in the Downtown of limited size. The alleys, sidewalks and pathways are in average condition. – Lack of facilities to serve tourists – Unsafe pedestrian environment and access to major public facilities and markets. – Within the Downtown core, public realm connections are good. – The downtown heritage is under risk due to the absence of a protection framework. <p>Sub-standard public realm, though relatively of average structural condition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Inadequate sidewalk width – Inadequate and unsafe pedestrian crossings – Deteriorated and unsigned stairways <p>Roads, Transit, and Infrastructure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Traffic congestion especially at rush hours – Public transport and parking are inadequate – Interventions in public transport are medium term solutions. – The existing road network needs upgrading – The public transit of formal and informal buses operates in low quality service in terms of frequency, capacity and access. Although the use of public transportation is high. – Public transit lack of hierarchy and integration. – Pedestrian movement is high at Talal Street, and more favored than Faisal and Quraish streets. – Parking supply is inadequate. – Difficult pedestrian access such as crossing area, narrow and discontinuous sidewalks and obstructions on sidewalks.

Economic
<p>“The current predominantly low income, retail centered employment does not provide income levels sufficient to support a healthy downtown economy”</p> <p>The existing conditions of the downtown are affecting the economy that is indicated by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – High vacancy rates in the upper floors – Low property values and substandard fabric – The full economic value of buildings are not utilized
Social
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lack of public spaces and social interaction – middle class migration and blue- collar immigration (non Jordanians populations are 28%) – Vacancy rate of housing units is high – new construction is limited – half the schools are rented buildings

Identifying community aspirations through meetings was considered to define problems, character, and future vision of the Downtown:

<p>“What is important about the Downtown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The local traditional shopping activity • The historical identity, heritage and physical form • The memory and soul of the place • The human scale and social interaction. <p>What is problematic about the Downtown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental and visual pollution • Traffic congestion and parking difficulty • Lack of residents and social interaction • Abandoned buildings and high vacancy rates <p>What and How to redevelop in the Downtown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve economic and merchants conditions • Improve infrastructure and pedestrian networks and open space • Focus on social inclusion, diversity and community engagement • Improve traffic

- Encourage mixed uses
- Announce the Downtown as a special zone and improve its economy
- Establish an independent management for the Downtown and engage merchants associations in the Downtown management.
- Focus on the tourism potentials of the downtown and tourism development.
- Enhance the eastern character of the Downtown and protect its heritage.

How the Future of the Downtown is Envisaged:

- An integrated old and new commercial and recreational vital Downtown.
- Pedestrian friendly atmosphere with adequate open and recreational space.
- A centre with good transport system
- Good and adequate parking Spaces.”

The framework aims to make the Downtown more diverse and inclusive, and to facilitate its growth as “*a modern center with advanced infrastructure and transportation system, while maintaining its historical identity*”. The framework is characterized as:

- a flexible framework of a policy and development guide that defines priorities and proposals,
- influenced by the planned higher order transit that would attract developers and increase the property value,
- a process to be revised responding to changes of circumstances,
- a balanced plan between a long term and near term to accommodate the decision makers and public interest,
- multi-sectoral approach,
- utilizing the Downtown great potential for revitalization, focusing on preservation of the threatened heritage character of the Downtown,
- managing the future development demand as a sequence to the future high order transit ,
- a long term process of implementation and institutional focus, propose policies, built form and land use for implementation program.

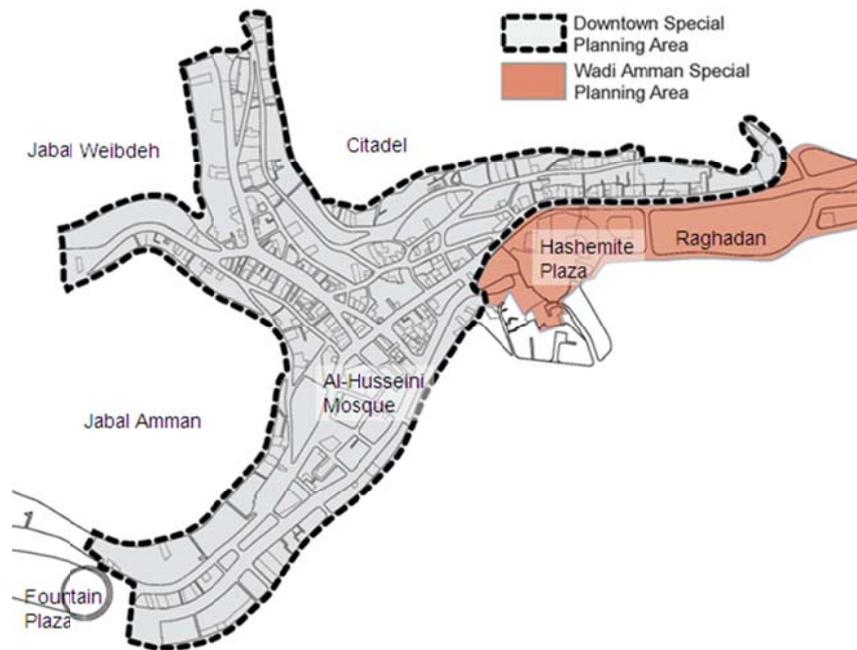


Figure 85: Amman Downtown Special Planning Area

8.1 Long Term Development Framework

ADPRS develops the downtown planning using the framework approach that organizes the subsystems of land use, employment, housing, transportation and transit, cultural heritage, public realm, built form, infrastructure, and urban design to achieve the development goals through policies and projects.

8.1.1 Land use

The strategy for future development will be through reinforce land use policy and enhance key areas of use specialization and thematic areas, encourage developing the upper floors as offices, residential and hotel, and encourage office uses for service sectors and professional services. The land use policy emphasize on the following:

- The existing pattern of mixed use and retail corridor will continue providing commercial services, where upper floors will be encouraged to be redeveloped as offices, residential and hotel.
- Intensification of residential areas (50%).
- Residential transition emphasis as a buffer zone between the mixed use core and the residential area provides services and live-work stock.

- The office uses are encouraged for service sectors and professional services.
- Traditional commercial areas such as souks, arts and crafts, and conventional retail are to be enhanced and preserved.
- Heritage Districts are designated to protect the significant character and regulate redevelopment.
- Encourage development of arts, entertainment and cultural activities in designated areas.
- Tourism Support Emphasis is linked to historic sites, the Hashemite Plaza and King Faisal Street, the Nymphaem are surrounded by services of travel agencies, arts, crafts and memorabilia shops, hotels.

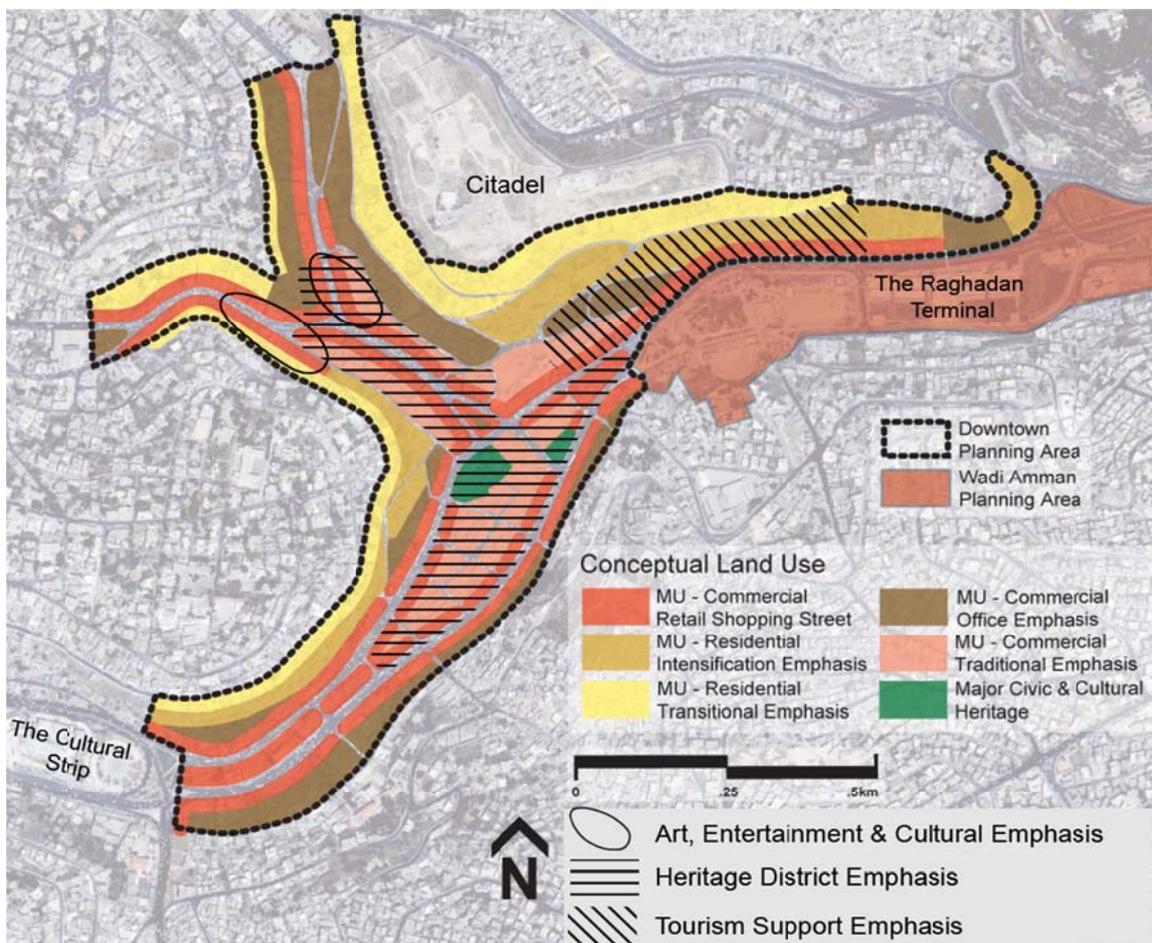


Figure 86: Conceptual Land Use – Emphasis

Source: refined map based on (Amman Institute, 2010)

8.1.1.1 Mixed Use

ADPRS emphasizes on the existing pattern of mixed use development of the Downtown, and proposes land use designation to strengthen the mixed use character of the Downtown (scale

and type). Changing of zoning and land use aims to meet the desired growth expansion. The Downtown is designated as Special Planning Area in “Amman City Zoning By-law 2009”. The zoning law determines the different land uses of mixed use, residential, institutional, open space, heritage areas, mixed use corridors, traditional or thematic use, and other retail and office areas.

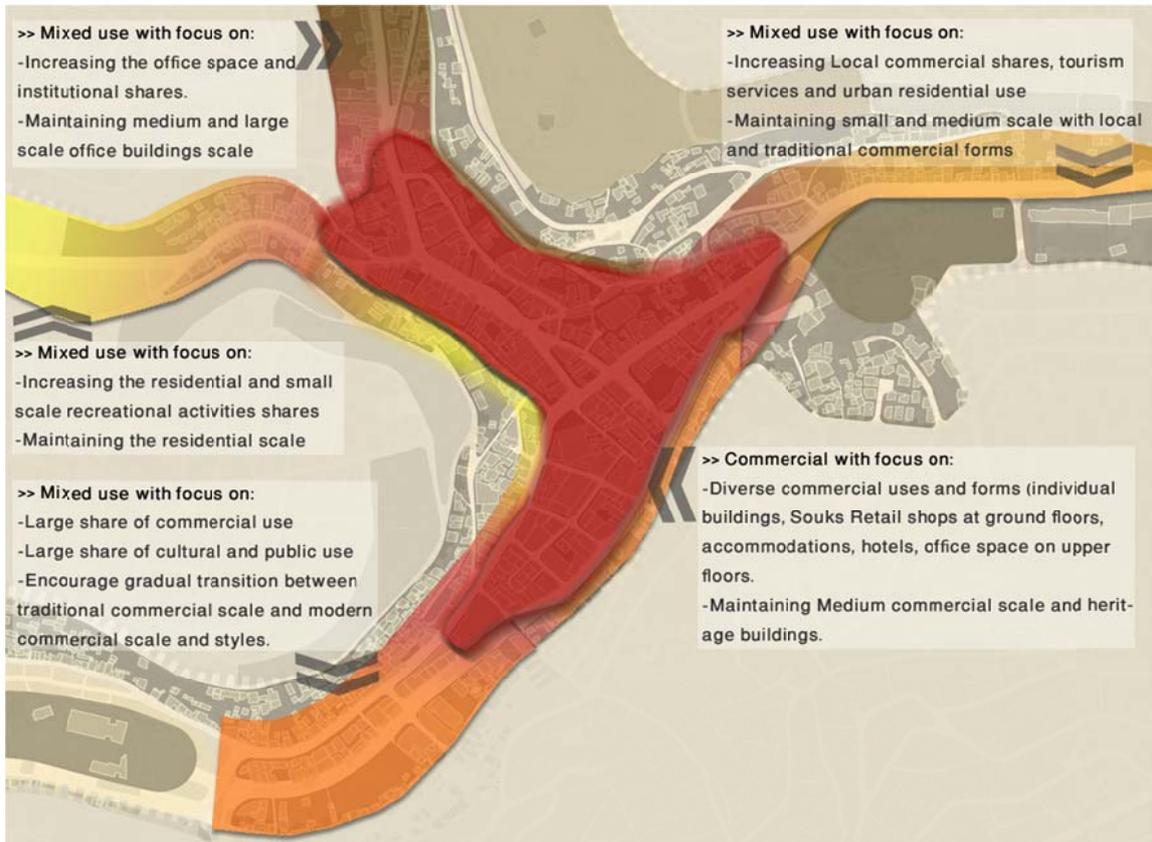


Figure 87: Mixed Use Strategy

8.1.1.2 Housing

The demography of the area has been influenced by middle class migration and blue-collar immigration. Non Jordanians populations are 28% of the downtown population. 49% of population is under the age of 25 (56% in Amman), while young family ratio is less than the ratio in Amman. The employable age 15-65 composes 68%. The male ratio in the area is 1.4 while in Amman the ratio is balanced (1.06). The study area has 3,537 housing units, 2,598 households, and 1,945 housing buildings. Residential uses are limited in the downtown core. Residential uses exist along the hills. Average household size is high (6.7 members vs. 4.96 in Amman Governorate). Rent occupancy is high around 64% of total. Most of the housing units (93%) are apartments. Over 300 hotels serving transient and permanent residents. The current community facilities that cover 500m walking distance are sufficient at present. The

main issues are: lack of public spaces and social interaction, middle class migration and blue-collar immigration, high vacancy rate of housing units, limited new construction, and rented school buildings. By 2025, about 6,600 housing units will be needed, assuming 20% is rate of the vacancy, then 7,910 housing units could be required. The housing policy aims to increase the housing stock and resident population at all income levels within the Downtown core and adjacent neighborhoods to create a stable population base with a long term interest in the quality of the Downtown environment. The strategy is as follow:

- High density housing through developing vacant land and utilizing upper floors of existing buildings.
- Land assembly, supporting consolidation of lots, improving infrastructure and urban service facilities to encourage developing housing within the Downtown area, Heritage Districts and adjacent hillside neighborhoods.
- Affordable housing, using incentives to encourage the development of affordable housing, incentives such as density bonuses, land subsidies, and direct development by GAM, establishing a significant public demonstration project.
- Housing typologies, developing diverse residential types; apartments, connected residential, condominiums, live-work units, single-room-occupancy hotels.
- Neighborhood protection, regulating neighborhoods from densification or incompatible use with a neighborhood environment.

8.1.1.3 Offices

ADPRS aims to increase employment through encouraging establishing different types of offices as follow:

- Secondary employment center: Re-establishing the Downtown as a significant employment center in Amman. Center based on finance, corporate offices, professional offices, hotels and tourism.
- Office employment: Increase the employment base beyond the current low to moderate income retail and restaurant sector to include professional service offices, larger corporate office space, and the possible reintroduction of government offices.
- Education employment, attracting students through establishing universities, educational and training facilities in the downtown. Increasing the range of cultural opportunities.

- Information technology: attracting information technology businesses, software and internet services, as well as professional service businesses and additional financial institutions – headquarters and branch offices.
- Government offices: Encouraging re-establishing government offices and ministry.

8.1.1.4 Retail

Wholesale and retail activities in the Downtown compose around 70% of the economic activities. Commercial uses are clustered such as markets, jewelry souks and craft / workshop industries. According to 2006 statistics, 12,663 jobs distributed as 24.7% construction sector, 20.2% commercial retail, 17.9% institutional, 16.0% industrial, 12.4% commercial office, 7.8% hotels and restaurants, 0.8% agriculture, 0.2% mining and quarrying. Commercial uses occupied the ground floors, hotels and storages increase on the higher floors. Vacant floors increase 30% in the higher floors. “The current predominantly low income, retail centered employment does not provide income levels sufficient to support a healthy downtown economy”. The existing conditions of the downtown are affecting the economy that is indicated by:

- High vacancy rates in the upper floors
- Low property values and substandard fabric
- The full economic value of buildings are not utilized

The 2025 projection expects demand for a local workforce of 6,742 in the Downtown Study Area, and 5,100 in the historic core. The number of businesses growth rate is around 6% over the past 15 years. Assuming an average rate is 8%, the expected licensed businesses is 13,045 with a total of JD350 million of registered capital.

The land use policy regarding retail aims to reestablish the Downtown as a primary urban retail destination that competing suburban shopping malls through emphasis on providing an interesting and vital alternative environment. Protect and retain the existing traditional retail fabric of Downtown Amman (souks, vegetable markets, informal venders, book printers & sellers, etc.). The retail development policy focuses on: encouraging provision a variety types and scales of goods to attract diverse range of residents and visitors, development of major retail with full services (department & grocery stores) on redevelopment lots and facilitating the land assembly, upgrading the existing open market and determining

regulation to manage these facilities, developing spatial and regulatory framework for managing informal vendors that recognize their importance to the Downtown character and its low-income market sector, emphasis on the shopping streets character as a vibrant “main street” shopping environment of good urban design quality, reinforcing and enhancing key areas of use specialization (arts & crafts, electronics, clothing, textiles, jewelry etc.) and thematic areas (gold souk, traditional markets, tourism, etc.) to support the long term transition as introduction of higher order transit.

“Note: The ultimate feasible volume of new office development will be limited by market demand, the capacity of the permitted built form, the competitive advantages of other commercial and civic hubs in Amman, and the potential traffic impacts.”

8.1.1.5 Arts & Entertainment

Arts and entertainment district containing specialty retail, restaurants, clubs, entertainment venues, cultural facilities and art related activities is typical successful revitalization program for Downtowns. Strengthen the existing entertainment uses (restaurants, clubs, cinemas, etc). GAM will promote art and entertainment through: Identifying arts and entertainment district of mixed use character, planning permanent and temporary events, major festivals and community events, organizing and managing art and entertainment districts through institutions, creating a contemporary arts museum and galleries, and Promoting the development of live-work spaces for artists, work only.

8.1.1.5 Tourism Support

Emphasis Tourism Support is linked to historic sites, the Hashemite Plaza and King Faisal Street, the Nymphaem are surrounded by services of travel agencies, arts, crafts and memorabilia shops, hotels. The tourism to be strengthened through the following policy:

- Arts and entertainment sector along with tourism achieve near and medium term improvements in the socio-economic and physical condition of the Downtown. “Other components of Downtown revitalization (transit, office employment, residential) require a long-term perspective and commitment but the tourism economy is currently operating significantly under potential and can realize quicker results”.

- Tourist destination: “The Downtown will be redeveloped and revitalized to serve and function as an extension of the cluster of tourist destinations centered around Hashemite Plaza”.
- Tourist District Definition: to include the King Faisal Street, Maydan Amman, the Nymphaeum, the Arts and Entertainment District, the traditional souks and market areas.
- Pedestrian Loop: Connecting the Downtown with the other major tourist sites in a continuous network of pedestrian links and tour.
- Tourist experience: organizing the tourist routes.

8.1.1.6 Community facilities

Community services such as primary health and education are located in the adjacent neighborhoods, and will continue there.

8.1.2 Transport and Transit

ADPRS determines main issues related to the transport and transit systems: Traffic congestion especially at rush hours, public transport and parking are inadequate, interventions in public transport are medium term solutions, the existing road network needs upgrading, the public transit of formal and informal buses operates in low quality service in terms of frequency, capacity and access although the use of public transportation is high, public transit lack of hierarchy and integration, pedestrian movement is high at Talal Street, and more favored than Faisal and Quraish streets, parking supply is inadequate, and difficult pedestrian access such as crossing area, narrow and discontinuous sidewalks and obstructions on sidewalks.

The Metro Growth Plan (MGP) points out the future of the downtown transportation system. The MGP proposes a Transportation and Transit Master Plan (TTMP), which includes transportation and transit operation and expansion to 2025. The MGP illustrates a phased high order public transit system and proposes major transport projects, where the Taj Tunnel could reduce congestion in the Downtown. On the short term, traffic proposals are considered to reduce congestion.

The existing roadway will be upgraded incrementally Near, Medium, and Long-term. 'Pedestrian priority' environment will be improved through transit facilities. The plan aims to reduce vehicular traffic passing through the Downtown, restructure traffic flow, and reduce vehicular and pedestrian conflicts through increasing sidewalk widths, one-way streets, signalization and signage, and minimizing surface parking and using vacant plots for parking, increasing bus transit, preparing higher order transit (light rail or metro), restructuring the density and land use mix introducing higher order transit. The parking policy focusing on increasing the off-street parking facilities and identifying key sites for new parking facilities, regulating parking inside the downtown, traffic disincentives such as forcing fees. **Constraints:** site size and locations, limited opportunity for site access and on-site parking, **Opportunities:** planning rapid transit, new off-street parking and enhancing pedestrian network, enacting zoning and policies and ensuring their implementation.

Transport and transit system will be phased on near term, medium term and long term. On the Near Term: 1) Bus Transit; improving conventional bus transit, bus stops, new shelters and better quality sidewalks, 2) Pedestrian Realm; improving sidewalks, pathways and stairways, encouraging walking between transit and facilities of retail and offices, providing signage and effective drainage , 3) On-site Parking; developing policies for downtown parking and loading. On the Medium Term: On-street parking: regulating and enforcing the use of on-street parking, encouraging short-term on-street parking (with payment) and reducing long-term on-street parking, public parking: providing new off-street parking facilities near Raghadan, City Hall, markets, and improving the existing facilities, and linking the transit service with the downtown destination, Shared streets: Managing shared streets in market areas, providing attractive pedestrian oriented design that serve pedestrian malls, informal retailing, goods deliveries, garbage removal, service and emergency vehicle access, shared streets are not proposed for parking or traffic , Arterials: Rationalizing and urbanizing arterial streets through developing traffic circulation plan that supporting transit buses and improving safety, enhancing the efficiency of arterial road network, managing traffic signal control and pedestrian crossing signals. On the Long Term: Metro Transit; implementing Higher Order Transit to Downtown, Automobile Access, reduce non-essential car travel to Downtown through providing alternative routes bypassing the downtown, implementing policies encouraging using public transit, and requiring payment on using parking.

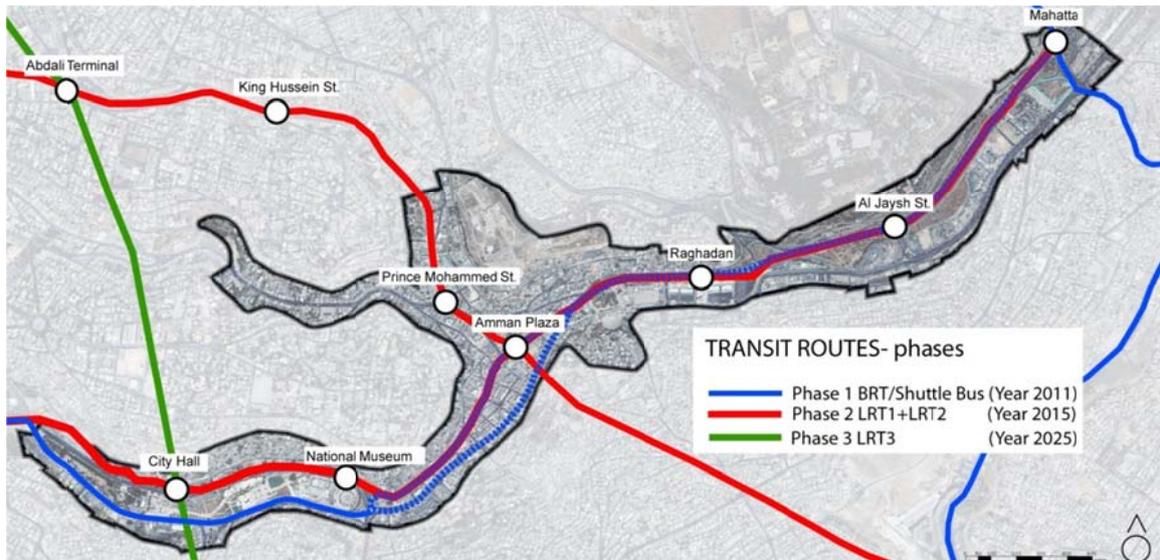


Figure 88: Higher Order Public Transit- Proposed Phasing

8.1.3 Heritage

There are cultural and entertainment activities at the downtown such as 8 cinemas and heritage buildings and landscapes. The Amphitheatre and citadel sites (institutional use) compose 10% in the downtown core. The tourist numbers is six folds the residents' number. Tourism related business such as 305 hotels, restaurants, and travel agencies; and 22 craft businesses. The downtown heritage is under risk due to the absence of a protection framework. No regulations protect the heritage building in the Downtown. The objective is to develop a "Heritage Register for the City of Amman", designating heritage buildings and cultural heritage districts that have significant character, developing guidelines for protecting the heritage buildings and districts, defining policies for building ownership transfer, allocating tax abatement of municipal taxes for restoration and reuse of heritage buildings, reusing the heritage buildings for municipal services. ADPRS selects buildings of significant heritage value to be rehabilitated and reused, in addition to developing vacant land. GAM will play a facilitator role seeking investors and promoting suitable uses to buildings, and providing incentives. ADPRS encourages development of arts, entertainment and cultural activities, and heritage conservation.

A study about Amman heritage supposed to be completed, designates the heritage districts and buildings, identifies Faisal Street and Al-Husseini Mosque and their surroundings as heritage districts. Heritage Districts are designated to protect the significant character and regulate redevelopment Regulatory framework defines the Downtown Cultural Heritage

Overlay Zone that determines the heritage building lots and heritage districts by law and zoning map. Heritage studies define special regulation through “Heritage Study of the City of Amman 2009” and “King Faisal Square Heritage Study 2008”. Buildings are protected against demolition or redevelopment according to certain criteria. Three types of protection A, B or C designate the degree of level of protection and alteration.

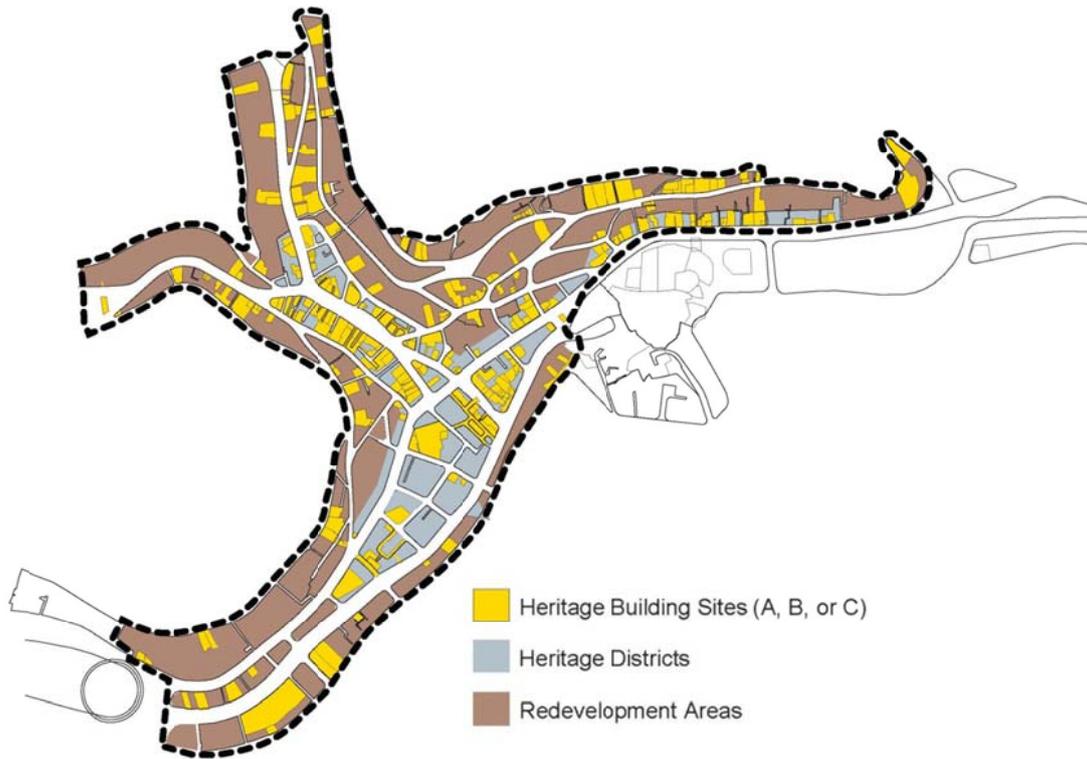


Figure 89: Downtown Cultural Heritage Zone

The Downtown Special Planning Area will define a ‘Downtown Cultural Heritage Overlay Zone’ By-law 2009. Special heritage regulation will be defined. **Heritage buildings** are buildings with heritage significance designated for protection (categories A, B, or C according to their heritage significance and the required level of protection). **Heritage Districts** are districts with a significant character (based on cultural and historical value) will be preserved. **Redevelopment Lots** – vacant land or unprotected buildings located in heritage districts will be regulated to specific parameters of height limits and contextual development.

8.1.4 Public Realm

ADPRS aims to create a public realm that attracting visitors and enhancing the downtown core connectivity. ADPRS proposes enhancing open space, utilizing small parkettes and

terraced gardens, redeveloping public areas with reinforcing guidelines that encouraging preserving the historic fabric of the Downtown, developing gateways of open spaces and thematic landmarks at the three entrances to the Downtown, and developing pedestrian friendly network that connects key public uses, open spaces and commercial areas, and upgrading the pedestrian environment through improving sidewalks, building facades, and public stairways up hillsides, prioritizing the pedestrian movement right-of-ways, and developing the crosswalks connecting to different activities, integrating bicycle facilities, enhancing the way-finding-signage, lighting, street furniture, landscaping, weather protection, and paving design.



Figure 90: Public Realm Strategy

The concept focuses on: an open public space network of a central civic plaza and smaller parks, themed linkages and pedestrian routes, pedestrian links to adjacent neighborhoods, a network of streets (shared and managed streets). The strategy seeks to connect the Downtown core with the surrounding area through developing pedestrian and public transport loops,

improve the quality of open space in the historic core (Faisal and Husaini District) for encouraging longer stay and shopping experience, and encourage institutional and public activities within the core and along selected arterials with linking them with connectivity loops.

The policy determines public space plazas and parks to be upgraded and redeveloped: Redeveloping an open space “Maydan Amman” at the Hussein Mosque at the intersection of two planned higher order transit lines, Hashemite Plaza a major open space exists at the Roman amphitheater; the plaza redesign is to create a new center and gateway to the major antiquities sites and to be connected to the Citadel via a funicular, enhancing open space around Nymphaeum (major downtown antiquity) with pedestrian linkages to Maydan Amman, utilizing the fountain plaza as a southwest gateway of the Downtown, selecting small parkettes and terraced gardens on hillsides for generating open space of Masateb Al Jofeh on the existing Jofeh landslide and Theatre Parkette as a themed pocket park celebrating the adjacent historically significant cinemas.

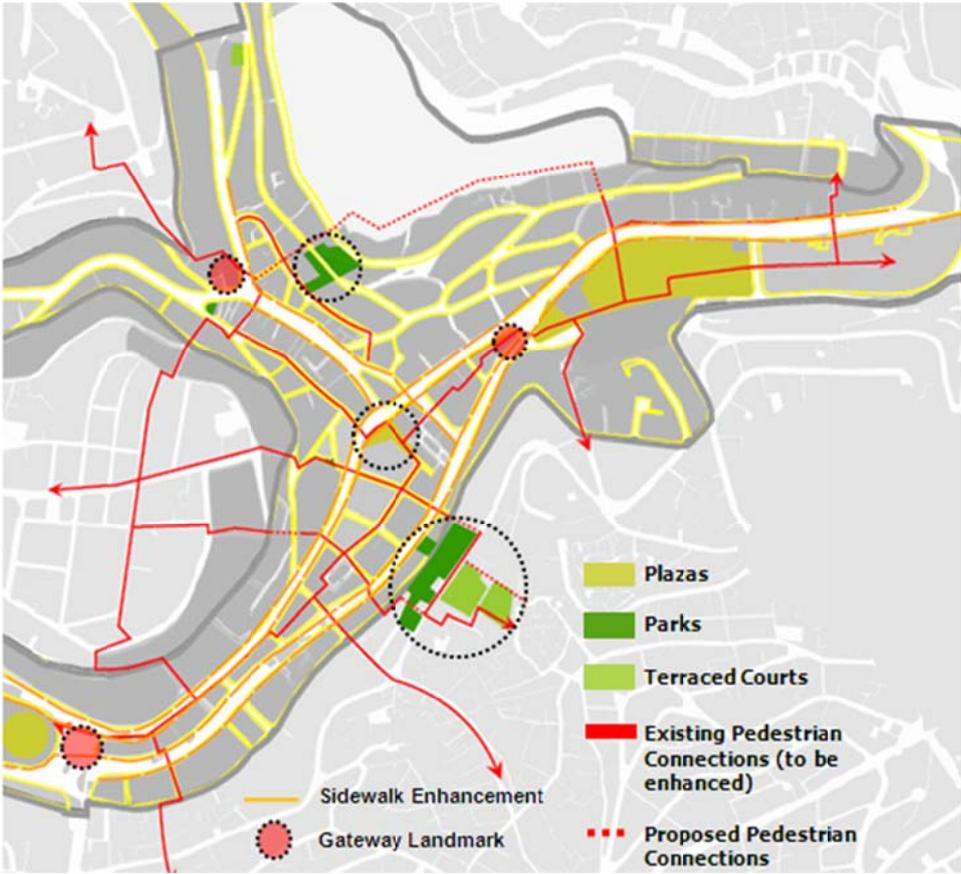


Figure 91: Pedestrian Friendly Network

The policy proposes shared and managed streets for integrating the public space and prioritizing pedestrian movement over vehicles, managing parking, widening sidewalks, and encouraging distribution of diverse activities within public spaces such as shopping, driving, cycling and walking.

8.1.5 Infrastructure

ADPRS suggests that a study should be done to assess the whole drainage system of the downtown and propose comprehensive solutions for the area. Infrastructure services (i.e. water, wastewater, electricity and rainwater drainage) are adequate for the current population in the Downtown. The Water Authority of Jordan upgraded the main sewer along Wadi Amman and Abdoun. GAM’s plans considered the needed services of water and wastewater for the future growth of 2025. Storm water drainage network does not cover the whole downtown. Specifically, no pipes run through Talal/Hashimi Streets. Drainage water in this area is directed into the wastewater system. The electricity network is decaying, irregular lines and connections attached to buildings facades.

8.1.6 Urban Form

The Downtown is distinguished with the dramatic topography of hills and valleys. Most of the buildings are of 2-4 floors. The number of floors remained low rise over time. That makes harmonious form with natural grade and skylines. Low rise buildings on the hills have open views to the valley of the downtown, no high-rise buildings blocking the views.



Figure 92: Existing Built Form

The morphology and physical character is shaped by topography and the harmonious terraced residential edges around the downtown core. The historic core includes historic sites such as Faisal Street, Husaini Mosque area, the Roman Amphitheatre and the Citadel is overlooked by the surrounded areas. The strategy aims at maintaining the morphology and the physical character of the Downtown, views openness and connections between surrounded hills. Modern and new developments styles and forms are encouraged where no constraints on zones to accommodate new investments in the Downtown. The policy objectives are:

- Contextual regulation based on the existing development pattern to define scale of buildings that respects the urban context.
- Designation of heritage districts and buildings for protection and reviewing proposed redevelopments.
- Design review for new developments according to the contextual criteria.
- Regulate of buildings height established on balance between maintaining the Downtown character and the future densification that supporting planning of high order transit.
- Pedestrian scale is to be maintained in public space.
- Create of central civic plaza that is connected to intersection of two future transit lines and proximate to a major station.
- The scale and character of buildings that close to historic sites such as Al-Husseini Mosque, Nymphaeum, and King Faisal Street will be regulated with special controls.

8.2 Regulatory Framework

Special regulations aim to protect the historical identity and physical form of the Downtown while integrating new investments and developments. The framework includes guidelines and recommendations for the preferred uses, mixes, heights, character and scale for different zones of the Downtown, and design guidelines for buildings, urban and open spaces design elements to improve and beautify the existing fabric and open spaces, and to guide design aspects of new development.

“Downtown Cultural Heritage Overlay Zone”: defines heritage building lots and heritage districts according to “Amman Zoning By-law 2009 – Sec. 3.4.1” and defined on Amman

Zoning Map, and referenced to external Heritage Planning Studies with special heritage regulations in “Heritage Study of the City of Amman 2009” and “King Faisal Square Heritage Study 2008”. Heritage Buildings are designated for protection from demolition, redevelopment or significant alteration. Heritage Districts are designated for a unique period of a city’s history. Redevelopment Lots were classified into three types: Lots do not contain Heritage Buildings, Lots are not located in Heritage Districts, and Vacant or contain unprotected buildings. Contextual Development Parameters are regulations define the Downtown Special Planning Area, redevelopment and new development lots, building envelope standards, case by case basis surrounding contextual built form. The regulations determine lot size, setbacks, building heights,...with emphasis and reinforcing the existing patterns of development (pedestrian scale, alleys, arcades,..). The regulations define also Land-Use Provision of mainly mix use, zoning (residential, institutional, open space), cultural heritage zone, Downtown Special Planning Area that includes New development & redevelopment lots, Mixed Use Corridor (MUC 1-3) - By-law 2009, Mixed Use Proportions, specialized or thematic use areas, residential and office employment use. The regulation defines the maximum building heights as indicated in Figure 92.

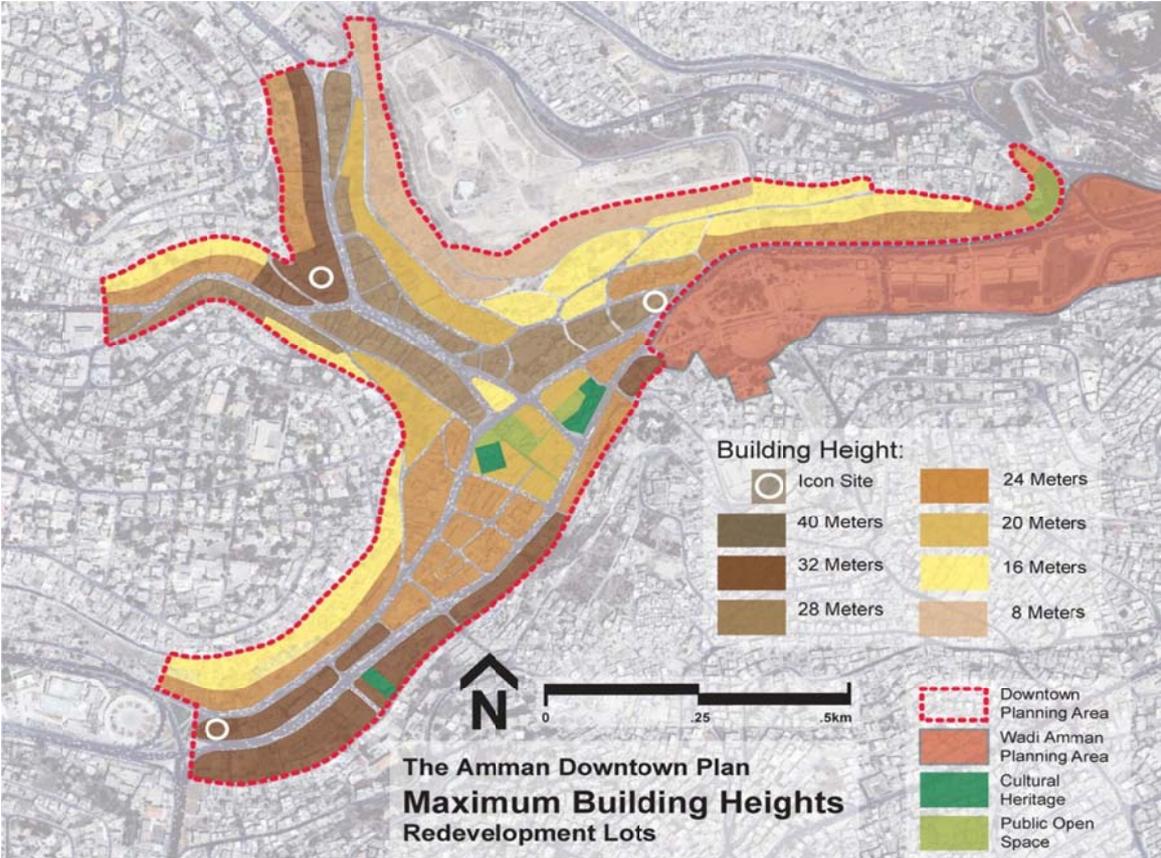


Figure 93: Building Heights

8.3 Key Projects and Interventions

Key interventions focus on public projects, social and economic development projects, and pilot interventions.

8.3.1 Public Projects

Public projects include public realm, transport and infrastructure projects. The projects aim to improve physical conditions to attract businesses, residents and visitors to the downtown through providing better quality of services for achieving comfortable and satisfactory environment. Public realm improvements aim at creating a network of public spaces through creating pedestrian friendly network, developing key plazas and open spaces, and gateways landmarks. Pedestrian friendly network seeks connecting key public uses, open spaces and commercial areas within the downtown, in addition to connecting the surrounding residential areas with key activities in the downtown, widening and furnishing sidewalks, connecting alleys, landscaping stairs and providing safe crossings. Key plazas and open spaces (Maydan Amman (Al-Husseini Mosque Plaza), Al Jofeh Steps and Park, the Hashemite plaza, and the Citadel open space) function as center of public activities to be integrated and linked through an overall open space system. Gateways landmarks aim to create attractive entrances to the Downtown through emphasis on public art.

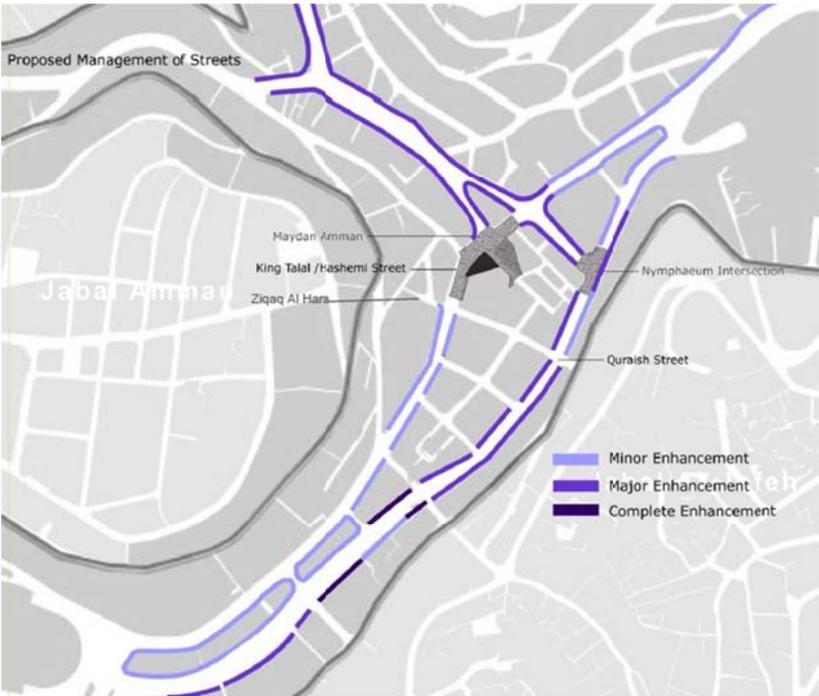


Figure 94: Sidewalks Enhancement

8.3.1.1 Public Realm Improvements

a. Pedestrian Friendly Network

Faisal Street Project

The Faisal Street project objectives are: to identify, protect, and enhance the significant urban heritage places, achieve economic vitality especially upper floors through creating attractive workable and pedestrian-friendly public spaces, enhancing urban spaces (streets, alleys, commercial arteries, steps). Emphasis on the Faisal Street is for its political, social, economic role in the city history. The urban design of Faisal Street focuses on: management of the pedestrian and vehicles movement, cultural activities and exhibitions to revive the memory of the area, strengthen of the linkages with surrounding neighborhoods especially Jabal Amman and the Citadel through improvement of alleys, stairways and tourist paths, improvement of pavement, drainage, underground wiring, lighting and planting, provision of attractive street furniture (benches, bins, flowerpots,..), signs, improvement of stairways pavement, enhancement measure, guidelines for the suitable façade and activities, and improvement of selected buildings (Central Café, Duke building) (GAM, 2009a).

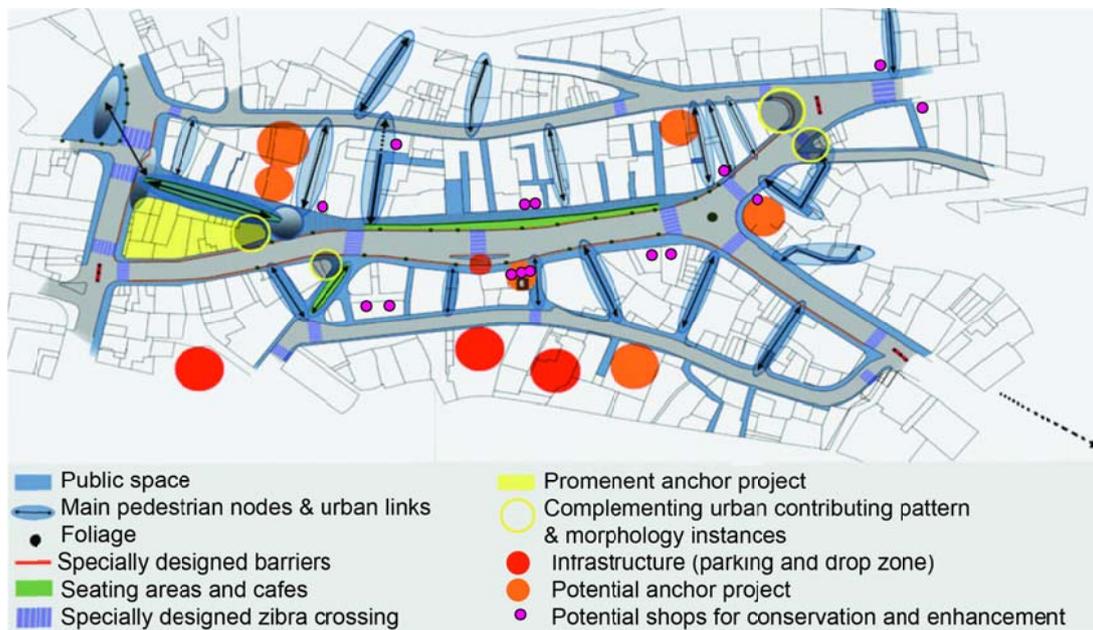


Figure 95: Faisal Street Project

The objective is to create a good quality and more pedestrian friendly urban Space, identify and protect its heritage, and to facilitate the economic regeneration. The street has important history as a center of commercial, administrative and political activity in the early stages of

the Kingdom establishment. The components of the project include: urban design and landscape improvement (street crossings and street furniture, sidewalks widening at selected segments), façade beautification (cleaning and removing of random additions), rehabilitation of two anchor buildings that demonstrate examples of heritage conservation and adaptive reuse (i.e. the Duke House and Central Café), and proposals for urban management and regeneration mechanisms. The project was scheduled to be implemented in 2010.

Shared and Managed Streets

Shared and managed streets are proposed in secondary roads network of the Downtown, aiming to achieve more pedestrian friendly environment through reducing the traffic volume, minimizing street parking and widening sidewalks. This intervention requires a traffic study and parking management plan are required to decide the best solution for traffic distribution and pedestrianization. Potential street were identified of different level of pedestrianization: complete pedestrianization with restricting vehicular traffic (except loading and unloading at certain times) in Souk Al Sukkar alleys and some segments of the internal road of Al Hussein Mosque District parallel to Talal Street, shared streets with wider sidewalks with allowing vehicular traffic but with no off street parking at both sides in some internal roads of Al Hussein Mosque District, and shared streets with wider sidewalks with allowing vehicular traffic and minimal off street parking (for white taxi service) at selected segments in Basman and King Ghazi Streets.

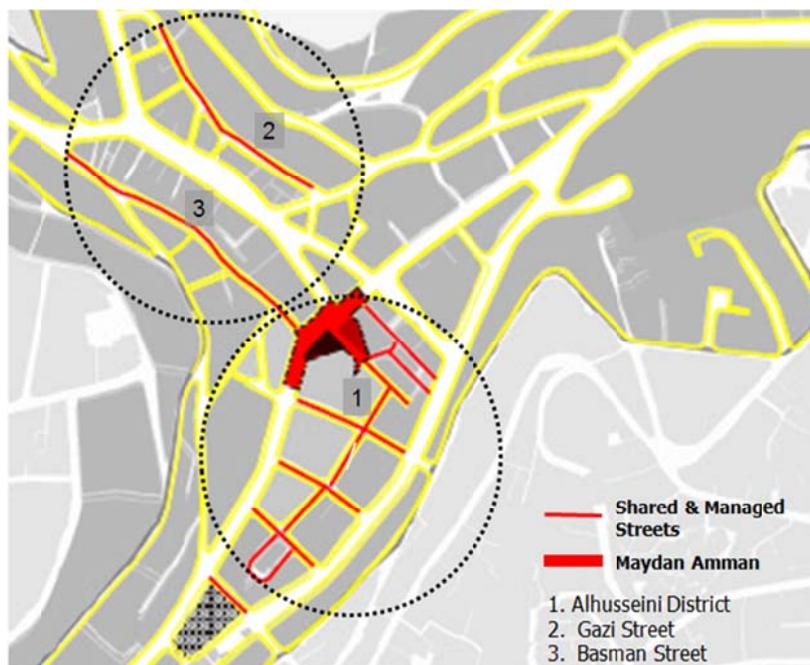


Figure 96: Shared and Managed Streets

Stairways Enhancement

The intervention aims to enhance and landscape the stairways connection between Downtown and the surrounding hillsides especially across Jabal Amman and Jabal Qala'a, where there are potentials for creating an attractive pedestrian experience for visitors and tourists. This includes: creating continues routes and loops that are safe crossing across intersecting roads at main five locations (i.e. Jabal Amman, Qala', Jofeh, and Muhajereen), establishing forms of automated stairways (i.e. escalators or funiculars between Qala and the Downtown (this intervention is under consideration by GAM), redesigning some steep existing segments, creating some small pockets of open space along the routes, and thematizing the routes through improving the functions and symbols to create interesting and memorable experience.

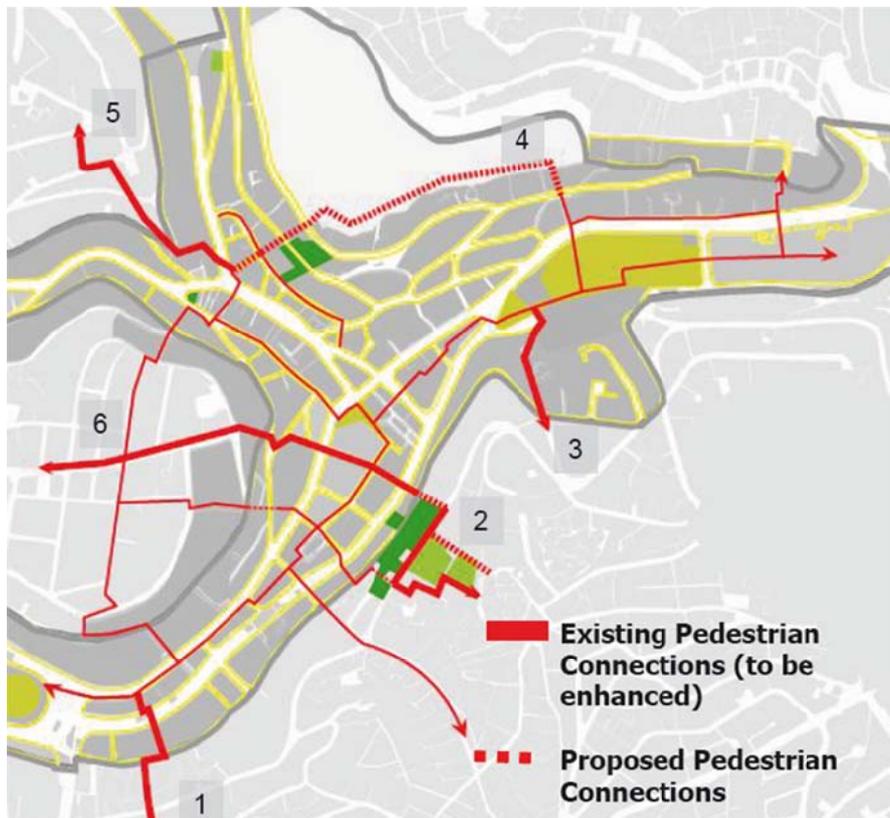


Figure 97: Proposed Public Stairways & Alleys Enhancement

1. Adraj Alashrafieh, 2. Adraj Masateb AlJofeh, 3. Adraj AlJofeh
4. Adraj Citadel, 5. Adraj Alkalha, 6. Adraj Philadelphia Bazaar

b. Key Plazas and Open Spaces

The Maydan Amman Project

The project objective is to create a civic plaza in the heart of the Downtown that would emphasize on the historic values of the mosque and the existing plaza by creating a larger plaza as a symbol of “Amman’s civic pride” in addition to other commercial activities. The project would connect to Faisal street development. The project includes enlarging the plaza, landscaping, beautification and improving the surrounding building facades, adaptive reusing some of the surrounding buildings, pedestrianization, improving and managing the informal market in Souk Al Sukkar, and setting out urban and architectural design guidelines. The project will be implemented in two phases; the first phase without considering the higher transit station that is proposed to be located close to the plaza. The second phase is in case of establishing the transit system, an existing building to be developed as a station without impact on the plaza design.



Figure 98: The Maydan Amman Project

Masateb Aljofeh

The site of Jofeh landslide is steep, close to Quraish street and Al-Husseini District, consists of 26 plots owned by GAM (14.4 Dunums). The site has important location overlooking Maydan Amman and the Citadel and shall be integrated with the open space system of the Downtown. The proposal is to create a landscaped parks and terraced courts embedded in the surrounding Jabal, to be accessible by stairways and footpaths.



Figure 99: An image of the envisioned open space

The Hashemite Plaza

The project aims to rehabilitate the existing Hashemite plaza to create a more attractive outdoor space of more green open space and recreational facilities to be used for outdoor events. The plaza location is at the Downtown core as part of the Urban Strip development. A boutique hotel is proposed to reuse of the old municipality building (currently is a library and administrative office). The project shall be connected with the pedestrian friendly network of the Downtown. The project was scheduled to be implemented in 2010.



Figure 100: The Hashemite Plaza Proposal

Citadel Open Space

The project aims to enhance the tourists and visitors experiences and activities at the Citadel in addition to overlooking Amman. The project consists of tourist visitor center, open space and walkways, in addition to a site management plan. The open space shall be connected with the proposed pedestrian tourist loop linking the citadel with the Downtown. The project

has been implemented in partnership between GAM, Ministry of Tourism and the USAID Funded Siyaha Project for tourism development.



Figure 101: Citadel Open Space Project

Maani, the former mayor, considered Jabal al Qalaa (the Citadel) rehabilitation project is important as touristic destination and a recreation center for the people of Amman. The project has been integrated with the Downtown redevelopment and corresponding with the city history and development. The project also has positive impact on the surrounding neighborhood, through improving services, and social interaction with the resident around the Citadel to introduce the project. The World Bank with cooperation with the residents has initiated a project aiming to greening the building roofs. Establishing 10,000 roof gardens started around al Qalaa and spread to other surrounding areas. GAM executed the project at the Citadel including gateway, visitor center, pedestrian linkages, panoramic plaza, rehabilitation of the Jordan Archaeological Museum garden, and bus parking. More services are required such as water, storm water and a plaza for cultural activities.

c. Gateways Landmarks

Southern West Gateway

The gateway aims to encourage and signal the continuity and integration with the proposed cultural activities and architectural styles of the cultural strip (i.e. Opera House, National Museum, the Hanger, City Hall, the Mosque, King Hussain Cultural centre, Fountain Plaza ...etc), and to connect the fountain plaza and the surrounding vacant shops with the market activities in the Downtown. The project design aims to create a thematic monument using

public art and urban design to enhance connectivity of the cultural strip with the Downtown. The project shall improve the pedestrian accessibility and safe crossing across the island, in addition to reflecting the cultural activity and modernity with historical reference to the initial development of the city such as Sail Amman.



Figure 102: Southern West Gateway

Northern West Gateway

The gateway aims to signal the arrival to the commercial core of the Downtown at the intersection of Prince Mohammed Street and Salt Street. The location has historical memory, the house is one of the most significant social venues in the Downtown (i.e. Central café) and it has an important view point overlooking the Faisal street and the open views between Jabal Al Jofeh and Weibdeh. The project design focuses on renovation the building to restore its original character with minimal modifications such adding a frame and terrace emphasizing on the official and social importance of Faisal Street.



Figure 103: Northern West Gateway

Eastern Gateway

The gateway, located at the intersection of Quraish and Hashemi streets, aims to integrate and expand tourist activities around the Amphitheatre. The project emphasizes on the local

character of Amman’s neighborhoods and domestic commerce to attract the visitors’ attention and encourage their casual flow to the Downtown. The project focuses on reinventing the frontage of the Jordan Tower hotel to develop a prominent entity marking the entry into the Downtown, in addition it has potential to add well-designed rooftop activity, e.g. A roof Café or an open air exhibition. Good quality urban design is required such as improving the surrounding alley and sidewalks, and enhancing the pedestrian safety to the island.



Figure 104: Eastern Gateway

d. Infrastructure Networks Upgrading

Improving infrastructure services is required. Enhancement of storm-water drainage network is important to resolve the inadequacy of the exiting drainage system in the Downtown, specifically within the streets of Talal and Hashemi, in addition to improving the electricity networks and enhancing the random installation and inadequate service. Assessments for the whole infrastructure services are required prior any proposals. The project shall consider other proposed interventions such as sidewalks enhancement and managed-shared streets and the Al-Husseini District.

e. Transportation

The proposal is about providing a special transport service for tourists and visitors (i.e a shuttle bus service). The service shall connect spaces and activities within the Downtown from Mahatta Station and the informal station close to the Fountain Plaza and to a loop around the Al-Husseini District. The services shall be implemented and managed by/ or in

partnership with the private businesses of the Downtown. Promotion to the Downtown business community is required to achieve feasible operation.

8.3.2 Social and Economic Development Projects

The goal of the social and economic development project is “to reverse the slow decay in the downtown by increasing the overall quality of life and the level of economic activity”. The projects are interventions to enhance economic and social development within the Downtown through promoting private sector investment and partnership, community engagement, in addition to demonstrating mechanisms, tools and ideas to encourage private sector investments. The projects seek to encourage diversity and enhance social inclusion, support area-based economic activities and local employability; and achieve diversification of product and market to enhance community inclusion.

a. Encouraging Social Mix and Social Inclusion

Encourage the social mix enhance social inclusion through provision of affordable housing for different ages and income groups. The project aims to provide a blend of affordable home ownership for low income families, students, and other urban housing seekers. The mechanisms are: incentives and regulations, density bonus, and affordable green housing project. The incentives and regulations shall be developed through an agreement between GAM and private developers, fiscal incentives for owners, specifying a percentage of residential development for affordable home ownership such as proposed in the Urban Strip project 20% are to be affordable ownership. Affordable housing density bonus is to encourage developers to get higher density built up. Affordable green housing project aims to show an example for a sustainable affordable housing concept that is environmentally friendly, resource-efficient and low-cost. The mechanisms include government or donor agencies’ grants, GAM provision of land, private sector firms of interest (e.g. electricity, water, and energy-efficiency corporations), and the design of building to be chosen and implemented through a competition. The potential sites are buildings selected for adaptive reuse and/or GAM-owned vacant plots (as a site located on Salah El Din Street opposite to the Central Bank of Jordan, part of it vacant and the other is abandoned building).

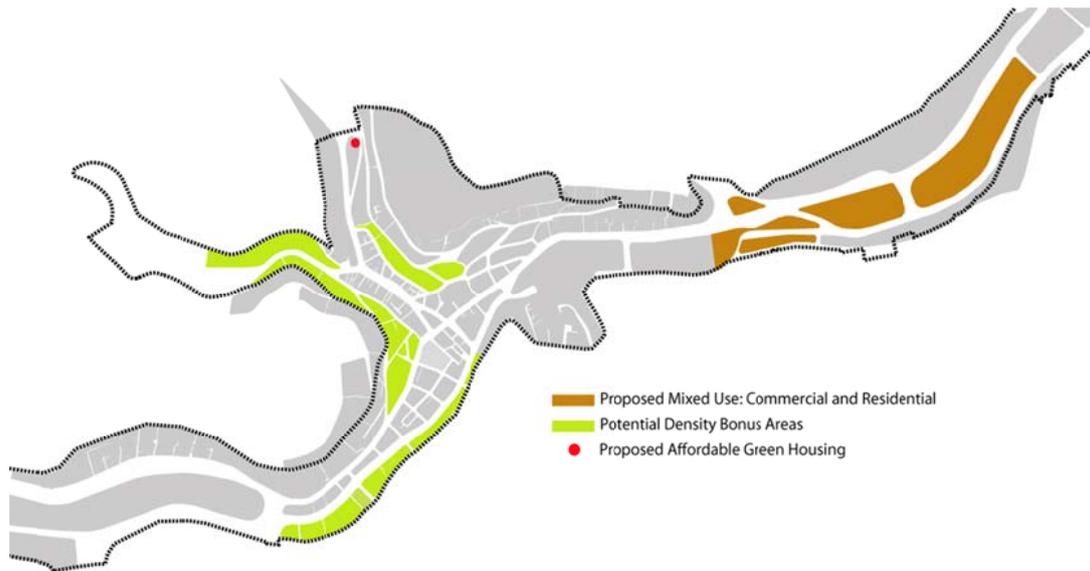


Figure 105: Suggested locations for affordable housing program

b. Area-Based Economic Development Activity

The program supports area-based economic development activity while maintaining the authenticity of the Downtown through emphasis on: theme markets, cluster enhancement, job search and employment outreach, enhancement of the accommodation alternatives, and attraction of major institutions into the proposed office space.

The theme markets project employs the potential existent markets in the Downtown. Markets have potential as flexible public spaces and a multi-purpose use. The project aims to create jobs, revitalize the economy, strengthen the local identity, provide business start-up opportunities, support the informal sector, enhance the public realm, encourage social interchange, and create vibrant activity. The existing markets need better management, design and physical improvements. These include the fruits and vegetable market, the spices market, and the desserts market. Management could be through organizing temporary food market during weekends and regular wholesale and retail trade during weekdays, in addition to attracting some high-profile restaurant and retail businesses to the area to create a “knock-on effect”. Mechanisms for the theme market project include strengthen the role of the markets department in GAM to provide guidance for operation, governmental subsidies to new traders, and training and capacity building for market traders and officials who are in charge of the market.

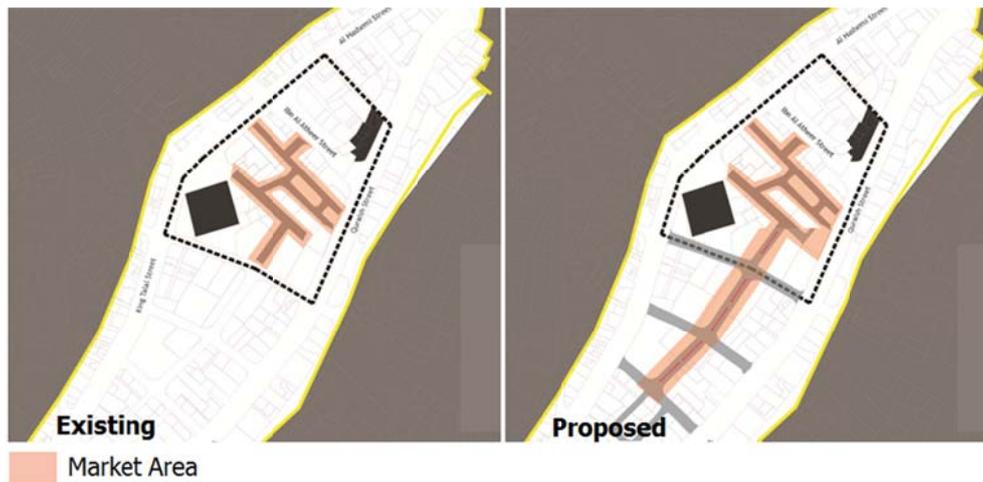


Figure 106: Suggested Expansion of Theme Markets at Al-Husseini Mosque District

The cluster enhancement emphasize on the existing agglomeration of firms such as Souq Al Dahab to be capitalized on the old gold shops district and enhance the jewelry shop design. Another example is to enhance the authentic personal care retail shops (i.e. original sponge bath loafs, authentic Nabulsi soaps, etc.) such as along the alleys behind Al Husseini Mosque where barbershops, hairdressing salons, and Turkish Baths and other facilities could revive the area. The old Downtown image as a cultural place is to be strengthened as a cultural quarter mechanism aiming to achieve economic and urban regeneration. The mechanism includes specific training for small businesses, promotion of the economic specialty, governmental subsidies for rents or fiscal incentives, and consultation of relevant USAID projects in Jordan for technical assistance on cluster development such as SABEQ program.

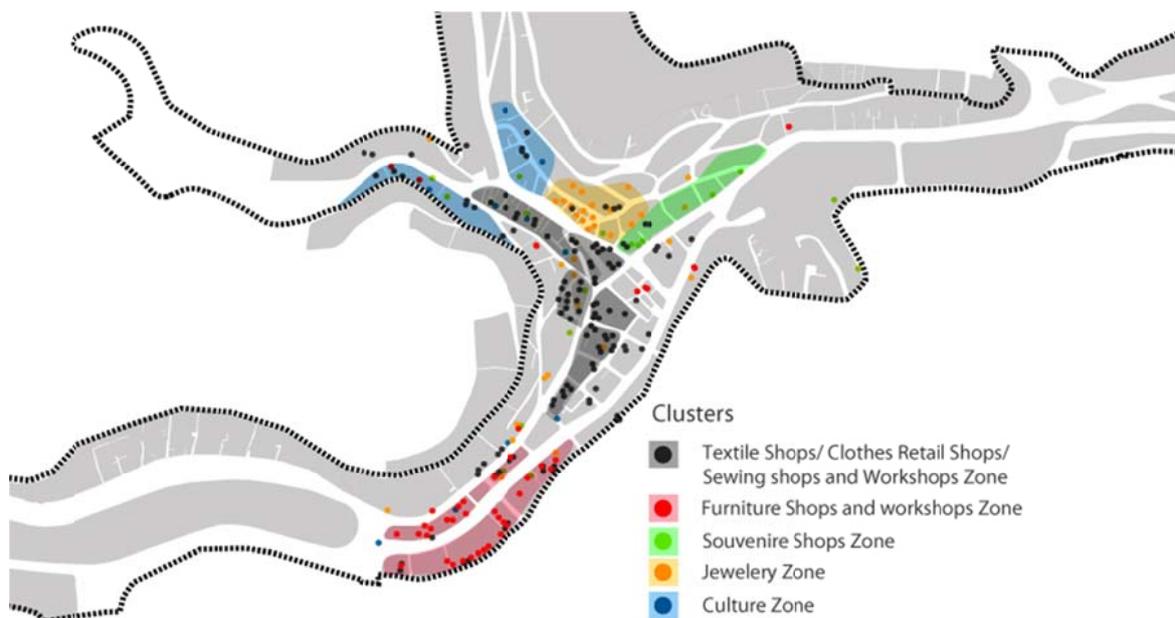


Figure 107: Existing Clusters

The Job Search and Employment Outreach Program aims to provide assistance in job search through training and facilitate matching workers and jobs. The mechanism is through institution and incentives for businesses to employ local residents. But GAM needs at first to undertake a study to identify the current mismatch between the residents' skill-sets and the employers' requirements. Enhancement of the accommodation alternatives is important where accommodation options in the Downtown are unclassified low-end hotels. The problem is the variety of accommodation options and not shortage of supply. The mechanism is to encourage diversity in the market through incentives and agreements with the hotel owners to provide better quality and standards, upgrading hotels and employing well-experienced hotel operators.

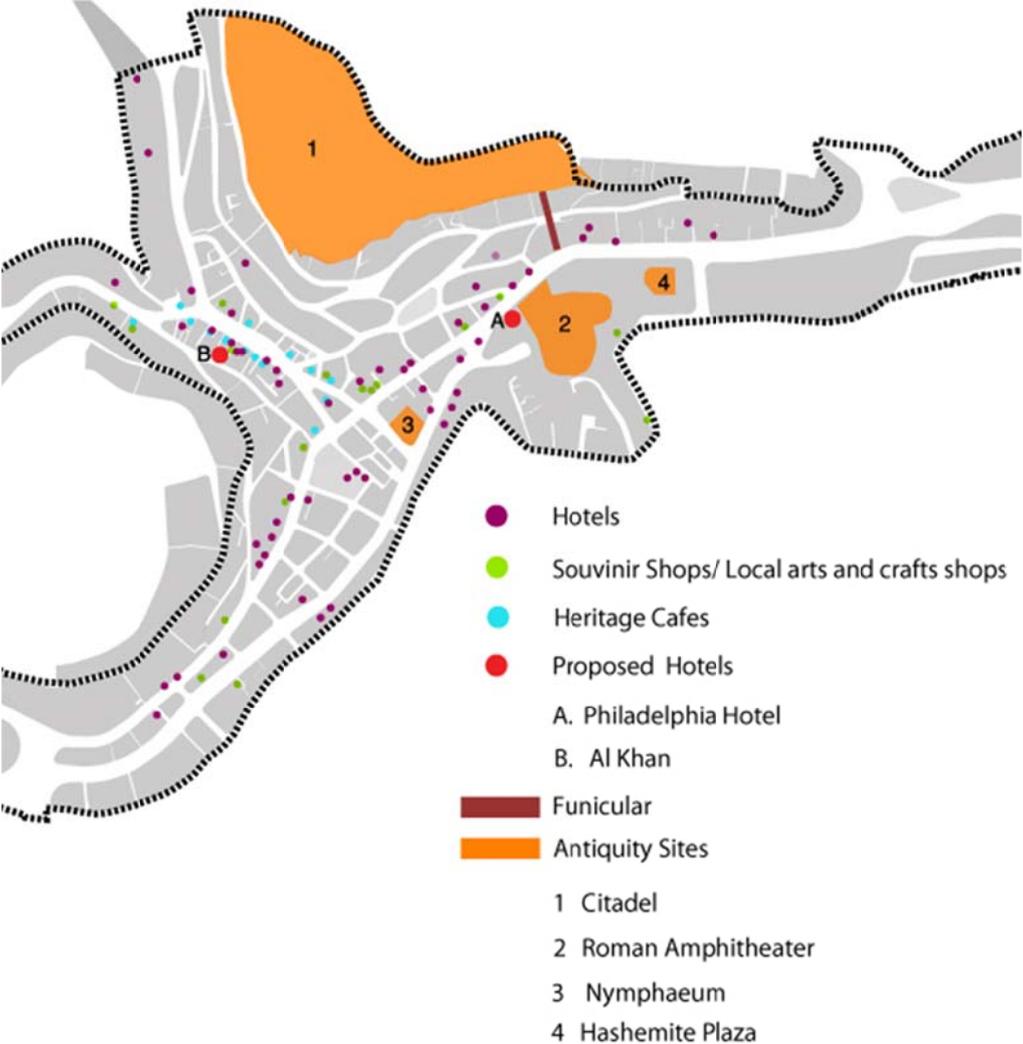


Figure 108: Locations of existing hotels and Antiquities sites in the Downtown

Attraction of major companies into the proposed office space development target areas has important influence on employment and economic vibrancy. Indirect economic effects could

include the trickle down effects that those corporations could generate for supporting and related businesses (such as retail shops, restaurants, and cafes or other service providers that may benefit from the proximity of such activities in generating additional business activities). The mechanism focuses on GAM's effort to attract major institutions and corporations in the target areas in the downtown through offering unlimited air rights to landowners. The possible areas in which such an incentive can be applied will be further studied upon deciding on heights requirements in the study area. Major improvements to the physical and business infrastructure are necessary for the appeal of the target area.

8.3.3 Pilot interventions

Pilot interventions are public initiatives with private partnership used for rehabilitation activities and improvement demonstrating good practices. The interventions seek to demonstrate good practices and examples of rehabilitation activities to guide property owners and businesses. Pilot interventions include facades and roofs improvement, and adaptive reuse.

Facades and rooftops improvements aim to launch a campaign for buildings facades and rooftops beautification, gardening and cleaning. GAM is a facilitator and shall provide financial support and technical assistance for property owners and businesses. The intervention shows an example of good practice that has impact on the overall quality of the urban environment and the Downtown attractiveness. The buildings surrounding Maydan Amman (i.e. the green housing Project, Old city Hall Boutique hotel) could be selected to implement the intervention that would be clearly noticed. Design guidelines and improvement instruction are to be provided, in addition to setting financial and technical assistance criteria assisting the property owners.

Adaptive reuse aims to promote rehabilitating and reusing vacant buildings especially of significant heritage value or distinct locations. GAM shall facilitate matching the suitable uses and buildings, support agreements between investors and property owners, and provide incentives for rehabilitation and heritage conservation. The interventions require preparation of selected buildings and proposed uses (index), linking investors with property owners and facilitating the agreements.

8.4 Community Engagement

Community engagement aims to mobilize the community as a partner in the revitalization process through establishing and empowering community organizations to participate in the process (i.e. community councils, Downtown businesses men association), building an inclusive consultative process with community representatives that covers the various aspects of community participation, producing processes and templates for public private partnerships and private investments, and launching pilot interventions that comprise businesses and community involvement.

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