Moving a Market: Impacts of Heritage Nomination on a Local Community. A Case Study of Delal Khaneh in Iraqi Kurdistan

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Rojan Mohammadi

ABSTRACT

The process of globalization has become a common factor in evolving cities in many developing countries. In Kurdistan Region, Northern Iraq, current urban redevelopment plans not only involve design features imported from elsewhere, but also substantially affect urban land use. The primary goal of the regional government is to transform Erbil, Kurdistan's capital city, into a leading city in terms of attracting foreign investments and tourists. To achieve this, Kurdistan Regional Government is leaning towards urban transformation as the solution. The city is striving to achieve a global status and in doing so, it is inevitably involved in the process of displacement. This study explores neoliberal urban transformation process within Erbil's historic city centre and its impacts on the local residents, which has resulted in the demolition of an old bazaar and the displacement of its merchants who were relocated into a new shopping mall.

In order to achieve its objectives, this study employed in-depth interviews with relocated merchants from Delal Khaneh bazaar to Nishtiman Mall and key informants in the planning and redevelopment field, as well as personal field observation. The findings indicate that the displacement of merchants had both social and economic impacts. The lack of amenities and failure to apply appropriate design standards in the new mall, Nishtiman, are two other implementation failures that the findings reveal. The demolition of the old bazaar and the relocation of its merchants to the new mall illustrate a new form of spatial fix, where the poor are purged from the city centres, a neoliberal ideology that tries to conceal urban poverty.

Based on the findings, this study proposes recommendations to Kurdistan's Regional Government and to the city of Erbil to clarify and redefine their planning objectives and

implementation. As well, the concept of public participation is reconsidered while the adaptation of urban design guidelines and thorough market assessment are proposed. This study contributes to the literature on the redevelopment of historic city centres, the development of shopping malls at city centres and the adaptation of neoliberal goals for cities in developing countries.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, whose unconditional love and care is the source of my strength to accomplish this long but rewarding journey. It is also dedicated to my beloved niece, Lawin. She is a source of inspiration in completion of this thesis.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the research. Thereafter, a research question and objectives are defined, followed by the rationale for the research topic. The methodological approach to the research is also presented and the structure of the thesis is explained.

The process of globalization has become a common factor in evolving cities in many developing countries (Bornberg, Tayfor and Jamies, 2006). Globalization is an economic concept integrating different parts of the world into finance and global economy, which is one of the main structural features of the current era (Oduwaye, 2013). Quiggin (2005) argues that globalization is often associated and may be referred to as neoliberal, claiming that globalization requires adopting free-market policies. The neoliberal policy has a fundamental effect on urban planning processes. A significant prerequisite of the neoliberal ideologies is that enormous investments in cities worldwide can be achieved through urbanization and modernization (Sager, 2011).

Urban redevelopment projects in developing countries involve design features that are adapted from western modern standards. Such features contrast the historic evolution of how cities developed (Bornberg et al., 2006). In Kurdistan Region, Northern Iraq, current urban redevelopment plans not only involve design features imported from elsewhere, but also substantially affect urban land use. These urban redevelopment processes have caused significant social impacts on local communities. For instance, the displacement of local communities has become a common result of these redevelopment applications. The neoliberal goal for these countries, seeking to improve their urban landscapes, has resulted in dislocation of many

residential and commercial activities within city centres. In brief, the relocation, in such instances, represents a distribution of urban spaces according to the socioeconomic status of classes, a new spatial fix where the urban poor are purged from city centres and replaced with privatized and modernized urban projects that are considered a spatial cure for the concentration of the poor (Oz & Eder, 2012).

Urban transformation is a complex concept and its definition changes with different evolving planning theories and paradigm shifts throughout the planning history. Erbas and Erbil (2013) describe urban transformation as a process of reintegrating battered, malfunctioning and economically exhausted regions within the larger context of a city. According to Gülersoy and Gürler (2010) urban transformation is described in three major categories: "heritage conservation-based urban transformation, regeneration-based urban transformation, and (re) development-based urban transformation" (p. 11). Heritage conservation focuses on historical and cultural significance of a place and is also concerned with restoration and renovation. Regeneration transformation is a process of reconstruction of existing urban areas that have economic and potential functions from one use to another. Redevelopment transformation is referred to as "urban renaissance" meaning upgrading urban areas. Erbas and Erbil (2013) indicate that urban transformation is a broad concept and includes various forms of implementation approaches. Details regarding these various forms of urban transformation are provided in Section 2.3.1 of this study.

This research explores Erbil's historic citadel and its surrounding areas, which constitutes the heart of the city and creates a unique identity and sense of place for its inhabitants. The city of Erbil, the capital of an autonomous Kurdish Government, is one of the main cities of the Iraqi-

Kurdish region. The Erbil citadel is considered a very powerful monument in the Kurdish culture, as it has been inhabited continuously for as long as 8000 years (MacGahey, 2006). From the emergence of upscale shopping malls to luxury hotels and residential developments, Erbil has been undergoing major transformations particularly since the fall of the previous regime in 2003 (Bornberg et al., 2006). The restoration and preservation of Erbil's Citadel, nominated for a designation as a UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) world heritage site, is the stimulus for the Kurdish government to revitalize the site and its surrounding areas into a multi-functional renowned tourist site which is envisioned to include coffee houses, hotels, and galleries. The reason for doing this is to encourage international tourists and local residents to visit. However, this urban redevelopment plan has already resulted in the displacement of the citadel's inhabitants as well as a removal of an old bazaar, Delal Khaneh, which was located at the centre of the city. In replacement of that, "Shar Garden Park", a public open space, has been created in an attempt to achieve the city beautification ideology and attract tourists. The bazaar's merchants were relocated into a new shopping mall, Nishtiman Mall, contrasting with the citadel's architectural character and the traditional urban fabric of Erbil. The removal of Delal Khaneh bazaar underscores the contingent and contextual nature of neoliberalism on the ground.

The Kurdish government has recognized tourism as a stimulating factor in the economic sector (McGahey, 2006). The primary goal of the local government is to transform Erbil into a leading city in attracting foreign businesses and tourists. The city is striving to achieve a global status and in doing so, it is inevitably involved in the process of displacement. Sassen (1991) has described the global city as one that is formed as a result of contemporary trends. Within the

process of globalization, cities aim to reformulate their goals in ways that are consistent with the global economy. Thus, competing for the purpose of attracting foreign investors and global capital has become essential. As such, restructuring and spatial renovations of cities through large-scale urban redevelopment projects have become an urban strategy for many developing nations (Guzey, 2009). Urban redevelopment has become a means of transforming battered areas but with a distinctive approach to be applied in every location and city with the same policies and rules. Nevertheless, localities are diverse in terms of policy, socioeconomic and physical structure; hence, redevelopment does not always fit into the model of urban transformation. As a result, such urban redevelopment may end with unpredicted rent increase, displacement and social exclusion for the local residents (Guzey, 2009). The lack of sufficient studies in this area is a driver that encourages the author to study the potential socioeconomic impacts on the local merchants that resulted from the demolition of Delal Khaneh bazaar.

1.2 Research Question and Objectives

This exploratory research considers the socioeconomic impacts of the urban redevelopment in Erbil City. In Kurdistan Region, Northern Iraq, the current high speed of redevelopment is responsible for a significant change in the urban land use. Contemporary urban redevelopment has caused substantial social impacts. For instance, the displacement of residents of local communities has become a common result of these redevelopment applications. Thus, as happened with Erbil's Citadel community, the residents of many communities are dislocated due to urban redevelopment projects. As a result of this urban redevelopment, the local merchants have been displaced from the bazaar area. In this study, the process of displacement is studied

along with its impacts on the local community. The purpose of this study is to provide an answer to the following research question and objectives:

How does the current urban redevelopment plan of Erbil City affect Delal Khaneh bazaar merchants' income status and social welfare? While answering this question, three specific research objectives are also addressed:

1. To understand social and economic impacts of permanent removal of the Delal Khaneh bazaar;
2. To explore the displacement process and the merchants' role and experience in the demolition of Delal Khaneh Bazaar;
3. To assess the redevelopment project's success in attracting local and international tourists to the site.

1.3 Research Significance

In exploring these objectives, this study is intended to provide a planning direction that investigates the potential impacts of the urban redevelopment plans in Erbil City. Specifically, it identifies the social and economic impacts: displacement of merchants due to the redevelopment of a heritage site and modernization projects ongoing in Erbil. This research is also intended to contribute to the emergent body of literature regarding urban redevelopment in historic city centres. It also investigates the types of impacts that heritage nomination can have over communities and how it can generate benefits for both the locals and foreigners. Thus, this research recommends a set of general criteria for conducting more responsive future urban redevelopment plans.

1.4 Research Methods

This study employs two qualitative research methods: 1) in-depth interviews with both key informants and merchants, and 2) fieldwork observation. During the fieldwork, systematic field notes and photographs were taken to document and depict participants' environments. Furthermore, the current urban redevelopment plans in Erbil City and their potential impacts on the local communities are investigated through in-depth interviews with key informants from the development industry and the planning practice. In-depth interviews were held with merchants who have been displaced from the old bazaar and relocated to the new shopping centre. All interview participants will remain anonymous. In total, 20 merchants and 9 key informants were interviewed. All interviews were audio-recorded with participants' permission. Recorded interviews are transcribed and translated from the Kurdish Language into English. It is important to note that the researcher is bilingual in English and Kurdish. From the research results, recommendations are made with regard to the urban redevelopment plans in Erbil's city centre and the strategies that can be used to encourage it. The methodological undertaking of this study is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is composed of 6 chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction in which the research question, objectives, methodology, and the structure of the thesis are presented. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature, including the link between globalization processes and neoliberal urban redevelopment ideology. The concept of displacement, in particular bazaars' relocation and the impacts on local communities are discussed. The review also explores the importance of heritage tourism and world heritage from economic perspectives. Chapter 3 describes the

research methodology, explaining the research case study methods employed in this study. Chapter 4 introduces the research site that is selected for this study. Chapter 5 presents the results of the qualitative data collected for this research and outlines the research findings. Chapter 6 discusses the case study key findings and provides recommendations based on the discussion in answering the research question and objectives.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections based on relevant studies. The first section provides a general overview of the globalization process and how it helped in evolving cities to different forms. The second section discusses the urban transformation phenomenon its relationship to neoliberal ideology. The third section discusses the concept of displacement in regard to bazaar relocation and its significance in the Middle East. The fourth and last section explores tourism and heritage tourism from international and economic perspectives.

This chapter is organized according to the literature review concept map shown in Figure 2.1. The map illustrates the flow of topics that are discussed in detail in this study.

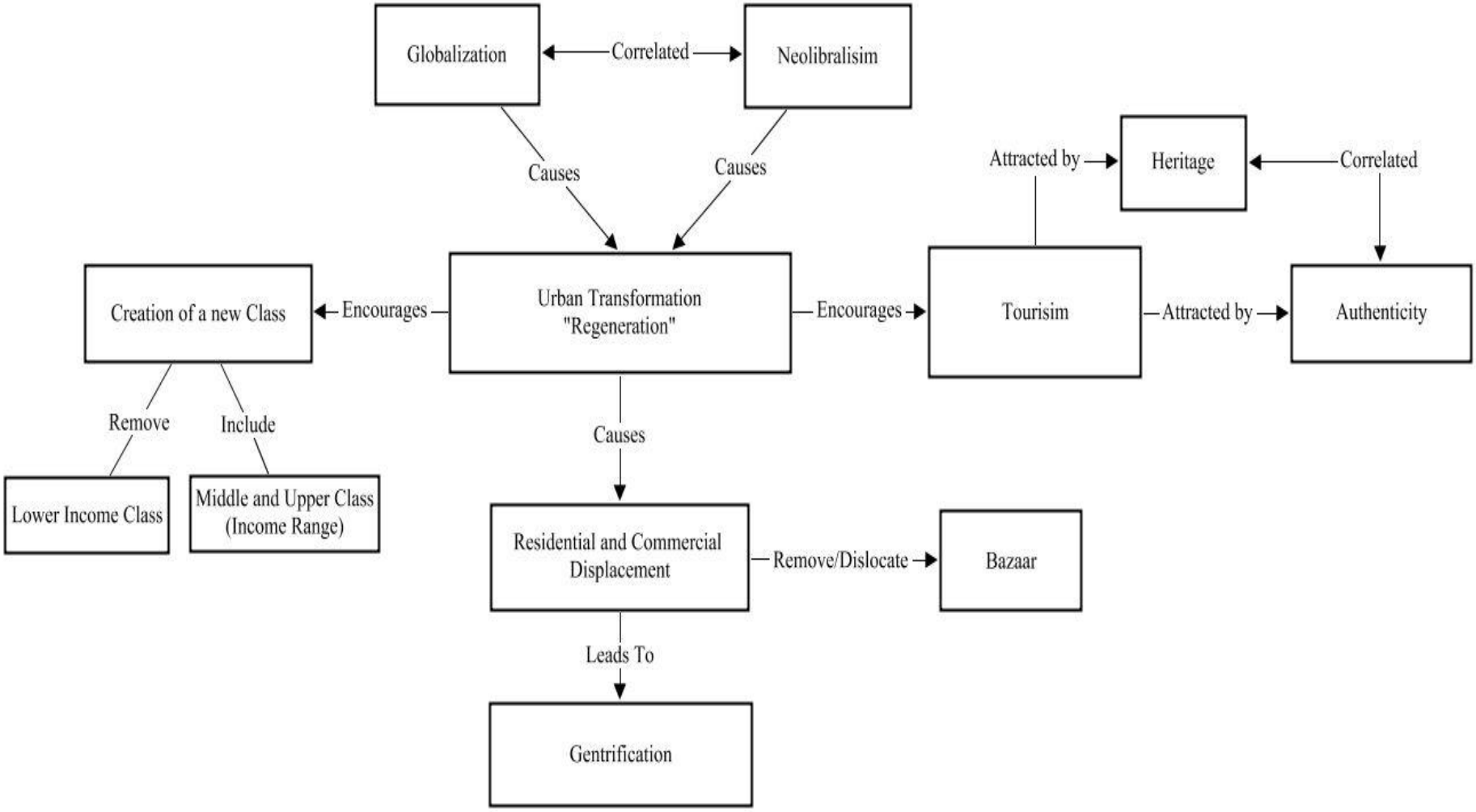


Figure 2.1: A conceptual map that shows the topics discussed in the literature review chapter.

2.2 The Concept of Globalization

Globalization has been a subject of significant debate and has shown a dramatic rise in research literature from the late 1980s onwards. During 1970s and 80s, "de-industrialization" was the term used to recognize the fate of cities in the developed world. However, globalization has replaced this term, which covers a wide range of factors including technological, economic changes and international migration (Newman & Thornley, 2011). Globalization is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon and many people and governments have interpreted it differently. Initially, it referred mainly to growth of economy and economic transaction. However, in the last couple of decades, the term is used to describe political, social and cultural changes of the world (Mehlika, 2013). Sociologist Ronald Robertson has described globalization as "A concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole, both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole" (Mehlika, 2013, p. 2) while others defined it as a geographical process in which place, space and time are shaped due to the contemporary changes in economic, political and technological practices. The proponents of globalization claim that it will lead to greater access to technology, consumption and living standards and economic integration that follows by economic growth and wealth (Mehlika, 2013). On the other hand, critics of globalization argue that the intensive changes in the economy have led to changes in core framework of social action (Stefanovic, 2008). According to Stefanovic (2008), cultural homogenization is an evident impact of globalization in which the exciting cultural patterns are replaced with a unique framework, eligible for the functioning within the global economy, aggressive to the poor and vulnerable segments of the society.

Globalization is an economic concept that seeks to integrate different parts of the world into finance and the global economy, which is one of the main structural features of the current era. Globalization is a process in which people, services, goods, ideas and information move across borders easily (Oduwaye, 2013). Smith (2002) has defined globalization as a shift from production to finance that recognizes the world as a trade unit without socio-political barriers. A liberalization of the world economies and economic activities are common characteristics of globalization. Liberating economies promotes free market, open competition, private enterprise and professionalism (Oduwaye, 2013). According to Bhattacharya (2010), globalization is often perceived as Westernization and Americanization in which culture and values of west have been spread out at the expense of traditional cultures. Mishra (1999) has argued that the effect of the "neoliberal thrust of globalization…is to strengthen market forces and the economic realm at the cost of the institutions of social protection"(p. 32). Beall (2002) has argued that the relationship between globalization processes and global inequalities have strongly increased, both within and between countries. He further argued that promotion of global economy would reinforce global social differentiation due to the fact that the globalization encourages weaker economies to reduce costs through lowering wages and prices, which invariably result in longer working hours, declining working conditions, increasing informality and reducing social security. Within this context, Beall (2002) has described social exclusion as an inevitable side effect of global economic manipulation and believes that "The concept of social exclusion signals a positive epistemological shift from the focus on poverty reduction that characterizes neoliberal approaches to development"(p.50).

Globalization aims to create a new world economic order in pursuance of creating efficiency in the allocation of resources, competition, and rapid growth of the world's economy (Oduwaye, 2013). One of the major driving forces for globalization is the technological development of telecommunications and computers (Oduwaye, 2013; Landis, 2008). This enhancement has enabled a faster and larger transfer of knowledge and information (Newman & Thronley, 2011). Landis (2008) has argued that liberalization of economy and borderless movement of goods and services are the main driving forces behind any type of globalization.

2.2.1 The Emergence of World Cities and Global Cities

According to Sorensen (2003), the concept of "world cities" has become one of the main contributions of urban studies to the globalization debate. Landis (2008) has argued that most major cities, developed or not, desire to obtain the "world cities" status. The notion of global cities emerged in 1970s when the global financial scheme expanded tremendously, leading to the domination of foreign direct investment (Smith, 2002).

The use of the term "world cities" is not new; it has a long history especially in the work of Peter Hall in 1988. Moreover, with the introduction of globalization "world cities" as a concept has been developed to a new approach. Its starting point has been seen in the research work of Friedman and Wolf in1982 (Newman & Thornley, 2011.p 32). Friedmann (1986) introduced a new concept, called 'world city hypothesis', an intended framework for research. Friedman stated that this hypothesis "is neither a theory nor a universal generalization about cities, but a starting-point for political enquiry" (p.69). Friedmann (1986) developed a set of criteria for distinguishing whether a city has the world city status.

He proposed a list of seven indicators: a major financial centre, headquarters for transnational corporations, international institutions, rapid growth of a business service sector, important manufacturing centre, major transportation node and population size (Newman & Thornley, 2011 p. 32). Based on these seven factors, Friedmann has categorized world cities into primary and secondary cities. Following his hierarchy criteria, other researchers including Thrift (1989) had created a hierarchy of their own global cities. Concentration on international institutions, headquarters of corporations, and banks are considered the main focus in many of these hierarchies. For example, Sassen (1991) has recognized New York, London, and Tokyo as the top of the hierarchy. In addition, she distinguishes the differences between the two labels 'global city' and 'world city'. A city that is formed as a result of contemporary trends called global city, whereas others have had international interactions in the past and have earned the status of world cities (Newman & Thornley, 2011).

On the other hand, some recent critics have criticized Friedmann's criteria and suggested that not all of the categories are related to the phenomenon of globalization. In addition, they have divided the globalization process into different dimensions. Thus, a city may have different position for each dimension. For instance, London may have the highest score for financial flows but the lowest for its economic stability (Newman & Thornley, 2011). Newman & Thornley (2011) have argued that as globalization allows economic activities and functions to scatter extensively around the world, the demand for central management and control increases. Hence, fewer key locations would be the concentration of these functions. Furthermore, the process of globalization has increased the pressure for competition among large corporations and banks, as competition has become a global relationship (Kotz, 2000).

According to Newman & Thornley (2011), a fundamental feature of the world city is its functionality rather than size. Sassen (1991) has noted that population size does not represent the level of a city's economic power in the world economy; there are many large cities around the world that do not have headquarters, major firms or banks. In the early world city research, world cities were the centres of global-decision making and nodes for global economic schemes; however, as globalization has increased, more firms operate globally and have become involved in the global economic activities and network. As of 2008, there are 50 such cities in the world (Newman & Thornley, 2011). As an example of how cities become global, Dubai-UAE will be discussed below.

2.2.2 Globalized Dubai

The two new cities that have emerged most dramatically in recent years and have been able to obtain the world city status are Dubai and Abu Dhabi. Newman & Thornley (2011) have referred to them as 'instant cities', in which their growth is linked to the processes of globalization. For the sake of concept clarification, the focus will be on the city of Dubai. In 1985, Dubai's population was approximately 370,000, while in 2009 it surpassed 1.7 million (Newman & Thornley, 2011). The city is expected to reach 4 million by 2017 (Bagaeen, 2007). However, its increased population is not the reason for its global role, but the rapid development of its real estate, property ownership, and tourism has increased its chances. For instance, in 2010, five million people visited Dubai Mall, the world's largest shopping mall (Newman & Thornley, 2011). The city is expected to host 15 million by 2020 (Bagaeen, 2007). According to Bagaeen (2007), Dubai or such instant cities are the products of "super-fast urbanism" (p. 174). He further

stated that the main reason behind this rapid growth is the freehold ownership of properties in certain areas of the city.

Dubai uses several components for its development including: zero personal income tax, zero corporate income tax, low import duties, high-quality infrastructure, foreign friendly environment, and idealistic leadership. These factors led the city to become a hub for tourism and businesses (Bagaeen, 2007). Dubai is a key example of successful inter-city competition and city marketing due to globalization. Many mega projects around the world have been duplicated in Dubai, resulting in a dramatic development plan for the city (Newman & Thornley, 2011). That city's growth is based on separate large projects lacking cohesion and connectivity and heavy reliance on the automobile for transport. Even though many roads have been built, congestion remains as a major problem (Bagaeen, 2007). The situation described above is the result of globalization processes over cities (Newman & Thornley, 2011).

Bagaeen (2007) has observed that the Middle East has chosen a new path of ambitious mixed-use developments featuring luxury hotels and residences, office blocks, massive shopping malls and entertainment complexes, which have resulted in changing the face of cities. He has identified Dubai as one of these cities that has become a centre for conspicuous consumption as called by the locals "supreme life-styles" (p. 176). According to Elsheshtawy (2008), cities in the Middle East, in particular Dubai, have become spaces of contestation, centres that have become a model for the Arab world. He further argued that these cities by adapting Western forms and planning models have the potential to become the new "Arab Metropolis"(p. 2). They create a new identity and serve as a model for the rest of the countries in the Arab world. He argued that

with the current process of globalization and the influence of foreign corporations, the West has impacts on the planning paradigm in the region.

Elsheshtawy (2008) has disputed that Arab cities are undergoing a massive urban transformation, which is parallel to what happened in the twentieth century when they were under the occupation and protection of the West. Nevertheless, the current changes are driven by the global capital, a neoliberal economic policy. He has identified Dubai as the leading city, which stands way above the rest, and its attractiveness and dominance has led the city to become the Gulf model. He further argued that there is a substantial influence of the Dubai paradigm on other cities. In other words, the presence of Dubai's real-estate corporations in the Arab world's major centres has increased which he termed "Dubaization". In such architectural forms, processes and relationship between planning and investors in every city have been influenced by the West standards. He further identified Arabs as "hapless recipients of modernism" (p. 22) and argued that Arabs in the Gulf turn to western architects and planners to design and shape their cities. For such instances, Abdali development in Amman and Abu Dhabi central market project are identified. For instance, central market in Abu Dhabi is a clear example of Dubaization in which the only historic bazaar in the city has been demolished and replaced by luxurious hotels and shops, flats and restaurants (Elsheshtawy, 2008b). The old souq was home to many merchants from Pakistan and other neighboring countries and it was also a gathering point for low-income residents. What underlies this is the desire to exclude the poor from the central districts, which was spoiling the modern metropolitan image that the officials are trying to portray (Elsheshtawy, 2008b). According to Elsheshtawy (2008b) excluding these elements within cities reflect on Harvey's argument of capitalism creating a geography that excludes the poor and caters to the rich.

The City of Erbil is another example of these cities, shifting towards attracting foreign investments and international interests. The purpose of these entire redevelopment plans is creating an image of progress, where the fastest structures are being built to attract foreigners and the affluent and that is fundamental for strengthening the success of Erbil City and the Region of Kurdistan in general (Kurdistan Regional Government, 2011).

2.3 Neoliberalism

The term "Neoliberalism" first gained widespread prominence in 1970s. It is an updated version of classical liberal economic ideology, which was dominant in the UK and the US prior to the Great Depression period of the 1930s (Kotz, 2002). Neoliberal ideology is an alternation of public involvement to private strategies, a shift from publically planned solutions to private or market-oriented outcomes. The political setting of neoliberalism is economic freedom and privatization (Sager, 2011). The neoliberal principle states that economic and social problems can be resolved through market-oriented solutions. Neoliberalism is a common term that is often used to describe economic reforms which impels to structural adjustments. It is a practice, logic/rationale and a set of institutions that are used by people (Thomas et.al, 2011). It calls for free across border movement of services, goods, and capital (Kotz, 2002). It is characterized by the doctrine of superiority of market over state (Van Gant, 2013).

According to Quiggin (2005), globalization is often associated and may be referred to as neoliberal, claiming that globalization requires adopting free-market policies. From neoliberal perspective, globalization is both inevitable and beneficial. Kotz (2002) has argued that the process of globalization accelerated when neoliberalism became dominant. Friedman (1999) best has summarized neoliberal theory in his metaphor of the Golden Straightjacket.

The metaphor presents the claim that although globalization limits the options available for governments; it also offers ultimate prosperity to those countries that conform to its requirements. Friedman (1999:p. 86-87) has listed the following golden rules and argues that a country must adopt these rules in order to fit into the Golden Straightjacket.

- Making the private sector the primary engine of its economic growth;
- Maintaining a low rate of inflation and price stability;
- Shrinking the size of its state bureaucracy;
- Maintaining as close to a balanced budget as possible, if not a surplus;
- Eliminating and lowering tariffs;
- Getting rid of quotas and domestic monopolies;
- Increasing exports;
- Privatizing state-owned industries and utilities;
- Deregulating capital markets and the domestic economy;
- Opening banking and telecommunications to provide ownership and competition;
- Allowing citizens to choose from an array of competing pension options.

Advocates of globalization argue that policies which encourage free trade and minimal regulated markets would result in higher economic growth throughout the world. Thus, this growth would enhance the living conditions (Sniegocki, 2008).

Neoliberal globalization is a term used to describe an economic model emphasizing free market and trade. The neoliberal approach has several key factors including privatization of state-owned

enterprises, decreased governmental regulations and reduced obstacles to international trade and investments. Although these policies have not been consistently applied, they have dominated the global economic policy since the 1980s (Sniegocki, 2008). According to Sniegocki (2008 p. 322), the two main components of neoliberal principles are "structural adjustment" policies and "free trade" agreements. World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have applied structural adjustment policies (SAP) in many Third World nations in response to their accumulation of external debts. The underlying causes of these debts are varied. Most causes are rooted to injustice in the global economy which includes inappropriate development policies that are encouraged by First World aid agencies, increased global interest rates and declining trade in most Third World products. The debt crisis in the early 1980s was a driving force for First World countries to require the restructuring of Third World economies in regards to neoliberal principles. The intention of this restructuring was to increase the capabilities of these nations to repay loans and also to attract them to First World corporate investment (Sniegocki, 2008). Free trade policies or agreements include the reduction or elimination of tariffs or other barriers to trade while protecting intellectual property rights. These can be seen in global agreements such as North American and Central American free trade agreements (NAFTA and CAFTA) or the World Trade Organization (WTO). Proponents of these agreements believe that such policies would allow any country to specialize in production more efficiently, leading to a broader economic growth.

On the other hand, they have been criticized in several ways: small or local businesses are forced to compete with multinational corporations, spread of consumerist values and cultural homogenization, increased conflict: imposing people into fear, insecurity, and civil strife, and

ecological crises: decreased environmental regulation and exploitation in fossil fuel usage or other types of natural resources (Sniegocki, 2008).

Sniegocki (2008) has summarized free trade agreement as a never-ending economic growth model, which is neither feasible nor sustainable for the long-term in a finite planet.

According to Harvey (1989), a key feature of urban neoliberalism is entrepreneurial as opposed to managerial approach to urbanism. Accordingly, a first approach to urban development is the ideal of a 'competitive city'. This urban policy promotes 'projected spaces' including impressive hotels and offices, leisure zones, massive shopping centres, aesthetically enhanced cultural districts and gentrified housing. The emergence of such development of consumption has increased and become typical in many cities around the world. Such consumerized space would lead to uniformity rather than diversification (OZ & Eder, 2012). As explained in Chapter 4, Erbil's bazaar (Delal Khaneh) is simply too filthy, too poor and too unpleasant to fit into these flashy images of a neoliberal city.

The neoliberal policy has a fundamental effect on urban planning processes. Sager (2011) has argued that neoliberalism is an essential element to understand the current urban conditions. He further states that "neoliberalism mobilizes urban space as an arena for market-oriented economic growth and elite consumption practices, and in so doing it transforms the political economic setting in which public plans and projects are implemented" (p. 149).

A significant prerequisite of the neoliberalism ideologies is that enormous investments in cities worldwide can be achieved through urbanization and modernization. This is a part of the globalization process in which investment capital at the local level is decreasing and is becoming

mobile (Sager, 2011). Many scholars perceive current urban transformations as outcomes and expressions of the neoliberalization processes (Brenner & Theodore, 2005).

2.3.1 Urban Transformation

Urban transformation is a complex concept and its definition changes with different evolving planning theories and paradigm shifts throughout the planning history. According to Erbas and Erbil (2013), urban transformation is a process to reintegrate battered, out-dated, malfunctioning and economically exhausted regions within the larger context of a city. The process consists of a set of strategies and actions followed to enhance social, physical, economic and environmental urban conditions through the implementation of integrated and comprehensive approaches. In other words, it re-improves and regenerates an out-dated region in order to re-establish harmony where economic, social and environmental quality or balance is lost. Nevertheless, urban transformation varies among regions in regards to their proposed visions, strategies, objectives and employed methods (Erbas & Erbil, 2013). Historically, urban transformation is referred to the transformation of unsanitary urban areas after the Industrial Revolution and the physical transformation of many ruined cities aftermath of the First and Second World Wars (Erbas & Erbil, 2013). It was perceived as restructuring of worn-out urban textures and rehabilitation of unsanitary urban conditions. The phenomenon was defined as physical transformation of battered space caused by rapid urbanization, population density and other relevant factors. However, in 1980s, it revealed the breaking point when the concepts of globalization, competition and sustainability became new planning norms and strategies. Thus, it focused not only on the physical aspects of urban areas but also on the unification of social, economic, environmental and technological factors as well (Erbas & Erbil, 2013).

Gulersoy and Gurler (2010) have divided urban transformation into three major categories: "heritage conservation-based urban transformation, regeneration-based urban transformation, and (re) development-based urban transformation" (p 11). Heritage conservation-based urban transformation focuses on historical and cultural significant of a place and is concerned with restoration and renovation. The common model for producing international systems in planning theory is through developing plans, programs, and policy-based frameworks by the public or institutional leadership. Regeneration-based urban transformation is a process of reconstruction of existing urban areas that might have economic and potential functional from one use to another. Policy and strategy-based frameworks are developed by agent-based entrepreneurial models in order to produce a multi-paradigmatic plan in the planning theory. Redevelopment-based urban transformation is referred as "urban renaissance" meaning upgrading urban areas. Revitalization, rehabilitation, and adaptive reuse are common methods of its process. Plans, programs, and policy-based frameworks are developed by public and private partnership models for generating global approaches in the planning theory (Gulersoy & Gurler, 2010).

Erbas and Erbil (2013) state that urban transformation is a broad concept, which includes different forms of implementation approaches. The authors divide the concept into 10 categories that are listed and defined below. Aside from the approaches of urban transformation defined below, other implementation forms are identified by different terms or maybe formed by one or several categories described below.

The selection of implementation approaches can vary among regions with respect to their physical, social and economic structures and their legal framework they use in the treatment of a particular issue.

***Urban Renewal*:** refers to the restructuring after the demolishing of some or all buildings in an area due to certain conditions that cannot be improved because of the status of the existing structure or settlement design issues.

***Urban Renaissance*:** encouragement for creating harmony by minimizing social exhaustion, maximizing environmental protection and economical competition.

Rehabilitation: is defined as the rearrangement of a partially wrecked building or a set of buildings in which density has increased due to a modification or an addition.

***Preservation-Conservation*:** refers to preventing the loss of physical structure that has traditional and cultural values. This approach is divided into two subsections: preservation with the original quality and conservation with limited change.

***Revitalization*:** is a process of bringing back life to a deprived and problematic area through implementation and incorporation of small, medium, and large projects, which aim at the redevelopment, restoration, and rehabilitation of the built environment. The process contains a set of urban management strategies that would facilitate social, economic, cultural, historical and environmental factors.

***Redevelopment*:** is designing a new urban fabric where its economic and structural qualities are intensively deteriorated to apply renewal.

***Improvement*:** is a public action in which developments are manipulated in order to obtain societal benefits and also to establish a greater relation between land use and function.

***Clearance*:** is the removal of unsanitary urban areas in which often populated by low-income families. The process is called 'Slum Clearance' in the western world.

***Brownfield Development*:** refers to introducing new developments and activities into urban sites that have an existing structure.

***Refurbishment*:** is revitalization of historical areas by using landscape elements and urban furniture in acquiring urban image and character.

Clerici and Mironowicz (2009) have described urban transformation as a "modern" feature of a city. They argue that cities change; thus, their urban forms adapt to these changes in order to reflect the cities' social structures. They further state that places are transformed in response to new needs; however, in transforming these needs, places may lose their importance and utility within the city structure. Erbas and Erbil (2013) state that urban transformation cannot be only restricted to the transformation of a physical space, other aspects such as social, cultural, economic, and environmental should also be embodied in the process. Further, they divide urban transformation into four fundamental dimensions: physical space dimension (involves transportation services in that specific region, housing, technical and environmental problems); planning dimension (involves spatial plans and modification of transformation zones); economic dimension (relates to enhancing employment opportunities along with its quality and quantity); social dimension (includes public and private partnership, accessibility to public services, local/volunteer participation).

All these dimensions should be adopted in the implementation process; thus, a multidisciplinary approach is required in all planning activities (Erbas & Erbil, 2013).

Goksin and Muderrisoglu (2005) have stated that it is important to understand that urban regeneration is different from urban renewal, urban rehabilitation and urban (re) development. Urban renewal aims to achieve mainly physical change. While urban rehabilitation lacks a method of actions, urban re-development focuses on more general missions and does not have a well-defined purpose. Guzey (2009) has described urban regeneration as government-assisted gentrification, which is embodied in the neoliberal urban policy regime. She further states that urban regeneration is a main tool in the restructuring of cities, which is created as a strategy by government-assisted urban spatial scheme. According to Plot & Erbil (2011), urban regeneration is defined as the transformation of a place that has shown indications of some types of decline such as physical, social, or economic aspects. Roberts (2000) has described urban regeneration as "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" (p. 17). Guzey (2009) has referred to urban regeneration as "only one facet of the larger economic, social and spatial re-structuring process" (p. 36). She argues that while urban regeneration has become a significant aspect in transforming physical space, gentrification is also important in restructuring social and economic space. Thus, the restructured economic and social space are effective in two ways: recollecting the status group or high-income to the city and creating attractive locations for those interested in investing in the global economy. In this process, continuity of physical transformation will be assured.

According to Guzey (2009), large-scale urban regeneration projects are based on the concept of creating appealing and desirable urban spaces. This occurs mostly in the slum sites in the city centre or other abandoned industrial sites through a rapid and complete renewal process.

2.3.2 Urban Transformation in the 21st Century

The shift from liberalism to neoliberalism and post-liberalism in 21st century has affected the concept of urban transformation. The process of urban regeneration is shifted from post-industrial global cities to sustainable cities, which is the dominant paradigm in urban studies. Historical conservation, cultural heritage, and integrated sustainable urban development are the current norms of urban transformation, recognizing heritage conservation as a key feature in promoting economic growth and tourism (Gulersoy & Gurler, 2010). Tourism development has become a key strategy for stimulating economic development (Fainstein & Galdstone, 1999). Nasser (2003) has argued that the nature of tourism has created an imbalance in which commercial gain is more important than preservation and cultural values. Therefore, social concerns are neglected, including impacts on local residents, users, and urban population. She further states that tourism activities result in spatial transformation. The physical, functional, and morphological aspects of the space are in danger of being altered. Although tourists are attracted to the conserved relics of the past, they also require modernized support facilities in order to cope with their demands. These modern facilities are usually undesirable and less-welcomed land use demands, such as hotels and related infrastructure (Nasser, 2003).

In the 21st century, heritage conservation is utilized to develop a method, correlating with approaches for creative and smart green cities as a basic challenge in urban transformation.

Strategic and management planning became important approaches of urban transformation in the 2000s. The neoliberal market-oriented urban transformation focused on multi-paradigmatic frameworks and neoliberal restructuring strategies in order to integrate urban regeneration. Therefore, models on managing urban transformation processes by agent-based partnership and regulating land and property market became the main concerns of the planning practice (Gluersoy & Gurler, 2010). According to Tavano Blessi et al. (2012) in recent decades, "culture has become increasingly important for strategies designed to deal with new trajectories of urban space" (p. 397), in which it is used as a tool to recover dilapidated areas, industrial and waterfront sites of city centres in order to make a better ranking of cities in the global market place. The so called "culture-led urban regeneration" process has led the cities and small towns to be interested and willing to use the process as a way to achieve a new position in the global competition arena. They further argue that although much attention have been paid to the process in order to provide economic benefits through tourism or as it is called "knowledge economy", the relationship between urban districts and these investments, in particular the impacts of these cultural activities and resources on the quality of life of residents, have been neglected.

2.3.3 Culture-led Regeneration

Polat and Erbil (2011) have argued that culture is a key player in the process of regeneration and has become the most remarkable direction in strategies of spatial and social developments of urban policy. They claim that when growth in industrial investment slows down, cultural strategies become a base for cities in image making. This has led to international competition for large-scale development projects among cities.

As a part of this process, prestige projects such as entertainment zones, museums, brand stores and architectural monuments shape urban developments. Evans and Shaw (2004) have categorized cultural activities from the regeneration perspective into three models. These are cultural regeneration, culture-led regeneration and culture and regeneration.

- Cultural regeneration model focuses on cultural activities as a strategy which is integrated into an area along with other environmental, social, and economic activities. This model is connected to the cultural planning approach of city regeneration.
- Culture-led regeneration model includes high-public profile activities such as construction and reuse of buildings for businesses or public uses, renovation of public spaces and rebranding.
- Culture and regeneration model is often associated with small-scale projects and is not completely incorporated at the strategic development or master plan. For instance, a small, local history museum that is part of a reclaimed industrial site (Evans & Shaw, 2004).

Nevertheless, these types of projects have been criticized for their lack of integration of economic, political, social, and physical dimensions into the planning processes. From political and economic perspectives, although these kinds of regeneration promote tourism, they have little benefit for working classes and poor urban neighborhoods. This is due to the fact that urban tourism generates mostly low-wage jobs which do not contribute largely to low-income households. In terms of social perspective, tourism developments often result in residential displacement. Critics of tourism argue that the use of a space by tourists regularly changes its character.

These places would fail to accommodate everyday function of human habitation of nearby residents to sophisticated hotels, downtown shopping malls and restaurants, which are designed to host affluent visitors. In aestheticizing the city, undesirable objects will be removed from touristic sites. Video surveillance, private guards and security would increase which leads to militarization and privatization of urban spaces. In doing so, safer and cleaner public spaces are created but only restrictive and privatized in use for particular people. From cultural aspects, conflicts and tensions might increase between locals and visitors. Cities might ultimately become a centre for consumption. The values of authenticity may decrease and places become signifier, the city becomes interrupted from its meaning (Polat & Erbil, 2011).

Wirth and Freestone (2003) have argued that the link between culture and economy is rapidly increasing, as cultural resources have become strategic tools for development and economic growth. Moreover, these resources embody new opportunities for urban entrepreneurialism and revitalization. They described culture as a tool for the promotion of tourist-led economic growth, observing that many local and central governments have commercialized culture. However, image making and urban revitalization through cultural seizure of places represent an area for contestation and conflict within the built environment. As a result, tensions between the use of culture for economic growth rather than for community expansion may increase. In particular, in tourism sector, the chances of conflicts between local communities, businesses, tourists and the governments are high (Wirth & Freestone, 2003). AlSayyad (2001) has argued that the relation between culture and built form is affected by the practices of both manufacturing heritage and constructing national identity for commercial consumption.

He identified three different types of physical environments that are produced for deliberate representation of cultural tradition. The first type is to create dream landscapes by using history. Disneyland is an example of this type. The second type of environment is to claim history. In other words, claiming a place that once was a site of a significant historic event; however, over time it has been marginalized. The intention of creating such places is due to two primary reasons: 1) to attract tourists for economic purposes. 2) to show national history and memory while avoiding showing the historical change of that particular environment. The third type of environment seeks to manipulate cultural heritage. In this type any claim to the reality of history is secondary in order to generate commercial profit. In the US, the city of Las Vegas is the best case in this type.

AlSayyad (2001) has further indicated that preserving heritage has become important due to the fact that it is not only produces economic substance but also creates an environment for nations, regions or cities to position themselves in the global competition. According to Robinson (2001), in the last couple of decades, tourism has emerged as an organized and structured form of human activity, which is often referred to as an industry. Robinson (2001, p. 42) conceived the tourism industry in relation to culture in two ways: 1) value free, and "thus largely an inconsequential aspect of development", 2) a product for packaging. He argued that the First World societies promote tourism in a climate of acceptance; however, this has been carried into developing countries with neither tradition nor cultural exhibitionism. As a result, culture (s) as embodiments of living traditions, rituals and ways of life are packaged and imaged to commercial products for tourists in which it loses its social aspect, function and authenticity.

In such case, tourists remain strangers with little or no opportunity to experience the host culture in any meaningful ways. Developments of such places to become attractive for tourists--particularly inner-city space--often fail to maintain communities for local residents in the same places. Wirth and Freestone (2003) have argued that cultural tourism places can have controversial social, spatial and cultural implications. For instance, in places, which evolve to meet the needs of consumers, heritage and culture are reconceived as commodities. In return, the whole environment is restructured by development projects. According to Wirth and Freestone (2003) tourism consumption is "A place-creating and place-altering act" (p. 3). It is an economic activity which influences the use, location and distribution of resources. However, the creation and expansion of touristic places can have negative results for the authenticity of the built environment. Hence, commodification of culture often ends in diminishing the heterogeneity of the city.

2.4 The Concept of Displacement

As a result of urban development projects in the last twenty years; twenty million people have been displaced or resettled (Wet, 2006). In many of these cases, the authorities have forced the movement of the affected people whether they wanted or not (Wet, 2006). In the overwhelming majority of cases, displaced people are in worse conditions and suffer from socioeconomic impoverishment. Project developments in developing countries that have been subjected to the western model often involve dramatic physical and socioeconomic transformation (Wet, 2006).

2.4.1 Bazaars

Relocation of bazaars encompasses a unique combination of resistance and commodification, which helps to emphasize the contingent nature of neoliberalism. Bazaars are public places where poor and rich people can socialize. Their colorful stalls, costumes and merchandise bring life to dull streets and create a diverse atmosphere for everyone to enjoy. Although bazaars provide informal employment, they deliver a significant public service through entrepreneurial opportunities for those who cannot afford to buy or rent permanent premises and goods from overpriced supermarkets (Oz & Eder, 2012). Oz and Eder (2012) have stated that in Latin America, removal of informal commercial activities is the first step in reshaping historic centres. Bazaar dislocation exemplifies a new form of exclusion as bazaars and bazaaris are often denounced as undesirable occupants. Bazaars are stigmatized as places that attract lower and middle-income families. Thus, the relocation of bazaars shows a process of gentrification, moving the poor out of city centres. In brief, the relocation represents the distribution of urban spaces based on socioeconomic status of classes (Oz & Eder, 2012). Modernized projects are considered as one of the major reasons behind the relocation of bazaars. The rationalization behind the modernization is to make the bazaars organized and hygienic. As it is often the case in most relocation projects, the causes of removal are: traffic congestion (bazaars block main roads), hygiene (bazaars are too filthy to be located in the city centre), noise and emergency vehicles and ambulances cannot pass through, causing health risks. According to that, bazaars have to be removed or downsized. For example, in the last 5 years, approximately 50 bazaars have either been relocated or downsized in Istanbul. However, the idea to provide the necessary infrastructure never comes to mind (Oz & Eder, 2012). Most often, once the bazaar is relocated, the original site becomes a parking area or a venue for massive buildings, such as shopping or

entertainment centres. Oz & Eder (2012) have further stated that in Istanbul, the relocation of bazaars illustrates a new type of spatial fix where urban poor are cleansed from city centres and replaced with privatized and modernized urban projects in order to increase the value of urban real estate within city centres. They further indicate that the relocation of bazaars is a product of the neoliberal urban transformation process. Moreover, they argue that an alternative to the relocation process would be the reformation of the bazaar by improving the required infrastructure (Oz & Eder, 2012). Opening chains of supermarkets and large commercial centres scattered throughout the city have negatively affected many traditional grocers, vendors and bazaars (OZ & Eder, 2012). For example, since 1990s, Istanbul has witnessed a wave of supermarket chains such as Migros, Tesco and Carrefour, which has led to downsizing the periodic bazaars across the city.

2.4.2 The Significance of Bazaars in the Middle East

The word "bazaar" refers to "Waazaar", an ancient Persian word. It means a market place or a group of shops where various goods and services are displayed to sell and buy (Assari et al., 2011). Historical findings reveal that bazaars existed in Iranian cities or towns since 3000 BC (Mehdipour & Rashidi Nia, 2013). Commerce is an old economic system, which enables trading, strengthening social ties, improving cultural relationships, and establishing legal and ethical foundations. From the ages of antiquity until the discovery of railroads, the Silk Road was the most critical route for commerce. It extended over 8000 km and for centuries interconnected a network of merchants, traders, monks, pilgrims, intellectuals and missionaries from Asia to the Mediterranean world including Europe and North Africa. Bazaars located alongside the Silk Road were more important than those that were distant from the route. In the Eastern Islamic

world, bazaars are comparable to the Agora in ancient Roman and Greek cities and to plazas of pre-industrial European cities. Traditional bazaars in cities in the Islamic world are typically built over time alongside the expansion of cities and streets layout or in relation to the organic growth of cities. Generally, bazaars are connected to important governmental, religious or public buildings (Edgu et al., 2012). Goods that were sold at bazaars were mostly distributed according to their nature. There was a clear division of trade in the traditional bazaars whereby sections were dedicated to the same product: gold in one section, spice in another, etc. For instance, in Iranian bazaars, perfumes, candles and books were sold close to mosques.

The centre of the bazaar was usually used as a place for public activities such as administration, trade and social services (Assari et al., 2011). Mehdipour and Rashidi Nia (2013) have categorized Iranian bazaars into three types: 1) Periodic bazaar which is an open-air market that moves from one neighborhood to another on specific days of the week. These types of bazaars are very common in Turkey and they are in danger of being downsized or removed from city centres (Oz & Eder, 2012); 2) Urban bazaar, which is a popular urban space among other types of bazaars. It is not only a place for commercial activities but also for social and cultural activities. Also, in this category bazaars are sometimes covered with permanent roofing. Aleppo bazaar is an example of this kind with its small stalls and narrow alleys; and 3) Local bazaar, which is smaller in size and serves a particular district or area of the city or town (Mehdipour & Rashidi Nia, 2013).

A common character of bazaars is price bargaining (Geertz, 1978). Geertz (1978) has described two important factors of bargaining. 1) multidimensionality: money/price can be held constant while the quality and quantity may change; in some cases, non-monetary aspect is an option to avoid confrontation. 2) intensiveness: further exploration of an offer in seeking additional discount. The main purpose of bargaining is to exchange goods and gain a slight advantage. Unlike the fixed price system of commerce, which is typical in North America and Western Europe, in many developing countries people negotiate almost for every transaction (Senger, 2002).

2.4.3 Shopping Malls in the Middle East

Traditional shopping districts have always been vital public realms for cities where not only commercial activities are being held but also social interactions and civic communication are enhanced. For instance, Aleppo has one of the largest covered bazaars in the Middle East. In Aleppo, the bazaar, souq, is the concrete place for trading where many people meet and interact. The souq is located in the old city centre of Aleppo, al-medina, with its covered alleys (Rabo, 2005). According to Weiss (1998), a bazaar is not only a marketplace; it is a city within a city, which has its own economy and way of life with a spiritual background. However, this social harmony and unity have been fragmented due to Western impacts such as globalization, modernization and capitalization (Cetin, Gadola & Cheol, 2011). According to Cetin et al. (2011), "Traditional forms of shopping support our deeply rooted mental connections with space"(p. 103). Traditional shopping spaces are great assets of local culture and everyday life practices. They simulate connectivity, permeability, organic circulation and intimacy with other people. On the other hand, modern shopping centres signify "organized" and "self-organizing"

components of the urban realm (p.103). Cetin et al. (2011) have argued that modernity has altered not only the spatial layout of shopping but also its nature. Shopping has become an addictive activity and experience done in closed and controlled containers. Furthermore, shopping places are converted from public arenas to privately owned and controlled spaces in which mass consumption of global brands and franchises have outnumbered the individual and local retailers.

Retail structures around the world remained small in size and area until 1950. Prior to this period, several shopping centres and malls were built in a classical architectural form, such as Rockefeller Centre in New York, built in 1935 (Abu Ghazalah & Abu Ghanimeh, 2006). Large shopping malls started to appear in the Middle East since the end of the 20th century. For instance, the construction of Emirates Mall in Dubai was completed in 2005, with a total area of 450 thousand square metres (Abu Ghazalah & Abu Ghanimeh, 2006). Luxuriant neoliberal real estate developments are increasing in different parts of the Arab world in which shopping malls are dramatically emerging and becoming public spaces in the region (Daher, 2013). According to Daher (2013) cities in the Middle East are competing to attract international businesses, investments and tourism developments. He gives an example of Dubai (luxury resorts, skyscrapers and man-made islands) that has become a precedent for other cities in the region. Daher (2013) further argues that internationalization of real estate companies and construction-consulting firms, which provide high quality services are the main indicator of the neoliberal urban restructuring in the region. Hence, cities are required to create the climate for competitive business and tourist attraction in order to draw people to invest, live and entertain (Daher, 2013). Furthermore, Daher (2013) argues that neoliberal urban restructuring, such as building business

towers, gated communities and low-income housing developments, creates geographical inequalities and social exclusion, which result in a major displacement of lower-income families. Elsheshtawy (2008b) has stated that the current developments in Dubai are fragmented and exclusive which has become a fundamental feature of its urban form. This new urban form has caused the poor to be driven out from central cities and the city itself is designed to serve the rich and powerful.

Adham (2008) has stated that countries in the Middle East have become nodes for consumption of cultural experiences. Tourism has become a targeted industry for growth in the Gulf States and refers to it as "one of the oldest cultural industries in the history of capitalism" (p.238). He further claimed that many contemporary cities in the Gulf region are transforming to accommodate tourism through developing spaces for ever-expanding entertainment industries. Producing these cultural entertainment zones provide a new kind of "cosmopolitan citizen" who "thinks of good life as equal to a continuous holiday" (p. 239). From this perspective, he provided an example of Qatar which has recently announced a new tourism master plan with an investment of over 15 billion US dollars to establish Doha, the capital city, as a tourism destination (Adham, 2008). Adham (2008) has argued that Qataris first saw Gulf sea as an extraction site for oil and natural gas and now they have discovered yet another value: real estate. In the contemporary process of globalization and capitalism, developing mega-projects and iconic structures are the current norms for Doha to become a global city.

2.4.4 Gentrification

Gentrification, as an aspect of urban restructuring, has been a revival of debates in the recent years (Butler et al., 2013). Gentrification is not an isolated process of neighborhood change,

including rehabilitation of residential areas in inner cities, but an integrated part of broader processes of urban political, spatial and economic restructuring (Sakizlioglu, 2007). Wang (2011) has argued that residential change is not the only apparent feature of the gentrification process, commercial changes are also a significant part of the process. In fact, Smith (2002) has stated that gentrification is no longer considered as a process of upgrading dwelling but "has evolved into a vehicle for transforming whole areas into landscaped complexes that pioneer a comprehensive class-inflected urban re-make" and are based on "recreation, consumption, production and pleasure as well as residence" (p. 443).

Gentrification was initially identified by Glass in 1964 as a process of displacement and class progression in areas of central London (He, 2007). Many scholars recognize gentrification as "one of the major leading edges of contemporary metropolitan restructuring" (He, 2007. p 171). Traditional gentrification focuses on localized processes and considers housing redevelopments with the emphasis on waterfronts or city centres' renewal. Scholars have suggested that gentrification analysis should go beyond the local setting and it should consider wider issues of urban transformation such as reorganization of spatial order and impacts of globalization (He, 2007). He (2007) has argued that while gentrification contents have been studied in western societies, it is still fairly insufficient in the rest of the world particularly in the context of market transition. Residential displacement is one of the primary effects of state-driven gentrification.

Research indicates that displacement is a part of gentrification. Displacement may occur due to several reasons such as housing demolition, increased housing costs, conversion in ownership or rental units, evictions and landlord harassments (Newman & Wyly, 2005).

Gentrification and neoliberalism are interconnected. Gentrification has become a common phenomenon in many countries since the liberalization of markets was introduced. Gentrification is defined as a process of change in the land users or population such that old users are replaced with new users who have higher socioeconomic status, thus it results in changes to the built environment through revitalization or reinvestment (Sager, 2011). Van Gent (2012) has referred to gentrification as "transformation of space for more affluent users" (p. 505). It aims to bring back middle or high-income class to the central district of cities. The urban transformation process often involves gentrification, which has become a spatial cure for deconcentrations of the poor. In such cases, the neoliberal doctrine tries to make urban poverty less noticeable by breaking up the concentration of poor people without understanding the underlying causes of poverty (Sager, 2011). Van Gent (2013) reiterates that gentrification happens when regeneration has the goal of housing a new growing middle class, which results in the presence of the middle class at the expense and displacement of the working class. Smith (2002) has defined gentrification as a place-based investment under the title of urban regeneration policy. As in this case, the process of gentrification becomes a necessary and positive strategy in designing spaces in regards to the global market rules (Guzey, 2009). The planning literature identifies that gentrified neighborhoods often result in displacement of the working class mainly due to the increase in rent. Gated communities are a well-known example of this kind of gentrification (Sager, 2011).

Lees et al (2008) have stated that once the gentrification starts in an area, it will continue until most or all the working class occupants are displaced which may result in a change of the social character of the district. Gotham (2005) has argued that with the growth of tourism,

consumption-oriented activities are enhanced, which encourages gentrification. Gotham (2005) has referred to this phenomenon as tourism gentrification, which is "transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venue" (p.1102). He further claimed that state policies encourage gentrification and tourism development, which allow large corporate entertainment to transform spaces for consumption. Tourism gentrification highlights the process of globalization, which defines modern urbanization and redevelopment processes (Gotham, 2005).

2.5 Tourism and Heritage Tourism

Tourism being broadly recognized as a visible and essential economic use of heritage, the term needs to be defined. Due to its multitude meanings and concepts, there are no standard and no widely agreed-upon definitions of tourism (Awang, Hassan & Zahari, 2009). Many scholars have identified tourism based on their works. Typically, it is defined as the travel of people to different destinations, which are away from their usual dwellings or working places for the purpose of work or leisure for a period less than one year (WTO, 1992). On the other hand, Jafari (1977, p. 6) defined tourism as the "study of a man who inhabit away from his usual habitat, of the industry, which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the host's socio-cultural, economic, and physical environments". Moreover, the World Tourism Organization further develops this type of definition in an effort to gain more precision, as the set of activities (leisure or business) performed by anyone who travels and stays outside of one's usual place for not less than 24 hours or one night and not more than one year (WTO, 1992).

Heritage is a crucial product in the world's largest service industry, tourism. The WTO has acknowledged that culture and heritage are two important elements of approximately 40 percent of all taken international trips. A basic definition of heritage tourism was developed by WTO, which defines heritage tourism as an involvement in another region or country's natural, cultural, arts, philosophy, or history (WTO, 1992). According to Christou (2005) tourism and heritage have become inseparably linked throughout the world. He argues that the interaction of tourism with heritage often results in a reinterpretation of heritage. The term cultural tourism has been used interchangeably with heritage tourism (Christou, 2005). However, a number of researchers have tried to define the terms separately. For example, Richards (1997, p. 24) has referred to cultural tourism as "the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intentions to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs". On the other hand, heritage tourism is defined by (Poria et al., 2001) as a phenomenon based on tourists' perceptions and motivations rather than on site characteristics. They further state that heritage tourism is a subsection of tourism and heritage characteristics of a site or a place are main motivations for visiting that site/place. Christou (2005) has highlighted that heritage is an industry that is being controlled and planned consciously with the intention of producing a marketable product. Xiang (2009) has reiterated that while heritage tourism has cultural attributes, it has economic qualities as well and it should bring economic benefits to host communities, which can be a motivation for them to manage their heritage and continuing traditions.

2.5.1 Heritage and World Heritage

Different research disciplines have identified heritage in various terms. According to Hewison (1989, p 16) heritage is "A past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of population wishes to hand on to the future". AlSayyad (2001, p. 2) has defined heritage as " property, which devolves by right of inheritance in a process involving a series of linked hereditary successions". Wall (2004) has said that lately heritage conservation has raised a major concern in both developed and developing countries. This partly can be due to the growth of heritage tourism in recent years, producing costs and benefits. While some heritage stakeholders gain more benefits, others endure more costs. In particular, in developing countries, people who live in or around heritage sites are the most affected and are often those who bear the most costs (Wall, 2004). Orbaşli (2007) has stated that when heritage is considered at the national level, which often relates to ancient sites and monuments, it neglects urban environments and the people who inhabit them.

The term "World Heritage" refers to a resource with outstanding universal value that is rare, fragile and non-renewable and has common importance for present and future generations (UNESCO, 2013). World heritage convention recognizes cultural heritage and cultural landscape as two important resources that are increasingly threatened with destruction and disappearance (UNESCO, 2013). In 1972 "Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage" was adopted by the UNESCO and came into force in 1976 and since then it has been ratified by the185 States Parties of UNESCO (UNESCO, 2009). The main purpose of this convention is to identify, protect, conserve, and present natural and cultural heritage of outstanding universal value (UNESCO, 2013).

While cultural heritage is concerned about the built environment and cultural events associated with people, the world cultural landscape contains cultural properties that "combined works of nature and of man" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 14). Article 1 of the convention describes the cultural landscape as "illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 19). In 1992, the term became the first international legal instrument under the World Heritage Convention and since than 63 properties are recognized as cultural landscapes by 2008 (UNESCO, 2009).

The convention indicates that the World Heritage Committee (WHC) is responsible for the coordination of the designation process of sites through a system called inscription. This system evaluates the resources by experts against a set of known criteria. The diversity of World Heritage Sites is enormous; thus, sites may be nominated for several criteria such as cultural, cultural landscape or both. Moreover, in order for a site to be included in the World Heritage List, it must meet one of the ten selection criteria (UNESCO, 2013). In addition to have at least one criterion from the selection, sites must also meet the requirements regarding their authenticity, integrity, protection and management (UNESCO, 2013). The criteria are listed below.

Selection criteria for World Heritage Site status: (UNESCO, 2013)

(i) To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius

(ii) To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural

area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design

(iii) To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared

(iv) To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history

(v) To be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change

(vi) To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria.

(vii) To contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance

(viii) To be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features

(ix) To be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals

(x) To contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation

2.5.2 The Economic Use of Heritage

Tourism has become the largest industry in the world (McGuigan, 2005). It counts for 11.7 percent of world GDP and 8 percent of employment (Daher, 2007). According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), tourism grows at a rate of 5% each year. Tourism in developing countries represents an essential advantage because such countries are still considered to have a non-industrialized environment that offers a non-spoiled paradise in comparison to those from highly economically developed countries (McGuigan, 2005). Tourism has become a global and complex phenomenon (Daher, 2007). In the last couple of decades, competition between cities has increased rapidly on both the national and international scales. In order to adapt to the new competitive environment, many local governments are forced to create effective strategies such as expanding cultural and tourism assets for local developments. Culture indeed can be a strong generator of tourists (Park, 2005). Thus, "urban attractiveness", a battle among cities to attract industries and corporations to create employment by improving the local economic situations, has become the model (Park, 2005).

Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) have argued that a significant element of the economic base of cities is tourism. However, investment in tourism can be a waste of government funds and it reinforces social inequalities. The dispersal outcomes of tourism development are unknown. Despite the fact that tourism may produce bad or good jobs, it all depends on how it has been structured in specific locations rather than its intrinsic characteristic of the industry. Often tourism is associated with consumerism. McGuigan (2005) has argued that consumerism has captured the attention of more people around the world, which in many places may results in traditional culture disruption. According to Oz and Eder (2012), the development of cultural

tourism is an additional gentrification indicator of neoliberalism, which has resulted in changing some cities and city centres into museums that are used to encourage consumption-oriented activities. Emerging from these transformations, the social geography involves an increase in spatially concentrated poverty.

A chain of global events, including economic depressions and oil crisis, which occurred from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, has led to an increase in neoliberalism in tourism expansion in many developing countries (Awang, Hassan & Zahari, 2009). Privatization and liberalization acts, partly stirred by the World Bank have led to a decrease of state influence and permitted private sector in the tourism industry. Tourism has played an important role in the transformation and reforming of cities within the larger context of the Middle East including Gulf States and parts of North Africa (Daher, 2007).

It has become a main indicator of the urban regeneration in the current redevelopment plans for many cities in the region. In the last 20 years or so, a new trend (heritage tourism) became attractive to many governments in developing countries, which is an attempt to enhance economic restructuring in the service sector economy. Thus, culture-led revitalization and tourism are new strategies that many countries in the Middle East are choosing as main generators or economic growth and prosperity factors (Daher, 2007). For instance, Jordan and Lebanon have received international funding from the World Bank and other organizations to improve their national tourism strategies, urban development in the form of tourism and urban regeneration in cities (Daher, 2007). Nevertheless, architects, urban planners and engineers have manipulated these urban regeneration projects. Their obsession with aesthetics and physical forms have granted the community feeling and genius locale of the place (Daher, 2007).

International tourist trips to the Middle East have increased tremendously. In 2002, 27.5 million people travelled to the Middle East. It is an extraordinary performance as there is a number of constrains, such as geopolitical instability in the region that can slow down the process (WTO, 2003). According to a survey conducted among Middle Eastern countries, $13 billion USD was earned from international tourism in 2002 (WTO, 2003).

Moreover, the common purposes of these international trips were leisure, recreation and holidays. In the case of the Iraqi-Kurdish region (the focus of this study) tourism is considered a potential catalyst to an economic development in the region. According to Kurdistan statistics, the construction of touristic facilities such as hotels, motels, tourist villages and other related facilities have been dramatically increased. While in 2007 there were only 106 hotels in the region, in 2012 the number has increased to 259 hotels. Furthermore, in 2012, 2,216,993 people have visited the Kurdistan Region and approximately 1,518,830 of them stayed in Erbil, the capital city of this autonomous region. While 147,126 tourists were from the Region of Kurdistan, 1,049,235 were coming to Erbil from outside of the region, possibly from other cities within Iraq and 322,449 were foreigners (Kurdistan General Board of Tourism, 2013).

2.5.3 Heritage Tourism and Authenticity

Recognizing the potential economic benefits of tourism has inspired public and private sectors to collaborate and advocate historic resources for heritage tourism. However, this collaboration has been hampered due to tensions regarding the nature and function of historic resources. The heritage tourism literature identifies a number of tensions over functions, uses, and the authenticity of historic resources in such that the use of historic resources has become a commodity within the tourism industry. As a result, history is used to create experiences for

tourists, which may result in an alternation of the history of a site. (Wiles & Stoep, 2007). Authenticity is an important attribute of tourism. In 1973, Dean Macannell first introduced the concept of authenticity (Yang & Wall, 2009). His definition for authenticity is drawn from American traditions and is concerned with "individual expression, democratic freedoms and authentic human satisfaction" (Yang & Wall, 2009 p 236). Wiles and Stoep (2007, p. 293) have described authenticity as "a way to promote the true story of an area by giving the destination real value and appeal". Moreover, it is a distinctive asset, real and tangible, supported by historical facts, which visitors can experience. Nevertheless, they argued that heritage has become a product that has a meaning specific to its projected audience and is isolated from its actual, tangible artifacts. This means turning "history into a commodity rather than a source of objective truth"(p. 293). Thus, providing entertainment value and generating revenue are appreciated more than representing history in its authentic context.

Within the context of heritage tourism, Wang and Wall (2009) have categorized tourists experiences to three different approaches of authenticity: objectivism, constructivism, and postmodernism; each has various perspectives. The objective approach uses objective criteria to evaluate authenticity. Rituals, festivals, costumes are generally described as "authentic" or "inauthentic" if they are made or enacted by locals and traditions. According to MacCannell, tourists in this approach seek for pristine, real and simple forms of historic periods in different times and cultures (Yang & Wall, 2009). The constructivist approach is known as "staged authenticity", recreating past, as it was still present. In this approach, things are constructed to appear authentic (Wang, 1999). The postmodernist approach considers the conception of authenticity instead of the original authenticity. Deconstruction the conception of authenticity is

a common characteristic of this approach by drawing a boundary between the copy and the original. In this approach, the illusion of authenticity is more important than its definitive reality. Postmodernist tourists are not concerned about authenticity as long as their desire for enjoyment is fulfilled (Yang & Wall 2009).

According to Salah Ouf (2001), in the last couple of decades, urban conservation has become an interest for urban designers and city administrators in which providing a historical identity has become as important as an authentic urban identity. However, the increased role of urban designers has brought new theoretical approaches to the concept of urban conservation. These new approaches focus on creating enjoyable urban experiences than preserving the authentic urban history. Salah Ouf (2001) further argued that urban conservation projects have been impacted by the economic objectives.

A major source of financing urban conservation projects is cultural tourism. The economic aspect of cultural tourism has influenced urban designers and city administrators to become more interested in creating places for attracting tourists through emphasizing the concept of genius loci. However, in producing such places, urban designers are responsible in strengthening the spirit of the local urban heritage through creating a balance between the physical features and authentic place features. On the other hand, Jivén and Larkham (2003, p. 70) have argued that the perception of genius loci is different among people. Some see it as "a facet of long-term familiarity with place" while others stresses more on the collective aspects than individual. They further argued that the concept of genius loci could be changed due to the fact that communities, aspirations, values and individuals have the potential to change. They claimed that the theoretical and historical perspectives on genius loci have become confused, especially in designing and

creating a sense of place through using historical elements. Jiven and Larkham (2003) have indicated that natural conditions, topography and symbolic meanings are given less weight than built form, which may result in a place with identifiable characters. Nevertheless, society and individuals are important in integrating these features through their value system in forming a sense of place.

2.5.4 World Heritage – the Contention between the Global and Local Meanings of Heritage

UNESCO and other funding organizations, such as the World Bank, aspire to conserve and protect heritage for future generations, in particular UNESCO focuses on the "outstanding universal value" of that specific heritage. In addition, there are also international private partners or sectors that see the potential economic benefits of heritage as a resource, largely for tourism. In particular, international tourists are considered as an essential stakeholder in influencing the economic use of heritage especially in world heritage sites (Xiang, 2009). Although UNESCO claims of a world heritage site, which should be protected by the international community as a whole, the world heritage in practice is not protected or conserved by any world government; in reality the local community manages it. Regardless the protection claim of the international community, UNESCO lacks enforcement power. It is incapable of providing the world community with an independent means of interference into the economic use, physical management and accessibility provision of recognized world heritage (Xiang, 2009).

According to Black and Wall (2001), when an international organization becomes involved in the selection, conservation and presentation of a heritage site, tensions between global and local perspectives are prominent. Robinson (2001) argued that conflicts may rise in various forms,

ranging from insubstantial sense of dissatisfaction on the part of the host to severe cases, such as violence against tourists. He further argues that the development of tourism may generate inter-cultural conflicts between tourists and host communities over competition for environmental and physical resources and the rights of access and ownership. Black and Wall (2001) have indicated that in most cases, heritage has different meanings, values and expressions in both levels. For instance, in studying cases in Thailand and Indonesia, research indicates that local people value heritage differently from the values perceived by professionals, experts and government officials. Under such condition, locals' meaning and aspiration hold for a heritage site are disregarded whether it is intentional or not. This phenomenon is a common practice in the developing countries.

Moreover, as noted by Black and Wall (2001), in developing countries one typical step in the process of conserving and creating a site for tourists often result in the removal of existing people and houses surrounding the monument. This implication can be overwhelming to local people. It can deprive them from any opportunities to benefit from tourism and also modify their traditional subsistence. Furthermore, not only land loss and lifestyle changes, but also inadequate compensation for relocation and failure to provide an alternative means of subsistence may raise frustration and resentment among displaced people. Wall (1996) has argued that many developing countries practice a top-down planning approach, in particular for heritage planning. This can be due to either their long traditional existing political system or scarcity of expertise and capital. Thus, the national government manages planning for both heritage tourism and heritage conservation with assistance of experts from other places. These outsiders are invited to take charge of the plan decision making, which they often ignore any opportunities for the locals

to be involved in. Their focus is based on the physical features rather than local peoples' needs (Wall, 1996). In addition, low capacity of participation among the locals and an inadequate knowledge to become involved in the decision-making processes reduces their chances to benefit from tourism activities (Xiang, 2009).

Limited funding has always been a major challenge in heritage conservation in developing countries. Most often, limited funding may encourage heritage managers to focus on planning for short-term objectives and economic benefits (Nuryanti, 1996). Thus, dependency on international funding and foreign investment increases. Daher (2000) has criticized the UNESCO procedure at world heritage sites, indicating that their operation tends to freeze the authenticity in order to museumize the environment, which often results in the loss of local development opportunities and a segregation of the heritage and the modern life. He further points out that in developing countries such as Jordan a high percentage of the revenue generated by tourism does not remain in those countries. Instead, it returns to the foreign tourism corporations and large financial institutions which are from the developed world (Daher, 2000).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the underlying causes of changes in urban place; in particular, the recent urban redevelopment plans in the city of Erbil. Within the process of globalization and neoliberal ideology, competition among cities has created an arena for attracting global capital through restructuring physical, social and economic aspects of cities. Recent developments caused by changing economic structure and global influences have created a new metropolitan lifestyle for middle and upper income groups, which often results in a demand for clearance of the poor from the city centres and building luxurious developments. The evolution of urban transformation

processes in particular urban regeneration was reviewed. This phenomenon in Kurdistan Region is still new when compared with other countries in the region. Region of Kurdistan is currently experiencing an accelerating economic growth and prosperity, which provides vast opportunities for national and international investments. In an attempt to attract international corporations, Kurdistan Regional Government has chosen urban transformation as the solution. The neoliberal transformation of Erbil promotes urban renewal strategies. In doing so, the city is inevitably involved in the process of displacement. Such issues will be explored in detail in the case of Delal Khaneh bazaar. Delal Khaneh bazaar, located in the city centre, was demolished in 2009 and in its replacement an urban park, Shar Garden Park, has been created. The overall purpose of this redevelopment plan was to beautify Erbil city, create breathing spaces within the city centre and ultimately to attract tourists to the city. The characteristics of this study site will be introduced in Chapter four.

The small body of literature dealing with heritage/tourism is mainly focused on economic use, world heritage site selection, tourism and authenticity. The reason for such reviews is due to the fact that the selected case study for this research possesses a potential world heritage, Erbil Citadel. The citadel is the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in the world. Nomination for inscription on the list has been completed and sent to the World Heritage Centre by Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization (HCECR). Details regarding significance of the citadel are provided in Chapter four of this research.

3 RESEARCH METHODS

This section provides the methodological undertakings of this research and a justification for the use of the research design.

3.1 Research Approach

In order to address the research question and objectives, this study employs a qualitative research method. The primary research question as established in Chapter 1 is: ***How does the current urban redevelopment plan of Erbil City affect Delal Khaneh bazaar merchants' income status and social welfare?*** To answer this question, three specific research objectives will also be addressed:

1. To understand social and economic impacts of the permanent removal of the Delal Khaneh bazaar;
2. To explore the displacement process and the merchants' role and experience in the demolishing of Delal Khaneh bazaar;
3. To assess the redevelopment of project's success in attracting local and international tourists to the site.

A qualitative method will be effective to use due to the nature of this study as it explores the idea of the urban redevelopment concept and seeks to explain how it impacts the merchants. The process of describing complex phenomena effectively is a challenge for all social scientists. Phenomena that have underlying numerical values are relatively straightforward in using specific methods. However, for phenomena that require depiction of multifaceted, societal contexts and interactive behavior of people, qualitative methods might be the only method for the researchers

to capture historical, institutional, and social processes at a large scale (Nastasi & Schensul, 2005).

Qualitative research encompasses a number of research approaches, including: case study (comprehensive study of one or more examples of a particular theme or phenomena), grounded theory (generating inductive theory from participants' perspectives and experiences), phenomenology (studying experiences of multiple individuals related to a particular phenomenon), ethnography (exploring one's cultural perspective), and action research (research for social change –learning by doing) (Nastasi & Schensul, 2005). Notably, this study utilizes a case study approach; the approach chosen is described below in conjunction with the justification of use. Based on the reviewed literature a qualitative research method has been used for this study. The existing literature on urban redevelopment applications has used qualitative research method as the preferred method of conducting research. For instance, Oz and Eder (2012) have investigated Istanbul's periodic bazaar removal through the use of personal semi-structured interviews. Thus, the current research represents a continuation of an existing trend.

Qualitative research is suitable for developing explanations and interpretations of social phenomena in natural or real life settings. A qualitative method is concerned with finding answers to why, how, who, and what questions, rather than learning how many and how much (Hancock, 2002). According to Creswell (2003), qualitative research:

- Happens in a natural setting;
- Requires that the researcher be involved as the key instrument in the data collection process;

- Employs multiple forms of interactive data and views;
- Is interpretive in nature and evolutionary in process;
- Requires interpretive analysis and maintains a holistic view.

The purpose of qualitative research is to describe and explain experiences, interactions, behaviors, and social contexts without the use of quantifications or statistical procedures (Fossey et al., 2002). A qualitative research method uses primarily open-ended strategies such as, interviewing, recording archives or artifacts, and observations (Nastasi & Schensul, 2005). Patton (2002) reiterated the notion that the qualitative method focuses on detail and depth and thereby it reduces generalizability within the study.

Patton (2002) has categorized qualitative data into three groups: observations, interviews, and documents. Most often, the primary instrument in data collection is the researcher. In this study, semi-structured interviews are considered as *generated data*. Generated data involves re-processing thoughts, behaviors or events by studying participants. It provides insights about individuals' perspectives and experiences by interpreting their behavior and beliefs (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

In contrast a hypothesis driven deductive approach, a qualitative method is typically inductive in regard to data analysis. A qualitative inquiry is driven by the research question. Therefore, conceptual/theoretical models and meanings are made from the data with the objectives. To achieve this, the interpretation of data involves accurate representation of research participants' views (Nastasi & Schensul, 2005). Nastasi and Schensul (2005. p 182) have described the collection of the qualitative data as an "ongoing, iterative, and participatory process".

3.2 Research Design and Framework

This study is exploratory in nature and seeks to understand the urban renewal process in Erbil City and its impacts on the merchants. As such, a case study approach is used to analyze the impacts of the relocation of "Delal Khaneh" bazaar.

According to Creswell (2003), a case study approach to research is to explore a case in detail. Yin (2003) has indicated that a case study is preferable to use when there is a contemporary event. He further stated that the case study allows researchers to examine "the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (p. 2). Ritchie and Lewis (2003) have reiterated that the use of case studies generates various perspectives on a specific context. Integration and interaction of various perspectives of the contexts of case studies can lead to a very extensive understanding of the research issue (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). According to Yin (1984), there are two main types of designs for case studies: single- and multiple-case designs. Yin (1984) further described three rationales for conducting a single-case deign as an appropriate design approach. First, when the case represents a "critical case" in which a well-formulated theory is being tested. Second, when the case represents an "extreme or unique case". Third, when a phenomenon can be observed and analyzed by a researcher in which the phenomenon was previously inaccessible to scientific investigation. This rationale is also known as "revelatory case".

Baxter and Jack (2008) have described a qualitative case study as an approach that helps explore a phenomenon within its contexts through using various data sources. This ensures that different lenses explore the data and allows for multiple aspect of analysis of the phenomenon. Rossman and Rallis (2003) reiterated that case studies provide in-depth explorations of single examples through intensive examination.

In this research, Erbil City is considered the specific case study. According to Yin (2003), a case study should be the preferred strategy when: (a) the purpose of the study is to answer *how* and *why* questions; (b) when the researcher has little or no influence or control over events; (c) and when the focus of the research is on a current phenomenon. It is worth mentioning that this study fulfills the categories that Yin discussed for selecting a case study as an approach to conduct research. Yin (2003) reiterated that the most important technique for selecting a research strategy among others is identifying the type of research question being asked. Case studies generally answer questions that begin with how and why.

This research is based on a case study conducted on Delal Khaneh bazaar in Erbil, where an old bazaar is destroyed and its merchants were relocated. As a result, the selected case study illustrates a contemporary event over which the researcher had no influence or control. In addition, the researcher is interested in exploring why this relocation happened and how it affected the merchants. More detailed information on Delal Khaneh bazaar is provided in Chapter four to provide a background and justification of focus.Once the research question is being answered using a qualitative case study approach, the researcher is expected to determine what type of case study should be conducted. Yin (2003) has categorized case studies into three different strategies: explanatory, exploratory, and descriptive--see Table 3.1 for descriptions.

Table 3.1: Definitions of different Case Study Types

Source: Adopted from Baxter & Jack (2008).

Case Study Type	**Definition**
Explanatory	This type of case study would be used if you were seeking to answer a question that sought to explain the presumed casual links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies. In intervention language, the explanations would link program implementation with program effects (Yin 2003).
Exploratory	This type of case study is used to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes (Yin, 2003).
Descriptive	This type of case study is used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and real-life context in which it occurred (Yin, 2003).

According to Baxter and Jack (2008), determining what type of a case study is suitable for a research project entirely depends on the overall study purpose, where a researcher can explore a case, describe a case, or compare between cases. This research employs an exploratory technique. The main purpose of exploratory research is to explore and describe participants' understandings and perspectives of a social event. Through an exploratory study, the researcher is able to investigate the research question in more depth. In doing so, a number of different methods are used in order to gain information about the subject.

3.3 Data Collection

This study employed a qualitative research method where two research methods are applied: a) In-depth interviews with two categories of participants: (1) Merchants who have been relocated from the old bazaar to the new shopping centre (2) key informants in the redevelopment and planning field and b) Field observation. The method chosen is discussed below in conjunction with a justification for the use of each.

As this study involves multiple techniques of data collection, it employs "method triangulation", which is an effective way to compare results of several separate research methods to the same object of study (Watters & Biernacki, 1989). Flick (2004) referred to triangulation as a strategy that leads to a deeper understanding of the problem being investigated and; thus, it focuses more on knowledge and less towards validity. He further states that triangulation is a strategy to justify knowledge by obtaining additional knowledge. Patton (2002) has described triangulation as a "test for consistency" (p. 248).

In this study, interview data and observational fieldwork are used as two separate research methods to explore social and economic impacts of permanent demolition of Delal Khaneh bazaar and relocation of its merchants to Nishtiman mall. The reason for undertaking such a technique is to analyze and examine the research question and objectives from various research methods. The collected data will be used for interpretations to draw conclusions in order to be able to answer the research question. This will be done by giving specific attention to the research when making recommendations to the Regional Government of Erbil in regards to their sustainable urban redevelopment and the strategies that can be used to encourage it.

3.3.1 Data Collection Timing and Protocols

The timing of the data collection of this study is simultaneous due to convenience rather than intent. Interviews and personal observations were conducted onsite from May to June 2013 when the researcher visited the case study location.

Research using human subjects requires an ethics clearance. Under the terms of that clearance, the interview data are only accessible to the principal investigator. Access to audio-recorded interviews, computer files and personal observation notes is restricted to the interviewer and secured through an external hard drive locked with a password known only to the principal researcher. All electronic data and any applied coding in ensuring anonymity of participants will be deleted within 2 years of the completion of this study. This study obtained full ethics clearance from the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo on April 2013.

3.3.2 Field Observations

Observation is one of the primary ways to gather data. It can either have an in depth or a broad focus. In interviewing it can analyze non-verbal communication to supplement participants' verbal accounts (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Patton (2002, p. 262) has stated "naturalistic observations take place in the field". Thus, this allows the researcher to discover things to which no one else may have paid attention. Patton states that field notes consist of description of what the researcher has observed. He further argues that in order to do a fieldwork observation, the researcher has to be trained not only physically, but also mentally, intellectually, and psychologically. Patton (2002) has emphasized the importance of disciplined training and inquiry of scientific eyes in observational studies.

Rossman and Rallis have summarized the values of observation as below (2003, p. 192):

- To understand the context;
- To see tacit patterns;
- To see patterns people may not see themselves;
- To provide direct personal experience and knowledge;
- To move beyond the selective perceptions of both yourself and the participants.

Observing requires careful and regular documentation and recording of actions, interactions and events. In some cases, it might also entail videotaping for generating more permanent records. The challenge in observation is to be able to capture the "big picture" while noting the details. Observation can be structured and prefigured, using a checklist, or it may be more general, a holistic description of activities and events (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Patton (2002) has stated that the challenge of fieldwork observation is to "become capable of understanding the setting as an insider while describing it to and for outsiders" (p. 268).

According to Rossman and Rallis (2003), field notes have two major components: (1) the description of data (what the researcher observes: capturing details about the physical environment and people's activities and interaction within that environment), called "*running record*"; and (2) the researcher's comments on those data (including emotional reactions, questions, thoughts, and analytic insights) referred to as *"observer comments".* Typically, raw notes are taken in the setting by hand and it is crucial to have as many details as possible in order to have descriptive data. In addition, observers usually include in their field notes the data from personal and eyewitness observation along with the information obtained from participants' descriptions and informal interviews.

This allows observers to gather multiple and intersecting data collection strategies and also an opportunity to be fully engaged in experiencing the setting while observing participants (Patton, 2002).

In this study the researcher used systematic field notes to capture impressions, emerging themes, and insights. The reason for undertaking this fieldwork observation is to understand the setting and the merchants who inhabit it as well as to have a more comprehensive view of the setting being studied. With respect to the participants' engagement in this study, the researcher was able to interview and take descriptive notes at the same time of each interview to depict the participants' environment and reactions. Some of the notes were added to the observation data afterwards, on the night of the interview (s), when the researcher had time to reflect on the corresponding interpretations and perceptions of observed participants. The research objectives will be addressed and the collected field notes will contribute to providing an answer to the research question in general.

3.3.3 In-depth Interviews

Interviews are one of the most widely used qualitative research methods (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003). According to Patton (2002), the purpose of interviewing is to allow one to "enter into the other person's perspective" (p. 341). He further states that people are being interviewed because there are things that cannot be observed directly, such as thoughts, feelings, and intentions. Rossman and Rallis (2003, p. 176) have summarized the rationale behind interviewing as:

- To understand individual perspectives;
- To deepen understanding;
- To generate rich, descriptive data;
- To gather insights into participants' thinking;
- To learn more about the context.

Qualitative research methods use several specialized interview forms. Key informant interviews are considered as elite or expert interviews. These are individuals considered prominent, influential, and well-informed. Due to these individuals' positions, valuable information can be obtained. However, access to expert informants can be difficult because of the positions they hold, their time schedule and other constraints (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

3.3.3.1 Key Informants' Interviews

The first groups of interviewees are key informants. Key informant interviews were recruited from five categories. The five categories of informants are: Politician (city councilors and staff), City of Erbil urban planner, UNESCO representative, High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization (HCECR) representative, Nishtiman bazaar owner representative. The reason behind focusing on these five categories of informants is to obtain insider perspectives on the relocation process and to understand the potential socioeconomic impacts on the affected merchants. A qualitative inquiry typically focuses on a small number of sampled participants. The sample size depends on the researcher's purpose and what will be useful in accordance with the study time and resources (Patton, 2002). The sample size of this study is appropriate for the research's intent. Having said that, this part of the study consists of nine (9) key informant

interviews. The sample size has been limited to experts and professionals who have been affiliated with and are knowledgeable about the relocation plan.

All of the interviews were semi-structured in format with the use of an interview guide and open-ended questions. All the composed questions were asked as well as any follow-up questions that emerged during the conversational interview. The interview outline appears in Appendix B. Rossman and Rallis (2003) have indicated that, "the purpose of guided interviews is to elicit the participant's worldview" (p. 177). According to Patton (2002), a truly open-ended question does not contain fixed response choices and allows respondents to take any direction or words they wish when expressing their feelings or opinions. A large portion of discussions is focused on the purpose of the redevelopment in the city centre. The reason behind choosing open-ended questions is to allow key informants to provide in-depth explanations and to elaborate outside the parameters prescribed in the interview guide. According to literature, the balance of interview conversations should be in favor of participants rather than the researcher (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). For this study interviews were conducted in person at the key informant's workplace and lasted for approximately 30 minutes on average (range from 25 to 45 minutes). Potential candidates were selected utilizing a non-probability targeted sampling method in order to cover a wide range of experts who are the most relevant to the study and have been involved in the redevelopment process. Eight (8) prospective key informants were approached and invited to participate in the study. Selected interview candidates were contacted over the phone to voluntarily participate in the study. All targeted candidates agreed to participate. The interviewees were kindly requested to provide a name of one or more individuals that may be relevant to this study.

One interviewee referred the researcher to another prospective informant for future interviews. The referred interviewee was then contacted and agreed to participate. Some of the interviewees were cautious about commenting on certain topics, such as the merchants' involvement in the relocation process and the compensation plan for the merchants.

Afterwards, appointments were scheduled and participants were provided with information letters and consent forms, translated to Kurdish Language, (See Appendix B for consent and information letter sample in both English and Kurdish Language) at the time of the interview. Permission was requested from the key informants to audio-record the interviews in order for the researcher to be able to transcribe and translate the interviews from the Kurdish Language into English and also to use anonymous quotations with respect to their confidentiality. The participants' responses will remain anonymous and in case of using quotations in the research, participants will not have their names associated with the quotations. Once the interviews were completed, the researcher translated and transcribed them. Afterwards, the findings were categorized into specific themes and concepts.

3.3.3.2 Merchants' Interviews

The second group of interviewees is relocated merchants. Merchants in this study are defined as anyone working in the old bazaar "Delal Khaneh" who was relocated to the new shopping centre "Nishtiman" due to Erbil City's redevelopment plan. The relocation occurred in 2009. It took several months to displace all the merchants from the bazaar and relocate them in the new shopping mall. In replacement of the bazaar, "Shar Garden Park", a public open space, was built in an attempt to achieve the city beautification ideology and attract tourists. In order to

understand the impacts of this relocation process and the strengths and weaknesses of merchants' experiences, a total of 20 merchants were interviewed. Initially, the principal investigator interviewed 8 participants recruited by the assistance of Nishtiman associate representative. Afterwards, having done the sampling technique of choosing every 5th store that will be further discussed below, the researcher was able to identify a total of 12 participants to be added to the 8 participants interviewed previously. As a result, the total number of merchant participants was 20. The researcher considered increasing respondents' sample size after knowing that a total of 638 stores were relocated; however, for the following two reasons the researcher decided to halt interviewing more merchants: 1) the researcher had begun to hear repetitive responses from the participants which meant the collected data had reached the saturation effect, with no new information being added; 2) the time constraints of this study. Thus, 20 merchants stayed as the reasonable number that could be interviewed.

The interviews were conducted in person at the merchants' workplaces and ran for approximately 20 minutes on average (range from 15 to 30 minutes). Because interviews did occur in person, written consents and information letters were provided at the beginning of each interview. The interview questions were open-ended in format and allowed for an informal conversational interview between the researcher and the participants. Different topics were included in the interviews such as the merchants' participation level in the decision-making process, likes and dislikes of the relocation process and the impacts of the relocation on annual income. The interview outline appears in Appendix B.

Recruiting merchant participants was not a major challenge for this study, although it required the researcher to provide a formal letter obtained from a local university in Erbil indicating that

the study is being conducted with the supervision of the university's president "Dr. Mohammed Sedigh Khoshnaw" in order to eliminate any trust issues among the merchants. The Initial sampling strategy involved attempts by the researcher to obtain a list/registry of the market merchants/retailers/vendors from Erbil Chamber of Bazaaris. The Chamber was contacted but their response was negative. Following this failed attempt, a representative from the merchants' association at the Nishtiman bazaar was contacted. A request made of that representative for a list or registry of the merchants; the response was negative again. However, he offered to introduce the researcher to some of the relocated merchants.

Firstly, the merchants' representative contacted the merchants to obtain their approval to be interviewed, after which the researcher approached the interviewees. This sampling technique allowed the researcher to interview 8 merchants. In some cases, this method led to the participation of additional candidates--the "snowballing" recruitment technique-- recommended by the initial interviewed participants. The rest of the participants were interviewed through the use of a constructed list of market bazaaris by utilizing a screening survey conducted by the researcher at the new shopping mall. Using that list, with a random start, every 5^{th} store was selected in the new bazaar, asking willing merchants to participate. This sampling technique enabled the researcher to schedule and complete a total of 12 interviews. In total 20 merchants were interviewed. As for merchants, all were willing to be interviewed due the combination of their interest in the study and their dislike of the plan and the financial hardship they experienced. After completion, interviews were transcribed and translated from the Kurdish Language into English. The findings were classified into specific themes and patterns, including: annual income impacts, degree of transparency in the planning process, and design issues with

the new shopping quarters. According to Creswell (2009, p. 187), there are two types of coding, "predetermined codes" and "Emerging codes". However, in some cases, a combination of both codes is possible. In this study, interviews were categorized based on predetermined semi-structured questions, with other questions emerging from the discussion between interviewee (s) and interviewer. According to Maclean, Meyer and Estable (2004), transcript data work best when analyzed in the original language prior to its translation. They argue that it is often difficult to find equivalence of meanings, thus the quality of data might be affected negatively. They have identified some common problems in this regard such as mishearing words, misinterpretations of words and inadvertent transcription. Due to the fact that all the interviews were audio recorded and the author is bilingual in Kurdish and English, the author was able to listen to the recordings several times and transcribe them in Kurdish Language. Then, the transcript interviews were translated into English. Subsequently, patterns in the responses were identified and codes emerged.

It is important to note that the photographs taken for this study are merely for illustrative purposes. The photographs provide a detailed perspective and documentation of the study area's physical conditions. From the time each photograph was captured, it was never distorted or edited. Each image represents an exact representation of the conditions at the exact moment it was taken. The selection of the captured photographs is guided by the themes used to categorize key informants' and merchants' concerns regarding the decision to demolish Delal Khaneh bazaar. For example, the merchants stated concerns regarding space, storage and maintenance issues. As a result, the author's observations and several corresponding photos are used to depict the existence of the forgoing issues. The data was then analyzed to understand the social and

economic impacts of the relocation on the merchants and their experience in such a change. The results from the analyzed data helped to answer the research question and meet the study objectives.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology and various data collection methods used in this study. First, the research design is presented along with the research question and objectives; the use of qualitative research as a method is justified. Second, the research approach is discussed with regard to its appropriateness for the investigator`s research question. Third, the data collection methods employed in this study are introduced, including field observation and interviews of various kinds: key informants and merchants. Finally, the data analysis themes were briefly introduced. The findings from the observational fieldwork and interviews will be presented in Chapter five.

4 THE CASE STUDY CITY

4.1 Introduction

This section provides a general overview of Iraqi Kurdistan and the city of Erbil in particular. First, it provides a general background of the city. Second, it discusses in detail the significance of the historic Citadel of Erbil. Third, it describes the transformation of Delal Khaneh Bazaar and its replacement with Shar Garden Park. Fourth, it establishes an overview of Nishtiman Mall in comparison to the traditional bazaar and finally it provides a general background of Erbil's economy.

4.2 Kurdistan, Iraq

Kurdistan or the land of Kurds is a large and mountainous plateau, located in the Middle East. It is distributed over four neighboring states, south east of Turkey, north east of Syria, north west of Iran, and north of Iraq (see Figure 4.1). The plateau is mainly populated by Kurds, and it is inhabited by over 30 million. The official language is Kurdish spoken in Sorani, Badini, Zazaki and Hawrami (different) dialects. Islam is the dominant religion in the area (Nooraddin, 2012). Iraqi Kurdistan covers approximately 40,000 square kilometres of land, which is larger in area than the Netherlands (KRG, 2013 a). Kurdistan of Iraq has a rapidly increasing population, estimated at more than 5 million, under Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG, 2013 b). Kurdistan consists of 129 cities where Kurds make up approximately 78% of the total population living in these urban centres.

The region comprises three governorates: Erbil, Sulimaniah and Duhok (KRG, 2013 b). About 38.2% of Kurdistan's population lives in these three main cities (Ismael & Ngah, 2010). The region is experiencing an imbalance in the distribution of urban communities. According to the ministry of planning, 83.4% of Kurdish citizens live in cities (Erbil Governorate, 2012).



Figure 4.1: Map of Iraq

Source: Geography and map of Iraq, 2005

4.3 Study Site: The City of Erbil

The City of Erbil, also known as (Arbella, Aarbil, Urbilum, Arbilim, Arbeletis, in Kurdish known as Hawler--a Kurdish name) is the capital of the autonomous Region of Kurdistan within the Federal Republic of Iraq. It was established as the capital of KRG in 1970 (Yaqoobi, Michelmore, & Tawfiq, 2012). It is one of the main cities of the Iraqi-Kurdish region and also the fourth largest city in the country after Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul and serves as the centre of culture, trade, and education (Bornberg et al., 2006). The city is located in southern Kurdistan, approximately 360 kilometres north of Baghdad (Nooraddin, 2012). As of 2010, the population of the City of Erbil has exceeded1.3 million, with an annual growth of 3.1% (KRG, 2013 b). Erbil's city form follows a concentric pattern of rings surrounding the historic citadel (Qala) in the city's centre (Airinc, 2012). Although the city is expanding rapidly, it remains relatively compact in its form compared to other cities of similar size in North America or Europe (Airinc, 2012).

Erbil is considered the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world (McGahey, 2006). Sumerians are the first people that appeared in Erbil when the Kings of Ur attacked the city twice (2094 BC & 2046 BC) and failed. There are no historical findings or documentation about Erbil from 2000 BC to 1000 BC. From 680 BC to 612 BC, Erbil was a centre for culture and religion; during this period Ishtar (the goddess of love and war) and Great Assur (national God of Assyria) were being worshiped in the city. Assyrians referred to the city as " Arebaello", meaning the four gods. The Seleucid, Parathian, and Sassanid dynasties also ruled the city between 321 BC and 636 AD (Bornberg, et al., 2006).

In 331 BC, Erbil witnessed a historical battle between Alexander the Great and Darius III, a king of Achaemeind Empire after which the city came under the control of the Grecian Empire (Erbil Governorate, 2013). From 640 AD to 1200 AD, Erbil was part of the Arabian Islamic Region of Caliphate. The regional centre shifted from Erbil to Mosul (Novacek, 2009). In 800 AD, Erbil was a well-known centre of economic activities. However, by the 13th century, it lost its heyday when the city became a battlefield for Mongol, Persian, and Turkish conquest. In the 19th century, Erbil's population ranged between 3000 and 6000 inhabitants, who mostly lived in the citadel (Bornberg et al., 2006).

From 1979 to 2003, the City of Erbil was ruled by the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. During this period, Kurds were the most despised community and they lived in fear; thus, many people left the country and moved to the West. Among those who stayed, a majority fled to the mountains and lived in poverty (Bornberg, et al., 2006). Ten of thousands were killed as their villages were destroyed and chemical weapons were used against them. The City of Erbil along with other Kurdish cities was deserted as the income from oil was spent on the construction of luxurious buildings and private palaces for the ruling family. However, since the destruction of the previous regime, Erbil has started an economic reform process that aims to encourage foreign investments. Hence, recent migration of displaced Kurds from rural areas to urban centres has increased significantly. For instance, in 1977, Erbil was home to 540,000 people; whereas, today it surpasses 1.3 millions of inhabitants (Bornberg, et al., 2006). The booming oil-fuelled economy of Kurdistan has encouraged Erbil to experience a construction boom (Cordoba & Mustafa, 2013). The Regional Government of Erbil's goal is to make the city a leader in the region in order to attract businesses and tourism.

To achieve this goal, it is important for the Regional Government to manage growth and urban regeneration and also to balance the old and new to make attractive and livable places for both residents and foreigners (Bornberg, et al., 2006).

4.4 Erbil Citadel: National and International Significance

4.4.1 Archaeological Heritage

The Erbil Citadel or Qala is a man-made mounded settlement inhabited continuously for millennia. The citadel town lies physically and symbolically in the middle of the greater city of Erbil, defined by Erbil's residents as "the crown of Erbil". Archaeological findings trace it back at least 6000 years, although its exact date cannot be traced with precision and certainty (HCECR, 2009). According to the data from International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), 8000 years of inhabitation existed in this unique urban settlement, making it the longest inhabited place on earth. According to well-known records and archaeological reports, layers of Assyrian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek and pre-Arabic settlements have been found and identified in the citadel (Pavelka et al, 2007). It is recognized by World Monument Fund (WMF) in New York as one of the hundred endangered cultural sites in the world; efforts are being made to list it as a UNESCO World Heritage Site by 2014 (HCECR, 2009).

To support the site's eligibility for world heritage designation, the Regional Government of Erbil desires to preserve the citadel's facades and interior buildings and seeks to return the citadel to its original role of being the natural city centre (Novacek, 2008). In 2007, KRG established a commission, The High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization (HCECR), a site management body to restore the historical and cultural significance of the citadel. UNESCO is

also a partner in the preservation project. The main purpose of this commission is to revitalize and regenerate cultural activities through the creation of a new community that would link the lower city with the citadel. The new community would reuse the citadel buildings to accommodate contemporary functions, including cafés, hotels, and museums (Yaqoobi, Michelmore, & Tawfiq, 2012). Extensive studies have been undertaken on all aspects of the citadel's history and structure. Furthermore, the citadel was inscribed in Iraq's Tentative World Heritage List in 2010 (World Monument Fund, 2011).

According to Novacek et al (2008), the Erbil's Citadel, with more than 7000 years of history, is considered as one of the important archaeological monuments of Northern Mesopotamia. The citadel's existing buildings consist of structures from many different eras. The oldest surviving structure is the citadel's Hammam (bath), which dates back to 1775 while the majority of the houses go back to the early 19th century. This suggests that houses/structures were layered over and over on top of the existing foundations. In other words, the fabric of the citadel has been regenerating itself continuously (HCECR, 2009). According to (Yaqoobi, Michelmore and Tawfiq, 2012), there are many archaeological tells (see below) in Mesopotamia, but what makes Erbil Citadel unique is that it has been inhabited continuously from its inception up to the present. The citadel is a distinctive testament of the origin of human civilization and urban life.

The following description of Erbil's citadel is from the director of the archaeological department of Erbil. Due to lack of available information regarding the citadel, the author had to use personal interview at this stage of the research. He emphasizes that many different civilizations played roles in the creation of this structure. He states (2013) that "the citadel wasn't there; it was a village".

Further, he emphasizes that due to the fact that the materials used at the time were primarily brick and clay, villages were vulnerable to destruction. Various events such as wars, diseases or natural disasters would repeatedly destroy the village and force the settlers to leave. Afterwards, another civilization would come and build another village on top of the ruins of the buried village, and this process is called *tells* in archaeology. It symbolizes the power of the new settlers, a deliberate attempt to erase the reminders of what came before. For example, if one can draw a section of the citadel, there will be traces from many different civilizations. According to archaeological findings, after 8 metres of excavation at the citadel, Assyrian civilization traces were found (Director of Archaeology Department of Erbil, 2013).

The lower city of Erbil started to grow in the 12th century while the citadel remained as a living town for its inhabitants. Due to its location at the centre of the city and close to commercial activities, it was inhabited by many poor families and those who worked in the centre. The upper town and lower had a very organic and functional relationship, a strong and mutual connection. The buildings at the lower town were generally only several floors high; thus, it did not have a huge impact on the visual dominance of the citadel. In order to maintain the visual dominance of the citadel, a buffer zone was recommended by the HCECR in collaboration with the Ministry of Municipality and UNESCO. The buffer zone follows the perimeter of the citadel and is approximately 300 to 400 metres wide, which limits the construction of any buildings that is more than 3 floors. The purpose of the new height restriction is to preserve a clear view of the citadel from all streets, maintaining visual vistas, within the buffer zone and emphasizing the iconic view of the citadel in the city centre (HCECR, 2009).

4.4.2 Urban Form

The fortified citadel has an irregular oval shape in plan and is elevated about 30 metres above the ground level. The longest diameter of the citadel is nearly 430 metres and the shortest is approximately 340 metres (HCECR, 2009). Overall, the citadel consists of 500 houses; the majority of houses are built following a traditional courtyard prototype. Of these, there are 30 or more houses that are larger in scale and have a palace-like appearance; they are mostly located at the peripheral wall of the citadel, where the wealthy people settled (HCECR, 2009). The citadel town is divided into three residential quarters: Saray at the east, Takiyyah at the north, and Khanah at the south. The citadel has a massive complex of buildings and narrow alleys and streets enclosed by walls (Pevelka et al, 2007). Originally, the citadel was accessed only through a ramp at its southern slope. The ramp led to a huge arched gateway, which opened to a small outdoor square. The square branched into four main alleyways (HCECR, 2009). In 1958, a central road was built through the citadel to provide access for automobiles. The construction of the central road led to destruction of many houses, See Figure 4.2 for the distinction.



Figure 4.2: Erbil Citadel in 1950 (top) & at the present (bottom)
Source: Adapted from Nooraddin, 2012

The Grand Gate is considered one the main important features of the citadel. Apart from Ahmadi Gate, which was constructed in the mid-1920s, Grand Gate was the only entrance to the citadel. The gate was closed at night for safety. Archaeological findings and engravings proved that the grand gate was already in existence in 1841 and archived photographs show that the gate was traced back to more than one construction period. A top storey was added to the Grand Gate at certain period of time which was used for many different purposes, including storage, office, and social housing for men. The top storey was demolished in 1940s and the entire gate was destroyed in the late 1950s. The Grand Gate has an iconic and symbolic status among the locals; thus, efforts are being made to reconstruct the gate to reflect its original structure (Yaqoobi et al., 2012) (See Figures 4.3 for Grand Gate).



Figure 4.3: Grand Gate in 1925. (Left) Grand Gate in 1950s (Right)
Source: Adapted from Highlights of Erbil Citadel (HCECR, 2012)

The City of Erbil's counselors are in favour of this redevelopment plan in which, as the Mayor of Erbil (2013) states, many buildings surrounding the citadel will be demolished, including Erbil Governor's office, and rebuilt it as cultural areas and parks. The main purpose of this redevelopment is to help revitalize and modernize Erbil while reflecting the culture and history of its people. The plan is to make the citadel a cultural hub of modern Erbil in which its traditional residential quarters would function to include culture, recreation, and tourism. Apart from Erbil's Citadel, the region is known to have 1,307 archaeological sites, which provides a great opportunity to draw tourists' attention to the region (Aki, 2012). The Arab Council of Tourism has appointed the City of Erbil as 2014 Arab Tourism Capital after competing with Beirut, Taif, and Sharjah. The primary goal of Erbil Governorate in entering this competition was to advertise Erbil in general and also to attract tourists to the city (KRG, 2013 c).

A master plan for Erbil City has been prepared by Dar-al-Handasah, a Jordanian engineering consultancy, which shows a series of concentric circular roads that begins from the citadel and extends more than 30 kilometres in all directions. In fact, the concept proposed in the plan is based on the idea of the so-called "Bull's Eye". The citadel is the inner circle and the rest represents the radial growth of the city. It also symbolizes a ripple in the water (HCECR, 2009).

Dar-al-Handasah summarized the eight objectives for Erbil City's master plan as the following:

- "Restructuring dilapidated areas;
- Conserving significant and heritage buildings;
- Maintaining residential uses;
- Providing a network of urban spaces;
- Creating quality urban routes;

- Encouraging new business and development;
- Developing tourism in the city;
- Providing adequate infrastructure and utilities."

In conclusion, the urban form of Erbil City, even with the new proposed plan, still follows a concentric radial layout.

4.5 The Removal of Delal Khaneh Bazaar and the Creation of Shar Garden Square

Below the ancient citadel is the city centre of Erbil featured with Shar Garden Park, often referred to as "Shar Square". The square was constructed in 2010 and since then has become a favorite haunt for the locals. The construction of the park is part of Erbil's redevelopment plan. The park consists of several fountains and many benches for people to sit and enjoy the scene of the splashing fountains. In addition, on both sides of the square, there are many cafes and teashops. The square offers a commanding view of the citadel. However, prior to this square, there was an old bazaar called "Delal Khaneh", where many merchants and vendors were working. According to a lawyer from the governorate of Erbil, Delal Khaneh consisted of 638 stores and some of the stores had more than one merchant working in them. Unfortunately, there are no written records or documents regarding the history of this bazaar. Hence, the following description of Delal Khaneh is in the form of a narrative from an expert who witnessed the period.

The Director of Archaeology Department of Erbil (2013) states that Delal Khaneh was first established in 1970s. Delal in the Kurdish Language means "someone who attracts people to buy

something" and Khaneh means "a place or location" which is a Persian word; together it means a place where things are being sold by someone. He further indicates that Delal Khaneh is not only specific to the Kurdish region or nation; it is a place that can be found anywhere in the world. What made Erbil's Delal Khaneh unique was its location at the centre of the city and the nature of the second-hand products that were sold. It was an integral part of Erbil's urban landscape, where everyone could find relatively cheap goods, in particular the poor. Initially, Delal Khaneh was a place where old women would come and sell items that were exotic in Erbil and were coming from other places. Then, when technology came along and mass production started, large quantities of manufactured goods were introduced. The women disappeared and the bazaar was divided into different sections according to the goods for sale. Electronic equipment, men's clothes and home supplies were the goods that were being sold. In 1980s, although new goods were introduced to the bazaar, the prices were still low and reasonable. The bazaar was demolished in 2009 and replaced with the current park. The merchants were relocated to Nishtiman Mall, a new modern shopping centre across the street (See Figure 4.4). Details regarding this new shopping mall are described below.

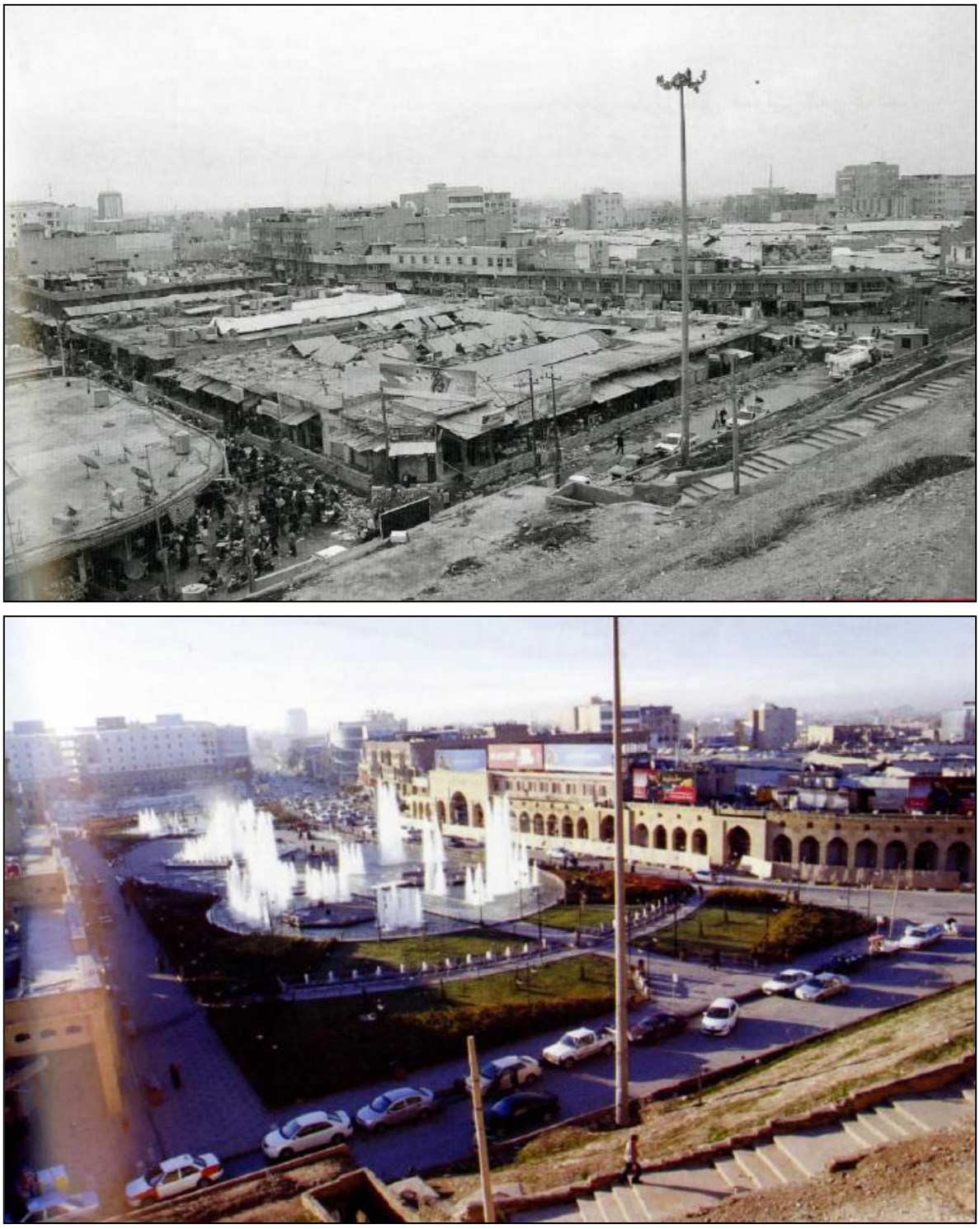


Figure 4.4: Delal Khane 2009 (top) and Shar Garden square 2011(bottom)
Source: Adapted from (Salih, 2011)

4.6 Nishtiman Mall

In 2003, right after the fall of the previous regime, the municipality of Erbil invited international architects to enter a design competition in order to develop a commercial complex in the centre of the city (Bornberg et al., 2006). The complex is located next to Erbil's citadel, 200 metres away, it is now known as Nishtiman Mall (see Figure 4.5).

The project is sponsored by a single Iraqi developer (Bornberg et al., 2006). Initially, the architectural design of Nishtiman Mall was planned to have four office towers and a shopping mall. On one hand, the proposed four towers heights range from15 to 22 floors and contain 320 offices. The four towers are connected to each other by bridges. On the other hand, the proposed shopping mall consists of 5000 commercial stores laid out on different levels. Different design features were included in the original plan such as roofed courtyard for bringing natural light to the interior parts of the mall and extensive green zones; however, none of these features were constructed. The new shopping mall, Nishtiman Mall, is built and consists of 5000 shops (Bornberg et al., 2006). Furthermore, the proposed four office towers were not constructed due to the height restriction in the new master plan established in 2005 stating that no building should be higher than the citadel in which the maximum allowance for height is only three floors. At the back of Nishtiman Mall is a cemetery. The cemetery limits access to the mall and reduces its visual appearance. According to the Director of Archaeological Department of Erbil (2013), in1997, a decision was made by the Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs and Department of Antiquities of Erbil to remove a part of the cemetery. The purpose of this removal was due to two reasons: firstly, it is located at the centre of the city and has been there for more than 70 years and secondly, the city of Erbil is growing at a fast rate and there is a need for its

removal to make some space for future redevelopments. Thus, Erbil's municipality contacted the registered grave owners to remove their graves to a different cemetery, located at the east of Erbil. In addition, grave owners were reimbursed with 8 square metres of land for reburying their deceased and also a monetary compensation of $1000 US per grave. The ministry has relocated graves that did not have any owners to a cemetery where unidentified people are buried (Director of Archaeology Department of Erbil, 2013).

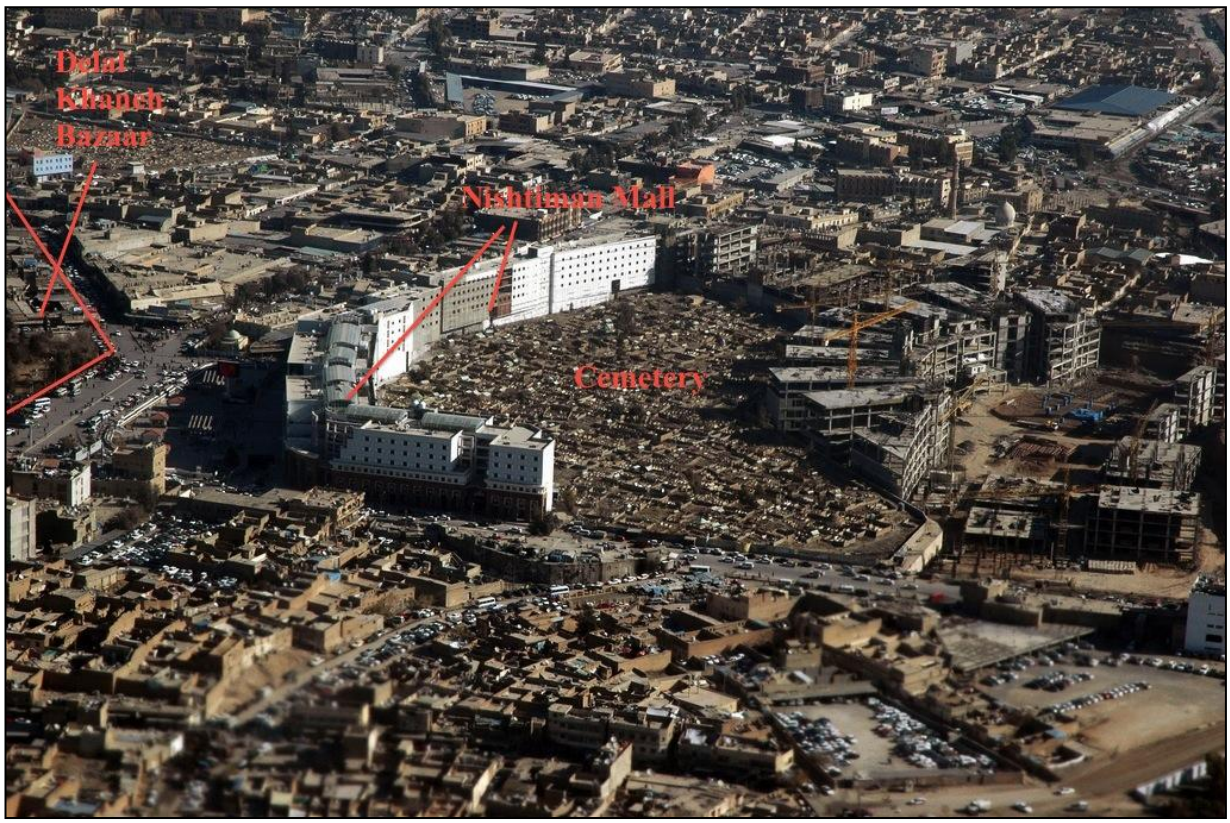


Figure 4.5: Bird's eye view of Nishtiman Mall. Edits done by the author
Source: MAC, 2013

A shopping mall in the centre of the city with adjacent office units is a new feature in Erbil. Not only does it introduce new ways of shopping and trading but also it contrasts the citadel's architectural character and the traditional urban fabric of Erbil (Bornberg et al., 2006). Building shopping malls in old and traditional Islamic cities is a new concept adapted from western modern standards. The traditional market known as *Suq* or *bazaar* is a very important feature of urban planning in Islamic cities due to the importance of commerce and trade centres. The functionality of the souq varies. It is not only a place for shopping but also a centre for exchange of news and information (Bornberg et al., 2006). The Nishtiman bazaar complex does not correspond to the old concepts of traditional layout of towns or trade systems.

The Regional Government of Kurdistan, in particular the City of Erbil, is witnessing a rapid development growth. New projects are applying various types of architecture styles and identities. The common theme in many of these projects is the use of western names such as "American Village", "English Village" or "Dream City" to justify the new approach and also for marketing purposes. (Nooraddin, 2012).

4.7 Kurdistan's Economy

Currently, the Region of Kurdistan is experiencing accelerating economic growth and development, which provides vast opportunities for national and international investors. The Minister of Foreign Relations identifies agriculture, industry, and tourism as three important sectors in the region that need further developments. A major challenge that Kurdistan faces is the lack of expertise and skilled labour. Hence, private sectors and foreign investors are welcomed to the region (KRG, 2013 d).

The Ministry of Municipality (MoM) of Regional Government has established a goal to reach 2,500 hotels to accommodate approximately 1.3 million tourists by 2015 (Aki, 2012). Kurdistan Board of Investment (KBI) under the legal framework of Investment Law identifies several incentives for potential investment projects, including the following five (Kurdistan Board of Investment, 2012. p. 1):

- "Provision of land plots for subsidized lease;
- Exemption from corporate taxes (10 years) and customs duties (5 years);
- Foreign and national investors are treated equally;
- Foreign investment may choose to invest in Kurdistan with or without local partners and may employ foreign labour;
- Full repatriation of profits is allowed".

The head of KBI advises foreign companies to invest in Kurdistan and indicates that since the fall of the previous regime, 5000 non-Iraqi companies have been registered in the region (KRG). In 2011, KBI identified 290 active projects in Kurdistan, generating about $14 billion of investment. Of these, 25% is direct foreign investment; a majority of these projects is from Arab countries, such as the United Arab Emirates and Lebanon (Stanesfield, 2011).

According to the Iraqi census, this is carried out in 1977, covering Iraq as a whole, including the Region of Kurdistan: it is estimated that 23.5% of the total population had participated in economic activities. This figure rose to 29% in 2003 and by 2011 was up to 40.45%. This illustrates that for working-age population (15-64) engagement in economic activities has increased tremendously. In 2008, the total manpower of Kurdistan Region in both private and

public sectors is estimated at more than 2,559,421 workers. While public sector reached employment rate of 57.3% in 2011, private sector employment rate surpassed 40.57%, a strong indication of the success of the strategies used to encourage foreign investments (Ministry of Planning, 2012).

5 THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

Following this introduction, this chapter begins with summaries of the interview findings for two sets of participants: key informants in the redevelopment and the planning field; and merchants who have previously worked in the old bazaar "Delal Khaneh" and have been relocated to the new shopping mall "Nishtiman". The findings of these interviews will be used to address the research question and objectives.

5.2 The Merchants' Interviews

The findings of the merchants' interviews are presented in this section. All participants were guaranteed anonymity; for this purpose they are coded (MR). A total of 20 merchants were interviewed. (Refer to Chapter 3 for more detail on methodological undertaking for this study). **Error! Reference source not found.** illustrates the distribution of employment years of erchants at Delal Khaneh Bazaar. The majority of the merchants worked from 10 to 20 years. The results of interviews are analyzed and coded into five major themes. The established coding categories are drawn from merchant interview findings. The findings of these interviews will be used to address two of the research objectives. First, *to understand the social and economic impacts of the permanent removal of the Delal Khaneh bazaar.* Second, *to explore the displacement process and the merchants' role and experience in the demolishing of Delal Khaneh bazaar*.

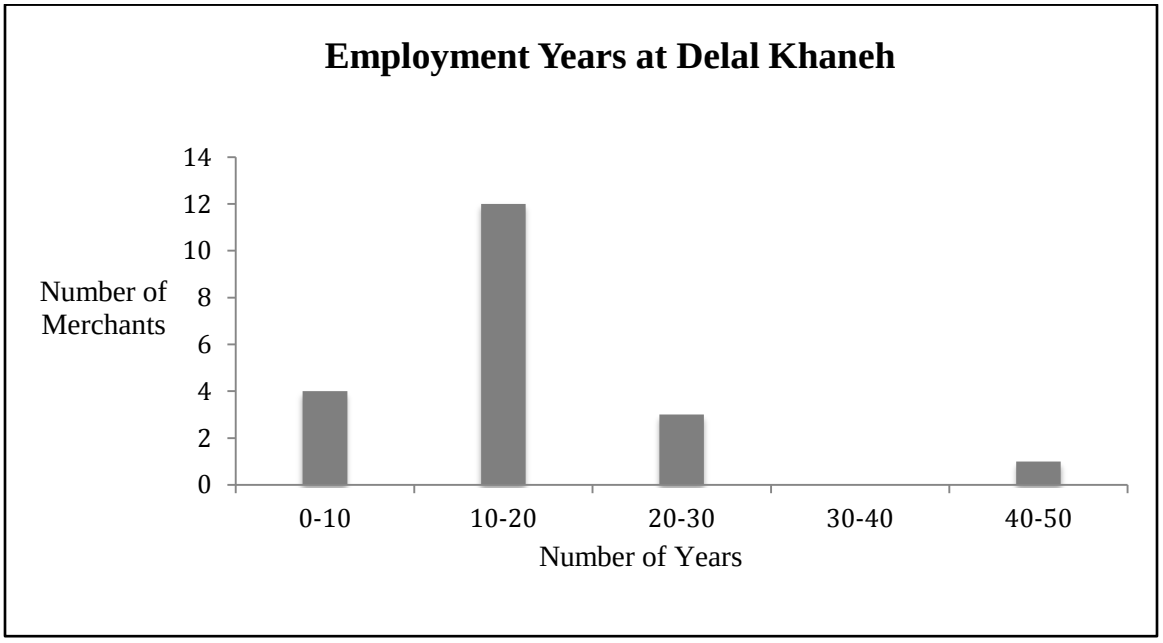


Figure 5.1: Merchants' employment period at Delal Khaneh

5.2.1 The Costs of Re-Location/Displacement

According to all merchants interviewed, there were three groups of people who had worked previously at the former Delal Khaneh bazaar: storeowners, renters and street vendors. The government has dealt with each group differently. Due to lack of available information, the author was unable to identify the number of working merchants in each group. Storeowners at Delal Khaneh were presented with an exchange offer: a new store(s) at Nishtiman mall, and in some cases, they were offered a piece of land(s) often located at the periphery of the city. From 20 interviewed merchants, 12 had been storeowners at the former bazaar, Delal Khaneh, and the remaining had been renters. The renters were offered the option to rent a store(s) at Nishtiman mall. The last group, street vendors were offered mobile booths located at circulation areas of the new mall. To receive that offer, the vendors would need to buy each booth for 1000 US dollars

and pay 100 US dollars for its monthly payment. The last two groups, which are the largest groups, were not provided with any financial assistance for their displacement.

All merchants interviewed reported suffering financial loss during this relocation process due to several reasons: 1) fewer customers; 2) higher rent and maintenance fees; 3) decreased real-estate value. The reasons given are discussed in detail below.

5.2.1.1 Loss of Customers

For merchants, having fewer customers results in decreased revenues. The Downtown Erbil Corporation, which owns and manages the Nishtiman mall, lacks professional expertise in management and supervision. According to the majority of interviewed merchants, collecting rents is considered the corporation's priority rather than the maintenance or management of the mall. Several merchants expressed their concerns regarding the corporation's indifference towards the current problems at Nishtiman mall such as non-functional escalators, unclean stairways and recurring electrical breakdowns. MR-11 stated that the corporation has the ability to help them find strategies to attract new customers; however, the corporation did not show any interest in doing so. He further stated, "Without customers, we won't be in business".

Participant MR-13 said, "It is hard to find the old customers that we had before due to the fact that many do not know where we are located in this giant mall. In addition, what distinguished Delal Khaneh bazaar was its low-priced goods". MR-6 stated that bargaining was always an option there, "We do not have that choice in our new stores in the mall because our expenses are much higher (rent, utilities and maintenance fees) although in most cases the quality of our goods stays the same.

In order to cover the expenses, there is less room to negotiate". MR-3 reiterated that at Delal Khaneh bazaar, second hand goods were also sold. Hence, the prices were more affordable and this made the bazaar an attractive place for all groups of customers especially for lower income families. MR-17 said, "In this displacement process, the poor are the ones that got hurt the most".

5.2.1.2 Maintenance

The general level of cleaning services in the mall is considered by merchants to be a challenging issue that contributed to their income loss, which is a negative attribute of the economic impacts they experienced from the move. For all merchants, cleaning problems had become a daily concern. The mall management has hired an external cleaning service to maintain the mall. However, merchants feel that their janitorial service is inadequate and non-responsive. That service is limited to sweeping the floors and collecting waste. Several of the merchants interviewed complained that although they pay a share for cleaning services, they still do much of the cleaning service themselves.

In the author's experience, the City of Erbil is dusty. According to merchants interviewed the dustiness has increased lately due to a large number of construction sites throughout the city. Thus, a regular cleaning schedule for the mall is required. However, according to many merchants, the contracted cleaning services do not have a sufficient number of employees to cover and clean all parts of the Nishtiman mall. Recently (at the time of the author's visit to the study site--Spring 2013), the mall management had withdrawn cleaning services for three days. The reason given by management for the withdrawal is that merchants do not want to pay the

additional fee that has recently been added to the maintenance fee by the corporation. Hence, according to merchant interviews, the corporation has decided to halt the cleaning services and instructed merchants to take care of it themselves. MR-18 reported that the withdrawal of service is the only bargaining tool left for the corporation because negotiation with storeowners was not successful. He further stated that although merchants do not use the stairways regularly, the odor has also become an issue. This issue has discouraged many people from visiting the mall, which is a negative repercussion from an economic perspective. (Figures 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate to this issue, showing litter in the form of empty boxes, wrapping materials and water bottles in the stairways of Nishtiman mall. Since stairs are not being used regularly, merchants are using them as dumping sites for their accumulated waste).



Figure 5.2: Accumulated waste at Nishtiman mall's stairway



Figure 5.3: Litter at the hallway of Nishtiman Mall

5.2.1.3 Rent

All of the interviewed merchants discussed the disadvantages of the increased rent, notably relating to its annual increase. Some merchants expressed concerns about being called to the court by the mall management due to merchants' complains about the rent increase. A summary of how rental charges are evaluated at Nishtiman Mall is provided below.

According to merchant interviewed, rents at Nishtiman mall are measured based on the stores' area. As the stores get larger in area, the rent increases regardless of their location. Initially, merchants were exempt from paying rents for a specified period of time. After the exemption period, merchants started to pay monthly rent that is equal to 10 US dollars per square metre. However, in the last couple of months, the monthly rent was raised from 10 to 20 US dollars/ per metre. This is double the initial cost. As a result, merchants went on a rent strike and stopped

paying rents for a period of 5 months according to merchants interviewed. After long hours of debates and negotiation between the merchants' association representative and the Downtown Erbil Corporation Management, the rent was reduced to 16 US dollars per metre, to be valid for 2 years. Nonetheless, the rent is expected to rise again once the contract period is over. Meanwhile, merchants are struggling to pay the accumulated amount of 5 months of rent to the corporation. Participant MR-4 stated that it is hard for them to pay the accumulated amount at once; they could only pay if a monthly payment plan is available. On the other hand, the rent was much lower and more affordable at Delal Khaneh bazaar. Merchants at Delal Khaneh were required to pay a fixed fee to the municipality each year. Many merchants asserted that they would not mind paying higher rents if their stores in Nishtiman mall were larger and more spacious. They believed that the Downtown Erbil Corporation aims to make profits and does not consider occupants' demands (MR-15; MR-12; MR-16; MR-5).

Even though merchants were evicted from the old bazaar all at once, they were dispersed. In particular, renters at Delal Khaneh bazaar were the most affected. For example, MR-1 stated that due to the displacement, one of his store neighbors who rented at Delal Khaneh bazaar was relocated to the upper floors of the Nishtiman mall. It is notable that the upper floors do not have any customer traffic, which results in no income generation for the store renters/owners. Due to the above reasons the merchant had to close his store; he decided to work as a taxi driver instead.

5.2.1.4 Decreased Real-Estate Value

From an economic perspective, merchants who received a store (s) in exchange at Nishtiman mall have been impacted adversely. The stores that they have been allocated do not have high

real estate value because many of them are located in less trafficked areas of the mall according to merchants interviewed. Participant MR-1 said there are roughly 5000 stores in Nishtiman mall but only approximately 1000 of them are open. This is a great downside of the mall's market value as a property. Vacant stores might seem a good investment for merchants but since they cannot generate revenue due to the lack of customers, they are considered by merchants to be financial burdens. Even though merchants are required to make monthly payments for their closed stores, merchants ignore that fact. On the other hand, the corporation threatens them with a lawsuit. According to Iraqi Trade Law, established in 1979 in Baghdad and applied with some adjustments by KRG, if one buys a commercial store, he/she is expected to open the store and work within 90 days. If such prospect is not fulfilled within the expected time line, the responsible party can sue the renter or owner to take back the property (MR-2; MR-5; MR-9).

5.2.2 The Quality of Life

The level of life satisfaction among the merchants decreased since moving to the mall. Several merchants claim that they have to work longer hours at Nishtiman mall; thus, spending less time with their families than before (MR-2; MR-7; MR-12; MR-15). The stress of not having a sufficient number of customers per day is high among merchants because they are concerned about their monthly expenses. The thought that they have to make sufficient revenue by the end of the month to pay for the rent, utilities, maintenance and household expenses increases merchants' stress levels (MR-8). One merchant, MR-11 reported that every day in his mind he is always busy calculating expenditures and revenues.

5.2.2.1 The Sense of Belonging

A notable aspect of the quality of life discussed by several merchants is the importance of sense of belonging. Several merchants experienced a strong community among themselves. One of the most discussed reasons for missing Delal Khaneh bazaar is their friendship. All of the merchants working at the old bazaar knew each other. MR-11 said, “We could rely on each other at any circumstances”. Belonging is primal, essential to our sense of unity and social cohesion. Although Delal Khaneh was an old structure, it was a piece of history for Erbil. Erbil was known for its Delal Khaneh (MR-10). Participant MR-8 reiterated, “Delal Khaneh was a symbol of Erbil”.

The majority of merchants indicate their willingness to move back to the old bazaar if, hypothetically, they had the chance. MR-20 said that moving from the old bazaar to Nishtiman mall did not only affect them economically, but also psychologically. The idea that they are all dispersed saddens him. MR-20 stated, “I miss my old days”. MR-10 reiterated that Delal Khaneh bazaar was the first place of which he started working. He stated “It has its own meaning to me which I cannot put into words. Life was much simpler at Delal Khaneh. We did not have to think too much about how to attract customers because we always had some. However, in here we stay in these little cubicle stores all day, waiting for customers”. Furthermore, MR-5 & MR-12 reported that although Delal Khaneh bazaar was dirty and muddy especially during the rainy days, it nevertheless had its own authentic experience. For visitors coming to Erbil, Delal Khaneh was the first place to visit because it was right at the centre of the city (MR-5 & MR-12).

5.2.2.2 Security

In general, safety and security were commonly mentioned as positive aspects of both places. MR-1 reported that Delal Khaneh was much easier to control because security guards or police could move through the bazaar easily as it did not have a complicated layout. In contrast, due to limited entrances in the Nishtiman mall, it may take the police a longer time to respond.

5.2.3 Design issues

Merchants unanimously emphasized the limitation of the Nishtiman mall's design layout as an important factor in their loss of customers. Most merchants believed that if the design layout of the mall were different, they would have had more customers. MR-20 stated that there are too many stores in this mall, too many for Erbil's population. In addition, the stores are small in area and this is one of the main factors that keep merchants from renting.

5.2.3.1 Space/Storage

Space is a major factor that has impacted the merchants-- in terms of layout, store size and storage space. For many merchants, space is a major determining factor in whether to relocate or stay at Nishtiman mall. MR-1 suggested that a good way to attract customers is to have a spacious store. MR-3 reiterated that it is part of the culture to offer tea or coffee to customers while they are shopping but because the stores are too small, they often cannot offer customary hospitality. The space issue becomes especially apparent as merchants display their products on walls and grounds or in some cases place them in front of their stores (see Figure 5.4). This is reiterated by many of the merchants. However, placing products in alleys not only blocks the

stores' window but also slows pedestrians' movement. Store windows are effectively marketing media tools for customer attraction. People have to watch their step when walking on the pathways. On the other hand, merchants have to check regularly whether their products are missing or not. MR-15 stated that the lack of space is a fundamental problem, especially because there is not enough space to store their goods, which is a very "unfriendly feature of retail stores". Hence, for MR-15, the lack of space forced him to rent external storage. MR-16 and MR-17 stated that, the stores located at the rear of the mall do not have any windows, that façade is covered with corrugated metal sheets. They appear as storages/spaces for containers rather than regular stores (see Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.4: Displayed merchandise at the hallways of Nishtiman Mall



Figure 5.5: Stores covered with corrugated metal sheets at Nishtiman Mall

Participant MR-12 asserted that in order to utilize space, they came up with the idea of a space-exchange strategy, stocking products in each other's stores. MR-2 believed that although Nishtiman mall is built based on a western style, "its not suitable for Erbilians". He further stated "in the western world, most often people shop online; thus, the products get shipped to them. However, people in Erbil shop in stores and they want their products at the same time. As a result, we are required to display our products here in the stores. Meanwhile, the stores got overwhelmed with goods and we barely can find space to sit".

5.2.3.2 Accessibility

The mall layout has a number of escalators, connecting lower floors with the upper floors; however, many of them are out of service due to low maintenance and corporation's neglect (see

Figure 5.6). Thus, occupants, visitors and customers either use the out of service escalators as stairways or they use the actual stairways, which are not located in the centre of the mall. MR-4 indicated that stalled escalators are basically used as regular stairs with added complexity of higher rises. In addition, the ridged steps and the high rises increase safety problems. MR-10 stressed his concerns and states that this is another unfriendly feature of the mall design in terms of mobility, which may cause problems for people with limited walkability and for customers with young children.



Figure 5.6: A non-functional escalator connecting second floor to the ground floor at Nishtiman Mall

Several merchants highlighted the fact that the basement level is virtually dead in terms of business. MR-10 believed that customers usually consider the basement level as their last option to shop; they might be uninterested or insecure to go down the stairs (see Figure 5.7). He further said, “It is our custom to shop on the ground level, in particular, for women as they feel safer”. This has been the tradition for ages and now with introduction of the new concept for shopping malls in the region, everything has changed. The basement floor of Nishtiman mall is accessed through a ramp. Initially, this level was built to function as an underground parking. However, it currently (at the time of author’s observation) houses a number of small stores where electronic equipment is being sold. In this hidden location, few visitors and customers are seen at this part of the mall. MR-3 stated that another major issue with this access point/ramp is drainage. Often when it rains, water drains into the basement floor. Merchants or vendors who display tables outside of their stores have to cover their merchandise in order not to get wet.



Figure 5.7: Basement floor of Nishtiman Mall

Stores that are located at the exterior of the mall and have front windows facing Shar Garden Park are the ones that have the most business. This is due to the fact that customers can view the stores and it is much easier for customers to approach them in comparison to the ones that are located at the back of the mall. Moreover, the fact that the Nishtiman mall has limited points of entry is considered by merchants another unfriendly feature of the design layout. In order for customers to exit the mall, they have to retrace their path to the points where they entered since there are no exists at the backside of the mall (MR-16).

Participants MR-14; MR-15; MR-17; MR-20 noted that loading and unloading goods is also a great challenge for merchants. The mall structure is massive in scale and has a continuous layout. There are no proper loading bays for trucks to deliver goods to the mall. The merchants require extra labour to carry the goods to their stores, as there are few main entry points to the mall and limited access to elevators. If the new mall design had been partitioned into different blocks, then cars could have passed through and would have been much easier not only for the merchants to move but also for customers. Having smaller blocks of shopping districts is the traditional architecture typology of Erbil. Each block could have offered different goods for sale and it would have been more attractive for customers to navigate. Moreover, the possibility of having larger display windows for goods would have been much greater (MR-14; MR-10).

It is important to note that the existing cemetery is another factor that limits the access to the mall from the back (see Figure 5.8). In addition, aesthetically it is not appealing if customers approach Nishtiman mall from that side of the street.

In the author's observation and the merchants' interview findings, the mall offers a large number of small windows and balconies at its rear towards the cemetery, which is an uncommon feature in the design of shopping malls. Balconies are common elements in residential developments not shopping structures. These non-functional balconies are used to store the external AC operators (see Figure 5.8). In some cases, these pieces of equipment are mounted to the exterior walls of the mall and have created an unpleasing and messy view. The construction of Nishtiman mall started in 2003. However, its exterior and interior structures seem already outdated and battered. This may be due to the use of inexpensive building materials. Although the mall's structure acts as a barrier between the cemetery and the park and technically hides the cemetery, it still remains massive in scale and does not fit to its urban context.



Figure 5.8: Balconies and windows at the rear of Nishtiman Mall

5.3.3.3 Amenities

Access to amenities is crucial in making sure a shopping mall accommodates occupants, merchants and visitors. There is a marked consistency in the merchants' experience with the mall's amenities. Although Nishtiman mall is massive in size and consists of 5000 stores, it does not provide the necessary amenities for occupants and visitors. Lack of public bathrooms, water fountains, comfortable seating, cafes and restaurants are evident throughout the mall. MR-15 indicated having access to amenities is crucial in making shopping malls attractive to all occupants and visitors. Such issue may discourage visitors due to the fact that people get tired and need to rest during shopping. MR-5 noted because there are no gathering places within the mall, most often occupants use the narrow hallways as gathering spaces by placing some chairs and tables in those areas (see Figure 5.9). He further stated that merchants either bring their own food from home or they have to close their stores and obtain food from outside the mall, which is not convenient for them. MR-6 reiterated that this applies to drinking water as well. The City of Erbil has extremely hot summers and it is essential to drink water in order to prevent dehydration. Participants MR-7 & MR-8 indicated, "We offer water to our customers to make them cool down, but they often have to wait 10 to 15 minutes because we buy water bottles from the street retailers. On the other hand, we are pleased that we have air conditioning (AC) here, which was not an option in Delal Khaneh. Nevertheless, we pay a lot for it". However, in some cases, if you have unfinished business with the company such as late rent payments or other relevant reasons, the mall management would halt your electrical access because it is managed centrally. Thus, not only do you lose the privilege of having AC but also you may stay in the dark until you pay off your bill (MR-7; MR-12).



Figure 5.9: Merchants use the mall's hallway for seating areas

5.2.4 Lack of Transparency

The issue of communication with the relocated merchants is a predominant theme of the interviews. No monetary options were provided to the merchants. According to MR-2 "We did not have a choice; we either take their offer or leave it". All the merchants asserted that the redevelopment process was not made clear to them. The government did not explain plainly their plans, processes and the procedures for the demolition of the bazaar. MR-13 stated that one day the government officials announced the decision to raze the bazaar and we, merchants, were required to move out.

Merchants felt that the government misled them about future plans of the Nishtiman mall to convince them to move. Merchants were promised a spacious store right across the park where

Nishtiman mall is located. They were all assured a store(s) at the front row of the mall. However, reality contradicts this. Merchants found out about their stores' locations once all the contracts were signed. MR-14 reported that after "we realized where our stores are located, upper level, backside of the mall or basement floor, we complained. Nonetheless, it was too late. The stores at the front row had already been sold on the open market". In addition, the demolition of Qaysari Bazaar[1], the oldest bazaar in Erbil, and the relocation of its merchants to Nishtiman mall was one of the main drivers for merchants from Delal Khaneh to agree upon the relocation plan. This is because there were a large number of merchants who worked at the Qaysari bazaar selling various goods including jewelry, traditional Kurdish clothes, spices, kitchen supplies and others. Their relocation would have been a great asset for Nishtiman mall in attracting customers. However, UNESCO later recognized Qaysari bazaar as historically significant and its destruction was prohibited. Its restoration and conservation became essential (see Figure 5.10). Thus, those merchants were allowed to stay. On the other hand, it was a disadvantage for merchants from Delal Khaneh (MR-1; MR-3; MR-7; MR-11; MR-15).

According to MR-6 and MR-9, prior to the bazaar demolition, they resisted moving out and did not want to leave because we all knew that we were going to regret this decision. The whole removal project took only a few months. It was rapid. The officials built a fence around the bazaar; merchants could not get into their stores. They had also halted access to utilities; merchants did not have water or electricity. At the end, merchants had to accept the fact and

[1] Qaysari bazaar was built in 1190s by the order of prince Muzaffar al-Din-al-Kawkaboori. The Labyrinth of Qaysari bazaar with its narrow alleyways is the oldest and the most well-known bazaar in Erbil (Mati, 2010). The bazaar offers a distinctive opportunity for an authentic cultural encounter, selling textiles, jewelry, household goods, food, herbs and souvenirs.

leave. The majority of merchants wanted “renovation not removal”. MR-5; MR-8; MR-12 indicated that if the new mall was owned and managed by the public sector rather than private bodies, communication and negotiation about rental terms would have been much easier and smoother. At the end of the day, MR-5 stated, “we are citizens of this country and we believe that the government would achieve the common good for all of us”.



Figure 5.10: Qaysari Bazaar

Figure 5.11 shows the merchants' perspective on the bazaar removal. The majority believed that the bazaar was demolished and removed due to the city centre beautification ideology, while only one merchant (5%) believes its removal is due to Erbil's master plan amendments. A total of four (20%) interviewed merchants provided random reasons, categorized as other. This includes thoughts such as: no knowledge about the matter or the idea to occupy the empty stores at Nishtiman mall. MR-13 asserted "The plan was to remove the poor out of the centre and hide them at Nishtiman mall". This highlights Erbil City's notion of neoliberal urban regeneration processes within the city centre, by deconcentrating the poor.

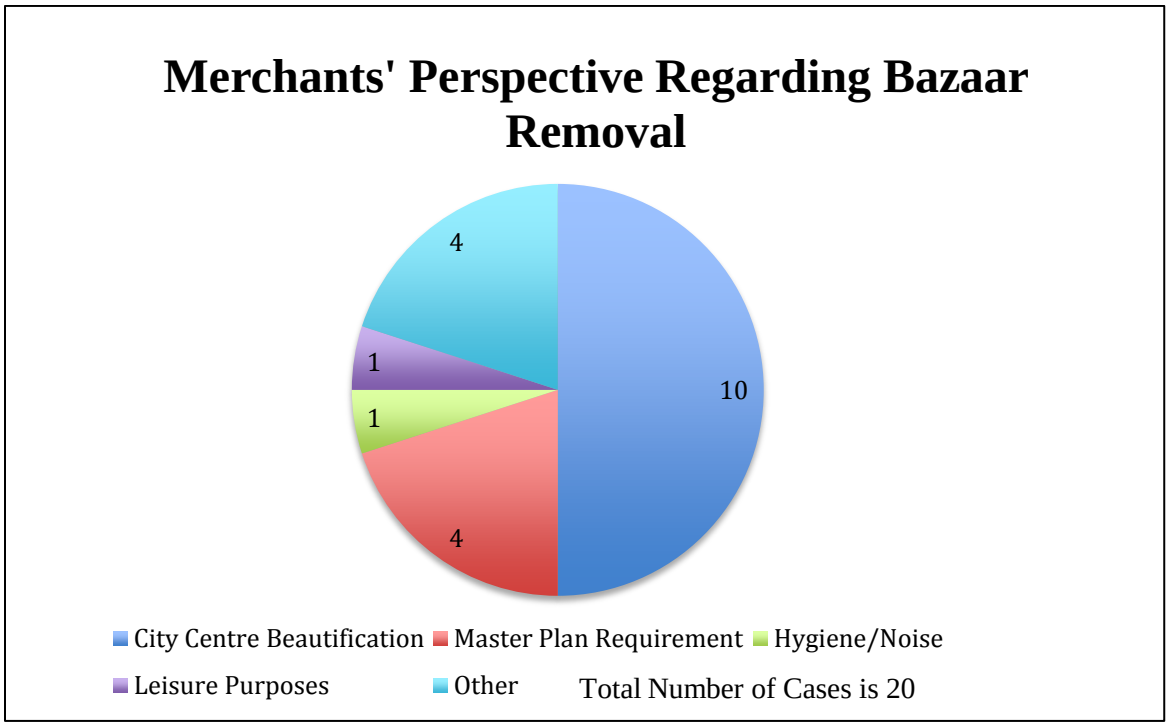


Figure 5.11: Merchants' perspective regarding the removal of Delal Khaneh bazaar

5.2.5 Increased Tourists' Flow

The majority of merchants interviewed believe that the development plan of Shar Garden Square has increased the tourists' flow to the city centre. However, the increased tourists flow has not necessarily been beneficial to the merchants at Nishtiman mall. Several of the merchants asserted that Nishtiman mall might look inviting from the outside but in reality, it does not have any welcoming features for visitors, such as cafes or restaurants. In addition, there are other modernized malls in Erbil, which are more spacious and feature decorative window facades, cafes, and brand name stores.

According to the majority of merchants interviewed, the citadel's nomination for World's Heritage Site and the creation of Shar Garden Square are not the only reasons behind increasing the tourists to Erbil. Generally, because Erbil has become the capital city of the Kurdistan Region, it attracts many people to come and visit the city. However, in the merchants' view, it was not a fair redevelopment plan to the Delal Khaneh's merchants. Although some tourists do visit Nishtiman mall, they do not contribute largely to its revenue. Visitors are various, both national and international. Most often they are from neighboring countries such as Iran, Syria and Turkey. Nevertheless, visitors from Iran rarely come to Nishtiman mall because when exchanging currency from Iranian Rial to Iraqi Dinar, the monetary value drops dramatically. Thus, the mall's merchandise is expensive and unreasonable to Iranian to buy although goods at Nishtiman mall are low-priced products compared to the Iranian market.

There are also visitors from Syria but due to the current political instability in Syria, many are moving to Erbil to seek asylum rather than shopping. Hence, the majority of that population is

working in the informal sector and are scattered around the city. However, many are working in the centre, as it is more crowded in comparison to the rest of the city. For these reasons, visitors from Turkey would likely be the only customers at Nishtiman Mall, but their contribution is very little since the merchants obtain the majority of their goods from Turkey. As a result, rationally speaking, it does not make sense to sell products to Turkish visitors who can find the same quality and brands in their homeland.

5.2.6 Summary

The findings from the merchant interviews provided valuable insight about various issues of the current redevelopment plans of Erbil, destroying Delal Khaneh bazaar and the relocation of merchants to Nishtiman Mall. It has been made clear by the merchant interviewees that the increased rent is one of the main factors impacting them at Nishtiman Mall. However, it is evident that they feel that decreasing the rent is not the only solution to the problem. For many the space limitation is considered a very great challenge. It is for this reason that the possibility of larger sized store units is critically important. Poor maintenance is another important issue that merchants at Nishtiman mall experience. That issue has become a major conflict between the merchants and mall management; it resulted in a withdrawal of cleaning services by Nishtiman mall management. The experiences described by the merchants indicate that a large share of the problems such as loss of customers and lack of amenities are due to the mall's design layout. It is important to note that many of the issues about which the merchants express concerns are features such as common gathering spaces, public washrooms and spacious stores and hallways of a scale that a proper designed mall should have contained. In terms of merchants' views regarding the reasons for the former bazaar's demolition, the merchants expressed their own

perspectives, giving city centre beautification as the dominant reason. However, the merchants believe that this redevelopment plan might have increased tourists' flow within Erbil's city centre but it has not been beneficial for them at Nishtiman mall. For MR-4 Nishtiman mall has a confusing layout which discourages people from visiting. It is also evident from the merchant interview findings that public participation is critically important from communication perspective. It is, therefore, vital that in the implementation of any new redevelopment plans, the government should consider the stakeholders' opinions when making decisions regarding any plans. These themes are presented in Table 5.1 and summarized below. Based on the interview findings and the fieldwork observations in this Chapter, recommendations will to be discussed in the following chapter.

Table 5.1: Summary of the five major themes from the merchants' interviews and their associated impacts

Theme	**Summary of Impacts**
Cost of Displacement	• Loss of customers • Inadequate cleaning services & high cost of low maintenance • A dramatic increase in rent • Decreased real-estate value of stores due to store closure at Nishtiman Mall
Quality of Life	• Loss of community feeling & sense of belonging
Design Issues	• Stores too small& other space issues • Displaying goods in the hallways • Limited entry points to the mall • No access from rear of the mall (cemetery) • Lack of public amenities, such as seating areas, cafes and public bathrooms • Complex layout
Lack of Transparency	• Communication issues between city officials and merchants • Demolition on short notice
Increased Tourism Flow	• Increased number of visitors to Shar Garden Park not Nishtiman Mall

5.3 Key Informant Interviews

Key informants' interview findings are presented in this section. The key informants are organized into five categories and they are coded as such: Politicians, including city governor and staff (PO); urban planner (UP); UNESCO representative (UN); High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization Representative (HR); and Downtown Erbil Corporation General Representative (DE). In total, nine key informant interviews were conducted. All key informants were guaranteed anonymity. Table 5.2 lists the interviewed informants and their corresponding codes. All interviews were conducted in person using an interview guide with a set of semi-structured and open-ended questions. The interviews lasted on average 30 minutes. A more detailed description of the methods behind undertaking the interviews is provided in Chapter 3. The findings of these interviews are presented below according to coding categories of the key informant, followed by a summary of key themes in Section 5.3.6.

Table 5.2: Key informants coding

Category	**Code**	**Number of Informants**
Politician	PL	PL1, PL2, PL3, PL4
Urban Planner	UP	UP1
UNESCO Representative	UN	UN1
HCECR Representative	HR	HR 1
Downtown Erbil Corporation Representative	DE	DE 1

5.3.1 Politicians

According to the politicians and staff interviewed, the demolition of Delal Khaneh was essential to emphasize the iconic view of the citadel and also to beautify the city centre. Problems with noise and hygiene in that bazaar in downtown Erbil were described as part of the reason for the demolition.

According to the politicians interviewed, before Kurdistan became an independent governorate, Erbil's master plans were prepared in Baghdad and were mostly inadequate due to the lack of proper information and little input from local officials. Thus, those planning initiatives failed to fulfill the essential needs of the city. In 1984, the Directorate General of Physical Planning in Baghdad prepared the first master plan for Erbil. However, due to the rapid growth of the city and the lack of vision and inadequate urban planning policies and frameworks in that 1984 master plan, a new master plan was created in 2005 (refer to Appendix A, Figure A1 for previous land use plan and A3 for proposed land use plan). The old master plan did not respond to the current condition and needs of the city, especially for its role as the capital city of Kurdistan Region and also the aim of making the city an attractive place for tourists. As a result, in 2005, Erbil's governorate in collaboration with the Ministry of Municipalities and Dar-al-Handasah, an architecture and engineering consultancy firm, were able to create a new master plan for the City of Erbil (PL-1; PL-2). Initially, Dar-al-Handasah provided three different alternative land use plans for Erbil's City Centre and one of them (referred to as Second Development Plan; refer to Appendix A, Image A5) has been chosen by Erbil governorate and Ministry of Municipalities (MoM) (refer to Appendix A for more detail).

The 2005 master plan is divided into two sections. The first section included the citadel and three heritage districts of Erbil. The first section is also referred to in the plan as the Buffer Zone Area (BZA). The second section contained the remaining areas of Erbil where there are opportunities for new (re) developments. BZA consists of three segments. The closer a segment is to the citadel, the more restrictive are the (re) development policy and frameworks not only in terms of height but also the materials and colours used (PL-2) (refer to Appendix A, Figure A6). This goes back to the idea of creating a link between the citadel and its surrounding. The proposed time line for facilitating the master plan is 25 years. The first phase of the plan was planned to be finished within 15 years, but the city was able to finish it in only 5 years. The city is currently working on the second phase. The City of Erbil is growing rapidly and there was an expressed need to be fast as well in order to accommodate the city's demands (PL-2; PL-4).

The destruction of the Delal Khaneh bazaar is not the only facet of the city's redevelopment plans. On the north side of the citadel, are many buildings that are also targeted for removal as well in order to create an open space within the city centre (refer to Appendix A, Figure A2 and A7). The proposed plan for this side, called the Citadel Park, is to have an urban park that contains an outdoor celebration area, open-air theatre, restaurants, cafes, museums, and an information centre for visitors and underground parking (see Figure 5.12 and 5.13). Unlike the Delal Khaneh bazaar, most buildings on this side belong to the governorate of Erbil. Thus, their demolition is not a major challenge for the city. As stated before, the main purpose of these redevelopment plans is to make the citadel stand out in the centre and also to be visible from all directions (PL-1; PL-2; PL-4). In addition, this proposed urban park is intended to enhance the architectural heritage of the citadel through combining cultural activities with leisure and

relaxation. This new plan would cost more and would take longer time to complete. Nevertheless, the city's vision for the city centre is to provide a pedestrian friendly environment without cars or traffic (PL-2).



Figure 5.12: A proposed plan for the north side of Erbil Citadel
Source: Piano B Architetti Associati, 2013



Figure 5.13: A proposed plan for the north side of Erbil Citadel
Source: Viva Architects, 2013

The historical value of Erbil's Citadel is the main driver in these redevelopment plans. In order for the citadel to qualify for inclusion in the World Heritage Site, UNESCO has recommended some conditions that KRG is required to follow (PL-1). One such condition was to reduce the busyness surrounding of the citadel, in other words, if possible a removal of existing structures. The Delal Khaneh bazaar was a suitable candidate and needed to be removed (PL-1). According to PL-2, the main purpose of this redevelopment was to "emphasize the iconic view of the citadel". In achieving this, many obstacles needed to be removed such as the Delal Khaneh bazaar. It was felt that the bazaar was too busy and crowded; walking around was difficult due to the crowds of street vendors. It did not offer a pleasant view. The goods sold at Delal Khaneh bazaar were men's clothes, electrical equipment and household goods, which do not represent the goods that are usually sold in a city centre. The overall redevelopment plan cost the city approximately 100 million US dollars (PL-1; PL-2). However, not only the city but also residents and visitors are enjoying the redevelopment outcome, which is the creation of Shar Garden Square (PL-1; PL-2; PL-4). The Shar Garden Square is not only an open space within the city centre, it is a beautiful park for the public (PL-1). The park is a popular new feature in Erbil. It is a destination that attracts people to come to the city centre (PL-4).

When asked whether Delal Khaneh bazaar had a symbolic meaning to the city and its occupants or not, PL-1 asserted, "It did not have any symbolic value whatsoever". PL-1 stated that the bazaar consisted of a series of stores and shacks that were made of sheets of corrugated metal and contemporary materials such as concrete. The bazaar may have had a functional usage previously but it did not fit either with the city centre and or the architectural significance of the citadel (PL-1). The politicians felt the bazaar removal was essential because its structure blocked

the view of the citadel. One major reason for its destruction was the creation of a view corridor from the boulevard (PL-1). It is relevant that there is another bazaar in Erbil, the Qaysari bazaar, which has historical and cultural value. KRG in collaboration with the UNESCO are working to renovate Qaysari. It is important for the city to preserve the Qaysari bazaar because it was created in the11th century (Mati, 2010). Thus, in its renovation process, it is necessary to pay close attention to the use of materials, colours and designs in order to reflect its original history (PL-1; PL-2).

According to PL-3; PL-4, convincing merchants to relocate was a major challenge for the city. This was due to the fact that there were merchants who had been working at the bazaar for over 40 years and did not like the idea of being removed. However, officials felt that the merchants had to understand that the removal plan would benefit the whole city. Moreover, merchants were relocated into a new complex, which should have been very convenient for them in terms of location (being at the centre of the city) and proximity to the old bazaar. In order to have a fair evaluation and compensation plan for each store at Delal Khaneh bazaar, the governorate of Erbil videotaped the bazaar prior to its destruction. Furthermore, based on the Istimlak law, established in 1982, storeowners received an exchange of a store or land for their demolished store (s). There were 638 stores. Economic assessment was applied to each store based on its location, size and revenue generation. This was an important process because each store was different. Thus, every storeowner received a customized assessment (PL-3). PL-3 stated, "Although Delal Khaneh was one of the busiest and filthiest bazaars in Erbil, it was also considered one of the greatest income generation bazaars for Erbillians". It was attractive to many different people in particular low-income families. However, its dirtiness and muddiness

were causing many problems in the city centre. The shouting noise from merchants, who were calling customers to buy their goods, was loud and noisy. The city centre is not a place for vendors to bargain; it should be a place for people to gather (PL-3; PL-4).

In summary, local politicians generally supported the intent of the removal decision. The key rationale for the city centre redevelopment plans was to create a visual access or sightline for the citadel to be seen from all directions, beautifying the city and reducing the noise and the crowded surroundings within the city centre.

5.3.2 Urban Planner

The discussion with the urban planner was focused on the merchants' displacement process and the Nishtiman mall's layout.

In UP-1's opinion, one of the major downsides to liabilities of this redevelopment plan was the displacement of merchants from Delal Khaneh bazaar. PL-1 indicated that Nishtiman mall does not sell what customers want. On the other hand, Delal Khaneh grew up naturally; it was not an architecturally designed bazaar. It grew organically based on peoples' demand for business. Most often people who lived in the citadel worked at Delal Khaneh due to its convenient location. Afterwards, Delal Khaneh started to expand as Erbil's population grew. Becoming a merchant at Delal Khaneh bazaar was not a challenge since no control policy or regulation were applied. Hence, it grew rapidly. UP-1 further said, "It is important to note that Delal Khaneh offered reasonably low-priced goods; however, it did not have any symbolic value to the city". As a result, its replication at another location within the City of Erbil was considered feasible by the city officials (UP-1). For decades, officials had looked at Delal Khaneh as a temporary market.

Hence, its destruction was seen as a requirement for the city centre's beautification. Creating the amenities that merchants need can be done in a very simple tactic (UP-1). One example raised is the Lange Bazaar where there is a mix of different stores on both sides of the street and large facades to display goods. Lange Bazaar functions the same way Delal Khaneh bazaar did and it is located at the 100-metre radius road, (The city of Erbil is laid out on a series of concentric circular roads where the citadel is the inner circle and the rest represents the radial growth of the city) (UP-1).

The issue of Nishtiman mall's design layout was a predominant theme of the discussion with the urban planner interviewed. PL-1 stated, " The Nishtiman mall is not functional. If people cannot enter the mall from various access points and cannot rest because there are no seating areas, then it is basically a failing project". PL-1 asserted that stores should be located on the ground level. Street level retail offers a very interactive experience for shoppers. Customers are not only engaged with the goods displayed on the shops' windows but are also engaged with the setting and people. The fundamental purpose of retailing and merchandising is the presentation of products in a way that attracts customers. Nevertheless, Nishtiman mall consists of too many too small stores that do not offer inviting environments for potential buyers. Moreover, the complex is too massive in structure and does not fit in its urban context. The construction of the Nishtiman mall began before the establishment of Erbil's master plan. Therefore, the height restriction policy is not effective for the mall (UP-1).

When asked about alternative strategies that might be used to attract customers in Nishtiman mall, PL-1 called for completely redesigning the mall.

He felt that the first two floors could remain and might be sufficient to serve the peoples' needs but the remaining structure should be demolished or completely redesigned and repurposed for other recreational purposes. For example, even in the western world, malls are often built on 3 floors: an underground floor, a ground floor and an upper floor. However, people usually prefer the main/ground floor for shopping unless the other two floors offer specialized goods (UP-1).

UP-1 further stated that the creation of Shar Garden Square (designed by a Turkish company) has attracted many tourists and visitors and has also become an iconic place for all Erbillians. This is likely due to the fact that there is not many open spaces within the City of Erbil (refer to Appendix A, Figure A7), in particular the city centre. UP-1 further stated that Shar Garden Park has become a destination for people, a meeting point where people spend time with friends or family (refer to Appendix A, Figure A8). Michko café is also an asset in that regard[2].

5.3.3 UNESCO Representative

Creating a sense of harmony with the surrounding through using various materials, colours and other elements is an important factor for the citadel's master plan. In order for the citadel to be considered a WHS, it has to fulfill several requirements. One of these components is to have a Buffer Zone Area (UN-1). The BZA is intended to protect the citadel structures with heritage significance. In this case, the BZA protects the citadel by providing specific rules and regulations in terms of the (re) developments, renovations, height restrictions and additions (refer to

[2] Below the southern gate of Erbil Ciatdel is "Michko" café featuring traditional glazing and art crafts that belong to the Kurdish history and custom of more than one historical period. Like the traditional Agora in the ancient Greek, Michko was a place for Erbil's intellectuals and writers to gather and debate (Saleh, 2011). Presently, the café has become one of the main destinations in Erbil's city centre, where residents and visitors can sit and enjoy a cup of tea.

Appendix A, Figure B6). Further, in case of any violation, such as the demolition of heritage significant structures within the BZA, the government would risk the exclusion of the citadel from the World Heritage List (WHL) (UN-1).

When asked whether UNESCO had an influence on the government's decision to remove Delal Khaneh bazaar, UN-1 asserted that Delal Khaneh bazaar was in the BZA and its characteristics conflicted with the citadel's archeological and architectural features. The bazaar was constructed of concrete and iron. Politically, UNESCO was not involved in the removal decision. According to UN-1 "We cannot interfere in the government's decisions. We only advise by our best expertise and KRG is free to confirm or not. However, the displacement process was fair to the merchants. They were provided with alternatives". The Shar Garden Square is clean and UN-1 considers it to be a pleasant place for people to walk, sit and be entertained. It attracts tourists, which is one of the major elements for Erbil's economic prosperity (refer to Appendix B, Figures B8 and B9 for park's perspectives). UN-1 argued that Delal Khaneh bazaar had its own value. When a structure is built, it has a spirit to it and belongs to a certain groups of people. However, the bazaar did not have any special features that worth saving. It was dirty and crowded. There were too many wires hanging everywhere. It looked gloomy especially for a city centre.

Currently, the citadel is only on the Tentative List for sites to be designated WHS. This is important because the World Heritage Committee requires every proposed site to be included in the Tentative List; otherwise, it cannot be considered a nomination for inscription on the list. Efforts are being made by KRG and HCECR to list it as a World Heritage Site (UN-1). UN-1 indicated that the nomination file has been completed and sent to the World Heritage Centre for review.

Afterwards, an appropriate advisory body from ICOMOS will evaluate the nomination file and assess the site's cultural significance. Once all the requirements are met and documentation has been evaluated, the advisory party will advise the applicant on conservation and will prepare recommendations as well as on training activities. The final decision from the World Heritage Committee for Erbil's citadel nomination is expected to be reached by the end of 2014 (UN-1). It is important to note that UNESCO does not have the authority to list the citadel as a WHS, due to the fact that UNESCO is a partner in advising KRG and HCECR in the preservation and renovation of the citadel. Thus, any interference would be considered a conflict of interest (UN-1).

When asked about the significance of making the citadel an iconic feature within the city centre by designing parks and squares around it, UN-1 stated, "The City of Erbil revolves around the citadel and this makes Erbil distinctive; the citadel has a symbolic value in terms of heritage, culture and humanity. As a result, emphasizing its scale and size is required and this can only be done through creating different breathing spaces such as parks". He further indicated, "Erbil's citadel has always been distinctive because it is the oldest continuously inhabited place on the Earth". There are many other citadels in the world, such as Aleppo citadel, but they do not have this distinctive feature. In order to maintain this distinctive feature of the citadel and to introduce it to the world, a number of contemporary facilities for visitors will be built within the citadel (UN-1). He further stated that this might raise the question of whether these tourist facilities would change the historical fabric and authentic experience of the citadel. Nevertheless, it is an opportunity for Erbillians to present the cultural and historical values not only of the citadel but also the Kurdish ethnicity to the world (UN-1).

5.3.4 HCECR Representative

According to HR-1, HCECR did not have any input in the removal decision of Delal Khaneh bazaar. The decision was made by Erbil's governorate and the Ministry of Municipalities in accordance to the recommendations received from UNESCO. Nevertheless, the bazaar removal has brought a lot of benefits to the citadel. The creation of an open space within the city centre and its surroundings has helped the citadel to stand out. Thus, the citadel can be viewed as an iconic feature in the centre of the city as it has always been before (HR-1).

The commission has established three goals that include maintenance, conservation/renovation and rehabilitation. The commission's priority is given to conservation and renovation because there are many houses that require immediate preservation. In this category, there are 180 houses. The commission was able to restore 20 out of the 180 houses within one year of the intensive work. However, based on our analysis, every three years, one house is decaying (HR-1). Their conservation is a very important step in the commission's mission, although after the renovation is done, the houses will remain non-functional due to their delicate conditions, heritage, and cultural significance. As a result, urgency in the commission's work has become a demand. In the rehabilitation process of the citadel, there are many houses that can be rehabilitated to accommodate different services such as restaurants, cafes, boutique shops, art galleries and possibly hotels (HR-1).

When asked whether these stated services would harm the citadel's environment and its heritage value, HR-1 offered that creating such services would serve to bring life back to the citadel and would reflect its original function. He further stated that integrating such services would allow

people to come and visit not only to see the citadel but also to stay over. Thus, this is an opportunity to attract international tourists. He further stated, “Prior to our mission in maintaining, renovating and rehabilitating, the commission had to clean the citadel. There were tons of dirt left from previous inhabitants who did not care about the citadel’s architectural and heritage significance”. Integrating the lower city section with the citadel is an important objective in HCECR’s mission (HR-1). As a result, HCECR launched an international competition plan for the citadel in 2011. In 1958, a main road was built through the citadel and divided the town into two parts to provide automobile access. The construction of the road let to destruction of many of houses. Hence, creating a strong heart for the citadel was considered essential (HR-1). The overall goal of the competition was to develop a conceptual urban and architectural design project for the south-north axis area of the citadel. Moreover, the main purpose is to revitalize the inner areas of the citadel in the short term in order to create a dynamic and living core, which would in return enhance the visitor’s experience. Meanwhile, the revitalization can be considered as the node for any future long-term developments of the citadel (HR-1). The design should include a list of proposed activities, mainly focused on visitors’ facilities and the enhancement of visitors ‘experience. However, the conceptual design should take into consideration the urban fabric of the citadel’s surroundings and the archaeological and historical significance of the citadel. Unfortunately, the proposed conceptual plans were not compatible with HCECR’s requirements (HR-1).

The expected timeline for the citadel to be completely conserved and renovated is 15 years from 2012. The commission had completed the required reports and documentations for the citadel in order to be listed as World Heritage Site. HR-1 indicated, “ It is a long process, which may take

more than 2 years to be completed. The commission is waiting for UNESCO's decision. Once it is listed, it will be publically announced".

5.3.5 Downtown Erbil Corporation General's Representative

According to DE-1, Downtown Erbil Corporation did not have any influence in the demolition of Delal Khaneh bazaar. That removal was the government's decision in order to create open areas surrounding the citadel. However, the creation of Shar Park has brought a new appearance to the city centre, which has increased the number of tourists within the city.

When asked about the stores' closure at the Nishtiman mall, DE-1 stated that a part of the problem was that many people from different backgrounds have bought store (s) at Nishtiman mall. People who live in places other than Erbil or people who have different professions buy stores at the mall for investment (DE-1). They may have never opened or worked in the stores before. In some instance, they may buy a store (s) at the mall and leave it for one or two years to resell it in the future to generate money. Such closures affect the bazaar as a whole, reducing the market value of the property and discouraging people from renting. DE-1 further stated, " These people realize the potential economic boom of Erbil and want to invest for future". For example, there are buyers who are professors at local universities in Erbil and their profession is not relevant to trading and retailing at all. DE-1 believed, "The Downtown Erbil Corporation should have checked buyers whether they are buying the stores to work in them or for investment purposes. Issues like this need to be addressed and the corporate policy needs to be sensitive to them". The Nishtiman mall was initially designed and built by Middle East Corporation, which is now called Downtown Erbil (Iraqi owner).

There were originally two companies working together but in December 2012 that partnership dissolved (DE-1). The company's management has decided to file a lawsuit against the merchants who have not opened their stores because the company believes that stores' closure have a negative direct impact on the company (DE-1). According to the Iraqi Trade Law, called "Ejaad", the company has the right to re-possess the stores if the buyers have not opened their stores within 90 days. In this particular case, as of the time of interviews for this study, some of the buyers had not yet opened their stores; nor had they paid any rent (DE-1). The mall is divided into sections; each section contains a different number of stores. Within the mall, there are a number of bazaars, called with different names such as Kanni, Sheikh Alla and Nishtiman. Overall, the mall is called Nishtiman. The Nishtiman mall contains5000 stores but only 2700 stores were completed at the time these interviews were conducted (May/June 2013) (see Figure 5.14 for floor plan). Sheikh Alla bazaar consists of approximately 1800 stores, which are all closed. At the far side of the Nishtiman mall, are construction sites that have not yet been completed. Once the construction is complete, the company expects to have around 10,000 stores in total (DE-1). The new structures are likely to have more food service and resting areas such as cafes and restaurants. There are different opportunities for popular food franchises to open their branches in the new buildings. A main disadvantage of this site is that it has a cemetery in the middle of the complex. However, there are ideas on how to hide or restrict view of the cemetery. For instance, a ground covering can be used to cover the cemetery (DE-1).



Figure 5.14: Floor plan of Nishtiman Mall

DE-1 asserted that the company is not the only party responsible for the stores' closure; merchants also play an important role. The merchants should, he argued, be responsible to open their stores and work in them, however they are not. Furthermore, merchants do not cooperate with the mall management company. That company pays approximately 20,000 US dollars per month to an external cleaning service for mall maintenance (DE-1). The merchants are expected to contribute to this amount by paying their regular maintenance fee every month. However, a majority of merchants oppose making such contributions and find it too expensive. Thus, the company management decided to withdraw their responsibility from the cleaning services and leave it to the merchants (DE-1).

5.4 5.3.6 Summary

Interviews with the five categories of key informants have provided consistent perspectives on the issue of the bazaar demolition. In general, all key informants are supportive of the redevelopment plan, although UP-1 has stated some of his concerns regarding the existing architectural design of the Nishtiman mall. The mall is massive in scale and does not offer inviting environments for customers. The preservation and conservation of the citadel has become a dominant reason for many urban redevelopment plans within Erbil's city centre. Although the HCECR representative and Downtown Erbil Corporation representative claimed to have no input in the demolition of the former bazaar and relocation of its merchants, they agreed with Erbil's governorate decision on the bazaar removal. Both parties believed that Shar Garden Square has attracted many visitors to the city in particular the city centre. Furthermore, while UNESCO may not have a direct influence on Erbil's governorate in demolishing the bazaar; nonetheless, its requirements for the citadel to be included in the WHS have triggered the city officials in the redevelopment plans for the city centre. The most notable issues relate to: the master plan requirement, city centre's beautification concept, and hygiene and noise that encouraged the removal of Delal Khaneh bazaar. These themes are presented in Table 5.3 and summarized below.

Table 5.3: Summary of the three major themes from the key informants' interviews and their associated impacts

Theme	**Summary**	**Key Informants**
Master plan requirement	• The creation of the BZA to protect the citadel • The emphasis on an iconic view of the citadel • The creation of a visual axis or view corridor with clear view of the ancient citadel from all directions • The UNESCO's influence on the removal decision-in order to be included in the World Heritage List	• Politicians • HCECR Representative • Urban Planner • UNESCO Representative
City beautification	• An attractive city centre that draws people/tourists to the centre • Demand of a park or an open space within the city • Making the city centre a destination for visitors and tourists	• Politicians • UNESCO Representative • Downtown Erbil Corporation Representative
Noise and hygiene	• Reducing dirt and crowding in the city centre • Clearing the city centre is critically important • Increasing the pedestrian movement/creating a pedestrian friendly environment	• Politicians • Urban Planner • UNESCO Representative

6 DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Introduction

The overall intent of this study is to answer the question, *How does the current urban redevelopment plan of Erbil City affect Delal Khaneh bazaar merchants' income status and social welfare?* In order to address this question, three research objectives were considered.

1. To understand social and economic impacts of the permanent removal of the Delal Khaneh bazaar;
2. To explore the displacement process and the merchants' role and experience in the demolishing of Delal Khaneh bazaar;
3. To assess the redevelopment of project's success in attracting local and international tourists to the site.

These objectives are addressed through various methods, including a) in-depth interviews with the merchants who were affected by the relocating of Delal Khaneh bazaar to Nishtiman mall and key informants; b) Fieldwork observation. Each of these objectives will be addressed in detail below.

6.2 The First Objective

To understand social and economic impacts of the permanent removal of the Delal Khaneh bazaar on the merchants

This objective was addressed primarily through the merchant interview findings in Section 5.2 of this study, which investigated a detailed record of the social and economic impacts of the permanent removal of Delal Khaneh bazaar on its merchants. Issues regarding the relocation such as revenue loss, increased rent, and lack of maintenance were explored in those interviews, as well as number of design issues related to Nishtiman mall's layout. The merchants interviewed identified those design issues as critical.

From a social point of view, it is evident that the importance of former Delal Khaneh bazaar derives from its cultural and social relevance rather than its visual appearance. The new shopping complex, Nishtiman, does not fit well into its local context, which mainly consists of low-rise residential and commercial buildings that reflected Erbil's city centre cultural and social character. The idea of introducing a large commercial development into a historic city centre requires intensive study of the area's typology, physical and cultural features and the relationship between the proposed structure and the surrounding urban context. However, based on these criteria Nishtiman Mall is incompatible with the local context. It suffers high vacancy rates as a result of its massive scale and poor design layout. Photographs findings throughout the merchants' interview findings confirm the issues of lack of Nishtiman's compatibility with its urban context. In the former Delal Khaneh bazaar, the customers were socially engaged with the merchants and one another because the layout offered an interactive atmosphere. However and due to the new structure's layout, customers and merchants are totally socially segregated.

Nishtiman mall contains 5000 stores in which approximately 4000 are vacant. This is mainly because the mall does not offer common public services such as cafes, restaurants, bathrooms and seating areas. Moreover, narrow alleyways and vacant stores, covered with corrugated metal sheets, throughout the mall create an uninviting environment not only for the visitors to the mall but also for the mall's occupants. The experience of shopping in Nishtiman Mall is more stressful than delightful for the reasons discussed earlier in Section 5.2.3.

From an economic point of view, the introduction of the new shopping mall placed a financial burden on both the mall management and the merchants. The mall management is still struggling to generate revenue to cover the construction cost by increasing the annual rents and maintenance fees. Whereas, merchants are highly pressured by the loss of income due to the fact that the relocation caused a loss of customers and increased rent and associated expenses. In addition, the local government, in an effort to accelerate the regional economic growth, ignored the needs of Erbillians, in particular Delal Khaneh's merchants, by replacing the old bazaar with modern marketing structures. Access to larger size stores, affordable rent and street level shopping experience, a traditional custom of Erbillians, is important factors that have been ignored by the local government.

6.3 The Second Objective

To explore the displacement process and the merchants' role and experience in the demolition of Delal Khaneh bazaar

Section 5.2.4, reviewed the displacement process and merchants' role and experience. There is a constant concern and uncertainty about the future (such as getting more customers, being able to pay the increased annual rent, and the possibility of their having to move again from Nishtiman

mall). Having all these potential concerns in mind, the merchants feel an increasing sense of vulnerability. The merchants see themselves as excluded economically and socially, despite the fact that, bazaars have always been an essential part of the urban landscape. The merchants note that bazaars are places where Erbillians can find goods in lower prices while enjoying bargaining and experiencing urban sociability. According to the merchants bazaars provide a more interactive way of shopping in particular when compared to modern shopping centres, in which most of the time people shop without speaking to one another. This is because bazaars offer goods at relatively lower prices and most often there is possibility for bargaining between sellers and buyers which allows communication; however, shopping malls offer fixed prices and customers are not required to negotiate over the price. Thus, the possibility of interaction among the sellers and buyers is low.

Instead of addressing the Delal Khaneh bazaar's infrastructural concerns, the City of Erbil has chosen to demolish the bazaar and clear the location for future tourist attractions. As such, the City acts in accordance with neoliberal principles, increasing the social exclusion and commodification of space. The main motivation behind relocating Delal Khaneh, with regard to the neoliberal urban transformation process ongoing in the City of Erbil, is to attract tourists and elevate Erbil to a global status. Modernization projects for bazaars in Erbil are considered another reason for the demolition and relocating bazaars. Often, bazaars that are located in city centres are subject to change in order to achieve more organized and hygienic urban spaces. In addition, it is a new way to contribute to spatially defined exclusion based on income status segregation within Erbil City. According to Oz and Eder (2012), merchants are often stigmatized as undesirable occupants and bazaars are places that attract only lower-class people. Thus, their

relocation becomes fundamental in cleansing the city centres. The demolition of Delal Khaneh bazaar represents a new form of commodification of urban space within the City of Erbil, which occurs at two venues. First, demolition produces unanticipated rent increase for the merchants at the new mall. Each store is priced according to its location in the new mall. Stores positioned at the front row of the mall are more expensive to rent. This is because they are larger in size and have windows for displaying goods. Thus, the possibility of attracting customers is higher. Second, as the old bazaar is demolished and poor are pushed out from the city centre, the land around the old location becomes precious with rising real estate demand within the city centre. Oz and Eder (2012) argued that in order to challenge these forms of social exclusion and neoliberal urban transformation processes, resistance is needed to halt the temptation to standardize and naturalize such projects and to reclaim urban sociability.

6.4 The Third Objective

To assess the redevelopment of Delal Khaneh bazaar into Shar Garden Park in attracting local and international tourists

The third research objective is partially addressed in Sections 5.2 and 5.3. The key informant interviews revealed that the redevelopment of Erbil City Centre has increased the number of tourists to the area. These tourists are both local and international, mostly from the neighboring countries of Turkey, Syria and Iran. On the other hand, merchant interview findings suggested that although the percentage of tourists to the City of Erbil has increased since the creation of Shar Garden Park, this increased tourism yields no direct benefits to the merchants. The relocated merchants argued that the design layout of Nishtiman mall and the quality of their merchandise are two of the main reasons behind the small numbers of tourists visiting the mall.

First, Nishtiman mall has a very complex and confusing layout and also lacks public amenities such as cafes and seating areas. Hence, people are discouraged to visit the mall. Second, relocated merchants are selling the same goods as they used to sell at the former bazaar for higher prices at the Nishtiman mall. This is because the relocated merchants pay higher prices for rent and maintenance fees at the new mall. The merchants have to increase their prices at the new mall in order to cover their expenses. Nevertheless, higher prices with low quality of merchandise discourage people from visiting the new mall. Due to affordable rents at the former bazaar, the prices of goods were low. Furthermore, affordable prices at the former bazaar had attracted a wide range of customers particularly low-income families. As a result of these two reasons, the number of tourists and customers visiting Nishtiman mall is low. In addition, in author's experience and also merchants' interviews, a number of new shopping malls are expanding all around the City of Erbil with more modernized appearance. Hence, people are keen to visit those places, as they are new features in Erbil. According to Nooraddin (2012) the City of Erbil is experiencing a rapid development growth in which the new structures are applying different types of architectural styles adapted from the West. He further argues that the reason for this is government's policies supporting such developments.

As reviewed in the Literature, Section 2.2, the process of globalization, urbanization and development of technical innovations have fostered the rapid growth of the world's economy while finding a balance between social and economic gains and cultural identity that has become a great debate in the current urban studies (Joshi, 2009). Joshi (2009) has argued that preservation in development should not only consider the built and natural environments, it should also be part of the basic element of the social environment. In other words, conservation

boundaries should include a more collective, contextual and cultural outlook of the built environment while preserving the historical buildings and monuments. Hence, a balance between social continuity, physical fabric and social economics is required (Joshi, 2009). The forces of transformation and demolition have led societal transformation within Erbil's City Centre. For example, Shar Garden Park, which is an attractive element, was created to provide breathing spaces within the city centre and to provide a clear visual access for Erbil Citadel to stand out.

Competition has become an indispensable concept influencing the economic prospects of cities. Within this highly competitive environment, urban entrepreneurialism has become the only viable solution for encouraging local and regional economic growth that creates an environment that aims to maximize private investments and urban marketing. A primary goal of this concept is to upgrade the image of a locality (Karaman, 2013). Urban entrepreneurialism focuses on place marketing and image production. Thus, many cities are forced to transform their image and advertise their cultural assets. This vision has been applied through development of mega-events and revitalization projects. However, entrepreneurialism scholars claim that this concept has not been successful in generating economic growth; rather it has exacerbated inequalities and social exclusions. It promotes privatization and enables major corporations to have direct impact over local development decisions (Karaman, 2013). Karaman (2013) argues that although the world is suffering from major credit crisis, there has been a dramatic rise in large-scale real estate developments. Further, he identified a number of cities (Dubai, Seoul, Mumbai and Shanghai) that are experiencing this evolution in form of urban renewal projects, which result in the displacement of people on a massive scale.

Due to lack of expertise and inadequate planning policy, the City of Erbil encourages Western model standards by hiring external architects and development corporations for (re) development practices within the city. These external agencies apply various types of architectural styles that are most often spectacular but not contextual to the City of Erbil. They tend to see Erbil as primitive; thus, such developments including multi-level shopping malls or development of gated communities are perceived as necessity to modernize Erbil. Such practices exemplify a modern mechanism of order and authority through an interrogation of projects designed to westernize and modernize Erbil in which development projects have been objectified and homogenized to reflect on Western urbanism as the ideal style. Mitchell (1988) has examined this concept in his book "Colonizing Egypt". He argued that European modern states' efforts were to impose a meaning and structure on to Egyptian society in order to create a different image of Egypt. This was achieved through improvement of public order and spatial organization which later became an accepted perception among Egyptians who were inquired to be Europeanized in order to be modernized. Erbil is inevitably involved in the process of modernization through constructing various urban (re) development projects, which are expected to look organized and clean. Demolition of old structures such as Delal Khaneh bazaar was a representation of spatial organization in which organic layouts are turned into organized, ridged and hygienic spaces, a new form of urbanism inspired by the West.

In 1978 Edward Said introduced the concept of orientalism, a depiction or imitation of Eastern cultures in the West. In his book "Orientalism" he argued that with the start of European colonization in the east (less developed countries), the world was divided into two parts: the east (orient) and the west (occident), an artificial boundary. Orientals saw the eastern culture as

exotic, backward and uncivilized. Thus orientalism was recognized as a rationalization for European colonialism in which the West constructed the East and therefore the Western intervention or rescue was required. Said further argued that in the 20th century, orientalism approach was changed in which orientals had more interaction with the orients. This was not a gesture of appreciation of their culture or lifestyle but it was a way to know the orients more in order to rule them properly. The practice of orientalism has been imported into Kurdistan's development. The oriental influence is apparent within the City of Erbil through applying various architectural styles adopted from the West models.

Ambitions to elevate Erbil to a global city status and fit it into an elite city image have become the primary goal of the local government. Politicians interviewed referred to Erbil as "the second Dubai" for its ambitious projects. In an attempt to market Erbil as a global city and to attract international corporations, Kurdistan Regional Government is leaning towards urban transformation as the solution. It favors massive large-scale developments across the city, such as shopping malls, luxury hotels, gated communities and many other revitalization projects. The governorate of Erbil supports foreign investments. Nevertheless, urban transformation projects have not been beneficial for all. The existence of depleted areas (Delal Khaneh bazaar) in the historic core of Erbil is considered to be eyesores that weaken Erbil's reputation in the global city status. As a result, the clearance of these areas is seen as a necessity. On the other hand, the new urban park within Erbil's historic core was able to attract national and international tourists.

Undoubtedly, a UNESCO World Heritage designation would mark an important step forward in the awareness of preserving natural or cultural properties which are of outstanding universal values; however, rising global competition among cities has caused the officials to convert these

irreplaceable resources into commodities. Jordan has been successful in commodifying and packaging its Bedouin tribes through tourism. In 2008, 813,267 tourists have visited the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Petra, which accounts for 14.7% of Jordan's total GDP of that year (Weber, 2011). Bedouins or "desert dwellers" communities of ancient city of Petra in Jordan are in threat of losing their traditional way of life. Due to urbanization and development of Jordanian state and growing large-scale agricultural activities, cultural and societal losses of Bedouins community cannot be ignored. Historically, Bedouins inhabited in the ancient Nabataean city of Petra until 1985 when it was listed as a World Heritage Site. Jordanian government with the help of UNESCO in an attempt to preserve the archeological significance and historical inquiries of Petra forcibly resettled the Bedoul to a nearby village (Fuleihan, 2011). Tourists visiting Petra can stay at a Bedouin camp, ride camels and participate in traditional life style of Bedouins. The Jordanian government has been successful in manufacturing history and culture for Western tourists through creating authentic memories and experiences in order to fulfill tourists' expectations of adventure. However, this invented neo-Bedouinism is a threat to the authentic Beddu culture and may lead to its distortion (Weber, 2011). Similarly, Erbil's government is using the historical and cultural significance of the historic citadel as a tool in marketing the city in order to attract tourists, private sectors and foreign investors.

Oz and Eder (2012, p. 298) have referred to these projects of urban transformation as "neoliberal spatial fix", a terminology that Harvey used in 1989, using geographical expansion and restructuring to solve problems in inner cities driven by capitalism ideology (Harvey, 2001). Such urban transformation projects are taking place in various parts of the world and they share

indisputable commonalities. For instance, the removal of Delal Khaneh bazaar in Erbil aligns with the study that Oz and Eder (2012) have conducted on the displacement and downsizing periodic bazaars in Istanbul. In their study, one of Istanbul's most popular periodic bazaars, the Tuesday bazaar, had been relocated and as its replacement a cultural centre/shopping mall was planned. Reasons given by the officials for relocating the Tuesday's bazaar were noise, hygiene and traffic congestion. In addition, the relocation has caused an increase in rent for the merchants in their new location. Merchants at Delal Khaneh faced the same kind of experience and their relocation has been devastating for their businesses. Another example would be the recent redevelopment application of historic Hutong lanes in Beijing. Over the past decades, rapid development and modernization of Beijing has led to a remarkable conflict between the historic urban fabric and recent redevelopment practices within the city. Major roads have bisected ancient neighborhoods including Hutong lanes and traditional residential homes. A Hutong is a narrow lane, which was used to serve a large numbers of important historic buildings such as monasteries and temples and now being used as residential units. Hutong lanes are considered as a living cultural landscape, representing complex historical layers and traditional habitat of its residents (Qian, 2008). These ancient lanes are subject to demolish and rebuild which has not only caused dramatic changes in historic and organic layout of Hutongs but also displaced local residents from their traditional way of life. These historic precincts are most often located within the inner circle of Beijing; however, due to the growing demand for land and as well as image-making processes within Beijing, their redevelopment has become essential. However, the Beijing government priority has given to conserving the physical aspects of these historic places more than social (Qian, 2008).

In the case of Delal Khaneh bazaar, the merchants were relocated into a new shopping mall from the former bazaar, Delal Khaneh, which was located at Erbil City Centre. In replacement of the former bazaar, a new urban park has been created in order to attract tourists. This illustrates a new form of spatial fix, where poor are cleansed from the urban centres. This is considered as an outcome of globalization process and articulation of neoliberalism on space contestations. In such cases, neoliberal ideology tries to make urban poverty less noticeable by breaking up the concentration of poor without understanding the underlying causes of poverty (Sager, 2011).

6.5 Recommendations

The following section addresses and discusses several key recommendations for making future urban redevelopment plans more responsive to the Kurdistan Region. Although the recommendations are primarily directed to the context of the City of Erbil, they can be applicable generally.

- **Involvement of the Public (Public Participation)**

These mega-scale projects lack transparency and direct participation of citizens or any other stakeholders in the decision making process. The projects would benefit by including and considering various stakeholders' needs and wishes. Local involvement in the decision-making processes should be sought in order to know whether these redevelopment projects are likely to benefit residents or not. It is uncommon in Erbil to advocate highly democratic participation for merchants within the current Kurdistan political and administrative environment. However,

public information, propagation and participation should be included within Erbil's planning framework. In order for Erbil to achieve this, there are several steps that could be taken.

1. Consider the local people (merchants) and their lifestyles as part of the city centre when thinking about redevelopment projects and Erbil Citadel conservation.
2. Provide training and education for the locals to increase their capability and capacity in the decision-making. Such education and training programs should be distinctive to each redevelopment project and should be a long-term program in which locals are involved in the pre and post redevelopment processes.
3. Establish a participatory planning agenda within Erbil's redevelopment planning framework. Participatory planning would enable locals to be involved in every planning related decision.

- **Clarify the Intent of the Proposed Redevelopment Plans**

It is essential for governments to be transparent and make the intents behind any proposed redevelopment plans clear to the local population. The goal is to balance out the merchants' needs as well as the visitors. According to merchant interview findings, Erbil's governorate and Ministry of Municipality were not clear in explaining the demolition plans of the former bazaar and the relocation processes of the merchants to the new shopping mall. Merchants were promised to receive larger stores, located on the ground level of the mall. On the other hand, Erbil Downtown Corporation should have been more cooperative in delivering the needs of

occupants. For instance, prior to construction of the mall or signing the contract, a survey should have been conducted, investigating Erbil's market demand and also merchants' needs in general.

- **Develop Urban Design Guidelines for New Shopping Structures**

In order to better facilitate the development of shopping centres, the City needs to adopt a set of urban design guidelines for newly constructed shopping complexes within the city centre. Urban design guidelines can make an important contribution in the design quality as well as the viability and vitality of cities and city centres. Designs which are inappropriate to their contexts and urban fabric would fail to realize the opportunities for improving the city centre's character. A clear vision and well-defined guidelines would allow the city officials and planning authorities to advise on appropriate plan policies and procedures for (re) development applications particularly in sensitive areas, such as historic cores, protected structures and architectural conservation. Depending on the scale of proposed (re) developments, the design brief should identify any development and planning constraints in accordance to the city's objectives and policies.

Clearly defined design guidelines and policies would give greater certainty to developers in their development plans. If Erbil had a set of urban design guidelines, the development of shopping complexes within the city centre would have reflected the needs of merchants. Further consultation and studies are needed to create such frameworks and guidelines. However, the result could provide developers with the required tools to include larger store units. Additionally, the suitability, availability and viability of the proposed location for (re) development applications should be taken into consideration. Whether the proposed retail use is compatible

with the current zoning objectives or harmonious with conservation and heritage objectives. In that regard, Nishtiman mall currently does not fulfill this requirement and is not compatible with its surrounding and urban context.

- **Conduct a Thorough Market Assessment Study**

The City of Erbil is growing rapidly; as of 2010, Erbil's population has exceeded 1.3 million (KRG, 2013 b). The City should have an established set of planning goals and objectives, which provide an opportunity to accurately track the potential for Erbil's city centre. Merchant interview findings revealed that Nishtiman mall consists of 5000 commercial stores in which approximately 4000 are vacant. They further believed that such a massive complex with its continuous footprint offers too many stores for Erbil's population.

It is recommended that the City of Erbil consider hiring an external firm to conduct a study that assesses the market demand for large-scale retail development and the specific needs of merchants prior to developing further investments in such market. A market analysis would provide comprehensive assessments of current trends and conditions related to demographics, market place and socioeconomic characteristics of the proposed trade area. It is important to remember that analyzing the market would help in determining whether a development is feasible or not. However, a study of this kind may take time to be conducted before considering any future (re) development opportunities within the city.

- **Focus on City Centre Amenities and Facilities**

In order for a city centre to successfully maintain a population of residents, regardless of income status, it should have the infrastructure to promote a sense of place and community. It is critically important to provide the required and supporting infrastructure for all residents, whether this means building new features or updating existing infrastructure in historic city centres. The key informant interviews suggested that the creation of urban parks, cultural and touristic facilities are critical to making a city centre attractive to residents and visitors. However, this should be done in a way that would balance social, economic and physical aspects of the redeveloped plan simultaneously. Additionally, although the City plans to provide such amenities within Erbil's city centre in the future, further direction is needed to focus whether these services are in demand or be accommodative to what range of users. Many of the merchants interviewed suggested that shopping malls for retail do not need to be huge, as long as there are some elements of mall-friendly features, such as larger store units, seating areas and cafes. More importantly, the City must have a policy and provision for city centre guidelines facilities in order to serve the needs of not only the residents but also visitors.

- **Develop an Effective Mechanism to Improve Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation for Tourism Planning and Heritage Conservation**

Erbil governorate in corporation with the Ministry of Municipality, HECER and UNESCO should strengthen their supervision and monitoring of conservation and tourism practices within Erbil's City Centre. In addition, this supervision can be enhanced through various means, such as legislation, administration and the use of public media. These practices can be monitored and evaluated by an independent body in order to ensure stakeholders participation in all of the

planning stages. Given the prospects for future foreign investment within the City of Erbil, the City should ensure that these investments maximize community benefits rather than private gains. This could be done through legislation, requiring all foreign investors to involve the public all through their planning process of (re) development projects. The local government should be cautious not to be driven by narrow economic objectives, making Erbil a moneymaker for their own purposes.

6.6 Future Research Opportunities

The results of this research suggest several additional areas for possible future research. For instance, a more detailed investigation of Erbil's historic city centre is needed. This could complement and update the existing literature and may be used to assist the City in developing a set of conservation design guidelines and pre and post-occupancy evaluations of the historic core in order to attract national and international tourists. Moreover, the matter can be compared with similar research in other cities, around the world, in order to improve the comparative knowledge and provide cities with lessons learned and points of reference. All of this could provide valuable visions into what works best for redeveloping historical cores. More thorough research into the effects of downtown shopping mall development in the developing countries is also needed. While this study provides a very focused look at one part of the issue, further research could provide more insight into the new trend (modern developments) of neoliberal goals of cities in formation of city centre areas, in particular, historic city cores.

6.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to provide an answer to the question *How does the current urban redevelopment plan of Erbil City affect Delal Khaneh bazaar merchants' income status and social welfare?* In consideration of the research objectives discussed earlier, the local government is advised to take steps towards creating comprehensive planning initiatives, focus on the long-term future plans of the City and minimize social and economic impacts on the locals. Furthermore, providing appropriate and adequate city centre amenities and facilities is crucial to attracting a broad range of visitors and residents. Local government should construct shopping malls that are in harmony with their surrounding and that accommodate a diverse mix of uses such as retail and office units, restaurants and cafes, or possibly residential units.

Establishing a market assessment of future demands is important for the long-term success of the City. While a UNESCO world heritage designation can have positive implications for Erbil to promote heritage tourism and redevelopment opportunities within the city centre, this research has shown it can jeopardize the locals' traditional livelihoods. Hence, local involvement is vital in the provision of any (re) development projects. Finally, the City of Erbil can transform the City Centre in to a desired destination by creating a strong sense of place and adopting social inclusion processes.

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Appendix A: Erbil City Centre Second Development Plan

Initially, the Ministry of Municipalities hired Dar Al Handasah to provide alternative land use plans for Erbil's City Centre existing master plan. Three different alternatives were provided and one of the three alternatives (referred to second development plan) has been chosen. Summarized below, a list of common objectives for all of the three alternatives with the emphasis on the second development plan alternative; due to the fact that it is now being constructed (Erbil's Ministry of Municipalities, 2013).

- Conservation and rehabilitation of the citadel and the Qaysary bazaar
- Cluster of hotels/cultural activities at the north side of the citadel
- Commercial uses on all main streets
- Recreational/open spaces around the citadel
- Mixed residential/commercial in Arab, Taajil and Khankah (3 heritage districts)
- The creation of a central square to provide a major outdoor urban space/plaza within the City Centre

The existing land use plan (see Figure A1) shows a mixture of retail, commercial, residential and governmental buildings throughout Erbil's City Centre. In this map, Delal Khaneh bazaar has not been removed yet and it is marked in the master plan as a commercial use, while the Nishtiman mall is marked as a commercial building that is still under construction. The study site boundary, as shown in the map, includes the citadel and the three heritage districts (Arab, Taajil and Khankah). It is very evident that the majority of the uses of the three heritage districts are

residential with the exception of the Khankah quarter that includes several commercial lots. However, the three districts have multiple fragmented small squares/open space that currently functions as plazas throughout the City Centre. Figure B2 shows the existing conditions of the buildings in Erbil's City Centre prior to the removal of the bazaar. As shown, the majority of buildings in the study area are in poor condition including the area of Delal Khaneh Bazaar and those buildings are in need for immediate remediation.

Second Alternative Development Plan

This master plan (see Figure A3) has been chosen as the preferred alternative plan for Erbil's City Centre due to several reasons. First, it offers different uses such as recreational, cultural and touristic services all around the citadel. This layout of services has been mentioned as preferred solution by the interviewed Erbil's governorate and the city staff (please refer to key informant interviews). The reason behind this is to emphasize the iconic view of the citadel as discussed in Section 5.3. Moreover, it is an opportunity for the governorate to create a cultural hub within the city centre that would attract tourists. Second, it provides commercial uses on the main ring road. The City of Erbil has recognized that shopping is an important part of tourists' experience. The imported dollars from tourists provide additional revenue for the local businesses to remain financially viable. Third, the three heritage districts are planned to include mixed use developments that would reflect the original usage of the site. In addition, restoration, renovation and any further (re) developments are in complementary of the character of the three heritage districts.

Additionally, Figures A3 and A7 indicate that Delal Khaneh bazaar is zoned as an open space. As per the master plan requirement, the bazaar has been removed and turned into what is called now the Shar Garden Square. As stated before, the officials have a vision to turn the north side of the citadel to an open space area that has recreational facilities as well. It is important to mention that the south and north side of the citadel will undergo major changes that could go up to a 100% complete removal. Figure A4 shows the degrees of changes to the three heritage districts and the citadel site as well.

Figure A5 shows the general concept plan for the second alternative development plan of Erbil's city centre. In this map, a strong attention has been given to the heritage preservation including the citadel and the three heritage districts within the city centre. As mentioned in section 5.3.4 by the interviewed key informants, the north side of the citadel is marked as touristic, cultural and institutional. Moreover, the clustering of commercial activities in the eastern quarter (Khankah heritage district) is a strong indication of the importance of encouraging more businesses within the city centre. This would not only increase the commercial activities within the city centre but also a great tool to draw tourists and residents' attention to Erbil's downtown. The main purpose of this redevelopment project is to transform the citadel into a cultural centre of the modern Erbil, where traditional and heritage districts function to include a mixture of recreational, cultural, and commercial activities that enhance the city centre and attract tourists.

Figure A6 illustrates the building heights for the preferred second alternative development plan. As discussed in section 5.3.1, the Buffer Zone Area (BZA) acts as a restrictive height regulation for the new (re) development projects within Erbil's city centre. The main purpose of this building height regulation is not to have any building that is higher than the citadel, in other

words, the maximum allowance for building's height is 3 floors. By doing this, the citadel would stand out and a visual access would be preserved from all directions. As illustrated in the map, restricted buildings height (less than 4 floors) is permitted around the citadel. Medium to high-rise developments are located further from the citadel in particular, in the eastern and western quarters of the study site (see Figure A9, a bird's eye view for general height perspective of the second alternative development plan).

Prior to Delal Khaneh bazaar removal, Erbil's city centre had limited number of urban open spaces. The proposed master plan offers a number of fragmented urban open spaces throughout the city centre that are connected with landscaped streets (see Figure A7). In replacement of Delal Khaneh bazaar, the Shar Garden Square (see Figure A8 for site perspective) has become the main urban square within Erbil's city centre. Erbil's governorate has enhanced the Shar Garden Square by adding bushes, water features and seating areas, a pleasing respite from all the urban rush of Erbil's busy city centre. In addition, Shar Garden Square helps clearing up the views towards the citadel, which is the city's primary reason for creating the square.

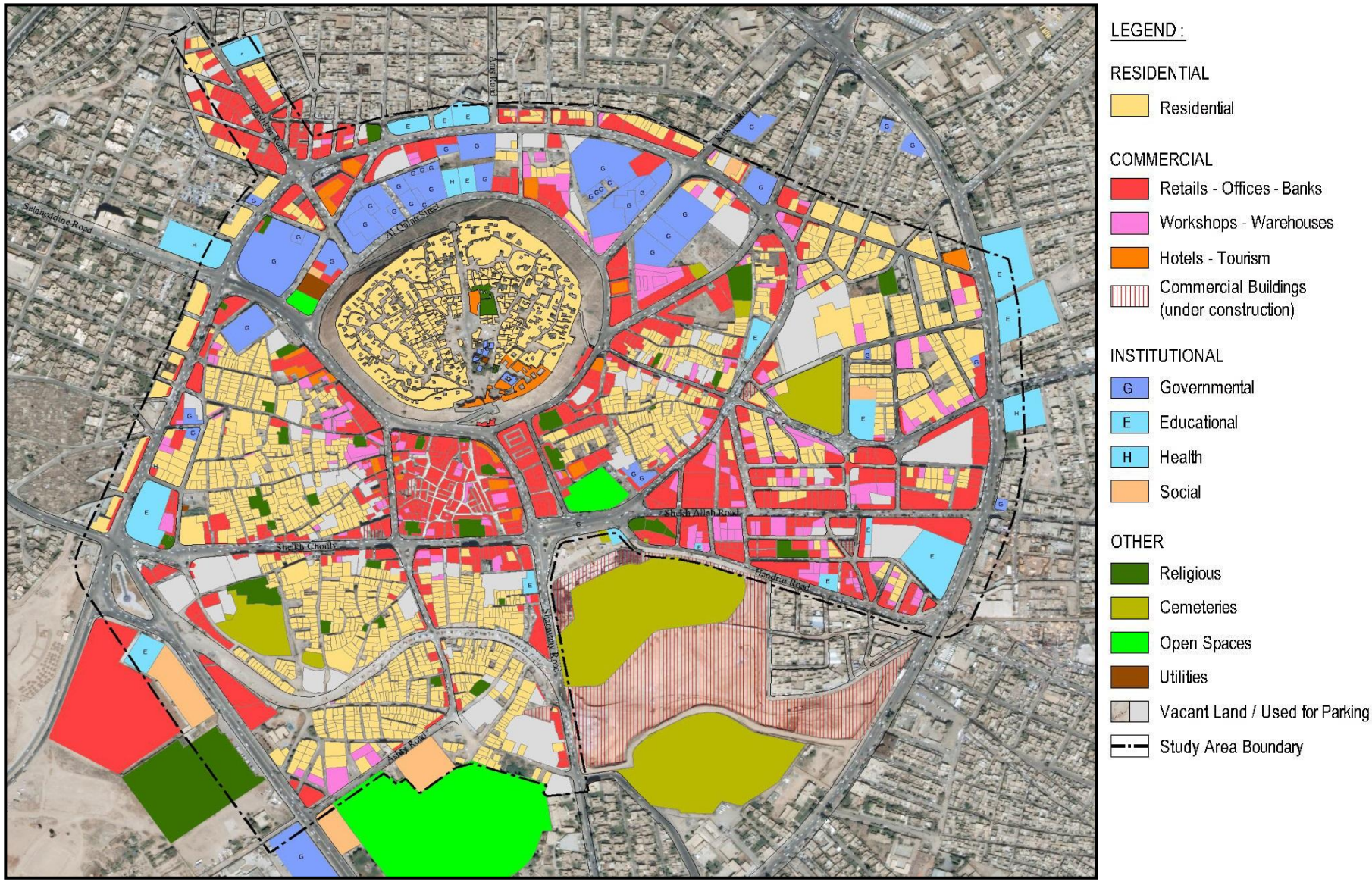


Figure A 1: Erbil's Existing Land use Plan Prior to the Removal of Delal Khaneh Bazaar.
Source: Ministry of Municipality, Slide 4

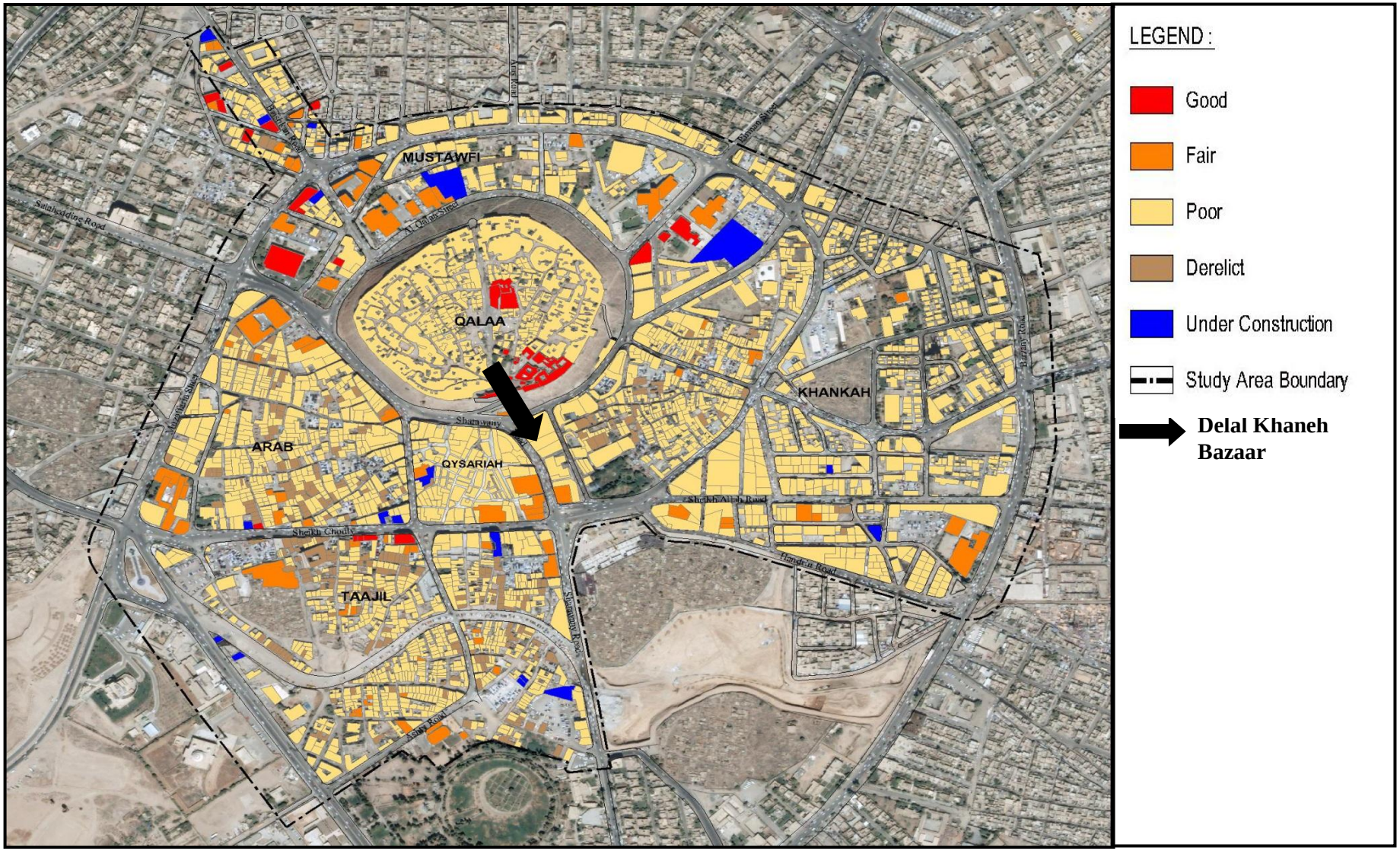


Figure A 2: Erbil's Existing Building Conditions Prior to the Removal of Delal Khaneh Bazaar.
Source: The Ministry of Municipality, Slide 6.

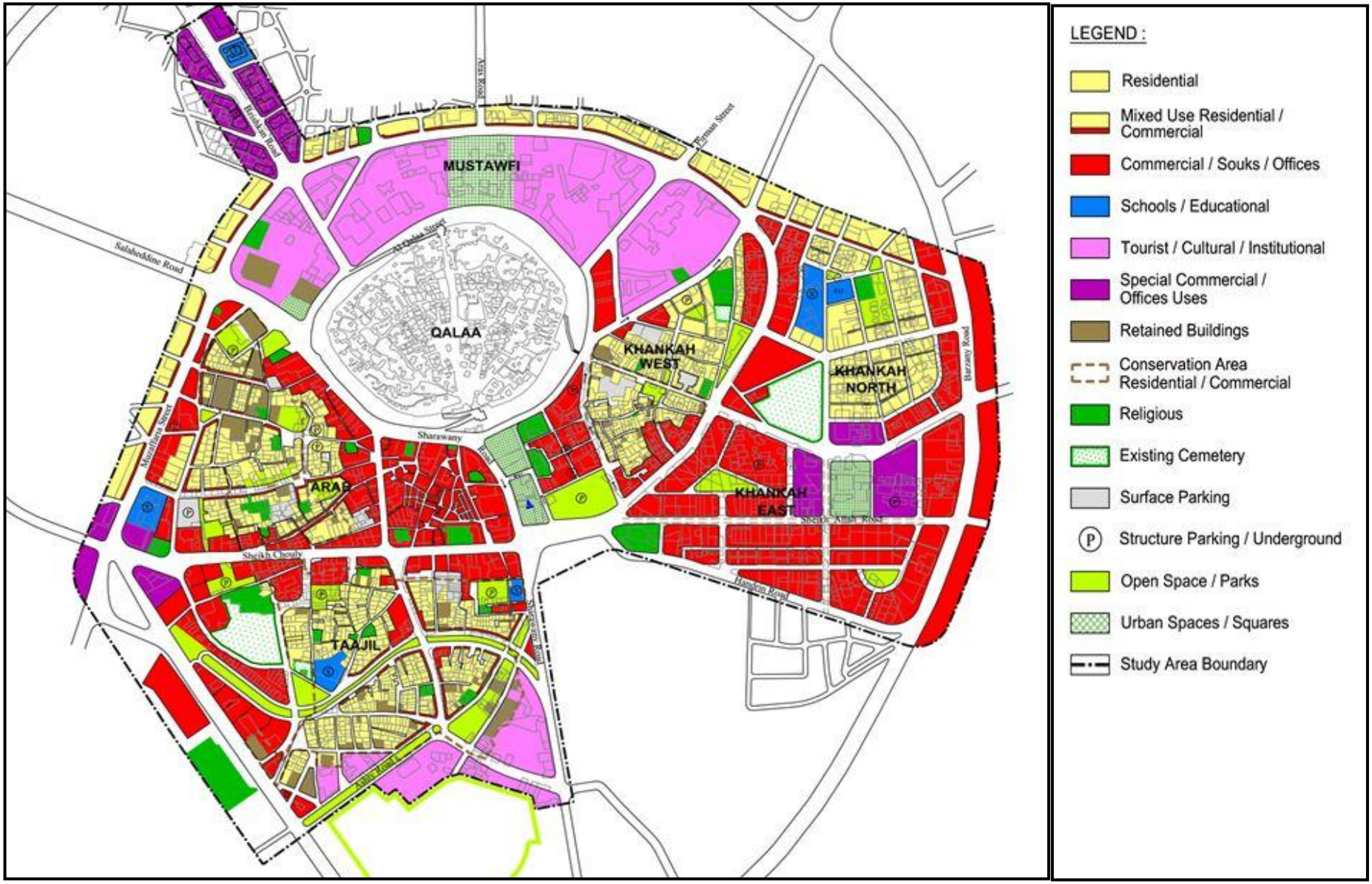


Figure A 3: Erbil's City Centre Second Alternative Land use Development Plan.
Source: The Ministry of Municipality. Slide 53.

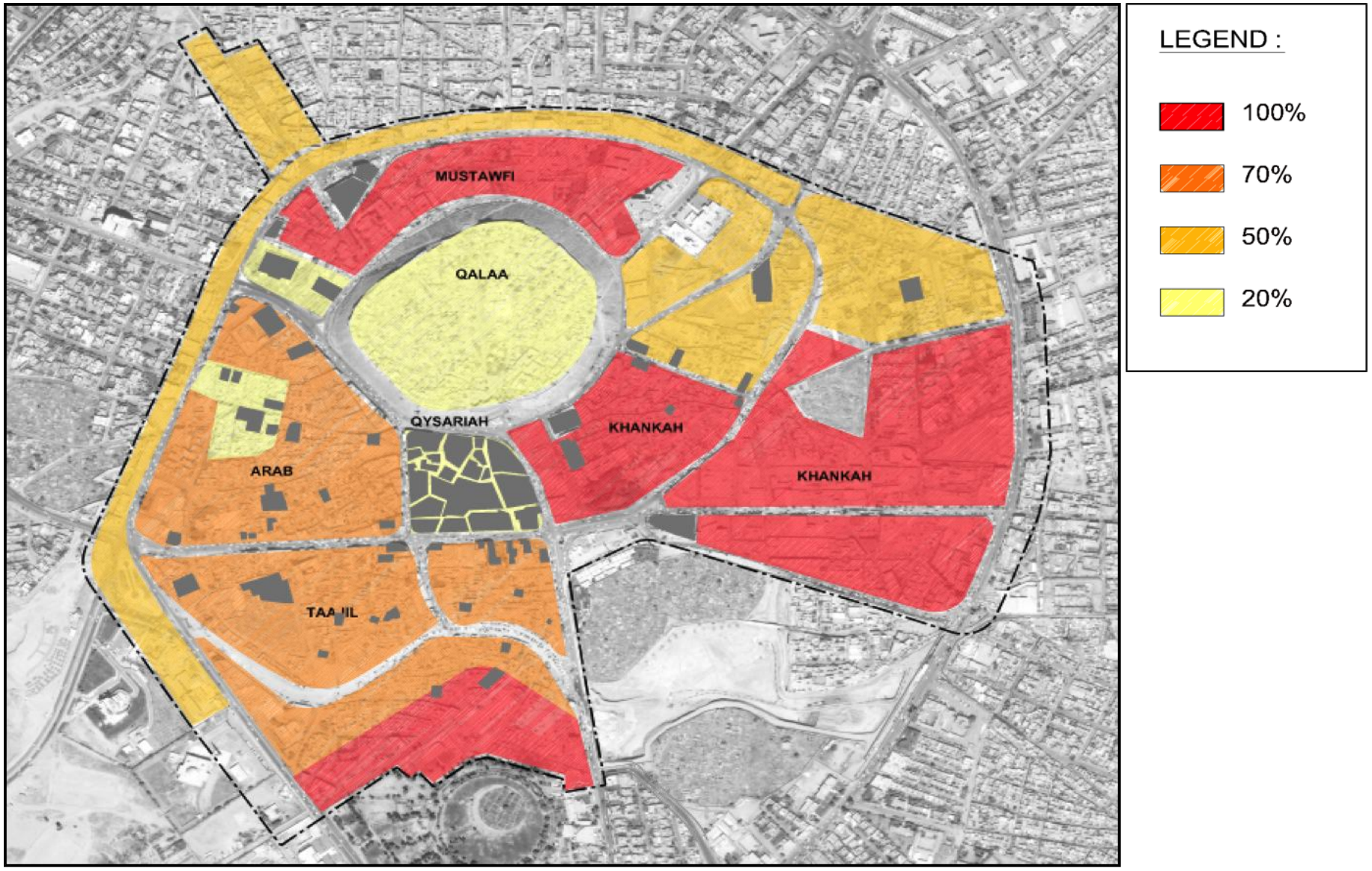


Figure A 4: Erbil's City Centre Second Development Plan degree of changes.
Source: The Ministry of Municipalities, Slide 26.

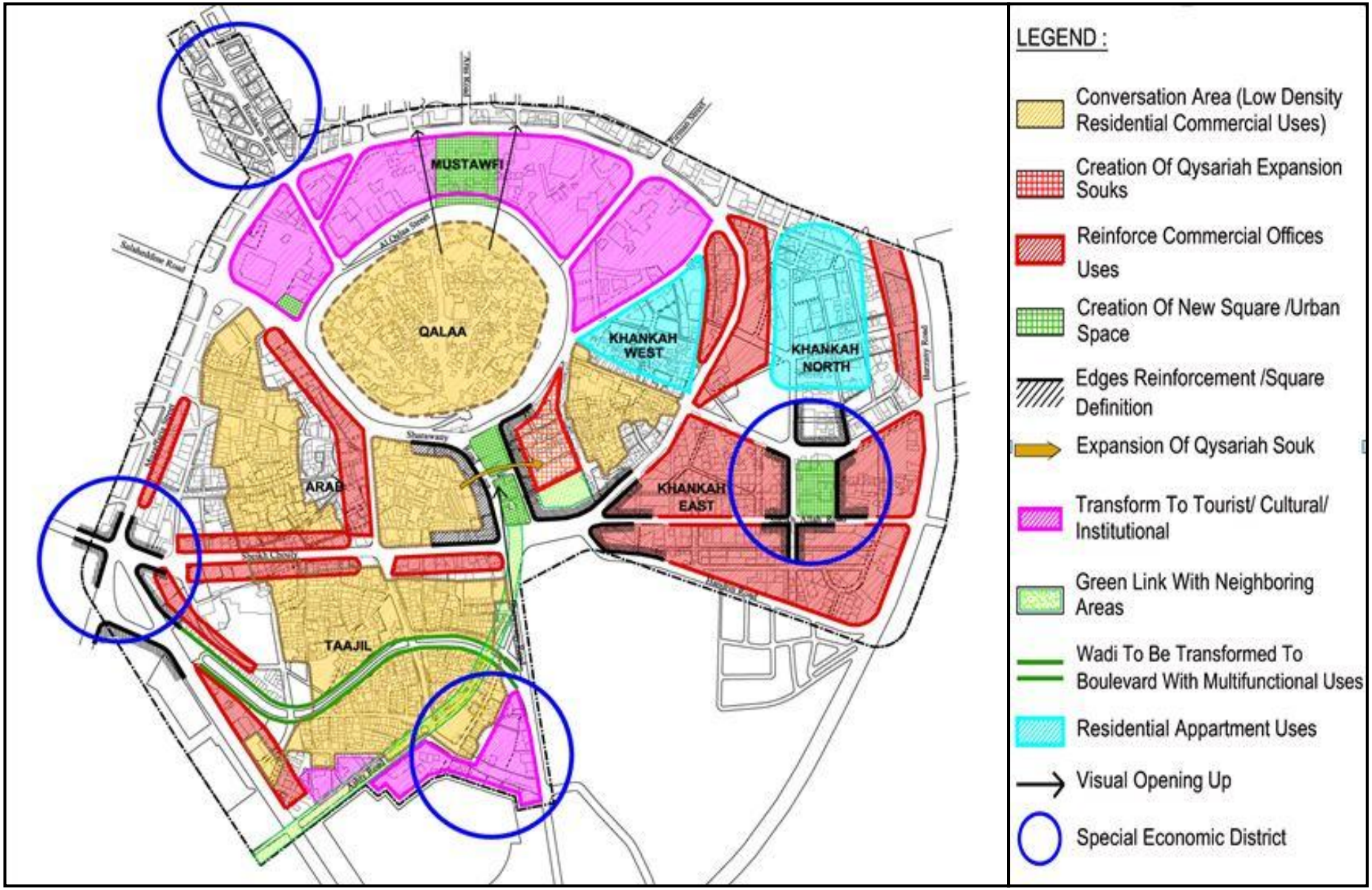


Figure A 5: General Concept Plan for the Second Alternative Development Plan.
Source: The Ministry of Municipality Slide 52.

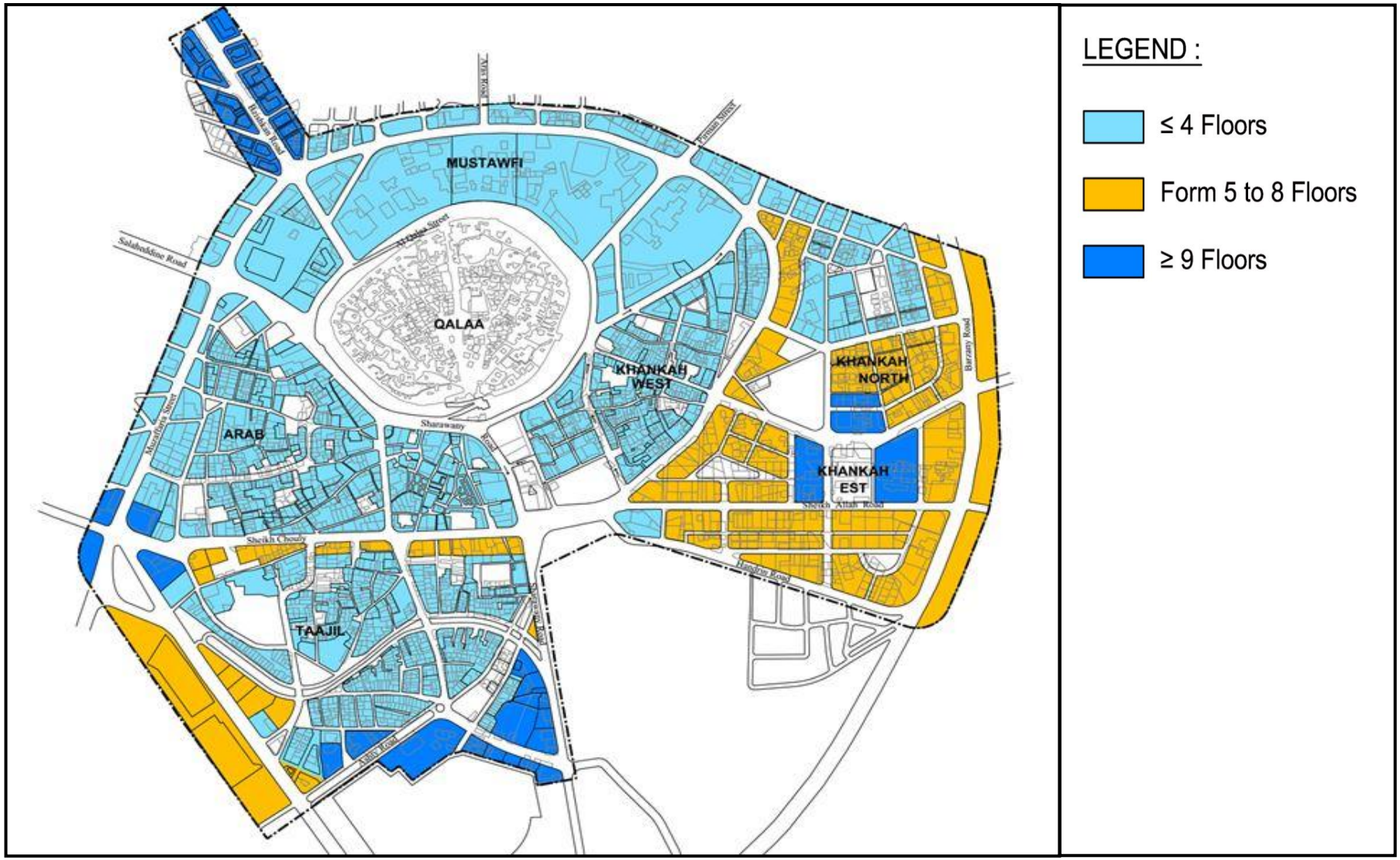


Figure A 6: Proposed Building Heights for the Second Alternative Development Plan.
Source: The Ministry of Municipality Slide 55.

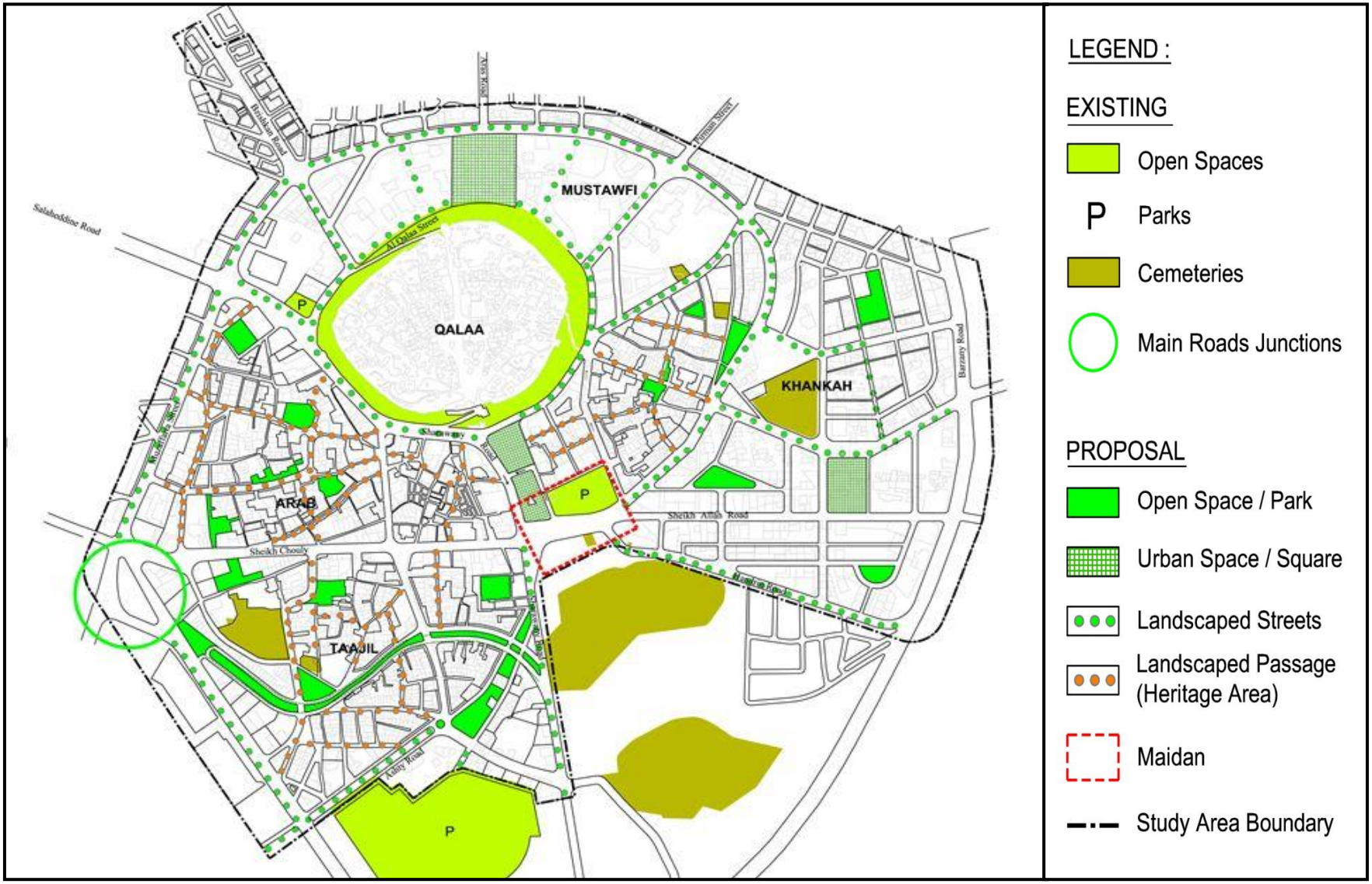


Figure A 7: Urban Open Space Map that illustrates the Existing against the Proposed Second Alternative Development Plan
Source: The Ministry of Municipality Slide 56



Figure A 8: A Perspective of the Proposed Urban Square (Shar Garden Square) of The Second Alternative Development Plan (In Replacement of Delal Khaneh Bazaar).
Source: The Ministry of Municipality Slide 58



Figure A 9: An Arial Perspective of the Proposed Second Alternative Development Plan
Source: The Ministry of Municipality Slide 33

Appendix B: Information and Consent Letter & Interview Questions

University of Waterloo

May 2013

Dear Erbil resident,

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo, Canada under the supervision of Professor Laura Johnson. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

In Kurdistan Region, Northern Iraq, the current speed of redevelopment indicates a significant change in urban land use. Contemporary urban redevelopment has caused substantial social and physical impacts. In some instance, displacement of local communities has become a common process of these redevelopment applications. Thus, many communities are dislocated due to the urban renewal as it happened in Erbil Citadel community. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to explore the socioeconomic impacts of the current urban redevelopment plans in Erbil City, Iraq. This specific site, Erbil Citadel, the World Heritage Site, is used as a case study to investigate the indicated impacts. As a result of urban redevelopment, the local community including, residents and merchants are displaced from the Citadel and bazaar areas. The process of displacement will be studied along with its impacts on the local community.

The restoration and reconstruction of the Erbil Citadel world heritage site is the motivation for the Kurdish government to regenerate the site and its surrounding areas into a multi-functional renowned tourist site, with coffee houses, hotels, and galleries, where tourists and residents can appreciate the site's authenticity. However, this urban transformation resulted in displacement of the inhabitants as well as relocation of an old bazaar called, "Delal Khaneh" into a public open space, "Shar Garden Square".

This research seeks to understand people's direct experience with the redevelopment. Therefore, I would like to include you as one of several interviewees to be involved in my study. I believe that because you are actively involved in the redevelopment processes, you are well suited to speak to the various issues, such as understanding the social consequences of displacement or relocation of merchants.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately thirty minutes in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study;

however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained for one year in a locked office in my supervisor's office. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at +1 (226) 600-2821 or by email at r7mohamm@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Laura Johnson at +1 (519)-888-4567 ext. 36635 or email lcjohnson@uwaterloo.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to the Kurdish community, to the City of Erbil and to those planning redevelopment heritage sites in international context. I hope further to contribute to a set of criteria that would help in redevelopment projects without destroying heritage/authenticity value of any place.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Student Investigator

Rojan Mohammadi

VERBAL CONSENT FORM

In this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

You agree that you have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Rojan Mohammadi in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo. You have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to your questions, and to receive any additional details you wanted.

You are aware that you have the option of allowing your interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of your responses.

You are also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

You were informed that you may withdraw your consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

You understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo, Canada. You were informed that if you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, you may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at +1 (519) 888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, Do you agree, of your own free will, to participate in this study?

☐YES ☐NO
Do you agree to have your interview audio recorded?
☐YES ☐NO
Do you agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research?
☐YES ☐NO

Participant Name: _____ (print)

Date: _____

زانكوى واترلو

مايو ٢٠١٣

دانيشتوي بەڕێزى شارى هەولێر

ئەم نووسرواوە داواتنامەيەكە بو بەشداربووني بەڕێزت لە لێكولينەوەيەك كە بەشێكە لە نامەى ماستەرەكەم لە قوتابخانەى پلان دانانى زانكوى واترلو. كەندا لە ژێر چاودێري پروفسور لاورا جونسون. من دەمەويست زياتر زانياري بدەم بە .بەڕێزتان سەبارەت بە پروژەكە و هەندێ شت كە جەنابتان زياتر حەز دەكەن ئاگادار بن بو وەلام دانەوە.

لە هەرێمى كوردستان لە باكووري عيراق . هێزى پێشكەوتني هەنوكەيى نيشاندەرى گورانكارييە شارستانييەكانن. لە هەمان كاتدا نوێبوونەوەى شار كاردانەوەى هەيە لەسەر كومەڵگا و پالەپەستوەكانى

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بەم شێوەيە جێگور كردنى كومەڵەكانى لوكال دەبێتە هۆى داواكارى لەسەر نوبارە نوێ كردنەوە و پێشخستنى بابەتەكان. هەروەها لە چەندين جێگا و شوێن جێگور كراوە لە ماوەى نوێ كرىنەوە و جوانكاري شار لە ناو قەلاي شارى هەولێر. مەبەست لەم خيندنەوەيە گەرانە لە پالەپەستووەكانى ئابووورى كومەڵگا لە كاتي نوێ كردنەوەي شاري هەولێر لە عێراق. وەك ئاكامى نوێ كردنەوەى كومەڵەى ناوخويى كە بريتيە لە نانيشتوان، بازرگانەكان، خورده فروشەكان كە جێگور كراون لە قەلاي شار و بازار. پروسێسى جێگوركردن دەخينرێتەوە لەگەل پالەپەستووەكانى لەسەر كومەڵەي ناوخو.

جێگير كردن و نوبارە دروست كردنەوەى قەلاى هەولێر كە ميراتى جيهانييە دەبێتە هێزێك بو حكومەتى كوردى كە پێشاندەرى ئەوە دەبيت لە چەندين لايەن دتوانيت كار بكات بو نوێ كردنەوەى خوي لە گەل كوفي شاپەكان ، هوتێلەكان و گاليرييەكان كە لەو جێگايانە توريستەكان و دانيشتواني شار دەتوانن هەست بە بايەخى ئەم كاره بكەن. هەرچونێك بێ ئەم جێگوركردنى شار دەبێتە هۆى گوريني بازاري بو جێگايەكي گشتى بە ناوى چوارگوشەى باخي شار.

ئەم لێكولينەوەيە دەگەرێت بو زانينى ئازمونى راستەوخوى خەلك لەگەل نوبارە نوێ كردنەوە. پێم باشە جەنابت يەكێك بيت لەو كەسانە كە چاوپێكەوتن لەگەل دەكرێت. و باوەرم وايە بە هاوكارى تەواوى جەنابت لەم پروسێسە هاوكاريمان دكەى لە زانينى دەرەنجامە كومەلايەتييەكانيان جێگور كردنى بازرگانەكان.

هاوبەش بوون لەم خيندنەوەيە بە شێوەى خوبەخشييە. و بريتييە كە چاوپێكەوتنێك كە زياتر لە ٣٠ خولەك كات ناگريت لە جێگايەك كە هەر دوولا لەسەرى رێك دەكەوين. دەتوانى وەلامي هەندێ پرسيارەكان نەدەيەوە بە ئارەزوى خوت. و هەروەها دەتوانى پاشگەز ببى لەم خيندنەوەيە لەهەر كاتێك بێ بە بێ ئەوەى ئاكامى نێگەتيف هەبيت بە رێپێشاندانى ئەم كەسە كە لێكولينەوە دەكات. بە يارمەتى جەنابت چاوپێكەوتنەكە بە شێوەى هەلگرتنى دەنگ دەبيت بو ئەوەى لە فايلي زانيارييەكان هەلگرين و بتوانيين دواتر لەسەر بنوسينەوە بو بەراورد كردن و تحليل كردن. لەكاتێكى كەم دوايى چاوپێكەوتن كوپييەك لە چاوپێكەوتنەكە دەدرێت بە جەنابت بە چاوخشاندن لەسەر و ئاگادارکردنمان بو هەبووني هەر گرفتێك يان گورانكارى. هەر زانيارييەك لەلايەن جەنابتان بە شێوەى نهێنى دەمينيت. ناوى بەڕێزت لە هيچ لێكولينەوەيەك ئاشكرا ناكرێت لەم خيندنەوەيە . بە رەزامەندى جەنابت ووتارەكان بێ ناو دەبيت . ئەو زانيارييانە كە كۆ دەكرێت بو ماوەى ساڵێك لە ئوفيسي سوپەروايزەر بە شێوەك قفل دەمينيتەوە و تەنيا ئەو كەسانە كە كار دەكەن لەسەر ئەم لێكولينەوەيە دەتوانن سوود وەرگرن لە زانيارەييەكان. لێرە هيچ كەسێك نايەوێت كە مەترسي بو جەنابت دروست بكات سەبارەت بەم لێكولينەوەيە.

هەر پرسيارێك هەبێ سەبارەت بەم خيندنەوەيە يان پێويستيت بە هاوكاري هەيە بو بريارداران بە هاوبەشبوون لەم خيندنەيە تكايە پەيوەندي بكە بە ژمارەى:

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دەمەوێ پشت راستت بکەم کە ئەم خیندنەوەیە بینراوە لە لایەن ئوفیسي لێکولینەوە ئەخلاقییەکانی زانکوی واترلو. و بریاری کوتایی سەبارەت بە بەشداربوون لە دەست خودی بەرێزتە. ئەگەر هەر را و پێشنیارێکت هەبێ کە پەیوەستە بە بەشداربوونی بەرێزت لەم خیندنەوەیە تکایە پەیوەندي بکە بە دکتور ماورین نومێلین لە ئوفیسي لێکولینەوە ئەخلاقیەکان بە ژمارەی :

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هیوادارم دەرەنجامی لێکولینەوەم دەێە هۆی سوودبەخشین بە کومەلگەی کوردی لە ناو شاری هەولێر و هەوەها بو ئەم پلانانە کە دانراون بو دووبارە بنیاتنانەوە و پێشخستنی میراتە کانمان . هیوادارم بتوانم هاوکاری بکەم بە دانانی رێگاچارەیەك کە بتوانیت سوودبەخش بیت لە پروژەکانی بنیاتنانەوە و نوێ کردنەوە بە بێ زیانگەیاندن بە ئەم شوێنانەی کە میراتن .

قوتابێ لێکولەر

روژان محمدي

Interview Guide for Merchant Interviews

Displacement Process

- What is your role in this relocation process?
- How long did it take for merchants to move?
- How would you describe the process of the change? Did merchants participate in planning displacement processes?
- In your opinion, why did the bazaar move?

Economic perspective

- Do you get the same amount of customers in comparing to the old bazaar?
- Have your customers changed or are they the same people from the old location? Or are some old or some new?
- Do you think that renovation has increased the tourist flow?
- Who are the tourists? Where do they come from? Are they local? International?
- Are you (merchant) affected economically? Did you lose capital during the displacement processes?
- Did merchants pay rent in the old bazaar? How much per month? How affordable was it for you? Is it compatible with the rent from this new location?
- Were merchants provided with any financial support for moving or any other moving assistance?
- Did your income changed? Has it Increased or decreased?
- Are there maintenance costs that you are required to pay?

Social perspective

- Are you satisfied with the moving process/the allocation?
- Do you think the new place is more organized? Is it more hygienic?
- Can you tell me about the change from the old market to the new?
- Probe for: cost, experience
- Did all merchants move together? Was there any phasing to the project?
- Do you feel safe in the new location?

Interview Guide for Key Informant Interviews

- How do you feel about the market in its old form and its redeveloped form?
- What was the reason for the bazaar demolition?
- Do you think the old market had symbolic meaning? How, if at all, does the change affect quality of life for residents/merchants?
- Does new Garden Park is an attraction for tourists? If yes, from where?
- Is the redevelopment controversial? If yes, in what ways and why?
- What are the negatives regarding demolishing the bazaar?
- What are the costs? What is the time frame for the completion of the entire redevelopment?
- Do you think Nishtiman Mall has a good design? Does it offer merchants' needs?
- How much UNESCO's decision about Erbil Citadel, nominating it as World Heritage Site has impacts on this redevelopment plan?
- Any suggestions if anyone else have been involved in this project and they would be willing to participate in this study?
- What is your background?