# Popular Cities as Self Sustainable Reserves: The Case of Al Sadr City, Iraq

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#### **Abstract**

Popular cities make up a large proportion of cities in the developing countries. The United Nations estimated that more than a billion people lived in these cities in 2018. The most important characteristic of these cities is their popular culture, which has been described as consumerist, temporary, and low, not up to the levels expected. They are intermediate cities between the organic rural type and the formal modern type. People of popular cities maintain their values and behaviors for long periods and in various built environments, indicating their residents' adaptation and self-sustainability.

This paper examines the effects of the built environment based on the prevailing social situation. It attempts to explain the socio-spatial pattern of popular cities. The paper is based on a hypothesis that popular cities are self-sustainable social reserves. They are able to maintain their existence over time and be sustainable due to their self-regulatory and adaptive systems.

The paper employed a descriptive historical approach and a case study method and examined the Sadr City in Baghdad. The study discovered that the socio-spatial pattern of the Sadr City is formed based on achieving protection, benefit, freedom of choice, and temporary solutions that are not imposed on their residents from the outside.

**Keywords:** Popular cities, socio-spatial pattern, self-sustainability, social reserves, Sadr City.

## Introduction

In their different forms, cities are socio-spatial phenomena resulting from people's interactions with the built environment. They represent a broad qualitative social phenomenon occurring within a specific physical geographic space. Popular and vernacular cities with their physical aspects are one of these phenomena (Oliver, 2006). Popular cities have no precise definition, but they can be defined in general by the nature of their culture, features, and behaviors of their communities. Just like traditional cities, a popular city has a community with a popular culture built from inherited traditions, daily habits, and informal interactions within a specific location. However, there is a significant distinction between the popular cities and traditional cities; that a traditional environment is more managed than popular cities, containing a high balance of social representations of the inhabitants' culture. Due to the clarity of traditions and social norms, urban solutions for traditional cities have the feature of permanency and excellent organization (Luthan, 2016).

The paper raises two questions: What is the impact of the built environment on the sustainability of popular cities? What are the mechanisms of that sustainability? Therefore, the problem is the lack of clarity on how to understand the nature of sustainability and intervene to implement it; preserve the social characteristics and behaviors in popular cities and diagnose the threats and challenges they face and the states of deterioration they exist in.

The research is based on a hypothesis that popular cities are self-sustainable social reserves. They are able to continue and protect its existence over time due to the system of self-regulation and adaptation they carry within them. This is affected by the nature of the organization of the built environment of those cities. This paper focuses on the idea of self-sustainability of popular culture and establishes the term social reserve for popular cities. It assesses the appropriate built environment for them. The goal is to diagnose the threats to organizing the environment based on the preservation and sustainability of popular cities as social reserves as they represent an urban achievement and an accumulation of knowledge over time.

## **Theoretical Background Popular Cities and Culture**

According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), nearly a billion people live in popular urban settlements in developing countries (Rivero & Antonio, 2021). Residents of a popular area create their own social culture in contrast to the mainstream general culture by creating meaning via their social ties. They act in ways that are influenced by their backgrounds and experiences, and they design their own environments (Dener, 2006). They interpret and adapt to their surroundings in their daily lives. They are able to promote their preferences, values, and philosophies as a result of their efforts. People always have a say in the principal designers' aims, as well as the use and renovation of their buildings. Buildings can only direct our actions and enclose every decision that affects our everyday life, when we regard these buildings as the basic rules and determinants of us that we make of our necessities, our experiences, and cognitive awareness of the point where we have the fling that our freedom is reached (Schwarte, 2014). Popular culture strives to justify social actions, even if it opposes the rational and legal context; it also represents a broad framework for a wide audience, but it keeps diversity and internal heterogeneity in order to look cohesive. In fact, it is able to jump over contrasts.

At a certain level, popular culture has the ability to leap over differentiated groupings, fulfilling at least a momentary interest of groups that are otherwise extremely dissimilar (Williams, 2018). Although some have argued that popular culture is an experimental communal output with traditional origins, it has not yet reached the level of higher culture, which could become a popular culture in the future (Storey, 2009). In popular culture, conflict is always present. It was created to fight the dominant ideology (Dener, 2006).

People's cultures are shaped by their life experiences. Ordinary people are dissatisfied with their living conditions; therefore they rely on the resources of the present system to build their own lives. Instead of leaving the field, the numerous groups of people infuse their own values into city life and begin to influence the ruling class. They provide identity to the place; have knowledge about it, and produce and consume meanings of symbols in certain circumstances (Therborn. 2017). Popular communities are also adept at modifying contents of culture to fit their daily experiences.

The social self-organizing characteristics of popular cities emanating from such communities can be defined as follows (Storey, 2009):

- 1. A culture that a large number of people appreciate and adore; due to the people enjoying things that give them freedom.
- 2. A lower culture or what's left of a higher culture that was complex, real, and rational
- 3. It is a widespread commercial culture that is mass-produced in big quantities. It is a transient culture that is used when it's needed to legitimize the actions of the audience.

- 4. A people-centered culture that rejects what is imposed on them. It is possible that it has something to do with employees and the labor class. It is a genuine culture that is practiced in a variety of nations and cities.
- 5. It is a culture of balance between two powers: authority of the prominent rulers and the authority of the common people. The authorities have the power to impose wills and advance interests. The regular people, on the other hand, resist them.
- 6. Post-modern and hybrid culture. There is a blurring of the lines between the higher and popular cultures. People's cultural identities are revealed through their lived experiences and interactions with them.

## The Built Environment of a Popular City

The built environment is the built form that reflects a person's way of life by acting as a conduit for the social power practices. Buildings and spaces, infrastructure, human activities, and functions are all included (Crawford, 2011). Space, time, meaning, and communication are all regulated by the built environment.

The constructed environment can be thought of as a behavior setting, or a place where people do things. The circumstances for behavior might be neutral, hindering, or facilitating (Rapoport, 1976). The term "popular urbanization" refers to the acts of individuals who are interested in the construction and maintenance of their homes and neighborhoods. This "popular" aspect refers to a diverse group of actors who create the urban space, often without obvious leadership or an overarching philosophy. However, it is also produced by those who share a common goal of creating urban spaces for themselves and their communities. These social groups are frequently defined by kinship, friendship, ethnicity, religion, or political affiliation (Streule, 2020).

Due to their social organization and self-adaptation, popular cities are social reserves with aspects of self-sustainability and defensive mechanisms. They are influenced by the disorder of organizational problems and internal interactions inside their built forms. There is a relationship between social dimensions and the built environment of the cities. Therefore, Rapoport proposed a basic theory that provides light on individual behavior and freedom.

According to these ideas, built environments have three effects on human behavior and social patterns, which have been classified into three categories. The first is environmental determinism: this is the belief that human behavior is determined by the environment. The second is possibilism: this is the belief that the physical world provides opportunities and restrictions within which people make decisions depending on other factors, primarily cultural ones. The third is probabilism - the contemporary belief that the environment does, in fact, present choices and is not determinant, but that some choices are more likely than others in particular physical situations (Rapaport, 1977).

## **Popular Urbanization and Sustainability**

The spatial outcomes of popular urbanization are popular cities (Rivero & Antonio, 2021). Popular urbanization is known as the construction of an urban place based on the participation of its people in social and political mobilization in conflict with the state and in pursuit of security of tenure, basic infrastructure, improved regulation, and official acknowledgment (Rivero Antonio, 2021). Residents of socially sustainable cities exhibit vibrancy, solidarity, and a feeling of place, as defined by the following definition; "social justice issues are access to services, facilities and opportunities and issues connected to the community's sustainability (Davidson., 2010).

Although self-sustainability is a new phrase in modern urban studies, it can be defined in terms of the general concept of sustainability. It is defined in terms of four main objectives that pertain to the city's sustainability, including meeting the rights of new generations, maintaining the efficiency of positive built environment performance for the longest period of time, rationalizing energy and resource consumption, and reducing pollution and extinction over

time. The ideal behavioral patterns that allow individuals to maintain for a long period are known as self-social sustainability. From a behavioral standpoint, self-sustainability refers to desirable behavioral patterns that allow persons to be retained or sustained for longer periods of time (Puvana, 2007). Cities are thus self-developing systems that adjust their internal dynamics in response to external relationships in a dependent connection (Riccardo and Enzo, 2009). It is the obligation of society to decide what should be preserved for future generations and how this might be done (Widok, 2009).

A social reserve in a popular city can be characterized using the following definitions. They are urban areas where a significant number of people are concentrated and ruled by an informal culture that aims to protect gender, nationalism, and religion. They share the same ancestry and kinship, and they are peaceful, similar in their daily routines, and have a similar level of living. They agree on inherited and invented traditions, as well as acceptable and transitory conventions. This is the key to their continued attractiveness to the cites. In terms of dwelling design and construction materials, they are frequently similar. Social reserves are clever because they evaluate built settings that help them survive and thrive, based on their self-adaptive social systems and the freedom that the public has in deciding their cultural choices and social activities.

## **Research Methodology**

The paper employed a historical descriptive approach within a case study. It examined the Sadr City in Baghdad as a popular city. Direct interviews were conducted with the residents of one residential neighborhood. Hundred families were selected randomly. The instructions allowed the family members to share information. These interviews form a testable model to detect obstacles to self-sustainability due to indicators of the built environment and to reveal the extent of people's sensitivity to abandonment or the desire to stay.

A historical overview of the city's emergence and urban development, as well as the most important cultural trends fused in its popular culture was collected, along with a description of the city's current situation. The reasons were given, then the results were discussed and conclusions were drawn.

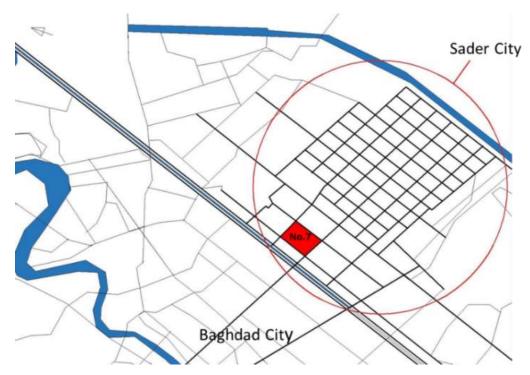
## The Case Study: Sadr City Location in Baghdad

Sadr City is in the eastern and northeastern parts of Baghdad, the capital, and stretches horizontally and vertically East of the Army Canal, which separates it from Rusafa and Karkh in the Old Baghdad. Sadr City's geography is distinguished by its simplicity and horizontal extension. With a total area of 30 km2, it was divided into the neighborhoods of Al-Thawra, Al-Habibiya, Jamila, Al-Orfali, and Tareq (Al-Maliki, 2007).

The city was founded to accommodate the largest number of residents. The political will and planning direction was aimed at finding solutions to the difficulties that cities and their citizens face. They were accompanied by the beginning of passing legislation supporting housing and land ownership, such as the enactment of Law 93 in 1959 to establish housing societies and the completion of a housing exchange project in Al-Thawra and Al-Shoala (Zouri, 2008). It was one of the planning options to deal with the momentum and demand for old Baghdad's services; Karkh and Rusafa. This spurred migration from the countryside to the city. There was a pressing need to accommodate employees and citizens by resolving the housing crisis and advancing society to the urbanization stage. As a result, the total number of sorted lands in 1959 was 65,000 residential lands.

Sadr City is one of the most populous areas in modern Baghdad (Fig.1). Since the construction of its residences began in the 1950s of the previous century, it has been in a constant state of expansion. The grid design divides Baghdad into uniform, equal, and orthogonal geometric pieces, which is the main philosophy behind the

city's planning. Sadr City was the site of this experiment. Within the allocated area, the popular city was divided into square or rectangular sections, which is a foreign and alien pattern to the traditional and ancient cities such as Baghdad (Kamouna, 2001). Sadr City's rectangular divisions each reflected about (80) residential neighborhoods. Typically, three residential sections are surrounded by main streets that run horizontally and vertically across the city.



**Fig. 1:** Location of Sader City in Baghdad City Source: Author

#### **Social Dimensions of the Sadr City**

Since its inception, the city has seen socio-economic transformations that may be described as social mobility. It is a shift in the social objective or value, as well as everything that alters or leads to a different social state through human activities. There can be no progress without change (Chalabi, 2001). Residents of the city have always represented the poor class of immigrant farmers or low-wage workers. As a result, the city grew and developed to the point that its citizens' classes, orientations, and classifications differed according to the standards of living. The community is classified as a poor community based on its overall standard of living (Table -1 and Table -2).

On the other side, there are a few wealthy families, especially after the city's expansion. While at the cultural level, there are three primary trends that overlap or one of them may predominate over the others over time. This describes how social behavior evolves over time. During the last 50 years, the following three patterns have emerged: the tribal orientation, the scientific and secular tendency, and religious-political awareness. Sadr City is basically comprised of Baghdad's slum dwellers and impoverished neighborhoods. They all come from the southern governorates' countryside since they are members of a number of well-known Iraqi tribes (Al-Rubaie, 2010).

**Table 1**: Sadr City population' age distribution and intellectual achievement. Source: Author

Age structure for the year 2009				Economically active category (15-65) years			
No.	Age gro	oup	population	1	percentage	employed percentage	unemployed percentage
	Less tha		655590		43.2 %	59.2 %	40.8 %
	15-64 ye	ears	805663		53.2 %		
	65- and	over	80897		3.4 %	1	
	years (	old					
	unknov	wn	1623		0.2 %	1	
	the tot	tal	1513746		100 %	805663 = (100)%	
			Al-Sadr Cit	y Acad	demic Achiever	ment (2009)	
illiterate	Reads	Prima	ry Mido	dle	High	Diploma and	Postgraduate
	and		scho	ool	school	Bachelor's	
	writes						
12.5 %	24.6 %	31.8 %	% 13°	%	8.5 %	7.8 %	1.3 %
	56	.4 %	21	.5 % S	Secondary	9.1%	
12.5%	79.9%						

**Table 2**: Population growth, expectations, and population density rates. Source: Author

Net population density of Sadr City with the growth rate					
Year	Population	Area in hectares	The density of people/ha	Population growth rate	
2009	1513746	1372	1103	3%	
2015	1807491	1372	1317	3%	
2020	2095377	1372	1527	3%	

## Residential District No. 7 in the Sadr City

Face-to-face interviews with residents were used to learn about and assess the impact of the built environment of Sadr City (the case study) on its self-sustainability. Questions include the extent of acceptance and satisfaction of the popular community with the built environment in achieving freedom of choice and response to social activities. In addition, they include the indicators of the current built environment's suitability for modern social activities and demand to understand the dangers of self-regulation and prepare the necessary self-adaptation to achieve self-sustainability. The built environment of the Sadr City's residential district No.7 was analyzed as a model (Fig.2). The city is divided into about 80 residential districts in order to manage the sample size and demonstrate a mini-representation of the popular city for testing.



Fig. 2: The site of neighborhood No.7 of Sader City.



**Fig. 3:** Neighborhood No.7 of Sader. Source: Author

### **Interviews**

The population of residential area No. 7 is estimated to be around 5400 people, with an average family size of about 9 persons. The number of housing units in the residential neighborhood was used to determine the percentage of families chosen for interviews (Fig.3). The number of housing units reached about 600, and the number of families was calculated using a proportion of 10% as the number of families. The number of people chosen for interviews is not less than 60, rather than the statistically approved 5%, to ensure that the representation is as accurate as possible. The families were chosen random. The interview with the householders took place face to face. The interview questions were both closed and open, and the respondents were given the opportunity to engage with their families while answering them.

There were two parts to the questions. First part involved three questions; The first question was a simple Yes/No. Is your home neighborhood's built environment forcing you to behave in a certain way? Make you feel that you and your family grew up in an environment with physical components that limited the form of social activities, such as a routine behavior and lifestyle from which you take meaning and values? The second question was: Did the built environment of your residential neighborhood impede your social and daily activities in any way? Did it lead you and your family to make certain decisions that compel you to cope with and adapt to your social beliefs, interests, and concerns? The third question was: Did the residential neighborhood's built environment provide you with a range of options, including the ability to mold, reconfigure, or adapt it to your everyday social values and activities?).

The results showed that the answers to Yes for the first question were 37%. The second question was 49% and the third question was 14%.

#### Discussion

The answer 'yes' to the first question gives a clear indication that there is a direct intervention for the built environment in a strict determination of social behaviors and activities. This intervention came for two reasons; first, the planning of the residential neighborhood was imposed on people. Second is that the pattern, elements, and organization of that environment according to the modern style are responsible for generating social activities and behaviors rather than people's choices for the lifestyle. This indicator is considered the most undermining of the will and desire of the people in their popular culture based on freedom, the majority, modernization, and consumption. Thus, this supports the stability and permanence that popular behavior does not desire.

Thus, it can be concluded that the physical organization of the residential neighborhood had an impact on changing the paths of social behavior. Therefore, the social self-organization would be subordinate to the built environment and dependent on it. The answer yes to the second question indicated that there is limited and specific interactions between people and their physical built environment. In this approach, the freedom of individuals follows the choices predetermined by the built environment. They are restricted and limited choices, but they were not a single choice. It undermines the freedom of choice and the nature of the environment selected but allows adaptation under the existing parameters.

In this approach, the role of self-adaptation for popular culture appears to be in harmony as much as possible with the details and settings of the built environment. It can be concluded that self-adaptation for social activities and behaviors follows the settings of the built environment and the limited availability of alternatives. The response rate was high compared to the others. The answer yes to the third question is the lowest percentage of the others. It indicates that the built environment did not give many open and public options because these choices are according to desire, will, and the freedom. The respondents see that the environment is subject to change based on their memory and confidence that they are able to do so, even if it was contrary to the law or unreasonable to implement.

The built environment, in terms of its organization and transformation, is able to support the culture of the majority, their freedom, and their consumption by approximately 14%. It is clear that there is a relationship between the built environment in supporting or discouraging self-regulation and the self-adaptation of popular culture. Achieving self-sustainability and identifying the greater impact of the built environment on freedom of choice and consensus of the majority is important.

The second part of the interview is to identify the characteristics of the positives and negatives of the built environment affecting the self-sustainability of the social reserve in the popular city As follows:

**Table 3**: The responses to identify the characteristics of the built environment. Source: Author

No.	Cons of the built environment, negative indicators	Response rate
1	The narrow space of the housing unit	88%
2	Lack of green and public spaces	82%
3	Weak infrastructure	69%
4	Double the structural strength of the dwellings	66%
5	Lack of play and entertainment for children and	64%
	youth	
6	Narrow alleys and streets	53%

7	Lack of car parking	51%
8	Double check privacy with marines	49%
9	Land use change	42%
10	Limited vertical expansion of the house	39%
11	Excessive encroachments on sidewalks and	32%
	markets	
12	Demographic changes in the district	20%

The second question was, what do you think are the advantages of the built environment of the residential neighborhood that make it a desirable place? The answers were varied as follows:

**Table 4**: The advantages of the built environment. Source: Author

No.	Positive indicators, advantages of the built environment	Response rate
1	Their places represent their heritage and the history of their origin	85%
2	Closeness to relatives and friends	68%
3	Proximity to the workplace	49%
4	Equal appearance for residential buildings	47%
5	Close to schools	43%
6	Lots of ports for entry and exit	40%
7	Close to the city market	38%

## **Discussion of the Response to the second Question**

The citizens of the popular city have underlined a close relationship between the physical things of the built environment and people's daily lifestyles, based on their responses to the first question. The inadequate organization of the built environment, according to the residents of the popular city, is to blame for the decline in the quality of urban life and a lack of adherence to staying in the popular districts. The factors such as the number of families, excessive density, and a lack of diversity have been connected to the built environment's vulnerability and degradation. However, there were a finite number of locations, services, living activities, and work prospects. On the one hand, the respondents were concerned with the efficiency of urban elements and their absorption for urban purposes. It has been discovered that focusing on the narrowness of spaces, lack of uses, narrow streets, lack of parking, lack of places to play and entertain, and other changes in uses has an impact on the resident demographic change.

Residents of the well-known city have expectations for their daily behavior and activities. As a result, failure to meet them will have a detrimental impact on the city's self-sustainability, and its residents may abandon it. This poses a serious threat to that social reserve and demonstrates the close link between the environment and popular culture. The answer to the second question reflects a moral dimension that relies on spatial convergence to create security and protection. This is the essence of the concept of the social reserves. The answers were found to be concerned with preserving the ancestors' heritage, being close to the relatives as features of the clan environment, being close to friends, and being close to work because there is a large young age group from 16 to 64 years old who is able to work, being close to the market to secure shopping and reduce the journey to obtain basic needs, and being close to schools.

## **Conclusions**

The built environment in which the citizens appreciate and live in popular culture is known as a popular city. They are a mixture of the spontaneous clan style

and the formal modernism style. Popular culture is an intermediary culture. It can take on the appearance of an urban style, and it interacts with the built environment. This study discovered a hidden spatial pattern in the Sadr City. The gathering and concentration of relatives and acquaintances to achieve abundance, and the spatial convergence of the distribution of these individuals to achieve ease of access, indicate that the essence of popular culture is to achieve protection through a dense spatial structure and convergent. It is on this foundation that the concept of social protection is based.

built environment and daily Self-adaptation to the activities of their population is a feature of the Sadr City. Popular society is astute in adjusting to the urban pattern as much as possible, as well as in selecting everything that is useful to the consumer to assimilate and include in its popular culture. As a result, without self-organization and adaptation, Sadr city would disappear over these periods. It could have devolved into a rustic, clan, or country style or it could have evolved into a more modern formal type. The social reserve represents a specific built spatial environment inhabited by a large number of people who are governed by informal laws, connections, and values that they have established for themselves. Individual freedom is widely exercised in their choice of social and economic activities, with no need for rational arguments. Their social structure is complex, organic, and gelatinous in self-organization, capable of interacting with other internal and external urban systems, and has a high ability to adapt to current changes in order to remain continuous and sustainable.

Based on the case study, the research found that one of the most important reasons of leaving the popular areas are: First, the shortage of housing units with narrow areas of the housing unit corresponding to the increase in the number of family members. Second, the lack of green and play areas. Third, the shortage of car parking spaces with the increase in the rate of ownership. Fourth, the streets do not accommodate the numbers of cars and pedestrian. Fifth, the performance of infrastructure and durability of buildings are poor. On the other hand, the research found that the most important factors that enhance survival and continuity in popular areas and support self-sustainability are: spatial memories and nostalgia, the proximity of friends and acquaintances to provide protection, proximity to places of work and shopping.

Finally, the research found that the prototype of the sustainable popular city depends on the characteristics of the popular culture to create a 'socio-spatial pattern'. This pattern forms a base to achieve protection, interests, freedom of choice, and temporary solutions that are not imposed on their residents from outside.

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