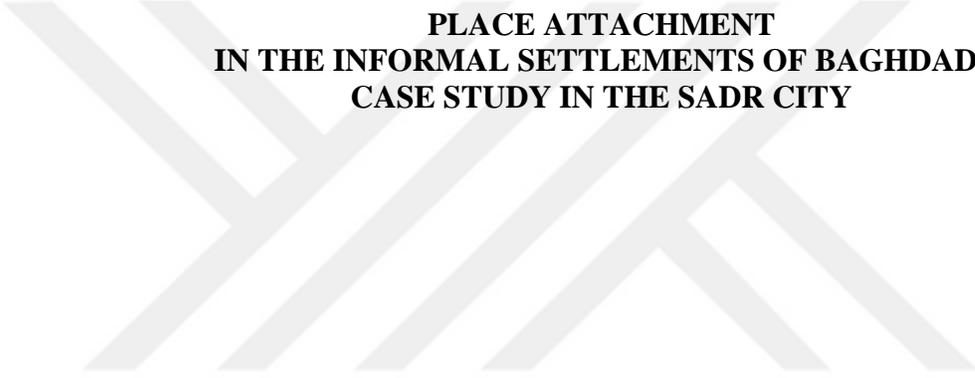**T.C.**

BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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**PLACE ATTACHMENT
IN THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS OF BAGHDAD:
CASE STUDY IN THE SADR CITY**

MASTER'S THESIS

AYA FARHAN HAMEED

ISTANBUL 2023

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This thesis has been approved by the Graduate School which has fulfilled the necessary conditions as Master thesis.

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Institute Director

This thesis was read by us, quality and content as a Master's thesis has been seen and accepted as sufficient.

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ABSTRACT

PLACE ATTACHMENT IN THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS OF BAGHDAD

CASE STUDY IN SADR CITY

Aya Farhan Hameed

Architecture Master's Thesis

Thesis Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Göksun AKYÜREK ALTÜRK

June 2023, 96 pages

Informal housing overlaps with the most significant housing crisis in Iraq as most Iraqi cities suffer from the growth and emergence of random slums, which emerged after World War 1, the establishment of the state in 1991, and the 2003 US attack. This study focuses on the city of Baghdad, which faces many urban problems due to its large size and expansion compared to other Iraqi cities.

This thesis attempts to capture informality's subjective, human side to explore the place attachment process within the context of the Sadr City Slums of Baghdad, which is considered one of the most impoverished neighborhoods, with informal housing built on piles of trash and raw sewage flowing through the streets. Still, few studies have been conducted there, even though this district contains over half of Baghdad's population, with the most significant number of slums (Kathem, M. 2020).

The thesis depends on considering the theoretical and practical context to understand the processes and practices of the individuals concerning 'place-attachment,' which contributes to the making of place identity in sector thirteen in the Sadr City district in Baghdad. Furthermore, this thesis is based on qualitative research conducted with a sample of a number of semi-structured interviews, and other sources such as Baghdad Planning Municipality's reports, policy documents, public opinion, and media reports concerning the human side of expressing place attachment using images, narratives, and housing conditions.

Keywords: Place-attachment, Slum dwellers, Informality, Baghdad, Al Sadr City.

ÖZET

BAĞDAT'IN GAYRİ RESMİ YERLEŞİMLERİNDE MEKANA BAĞLILIK

SADR ŞEHRİNDE ÖRNEK OLAY İNCELEMESİ

Aya Farhan Hameed

Mimarlık ve Tasarım Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Yrd Doç. Dr. Göksun AKYÜREK ALTÜRK

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Enformel konutlar Irak'taki en önemli konut kriziyle örtüşmektedir çünkü Irak şehirlerinin çoğu 1. Dünya Savaşı, 1991'de devletin kurulması ve 2003 ABD saldırısından sonra ortaya çıkan gelişigüzel gecekonduların büyümesinden ve ortaya çıkmasından muzdariptir. Bu çalışma, diğer Irak şehirlerine kıyasla büyüklüğü ve genişlemesi nedeniyle birçok kentsel sorunla karşı karşıya olan Bağdat şehrine odaklanmaktadır.

Bu tez, Bağdat'ın en yoksul mahallelerinden biri olarak kabul edilen, çöp yığınları üzerine inşa edilmiş enformel konutlar ve sokaklardan akan ham kanalizasyon ile Sadr City Gecekonduları bağlamında yer bağlanma sürecini keşfetmek için enformelliğin öznel, insani yönünü yakalamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu bölge Bağdat nüfusunun yarısından fazlasını barındırmasına ve en fazla gecekonduya sahip olmasına rağmen, burada çok az çalışma yapılmıştır (Kathem, M. 2020).

Tez, Bağdat'ın Sadr Şehri bölgesindeki on üçüncü sektörde yer kimliğinin oluşumuna katkıda bulunan 'yere bağlılık' ile ilgili bireylerin süreçlerini ve pratiklerini anlamak için teorik ve pratik bağlamın dikkate alınmasına dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca bu tez, bir dizi yarı yapılandırılmış mülakattan oluşan bir örneklemle yürütülen nitel araştırmaya ve Bağdat Planlama Belediyesi'nin raporları, politika belgeleri, kamuoyu ve medya haberleri gibi imgeler, anlatılar ve barınma koşullarını kullanarak yere bağlılığı ifade etmenin insani yönüne ilişkin diğer kaynaklara dayanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelime: Mekâna bağlılık, Gecekondu sakinleri, Kayıt dışılık, Bağdat, El Sadr Şehri.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

US   United States

UN   United Nations

DA   Doxiadis Associates, an international consulting firm for architecture, and planning

Chapter 1

Introduction

Permanent or semi-permanent mobility of residence is defined broadly as migration. However, there are no restrictions on the distance traveled, or the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no differentiation is made between internal and external migration (Lee, 1966). Also, every act of migration, no matter how short or long, easy or difficult, involves a root, a destination, and obstacles.

While some people constantly move around throughout their lives, others choose to remain in one area. There are various neighborhoods and communities with residents who have lived there their entire lives, getting married, having children, raising them, and ultimately retiring. Understanding what motivates families to stay has significant implications for the households in which children are raised. For instance, neighborhoods with a high emigration rate, like The Sadr City in Baghdad, are less prone to develop a sense of place attachment and may be perceived as migrant communities or neighborhoods as migrants can develop a sense of attachment to their new home through making social connections with others in the community, attending cultural events, and participating in activities that allow them to explore and enjoy their surroundings. Furthermore, place attachment can help people experience a sense of identity and connection to their new home, which reduces feelings of separation or isolation.

Furthermore, by being involved in the environment, migrants can better understand the area's culture, which can help them feel more familiar with their new surroundings; while the population is substantially less steady in some neighborhoods, others have many long-term residents. What factors affect families' stay, for how long, and why do they stay?

Environmental psychologists have been focusing more and more on place attachment in recent years. It entails investigating how people feel about areas where they were born and raised, as well as the role that these places have in their lives. Many studies on the place and its experience conditions have been conducted over the last 20 years, with researchers seeking to discover the impact of place on people and their quality of life

in relation to the level of their attachment to the living area. In some studies, the prevalence of depression, sense of loss, and emotional damages caused by "placelessness" and loss of land have been identified, which may be due to "migration" (Ganguly-Scrase, & Lahiri-Dutt, 2012). Additionally, with the advancement of human societies and changes in their preferences in recent years, the attention of architects, engineers, and planners has increased, and the role of architecture as a tool to shape the environment and respond to human expectations has become more critical. However, people are likely to form attachment to meaningful and important places, including places where they have lived for a long time, composed physical and social connections, or experienced memories and significant life events.

Additionally, well-physical places provide a sense of privacy or security or offer opportunities for individuals may also be more likely to increase place attachment. For instance, people may be more attached to natural environments such as parks or built environments such as markets and mosques, in addition to places with high personal experiences shaped by various physical, social, and environmental features.

This thesis will emphasize how three generations have experienced place attachment in an urban slum taking into account the significant concerns regarding the connection between place attachment and mobility by documenting the persistence of place attachment and feeling at home. Furthermore, this study analyzes how older and new movers start coming to feel and settle at home in their new place. Also, this thesis will focus on place attachment and sense of home expression of both the life-cycle role of migrants and the organization of movement as well as looking at place attachment's impact on the individual's connection to different levels of place, including the house, street, and neighborhood.

1.1 Motivation

Al Sadr City is currently considered one of the most underserved neighborhoods in Baghdad. When I first visited Sadr City, I immediately saw slums, trash, closed streets, excesses, issues with sewage and water, chaos, and destroyed infrastructure. I could barely

see new structures, such as residential or commercial buildings. Furthermore, this city suffers from terrible and unexpected neglect despite its significant demographics.

Evaluating place attachment in Al Sadr slums is an important topic because it provides a deeper understanding of the diverse and multiple relationships between individuals and their surrounding environment, particularly in an area characterized by poverty, overpopulation, and inadequate availability of essential services, which may present significant challenges for residents in terms of the social, economic, and physical environment. Despite these challenges, previous research suggests that many people who live in informal settlements have a strong attachment to their homes and neighborhood, which can play an essential role in promoting social consistency, participation in society, and environmental sustainability.

While chatting with one of the sellers at one of Al Sadr City's markets, I questioned his words. He used the word 'home' while talking about the area as he was born and raised there. This little conversation led to the question if the people of Al Sadr City have developed a sense of belonging and have created a physical and social attachment to the place. In addition, I decided to focus my thesis on this subject to add new insight to the study field.

1.2 Problem Definition and Aim of the Thesis

This study aims to explore the concept of place attachment in Al Sadr City Slums and identify the factors contributing to the formation of attachment to homes and the whole neighborhood in these contexts. However, there is a lack of research on the factors contributing to place attachment in informal settlements and how these factors vary across different contexts. This study seeks to address this gap in the literature by exploring the experiences of individuals in the informal settlement of Al Sadr City and identifying the factors that contribute to the formation and level of place attachment in the informal context.

Etymologically the word 'migration' comes from the Latin word 'Migratio,' which translates as 'hike' (Jankowska, E. 2013). It describes all forced and willful moving

processes from one location to another for various reasons. Migration has been a part of our ever-globalizing world since ancient times. As a result, many people worldwide live in countries that are not their original places.

People move to the Sadr City for various reasons, breaking away from the social and cultural environment they are connected with. Initially, the majority of migrants came to find work in order to save money and eventually return to their original homes. However, things did not go as planned, so they brought their families and continued to live in Sadr City, where they built their homes. So, this thesis is looking to assess place attachment levels for three generations: first settlers who first migrated to Sadr City and settled for more than 50 years, later coming groups who moved to the area and settled for more than ten years, and the newcomers who have moved recently and settle for the last ten years. These three generations will help identify and differentiate the attachment level among the study area residents. Also, it will give a clear answer to how place attachment could be affected by the residency period. Overall, the relationship between living period and place attachment is complex and depends on various social, cultural, and environmental factors that shape attachment to the place. Furthermore, the thesis will focus on answering multiple potential questions:

- How does place attachment vary across multiple generations in Sadr City's informal settlement?
- How do different social, cultural, and environmental factors shape the level of place attachment across multiple generations in Sadr City?
- What are the experiences of individuals who live in Sadr City, and how do these experiences shape their level of place attachment?

These questions came up with the help of studying the Sadr City Sector 13 area's physical and social context to find out the place attachment level of the residents toward their houses and the whole neighborhood.

The main objective of my thesis is to examine the various social lives of residents in the same neighborhood in terms of social interaction, activities, and thoughts about their houses and neighborhood, as well as to investigate their place attachment practices toward their place. To that end, I intend to interview a number of residents in a specific area and

observe the participants' home environments to be able to read their homes and the neighborhood through visual data, including images, maps, and plans. Also, to attempt to explore these concepts from their perspectives. In many ways, place attachment is an essential issue in informal settlements, especially in Al Sadr City, because it plays a significant role in shaping the experiences and well-being of individuals living in these deteriorating conditions. It is characterized by high poverty levels, social exclusion, and environmental degradation, which can contribute to insecurity and instability among residents.

On the other hand, place attachment can provide stability and continuity in the face of these challenges. Also, it can influence a range of outcomes, including mental health, social capital, and community development, by studying the factors that contribute to place attachment in informal settlements over multiple generations. So will clearly understand the unique experiences and needs of individuals living in these conditions and develop more effective policies and interventions to promote positive development. The goal is thus to look into the impact of home environment effects on place attachment in the lives of individuals.

People develop solid feelings and psychological ties with the places where they were born, raised, or lived for an extended time. The increasing interest in improving the lives of individuals more sustainably has offered great motivation for investigating these feelings, emotions, and connections in recent years. As a result, the demand to examine how places influence the lives of individuals has grown.

In addition to social cohesion, social control, and collective efficacy, I hope to understand the complex concepts of neighborhood effect and social ties among residents of the same neighborhood as well as understand people's impact on place/space and the effect of place/space on people, and eventually contribute to the existing literature on these concepts.

1.3 Methodology

This study examines a place's social and physical characteristics that influence residents' ability to develop place attachment to the area. It aims to provide a case study in Sadr City which is a slum city at the outskirts of Baghdad. To explore the answer to "How is place attachment formed and maintained in informal settlements in the Sadr City Slums?" several methods were required for answering this question.

Firstly, thorough analyses were conducted to comprehend the historical context of inhabitant migration from the Iraqi countryside to Baghdad in Sadr City. Newspapers, books, articles, and archive documents are the sources of the literature survey that provide the background information for the research. Then, a theoretical framework of place attachment was adopted in the study that effectively constructs the multiple definitions in the literature. According to this framework, place attachment is a multidimensional concept with dimensions of person, place, and psychological process dimensions.

Various methods exist for collecting information and examining place attachment in the literature. However, to choose the most appropriate method for the research, the purpose of the subject must be considered. This case study used semi-structured interviews as source to conduct qualitative research. "Qualitative research is an umbrella term for a variety of attitudes toward and approaches to conduct investigation aimed at discovering how people perceive, interpret, experience, and produce the social world." (Sandelowski 2004: 893). The interviews took place in Sadr City, the case study area that accommodated the influx of migrant workers who arrived in Baghdad in the late 1950s (Johnson, D. E., Markel, M. W., & Shannon, 2008). The majority of the migrant workers came from the Iraqi countryside. Interviews with them and their children and first-hand observations of the physical aspects of their home environments were the principal method of collecting primary data from the study area to examine place attachment among these generations. However, it is impossible to study place attachment individually since it is a complex and multi-faceted process based on the inhabitants' total experience of the place rather than specific components of it. People form emotional attachments to places based on a variety of variables, including social and physical connections and personal experiences. These aspects interact in complex ways, making it difficult to split the

relationship into separate parts. As a result, it is critical to understand the whole picture in order to comprehend the physical and social components of individuals' attachment to their home environment. which has been captured in the same way in this thesis, to understand it holistically.

Visual research data, notably from sketches drawings and photos, will also assist this research. This kind of visual data enables greater depth and comprehensive knowledge of people's experiences and opinions that will enhance the research by having a deeper understanding of the social, cultural, and physical aspects that evaluate place attachment in the study area by integrating these visual data and interviews. Plus, the validity and dependability of study findings can also be increased through photos and sketches which can contribute to generating more accurate and valuable data. For instance, identifying new levels of meaning and adding accuracy, depth, and knowledge resources are just a few ways visual approaches can improve data. In addition, Visual approaches can help remember how a particular place, relationship, or experience felt in the past, how it feels currently, and how it comes to mind in interview situations.

This study uses semi-structured interviews, and secondary data to assess place attachment for multiple generations of Al Sadr City residents since these techniques are thought to complement each other.

1.4 Scope of the Thesis

This thesis consisted of five chapters. The first chapter includes the introduction of the whole thesis by including an overview of the research problem, questions, limitations, and the whole structure.

Furthermore, the second chapter highlighted the conceptual framework gathered from previous literature on the place attachment concept, place meaning from the people's perspective, and place attachment in an informal context.

The third chapter thus a literature review on informality and a historical basis on the city of Baghdad, including the housing development in Baghdad through decades and how

it has played a significant role in informal settlements formation, which will support the case study topic in the following chapter.

The case study is presented in the fourth chapter. Geographically the study covers Al Sadr City slums in Baghdad. However, Al Sadr City includes 80 sectors that accommodated over 2.5 million people in 2015 (Bowers 2015), which will require more work to study the whole area. As a result, the study focuses explicitly on Sector 13. This chapter will discuss the historical background of the study area by highlighting multiple topics, such as the formation of migrant settlements, the transformation of dwellers, and the unfulfilled development in Sadr City. People's experiences are presented in this chapter by reflecting on their place attachment from their point of view. Also, this chapter will explore place attachment and the elements affecting it in Sector 13 of Al Sadr City, utilizing its inhabitants from multiple generations as a case study. The research's objectives were to explore and define the dimensions of place attachment inside the study area's residential neighborhood and to explore and define the dimensions of place attachment within the home setting.

The fifth chapter will include a summary of the study findings and discussions. This chapter should add to our understanding of the relationship between inhabitants' living situations in Sadr City slums and place attachment within their home setting in an informal urban context. Furthermore, the study advises urban policymakers and development professionals on specific components of the residential environment that can be improved to increase residents' attachment to and beneficial responses to initiatives for urban development in Baghdad's urban slums.

1.5 Limitations

The main setbacks of the thesis were data sources and information quality issues. For example, many organizations in the research area deal with various aspects of planning-related services but have conflicting information on the same subject.

The lack of updated spatial information in the form of maps of the Sadr City area made it hard to analyze physical planning issues; much time were used to collect the spatial data to update the base maps.

Again, Al Sadr City has drawn many local and international researchers. However, due to various political factors, there has been a misrecognition of research limitations among politicians and many resourceful individuals, severely impacting the accuracy of information.

Furthermore, the majority (65%) of participants are males because of their culture and traditions, which do not allow women to speak in public. Also, in slum areas in Iraq, men always are the ones who represent their families.

Another issue is some limitations in the interview part, as resident groups in Al Sadr City are generally inaccessible for outside researchers since they often avoid speaking with people they do not know due to security concerns.

Chapter 2

Urban Informal Settlements: Why Do People Stay

Slums emerge and grow in various regions of the world for various reasons. Among the reasons for this phenomenon are accelerated migration from rural to urban areas, economic deceleration, high levels of unemployment, impoverished circumstances, lack of regulation, inadequate planning policies, disasters, and societal tensions (UN-Habitat, 2007). As a result, millions of people live in urban informal settlements, commonly called slums, worldwide. People persist in these areas for several reasons despite the various difficulties of living there.

One of the main reasons people choose to stay in the Informal settlements as they provide affordable housing options. These settlements are the only places where many low-income people may locate a dwelling within their financial means. However, the conditions in these areas may be challenging, but still frequently preferable to homelessness or living in crowded conditions. (Celhay, P. A., & Gil, D., 2020).

People continue to live in urban informal settlements because they develop a sense of belonging. Residents in many of these settlements have formed strong connections with their neighbors and have formed a sense of place identity which can be particularly significant for those who have suffered from marginalization or discrimination in other areas of society (Njwambe, A., Cocks, M., & Vetter, S., 2019).

Additionally, many people stay there because urban informal settlements provide employment and economic mobility options. These neighborhoods are sometimes found close to cities, where employment opportunities are unavailable in rural areas. Additionally, certain residents of informal settlements can earn income from informal trades, such as supplying goods or services to other residents, to increase their income (Lombard, M., 2013).

Although strategies were taken to decrease and modify slums in various nations with different levels of success, they vary between multiple forms of slum clearance, slum upgrading, slum relocating, proper urban planning for reconstruction, and infrastructure development.

Demolition of slums and evicting the residents was once considered to be an advantageous move. Nevertheless, why would anyone live in polluted, congested conditions without access to local amenities, including water, electricity, and waste collection?

Previous research in Western Europe and the US has revealed that demolishing a neighborhood takes more than just breaking down the physical structures. It can produce substantial changes to the daily life of individuals who have lived in an area for a long time and have developed a sense of attachment over a long period (Manzo et al., 2008). The people who live in informal settlements can be devastated if their place is demolished. Many residents of slums consider their area more than just a place to live because it is where they form friendships, developed rituals, and build a sense of identity and belonging. Residents might experience negative emotion and loss if their home is demolished (Dupont, V., Vaquier, D., Bautès, N., Gonçalves, R. S., Gomes, F. C. M., Fernandes, L. L., ... & de Souza, M.,2013).

Residents' sense of place attachment is one of the main reasons why demolishing a neighborhood may negatively impact them. Place attachment, or the emotional connection people form with a particular location, can be solid in areas where residents have lived for a long time (Giuliani, M. V., 2003). furthermore, Residents would lose a place where they have formed memories, friendships, and shared memories when an area is demolished.

Demolition of a neighborhood can have many adverse effects on people in addition to the loss of an overall feeling of place attachment. For instance, many people might be forced to move to new areas without social connections, which can directly cause depression and anxious emotions. Their inability to find affordable accommodation in their newly established neighborhoods may also result in their financial instability and homelessness. The adverse effects of pulling down a neighborhood can be broad and long-lasting. Thus, it is essential to consider these variables while making decisions about urban development (Manzo et al., 2008; Posthumus & Kleinhans, 2014).

One of the earliest references to affective attachments with a place can be sourced from Fried's 1963 study on the psychological impacts of the forced displacement of the people of a Boston neighborhood as part of a massive urban redevelopment action. Based

on interviews conducted before the transfer and two years afterward, it was found that the reactions of a significant percentage of respondents reflected the grief they felt after the loss of a friend or family member. Fried proposed that forced relocation from where they used to live impacted a people's sense of continuity by breaking two essential components of identity, namely geographical identity and social group identity, which are associated with solid affective elements (Fried, M., 1963).

2.1 Place Within People's Experience

The concept of place has been highlighted in many investigations in various fields. Still, little effort has been made to integrate it into a more theoretical model of identity and environment. Moreover, there is a lack of studies examining proof of identity with places of different scales. At its core, place refers to the physical and social surroundings and how individuals interact with their environment.

A few primary concepts have arisen from the literature on the place. One of the critical topics of place is the idea that place is more than just a physical area but also a construct of society and culture. Therefore, the people who live in a place and the traditions and social activities associated with that area characterize its meaning (Benson & Jackson, 2013), meaning that two people respond through different lenses to the same physical place based on their cultural backgrounds and experiences. Another important topic in place is the theory that places can shape our identities and sense of identity. For instance, when people connect to a specific location, they begin to consider themselves part of that place, and their identity becomes connected with the area's identity, especially for persons who have lived in a specific location for a long time or have strong familial links to that area (Miller et al., 1999).

As physical, social, and cultural environments, places can directly impact the identification process. Studies observe that places differ significantly in their characteristics, specificity, scale, and proportion (Steele, F. 1981). Moreover, such characteristics improve identification by contributing substantial, specific place meanings for place self-identity.

As social contexts, places can also shape place identification. Scholars have once again looked at the impact of modernization on identity. Concerning the living place, the historical division between home and work environment, the commercialization of family life, and the socialization of women's roles are all considered to enhance and help find the experience of just being "at home" in daily life (Loyd, 1982; Rybczynski, 1986).

Although social, physical, and cultural contexts influence place identity, people's characteristics and the pattern of their interactions with places also play a role. Such elements are essential to the individual's interpretations of places, providing a socioeconomic mitigate in the people-place dialectic that characterizes place identification. Furthermore, connections to and by using space have frequently been summarized within the broader concept and point of concern with 'belonging' in anthropology and sociology (Benson & Jackson, 2013). These disciplines have excelled at illustrating the cultural and social dynamics of how place, belonging, and identity are formed and reproduced across social procedures and practices that operate on personal and societal levels through lived relationships with the world (Cohen, 1982; Gordillo, 2004).

2.2 Place Attachment Concept

Place attachment is the psychological feeling of deep connection individuals experience with specific places they visit and is a substantial root of the importance of an individual's life (Hummon, D. M., 1992). Authors writing from various disciplinary perspectives in psychology, engineering, and architecture have argued for its importance. This body of work teaches valuable lessons, creating frameworks that allow for the depth of emotion associated with place attachment in the future and how place attachment is obtained, sustained, and varies. However, as I will argue here, the existing place attachment literature primarily concerns how people experience and make memories of their surroundings, as this thesis will investigate how people experience and interact with their surroundings and how these experiences influence their behavior and attitudes toward the place. This research aims to understand better the complex interactions between people and the place they live in as they call home.

While discussing the place attachment concept, many similar terms exist, such as community attachment, sense of community (Morris & Kasarda, 1974), place attachment (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001), place dependence, place identity (Raymond et al., 2010), and sense of place (Hummon, 1984). All of the previous terms make it difficult to tell whether we are discussing the same concept with a different name or they are different definitions. Thus, Place attachment is a component of place identity (Vidal et al., 2010). However, authors use them interchangeably and simultaneously, as if they were synonyms. For instance, Brown and Werner discuss attachment and identity without distinguishing them (Brown, B. B., & Werner, 1985). Additionally, there appears to be some agreement in using the term "place attachment" at the moment. Place attachment is an effective link or bond between people and specific places. Shumaker and Taylor define it as "a positive emotional bond or connection between persons and their places such as residential environment" (Shumaker, S. A., & Taylor, R. B. 1983). At the same time, Hummon defines it as "emotional engagement with places" (Hummon, 1984). Also, Low defines it as "an individual's emotional or cognitive connection to a particular context or milieu." (Low, S. 1992).

The majority of studies on place attachment have concentrated on a single level of the neighborhood (Hufford, 1992). However, few researchers have discovered that attachment appears at other levels, such as the dwelling or street and the whole city (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). For example, a study in revitalizing neighborhoods focused on examining different levels of attachment, including home, block, and the whole neighborhood, for 600 participants from the residents of the neighborhood. Therefore, Results appear that the highest level of place attachment was found in homeowners with a long-term residency (Brown, B., Perkins, D. D., & Brown, G.,2003). Also, Windsong (2010) stated that research on place attachment and home is frequently hard due to the complexities of home as a term or concept. Choi (2016) verified this viewpoint by observing that place attachment involves emotional connections to a home setting, which differs slightly concerning attachment to other places in the same residential area (Choi et al., 2016). Furthermore, Arnberger & Eder (2012) found that suitable housing conditions, open green places, and accessibility to public services can all help improve place attachment. Moreover, Lewicka discovered in 2008 that those living

in urban areas with more historical objects had greater place attachment levels to their places than those dwelling in modern dwellings, implying that historically significant buildings can influence place attachment (Lewicka, 2008).

(Brown et al., 2003) have proven that homeowners have a stronger attachment to their houses than renters. Individuals' place attachment in residential settings can also differ depending on gender and age (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). In specific, a low level of fear of crime is one of the critical social factors associated with place attachment in the residential setting (Kamalipour & Alalhesabi, 2012), while personal variables associated with place attachment include socio-demographic characteristics among residents, such as the duration of the stay in a place (Anton and Lawrence, 2014; Lewicka, 2010), ownership status (Brown et al., 2003), the degree of education, and economic reasons such as proximity to jobs and affordable rent can also influence place attachment (Manzo & Couch, 2008). Additionally, informal housing provides another dimension to these discussions, as will be introduced in the coming section.

The theoretical framework of this research can be briefly described based on the tripartite components of people, process, and place, which are identified by the theories of place attachments by Scannell and Gifford (2010) as a three-dimensional conceptual framework. Place attachment is multidimensional and the bonding among people and place in individual or collective action where emotional response or feeling and meaningful environment are the central themes for making the identity of a place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). (Figure 14) serves as a summary of the tripartite model of place attachment.

As explained previously, a three-dimensional model of place attachment framework that usefully structures diverse definitions in the literature review (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). The conceptual analysis framework proposes that place attachment is a three-dimensional concept with person, place, and psychological processes. More accurately, who is attached? What is the attachment for? Moreover, how is the affect, behavior, and cognition process demonstrated in the person's attachment?

2.3 Place Attachment in Urban Informal Context

According to UN-HABITAT, urban slums are defined as living circumstances that lack one or more of the following five characteristics: 1) permanent, durable housing that protects from natural disasters, 2) adequate living area for a maximum of three individuals sharing one room, 3) easy availability of sufficient clean water at a reasonable cost, 4) accessibility to proper sanitation, and 5) security of tenure. According to the recent UN-HABITAT estimate, 1.6 billion people live in inadequate housing, with more than one billion living in informal settlements and slums in 2023. (UN-HABITAT, 2023).

Several investigations on place attachment in the residential context have been identified in the literature. For example, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell examined place attachment within residents in the Rotherhithe region of the London Docklands area. They discovered that people who had an attachment had a positive perception of their living surroundings, whereas those who were not attached had an undesirable evaluation. (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) investigated place attachment to dwellings, neighborhoods, and cities across 177 individuals in Santa Cruz, Spain. According to the survey findings, the residents had the greatest attachment to their dwellings than their neighborhood (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). In addition, Shenk & Zablotsky (2004) have explored place attachment with home-related things among four aged widows who remained to live in dwellings where their passed husbands lived in Charlotte, North Carolina, the United States. That study found that the memories of the widows were partly related to their houses and family, exposing place identity as a fundamental factor of place attachment (Shenk & Zablotsky, 2004).

Li (2019) investigated place attachment among inhabitants of deteriorating neighborhoods facing demolition in Shenyang, China. The study's authors discovered that, whereas being a homeowner, type of residence, low cost of living, and the sense of place all contributed favorably to place attachment. On the other hand, living in deteriorated neighborhoods might negatively affect residents' level of place attachment. The study sheds light on how an adverse living environment might have a negative effect on place attachment, but it did not go into the dimensions of place attachment (Li et al., 2019). Plus, Choi et al. (2016) evaluated home satisfaction as an indicator of place attachment among

301 Korean students who reside separately from their families. According to the authors, the valid indicators of place attachment to the home environment were emotional bonding, sense of place, place reliance, rootedness, and what it means to be home. Even though the study was conducted on students in higher education institutions rather than residents of urban slums, it gives information about the relationship underlying place attachment to the home environment and satisfaction with housing (Choi et al., 2016).

A case study of informality in Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan, aims to discover why people continue to live in informal settlements and cannot escape their dangerous living conditions. In addition, it investigates how religion might be influential in this cause. The study was constructed on qualitative data from 53 semi-structured interviews in eight slums in the Pakistani city of Islamabad. The study demonstrated that the slums are nonhomogeneous structures seen as living beings providing certain people with security, safety, and a sense of belonging. In addition to the emotional attachment, a social connection to the area was recorded in some cases. Participants expressed attachment to other people in their informal neighborhood in Islamabad, where social bonds are stronger (Samuel & Nisar, 2021).

2.3.1 Willingness to leave. Individuals' decisions to resettle are typically influenced by their dwelling and neighborhood satisfaction; those dissatisfied with their current living situation are more probable to relocate. Furthermore, accommodation satisfaction is commonly used to determine the success of a housing project, where success means that the residents' new housing meets or exceeds their expectations (Hanif, 2010). On the other hand, some researchers discovered that home ownership predicts the resettlement discourse (Lu, 1999; Elsinga and Hoekstra, 2005). This existing gap light up the query of which principles are more crucial to an area's inhabitants when deciding to leave.

Based on previous studies, various factors influence people to resettle or move to different areas. According to Oswald, a single individual may have more reasons to move than others (Oswald et al., 2002). Housing mobility is also triggered by the 'push' factor caused by inadequate housing quality and the 'pull' factor caused by improved housing quality (Lee, 1966). Reduction of housing satisfaction is one of the factors influencing

people's willingness to change residences or relocate to other housing (Nelson and Winter. 1975). Relocating, in addition to being a significant life event, may result in an assessment of one's satisfaction with housing and attachment to the surrounding area (Wiseman, 1980). Being a homeowner is one of the most significant factors influencing residents' satisfaction with their housing. Also, homeownership provides basic safety, self-esteem, freedom, and economic advantage, resulting in a greater satisfaction level with housing (Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005); it also decreases the probability of people leaving their current residence (Oldakowski and Roseman, 1986). Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with one's current living situation does not always translate into a desire to relocate.

Furthermore, household characteristics, housing satisfaction, and location may all affect residence movement (Varady and Wang, 2001). Differences in genders also have an effect, with males being more probably to move than females (Markham & Pleck, 1986). For instance, based on the human capital concept, females are less likely to relocate for development for two main reasons. First, commonly accepted and imposed norms place women in charge of raising children and the responsibility to resettle to undertake a spouse's career (Polachek, 1975). Age also influences people's decisions to move and serves as a barrier to housing mobility (Shaw, 1975). As individual ages, their desire to move decreases (Swanson, 1979). Also, Ayoola's study discovered that age and household size are essential determinants of attachment to the house, as attachment is likely to increase with age (Ayoola et al., 2019). Some scholars say residential mobility occurs when people seek better jobs, higher education, and a more desirable residence (Boheim & Taylor, 2002). In other words, one of the predictors of the desire to move is the physical condition of the dwellings (Howley, 2009).

As a result, place attachment has only been linked to positive outcomes by the authors, which appears to contradict evidence from the literature (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) that place attachment can have negative consequences if it prevents people from living in places with noticeable declines in the physical quality of the environment from considering the option of moving to a better place.

2.3.2 Place attachment versus willingness to leave. People's mobility decisions were also affected by their attachment to their current place (Altman and Low, 1992). Furthermore, place attachment is defined by Hidalgo and Hernandez as "the affective and emotional link that people form with the settings of a specific place and where they tend to remain safe and comfortable." (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001).

In other studies, it has been translated into the emotional bonds people experience with places emerge over time (Giuliani and Feldman 1993). Place attachment is another way to understand people's choices to move, as those attached to their housing are often unwilling to leave (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Plus, place attachment can lower the probability of someone being willing to move (Earhart and Weber et al., 1996). Choosing to stay in one place for a more extended period or a longer stay could be considered an alternative to place attachment (Miller et al., 1999).

Bailey questioned attachment to poor neighborhoods, believing that attachment is likely to be lower due to the composition of the neighborhoods (Bailey & Livingston, 2012). Nonetheless, place attachments have been perceived as a strength in poor urban communities. If these attachment bonds exist in a poor neighborhood, they can be used to improve the neighborhood (Ayoola et al., 2019). Furthermore, attachment bonds are an excellent tool for enhancing an informal neighborhood. People are more willing to collaborate to create beneficial changes when they feel linked to their surroundings, which might result in collective efficacy, in which people believe they can make a difference in their environment.

Furthermore, people with close bonds are more willing to solve problems with one another and collaborate to address them, which can result in a more secure and cohesive neighborhood. Overall, this thesis will discover that place attachment can be crucial in developing solid and resilient neighborhoods, regardless of the socio-economic or physical situation.

Chapter 3

A History of Informality

Informality has long been a significant subject in research on developing countries. However, one classic example is Hernando de Soto's (1989) work, in which he argues that informality is a sign of a more significant issue: the inability of many people in developing nations to access formal legal and economic systems. He claims that many people in the informal sector are engaged in entrepreneurial activity but lack the legal recognition and safeguards necessary to fully participate in the economy (De Soto, H., 1989). However, researchers have increasingly investigated whether housing informality results from state incapability and industrialization as a result of the increasing number of informal housing in recent years (Berner, 2016). Based primarily on studies conducted in Egypt and India, (Al Sayyad, 2004; Roy,2005) argue that informality should be viewed as a new iteration of urbanization that shapes the production of all types of urban space, from slum areas to high-end buildings.

Until lately, the 'informal' term had been limited to describing housing or urban patterns, but it was first used in economics to define labor market and urban development processes outside of society's organized regulations (Castells & Portes, 1989) and were thus viewed as typical of the Global South. However, urban geographers and economists in politics criticize ideas of 'informal' as the polar opposite of 'formal' - and hence absent from the organized cities of the Global North. Hence, informality is considered a worldwide phenomenon (Harris, 2018), and there can be no question that the nature of informal areas and housing production differs between the South and North of the world. In the south of the globe, this phenomenon is most apparent and widespread, developed collectively, and begins with real access to marginal land; nevertheless, in the north of the globe, it appears to be primarily hidden, created independently, and lacks access to affordable housing rentals (Harris, 2018).

What is essential in these discussions for urban and housing scholars is that the 'informality' in term of housing methods are frequently judged as illegal or otherwise associated with a lower level of legal protection; meanwhile, informality typically develops as a result of structural issues associated with the failure of the state, which

includes urban inequalities and poverty. In addition, the unmet demands of the urban low-income generate a need for lower-cost housing and, in Ananya Roy's words (Roy, 2005), "a specific kind of housing market where cost-effectiveness accrues through limitations or the lack of formal planning as well as regulation." In his comprehensive survey of informal urban development methods, Richard Harris further clarifies that informality can occur when residents are unwilling or unable to comply with regulations and when 'the state' fails or cannot enforce them (Harris, 2018). As a result, it is critical to highlight that informal activities are not confined to 'needs'-based methods used by the poor but are frequently carried out for revenue or profit (Devlin, 2018).

3.1 Baghdad The City

Baghdad is Iraq's capital city and one of the Arab world's largest cities. According to the Central Statistics Organization of Iraq (2023), Baghdad has a population of about 8 million. Baghdad has a long and illustrious history located along the Tigris, near the ruins of Babylon Akkadian and the ancient Ctesiphon. It was once a prominent educational and cultural center. Recently, the city faced massive infrastructure damage due to the US invasion of Iraq in 2003. As of 2018, Baghdad has been ranked as one of the most dangerous cities on earth. In addition, Mercer ranks it the worst major city in the world for quality of life (Reuters, 2019).

Baghdad's 2023 population is now estimated at 7,711,305. In 1950, Baghdad's population was 579,167. It has grown by 199,385 in the last year, representing a 2.65% of annual change.

Population growth trend
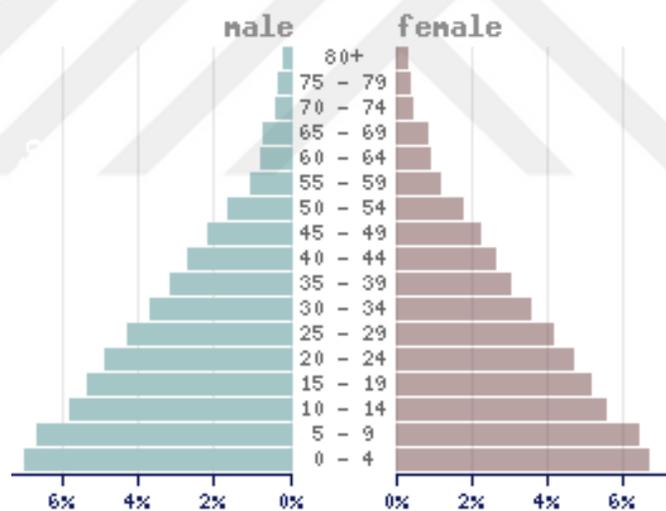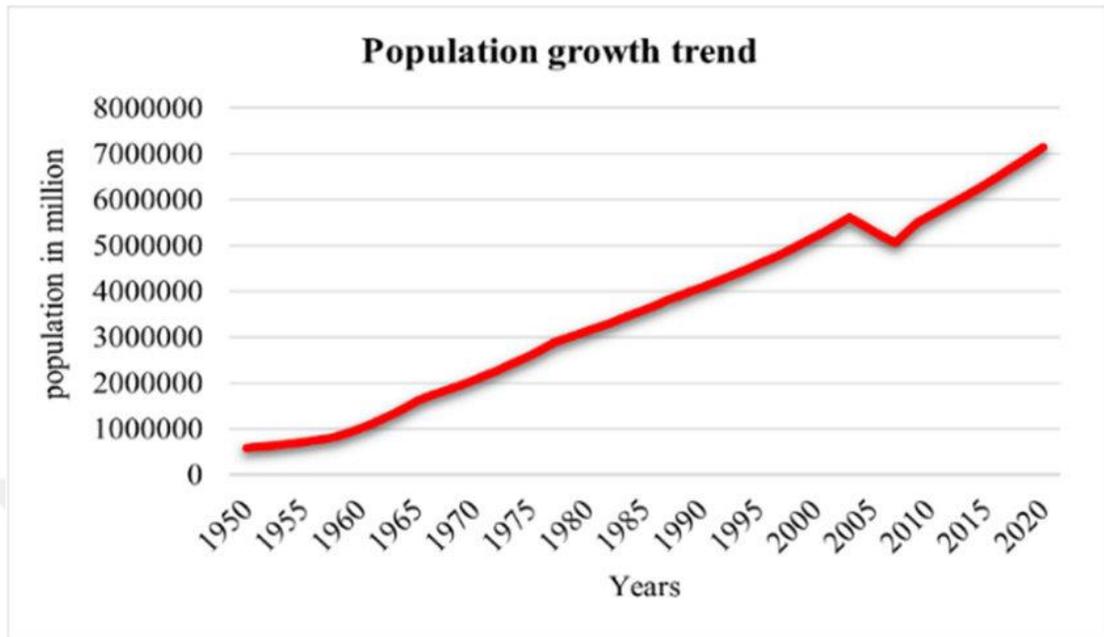
Figure 1. The graph shows Baghdad's population growth and demographics
(Al-Hameedi, 2021).

Baghdad's social structure is diverse as a result of the long and rich history of the city. Some varied influences have formed the social structure of Baghdad, as it has been a hub of trade, knowledge, and religious heritage. As a result, Baghdad is now considered a city that people of various religious, ethnic, and social backgrounds inhabit. Mainly, the city is a home for Sunni and Shia Muslims who live in distinct areas. In addition, the city has a large number of Kurdish and Christian citizens (Marr, 2018). The modern history of

Iraq. Furthermore, there is a considerable wealth contrast between different neighborhoods and people in terms of financial status, as some regions of the city face high levels of unemployment and poverty.

The characteristic of an Iraqi family organization involves an extended group of relatives related to one another through marriage or descent. The households usually consist of three to four generations that may all live together, introducing a traditional household pattern or residing separately like a nuclear family. However, in both styles, they share the functions and values of the extended family. Also, the number of people determining a household depends on the family's economic circumstances, habitation mode, and living pattern (Marr, 2018).

3.2 Housing Development in Baghdad Through Decades

Baghdad faced multi-faceted transformation procedures due to natural and political issues in the physical and cultural environment. As a result, Baghdad has been transformed from a circular fortress city to an organic form that represents the regional characteristics of physical and demographic variables. The city remained in its structure until the start of 1917 due to the British colonial. After that, the city form and the urban elements changed until they reached a critical condition (Al-Attar, I., 2018).
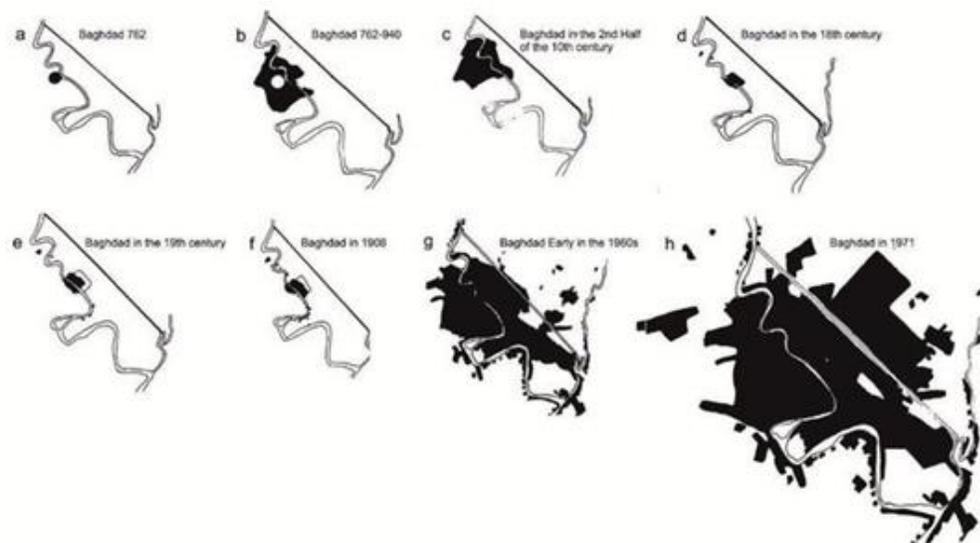
Figure 2. The transformation of Baghdad 762-1971 (Al-Saaidy, 2020).

In 1912 the plan of Baghdad had changed little, although the population had doubled since 1853. However, the urbanization of the First World War in Baghdad was newly organized due to the British Mandate's colonial strategies and then the Supreme Council for Reconstruction establishment in 1950, which defined Baghdad's contemporary planning concept (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012).
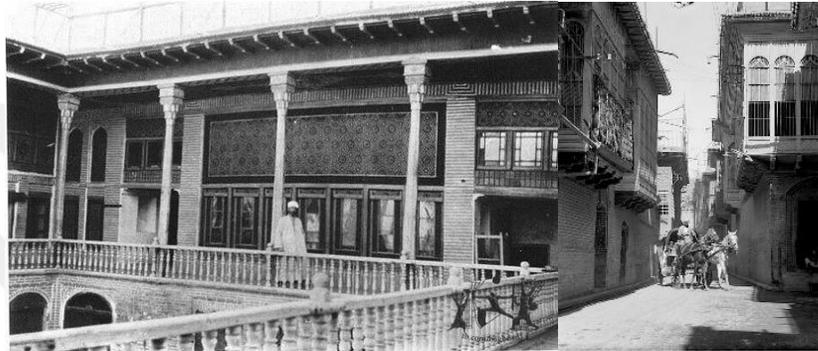
Figure 3. A traditional house. Baghdad 1914 to 1937
Source: (modernbaghdad.tumblr.com/post/125639941684/traditional-houses-in-historic-neighborhood).

Figure 4. Traditional houses in a typical neighborhood in Baghdad, 1932
Source: (modernbaghdad.tumblr.com/post/124897785494/typical-neighborhood-of-traditional-houses).

In 1950, Baghdad witnessed a creation of a straightforward layout with streets accompanied by terraced houses that were responsible for changing the family privacy idea. That was the end of the traditional housing model (Nooraddin, 2012).

New neighborhoods appeared outside the old city and did not reflect the traditional houses the Sumerians initially owned. The city expanded horizontally about 20 km from the old city center toward all directions. Plots of 300 to 600 square meters were granted to people affiliated with different ministries and institutions (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012). They assumed a rectangular area along the southeast and northwest axis of the Tigris River. They suggested new methods in addition to the existing methods of dividing the rectangular area. A grid system has been proposed to accommodate the residential and ancillary sectors with some modifications in the city center to adapt the commercial center located in the center and outskirts of the old city (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012).

Figure 5. Al Rashid street in Baghdad in 1950
Source: (modernbaghdad.tumblr.com/post/164172043379/view-of-al-rashid-street).

In 1970 a comprehensive developed plan for Baghdad was approved by Polservice. This plan defined the city's development strategies and administrative boundaries until 2000. The new Master Plan paid attention to the suburban development of Baghdad as part of the (Greater Baghdad) concept of a city outside its current boundaries (Al-Rawe, M. K., 2021). The proposed strategy identifies counter-magnets in the northern and southern regions that can be developed as alternative growth centers and encourages migrants to move in rather than the region of the national capital. To decrease the pressure on the city center, in the meantime, the city center ought to serve an essential role in promoting Greater Baghdad. Planner Polservice suggested modifying the functional nature of the old quarters while maintaining the historical and urban fabric as possible.

Since 1980, expansive areas have been utilized for essential projects (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012).
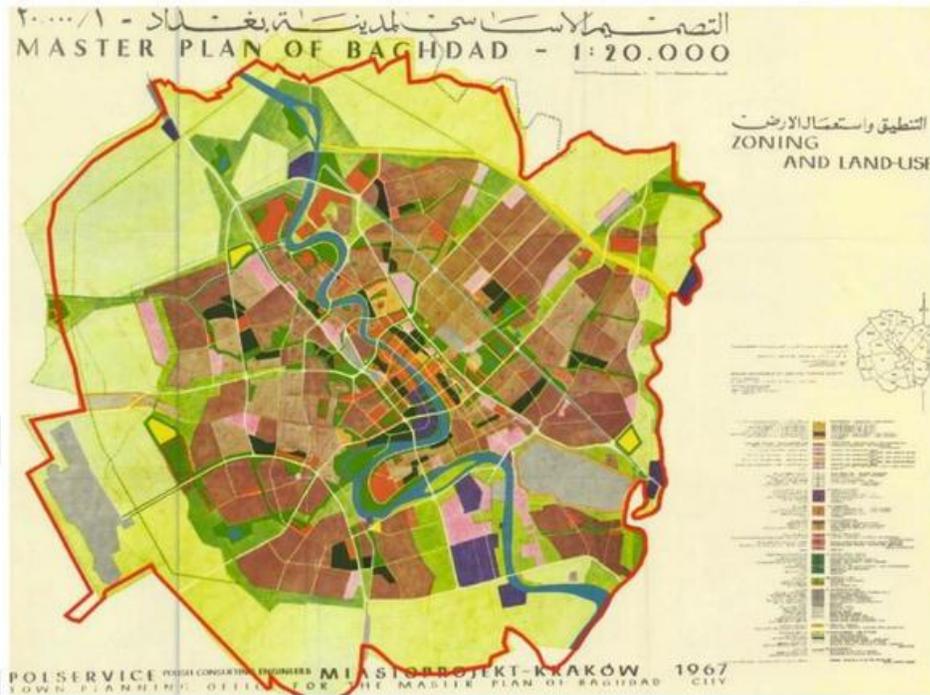
Figure 6. Polservice proposed a master plan for Baghdad in 1967 (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012).

After the 2003 Iraqi War, Baghdad city center was the scene of military actions and terrorist attacks. As a result, space accessibility, configuration, and functionality have changed enormously. In addition, concrete barriers impeded access to leading public spaces and isolated the city core from the surrounding expansion area (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012). The result was two separate, connected cities. Concrete blocks were cordons around significant public buildings and major residential and commercial areas. They dominated the entire urban landscape. It was the only way to secure the users and residents of an interconnected urban form like Baghdad (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012). Due to unmanaged planning strategies, the city faces urban damage and segregation and has seriously lost its bright historical architecture and urban fabric, particularly after war

accumulations.

Figure 7. The distribution of concrete blocks in Baghdad's old center (Al-Hasani, M. K., 2012).

3.3 Informal Settlements Formation in Baghdad

Iraq's housing sector experienced remarkable development during the seventies and the start of the eighties when the yearly growth rate of dwelling production reached its highest level eve of 50,000 housing units (Iraqi Ministry of Planning, 2012). However, this development was mainly based on state-led housing production, taking advantage of the high returns of the oil industry (Micley, 1992). Moreover, Iraq has suffered from war

accumulation and instability since the mid-1980s, leading to the deterioration of the housing sector (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Currently, there is a shortage in housing production of about one to one and a half million housing units, equal to about a quarter of the country's total housing stock (Iraqi Ministry of Construction and Housing, 2017).

The escalating housing crisis has been accompanied by an economic crisis that has not recovered since 2014, following the ISIS occupation of Iraq's vast geography, in a way that the government could not present a genuine housing initiative that contributes to reducing this crisis. According to some experts, there is a need for 7 million housing units, with the absence of Full of official numbers.

Parliamentarian M. Aldaraji mentioned in a televised interview that "informal housing has become a reality." The government can sell lands to the transgressors and own them for an amount equal to the same wage, which is paid in installments, and the money received is used to provide necessary services such as water, sewage, electricity, and zoning to erase the characteristic of slums housing." On the other hand, a new policy calls for private sector-led housing production. Within this broad framework, one of the policy proposals for problem management is to develop innovative architectural solutions that meet people's preferences and provide efficient and affordable housing production (Iraqi Ministry of Housing, 2017).

The housing shortage, the scarcity of serviced urban land, and the lack of building materials have increased housing costs (Iraqi Ministry of Construction and Housing, 2010). The average construction costs per square meter increased from 34 USD in 2002 to 377 USD in 2012 (Mohammed and Hamza, 2015). Moreover, as the poverty level increased to 25% (Planning Ministry, 2022) and an inefficient financial system, offering a residence with these prices has become complicated for most low-income residents.

In Baghdad, three construction approaches have been used in the housing sector: bespoke housing, self-help housing, and mass housing. The first strategy was responsible for around 60% of housing production between the 1980s and the beginning of the 2000s. Self-help housing, with varying degrees of resident involvement in construction, came in

second with roughly 30%. Finally, the least effective was mass housing, with only about 10% of the market. Currently, the scenario is mostly unchanged. Mass housing projects produced by the Iraqi government and some private investors account for a small portion of the production. In metropolitan regions, self-help housing is usually used in informal building projects where dwellings have been poorly built (Al-Hafith, Satish, Bradbury, & de Wilde, 2018).

| A | B | C |
| Bespoke single family house | Mass construction of mutli-family buildings | Informally self-built houses |
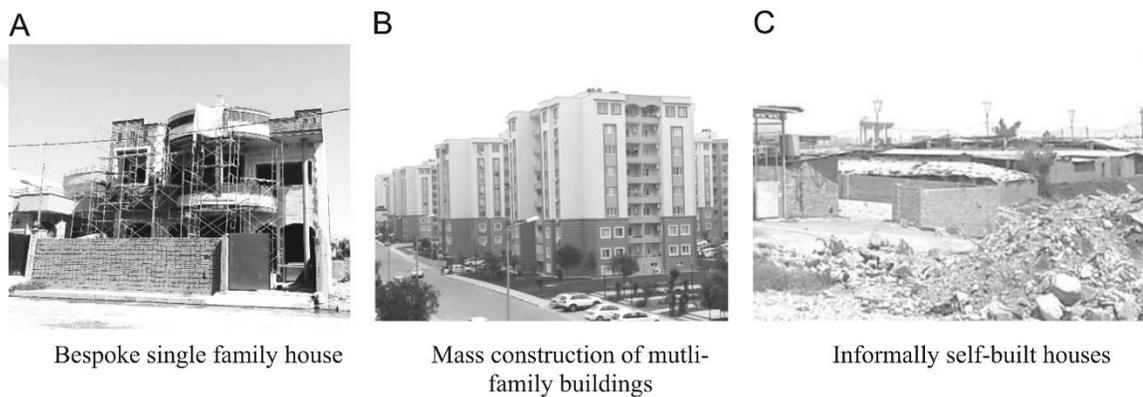
Figure 8. Examples of construction methods used in Iraq (Al-Hafith, Satish, Bradbury, & de Wilde, 2018).

Baghdad faces many urban problems due to its large size and expansion compared to other Iraqi cities. However, the most important of these is the informal areas, "slums," becoming more visible. The unusual size of slum areas and their continued emergence, despite their different causes, made this growth out of control in the major cities of the developing world, including Iraq. Therefore, it may look like the slum phenomenon is a purely urban problem. However, it is the result of several reasons: political, economic, social, and urban, despite their apparent similarity in most of their characteristics globally, sometimes appear differently according to the economic and constructional cities' composition, as well as the reasons that led to their presence in the built environment.

The political and economic crisis that Iraq has presented since the 1980s led to increased investments and job opportunities in capital cities, which led to the emergence of currents of internal migration to capital cities searching for work. Moreover, the wars waged by Iraq and the consequent war accumulation have also reduced investments in

various fields, including housing for families with limited income to use with their efforts, and formed slums. (Figure 9) shows vacant spaces prone to overtaking at urban edges, resulting in their formation.
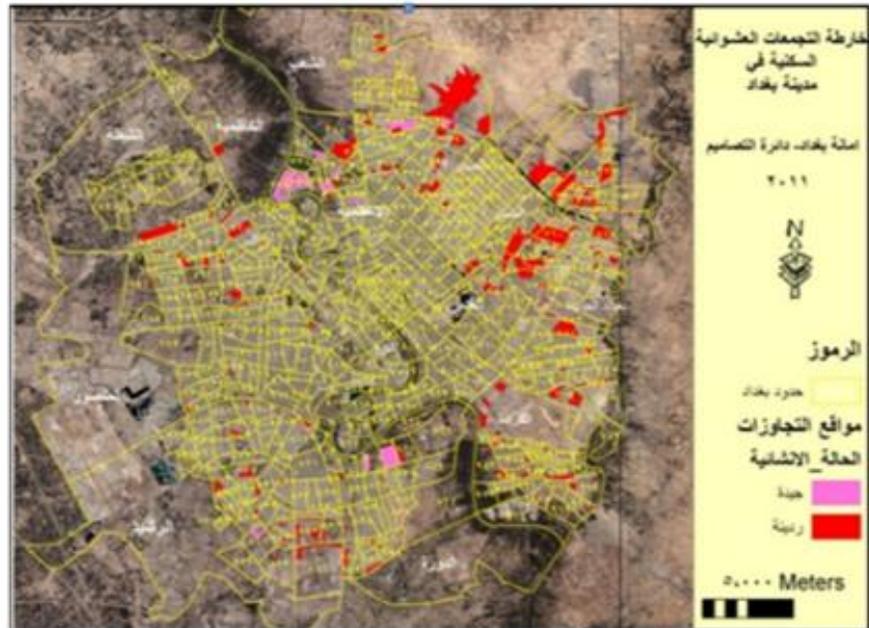
Figure 9. Slum areas are distinguished by their presence on the urban outskirts of Baghdad (Ministry of planning, 2011).

3.4 The Historical Background of Al Sadr City in Baghdad

Former Iraqi President Abdul Karim Qassem established Sadr City in the sixties of the last century, whom the Iraqis nicknamed (the leader) to create a home of thousands of residents on the Tigris River side of Rusafa, east of Baghdad and called it (the city of revolution) after the July revolution of 1958, to enhance the lives of people experiencing poverty of Iraq who deprived of the most straightforward necessities (Gupta, H., 2021). After that, the Iraqi army started building tiny houses with a capacity of 100 square meters. Abdul Karim Qassem named the city the city of the revolution (Madinat Al Thawra). Southern Iraqi farmers migrated to Sadr City for better opportunities due to poverty. No one thought then that this small area would expand to become the largest city in Al-Rusafa (the northern half of Baghdad) with a high population density. Instead, its residents ask the government to make it an independent province from Baghdad. The people, who

migrated from the rural areas of Amarah and Nasiriyah in people with low incomes south of Iraq, became a source of attraction for their relatives, who joined them after they heard about the opportunities the city had compared to their poor villages (Gupta, H., 2021).

Although the city has not developed since its establishment, in terms of services and urban development, it has witnessed an enormous wave of migration from southern governorates during the past three decades. As a result, its name witnessed a successive change, and after the occupation of Iraq, the name settled on "Sadr City," a reference to the Shiite cleric Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr.

The official statistics of the Municipal Council in Sadr City indicate that the city's population currently amounts to two million and 500 thousand people, two-thirds of whom are children, according to the ration card system used in Iraq. However, the population has dramatically doubled due to the high birth rate and the spread of illiteracy and poverty; it caused a major housing crisis, as thousands of large families, each family with 15 to 35 members, live in a house of about 150 meters.

Initially, the city was divided into 79 sectors of equal size with a plot of 250 square meters. However, the houses were legally authorized, but due to war accumulations and the planning ministry's absence, people tended to divide their lands into several plots to increase their income. Eventually, a new illegal sector was formulated, which residents called "Sector Zero," with low-construction houses built of tin and mud.

The Sadr City of Baghdad is an example to evaluate place attachment in the informal settlement of the Sadr City of Baghdad as multiple housing projects were suggested or created far away from this area, but some people still refuse to leave. The area witnessed a high influx of migrants, consisting of different groups of people from different generations. As well as just one year after Iraq's monarchy was deposed in a July 1958 revolution, Abd al-Karim Qasim's, the prime Minister of Iraq, inaugurated Al Sadr City, which was known then as the revolution city northeast of Baghdad for the poor migrant. Then, the city was planned to contain a limited number of sectors, but in the meanwhile, more than 2.5 million people live in the area, including nearly a hundred sectors. Also, this district contains over half of Baghdad's population, with the most significant number of slums (Kathem, M. 2020).

Sadr City in Baghdad is one of the most impoverished neighborhoods, with informal housing built on top of piles of trash and raw sewage flowing through the streets. Moreover, nearly two-thirds of Sadr City lack access to primary services, such as necessities like water, sanitation, and electricity. What distinguishes Sadr City from slums worldwide is that ongoing sectarian violence prevents infrastructure improvement. In addition, reconstruction has proven extremely hard due to the real threat of violence, such as car bomb explosions inside Sadr City (Johnson, 2011).

Despite the negative impact of informal housing on Sadr City accommodation, health, and environment, it still plays positive functions in the city; according to the new migrant accommodation before 1959, Al Sadr City provided housing for Baghdad's urban poor, many of whom had come from the countryside and had, until then, lived in appalling conditions. Also, it is an accommodation for poor Iraqi people with low-income and job seekers who immigrate to Baghdad with no contact found Al Sadr City more economical to secure accommodation. Especially in 1959, when Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim built the area in response to grave housing shortages for people experiencing poverty in Baghdad.

The study will be held in Sector 13 of Al Sadr City. Sector 13 is a good example to explore place attachment in the informal urban settlements of Al Sadr City in Baghdad as it is one of the safest sectors in Al Sadr City. Furthermore, because sector 13 is one of the oldest, it will be possible to evaluate place attachment among different generations, from the earliest settlers who initially migrated to this area to the recently arrived newcomers.

Figure 10. Sector 13, Al Sadr City (informal urban settlements) in Baghdad, Iraq.
Source: (Google maps).

3.5 The Formation of Migrants Settlements

Iraq experienced a significant wave of migration in the twentieth century, with countless laborers from the agricultural regions of southeast Iraq migrating to the Capital to escape terrible circumstances in provinces such as Kut and Amara since they could not avoid extreme poverty and starvation (H Gupta, 2021). Even though domestic migration elevated over the British administration of Mandatory Iraq (1921-1932), migration rates peaked in the 1950s when Iraqi historian Abdul Razzak al-Hilali estimated the extent of migration from Amara to Baghdad to be a "full cargo of ten trucks per day." (Abdul Razzak, 1974).

This vast rural wave of migration was the key element in establishing urban informality in Baghdad before the 1958 revolution. Their geographic separation was visible when migrants adapted traditional reed mat and mudbrick dwellings related to southeast Iraq to the capital's material, hydraulic circumstances, and material. In official jargon, these residences were called 'sarifa' settlements roughly, "reed huts," implying

their changing circumstances (Huma Gupta, 2020). Moreover, their inhabitants were called "sarifa-dwellers" in official reports and press publications.

Figure 11. Sarifa-dwellers have been known since the Sumerians, and the residents still preserve their inherited constructional techniques
Source: (archnet.org/authorities/8303).

Metropolitan Baghdad's population increased dramatically after the Second World War. The vast majority of the people are Muslim or Arab. However, Muslims are classified into two major groups of Islam, the Sunnis and the Shiah. Kurdish, Armenians, and persons of Indian, Afghan, or Turkish heritage are among the non-Arab linguistic and ethnic communities. Other Christian communities exist, which include the ancient Chaldeans and Assyrians. There had been significant Jewish with historical origins in Baghdad; however, starting in the 1950s, racial persecution forced most Jews out of the country, and now almost none left.

People from the same religious sect, an ethnic group, traditionally lived in different neighborhoods. Even though enormous migrations from agricultural regions to urban city areas have resulted in allocation based on socioeconomic classification. (Shiah) migrants from southern conflict areas migrated almost entirely to Sadr City's eastern outskirts of Baghdad. At the same time, Sunni migrants settled in the Al-Karkh area of Baghdad.

Countryside migrants were willing to move or were compelled to leave their homes and used land occupation strategies in the capital to create an elaborate and constantly expanding city where people could arrive, find an empty land with the help of family members and friends, and build a home that met their basic shelter needs. Furthermore, the architectural form of 'sarifa' dwellings grouped around group spaces with shared

laundry and kitchen facilities allowed for adjustable living conditions as individuals came in, left, or were born (H Gupta, 2021).

3.6 The Transformation of Dwellers

A series of demonstrations in November 1952 developed into an enormous demonstration action referred to in Iraq as the 'Intifada.' it resulted in the establishment of price limits and the elimination of taxes on the consumption of vegetables and fruits; costs for college tuition were reduced as well to please college students. The authorities also decreased items widely consumed by local migrants, including sugar, rice, and tea, from 40% to 10%. Furthermore, low-income elementary school students started getting free clothing and food for free, as well as free books. Most of these adjustments aimed to improve the quality of people's lives in Baghdad's impoverished communities (H Gupta, 2021).

The housing scheme started with a five-year strategy known as the Basic Structure Plan (1956-1962) that addressed 256,000 household members; the total housing project was called The Great Housing Project and extended for 25 years, intending to construct homes for countryside migrants. The Iraq government has asked Doxiadis Associates (DA) to plan a new community model for 100,000 dwellers on Tigris western side to address the housing crisis then, so they would have displaced Sarifa residents from the property they inhabited to replace them with the proposed dwellings (*Dialnet-ContainingBaghdad-4020563.Pdf*, n.d.). However, this eviction was accompanied by a commitment that migrants would be relocated on the same or neighboring property either in state-built concrete and brick structures or on plots of ground on which they would own and build their new homes. Their lifestyles would be merged into a serviced area, including a community center, elementary school, open park, and preschool.

3.7 The Unfulfilled Development of Al Sadr City

Following the revolution in July 1958, Abd al-Karim Qasim's authority resumed the Development Board and Doxiadis housing projects. On the other hand, Abd al-Karim

Qasim recruited Iraqi architects such as Al Madfai and Al Chadirji to manage and oversee the construction efforts. When the eastern Baghdad development plan was eventually fulfilled the following year, slightly over 900 dwellings were built and handed out to low-income migrants. The remaining part of the confiscated land has been split into 144-square-meter lands and provided to migrants for a small charge. The authorities told Sadr City's new occupants that they could temporarily build reed mats and mudbrick houses on their new lands. They would, however, eventually be obliged to build concrete and brick dwellings based on "simple structures" approved by state authorities (H Gupta, 2021). (Figure 12).
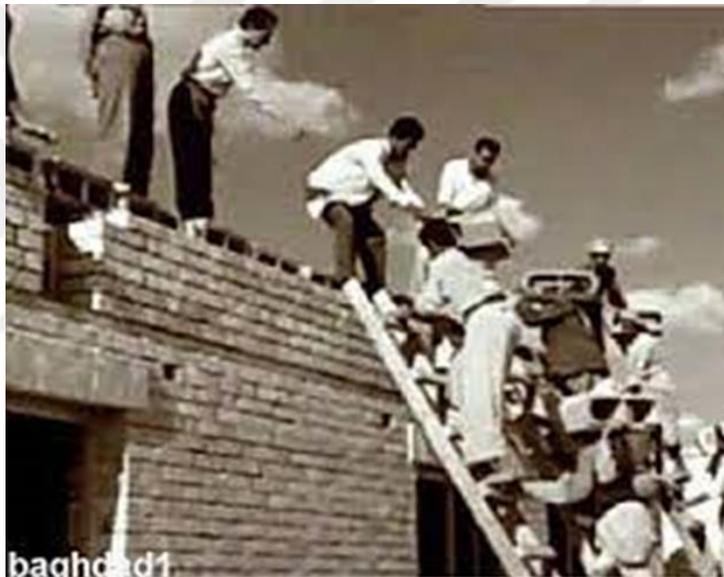
Figure 12. In the sixties, they built the Sadr City in Baghdad under state control and the residents (Baghdad, 2015).

In 1963, Abdul Karim Qasim was executed. Although the Sadr City was one of the critical regions marginalized because of its citizens' apparent support of Abdul Karim Qasim's government, the new administration and future Ba'thist authorities mainly ignored Sadr City's maintenance and improvement. As a result, the government stopped supplying the area with essential services, including water supply, electricity, trash collection, road systems, educational institutions, and open spaces (Glass & Finley, 2002).

Sadr City conditions were so severe that Saddam Hussein hired Iraqi architect Al Alousi to perform a slum clearance operation there more than two decades after it was

established. According to Alousi, the area witnessed extensive low-rise, high-density construction expanses of low-rise, high-density construction with tiny roadways and concrete block houses. In contrast to the Republican administrations' massive modernist development actions, the government-supported method supported a "self-aid" operation in which citizens would be responsible for renovating their area by painting, cleaning, and sweeping their blocks. Even though the Baghdad municipality offered some essential assets, technical responsibility was inadequate, and the process was highly decentralized. This minor improvement was not enough (H Gupta, 2021).

The Sadr City's continuous administrative and physical deficiency, lack of spatial integration with the city center, and lack of geographical connection with the city center allowed for mutual help networks among people and the expansion of social and religious groups. Small religious centers known as 'husayniyas' started appearing in Sadr City instead of the government community facilities and mosques. In Sadr City, 18 Shi'i welfare organizations began filling the gap in providing services (Abd al-Jabbar, F. 2003).

Chapter 4

The Case Study

4.1 Design of the Research

A case study with a qualitative research design was used for research. The study followed a constructivist philosophical approach to the qualitative investigation of the case approach that asserts the understanding and knowledge of the case study through experiencing things and reflecting on experiences. Additionally, the methods used were designed to differentiate between physical and social aspects of place attachment. Finally, the study adopted an element that other researchers used previously (Gerson et al., 1977; Manor, 1998) to assess attachment, "I would be sorry to move out without the people I live with".

Based on (figure 13), the research study is structured into three stages: the theoretical stage is based on a literature review and theoretical framework, then the research methods are divided into qualitative research, observation, and archive research, and additionally, synthesis of the research findings and discussion.

THEORITICAL
Based on literature review and theoretical framework

Define strategy of the tripartite model of place attachment (place, person, and process)	Define research methods

METHODS

Qualitative research	Observation	Archive research
Semi-structured interviews, and content analysis	Maps, photos, housing, and neighborhood plans	News, media reports, books, and government documents

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

Synthesis of the research findings and discussion

Figure 13. The theoretical framework of the research
Source:(Author).

The people aspect of place attachment refers to the meanings that are determined individually or collectively. Affective, cognitive, and behavioral components are all included in the psychological process aspect. The place aspect highlights place attachment characteristics such as spatial scale, specificity, and the involvement of social or physical elements. Moreover, when performing the field study on place attachment, people, place, and psychological process are all key aspects to be investigated by interviewing the residents about their emotional connections to the place, their memories and experiences, how people interact with each other, and with the place itself, and their perceptions of the physical environment. Furthermore, the three components, which include people, place,

and psychological process, will provide explicit knowledge contributing to place attachment.
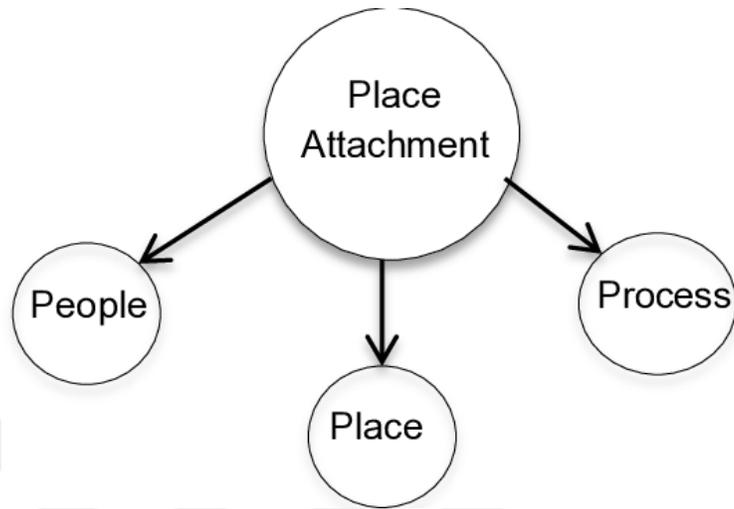
Figure 14. The tripartite model of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

Furthermore, the framework arranges related places. Attachment concepts are clarified as a result. The framework can also spark new ideas by exploring social dimensions, developing an analytical framework for quantitative studies, and guiding semi-structured interviews for qualitative research methods. (Figure 15) describes the concept analysis framework of place attachment.
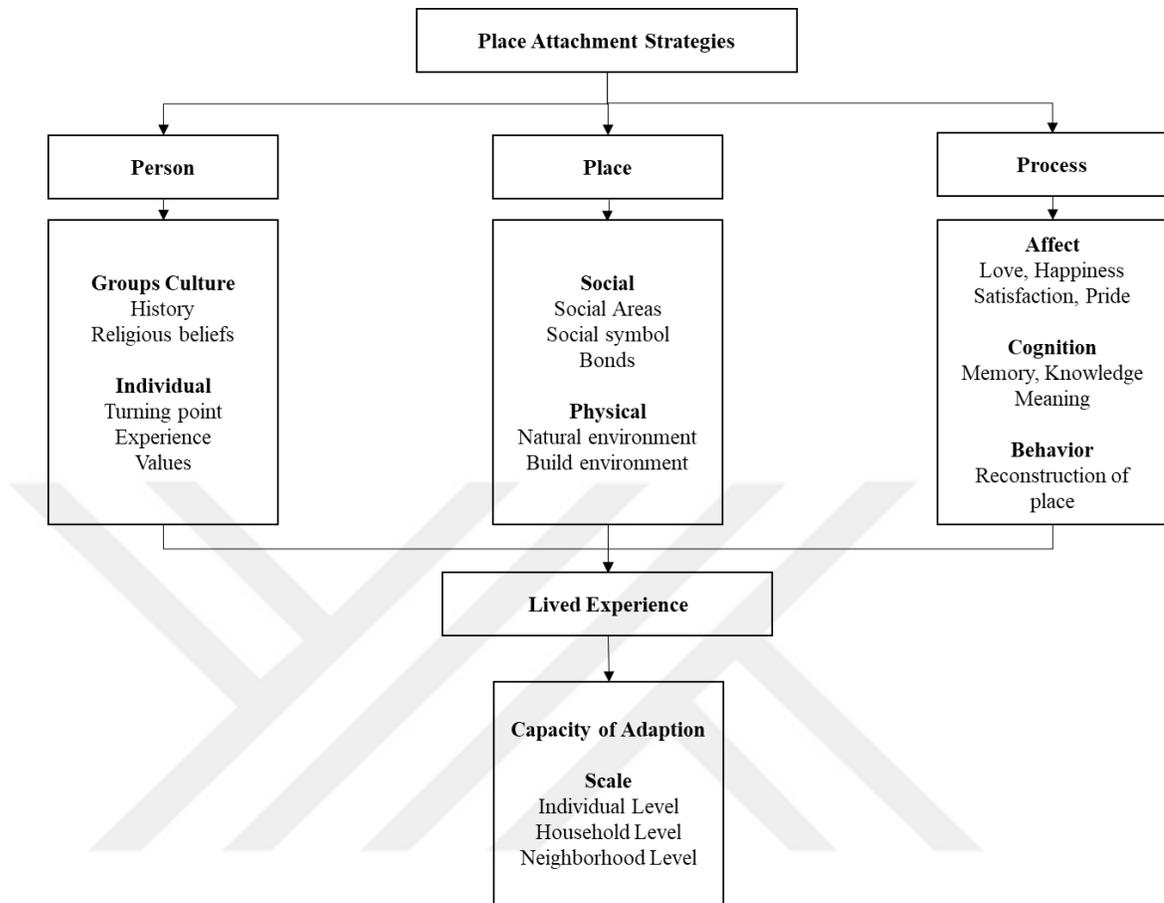
Figure 15. Conceptual analysis framework
Source: Modified from a source (Scannell & Gifford, 2010)

The fieldwork study stage in sector 13 of Al-Sadr City was conducted in two months, in September and October 2021. Approximately seven weeks were spent performing the interviews and site observation. Three generations of people were interviewed, the first settlers, the later coming group, and the new coming group. Moreover, detailed evaluations and comparisons of the homes that they live in have been made. Also, information about Sadr City was collected from secondary data through news, public reports, publications, and government records to identify why these people live in the informal settlements of Baghdad even if they had the chance to leave for a better place in the city? and the level and ability to grow an attachment according to the physical and social aspects as per the inhabitant experiences in the study area.

Again, the qualitative data collection instruments were semi-structured interviews and field observations depending on the conceptual framework of place-attachment practices. The interviews were carried out with 20 participants from Sector 13 residents, I reached the first participant through a mutual friend, and then he assisted in identifying other potential participants from different generations. Additionally, it was very challenging to interview more people due to security concerns. All the interviews are audio recorded and conducted in the interviewee's houses, lasting 45-90 minutes on average. The interview questions are classified into three concepts person, place, and process, as explained above.

Site observation and visual data helped better understand and capture the environment in which individuals engage with their routines, norms, practices, and traditions. It was also a great way of exploring and learning about what people were unwilling to discuss in the interviews and by studying the architectural aspects of the dwellings and the surrounding environment concerning the neighborhood's history and culture. For instance, site observation and analysis will provide an understanding of how buildings are arranged, which can represent the social relationships and interactions of the people who live there. Also, aspects that contribute to place attachment, such as gathering areas or monuments with exceptional importance for residents. These observations also included field notes, photographing, and tape recordings. Thus, tables, plans, and maps are created with the help of data gathered from the interviews and site observation, and each interviewee is organized separately in order to be able to make precise comparisons.

4.1.1 The interview form and questions. The interview form consisted of three primary columns designed to determine the dimensions of place attachment, person, place, and process. First, the person dimension column clarifies the individual and group levels, which involve personal connections to a place. The second column clarifies the place dimension by analyzing the area's physical features, such as the construction of buildings, public spaces, and monuments, to examine the place dimension in place attachment in Sector 13 of Al Sadr City. Also, interviewing the residents to understand their experiences and memories they obtained by living in the neighborhood, which is the importance of the

place itself, for example, a room in a house or a city in the world (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). Finally, the last column represents the process dimension of place attachment, how individuals and groups correlate to a place, and the nature of psychological interactions in the environments vital to them.

Thus, it is crucial in the interview form to separate and highlight the interviewees' personal residence history. As a result, a categorization of the multiple generations is added to assess the place attachment level in each generation and can have a clear comparison.

Foremost, interviews were performed in Arabic and translated into English. A snowballing sampling technique is used to help reach the required number of participants in the three generations. Thus, the in-depth interviews help to clarify what the participant think of their living condition. In addition, it provided a solid understanding of the specific difficulties presented in this study. The application of semi-structured interviews provides a chance to speak to those who were socially excluded.

In addition, several feminist researchers have called for in-depth interviews, allowing individuals to share what they have experienced the way it is. Discussions are ideal for learning about various perspectives and experiences. As a result, they provided us with the participant's views, feelings, experiences, and insights on their point of view.

The interview structure is intended to make the question sequence easy to follow and understandable to the responders to assess their attachment to the home, neighborhood, and community. In addition, questions were designed to differentiate between place attachment's physical and social aspects.

The interview questions consisted of 25-30 open questions for each participant; these questions mainly aimed to let the participant and their families tell their stories and experiences living in Sector 13 of Sadr City. All the interviews are recorded and translated into English.

Interview questions are formulated to cover the three dimensions of place attachment. The first groups of questions are prepared to determine the importance of their place and the physical factors helping people become more attached to Al Sadr City. The

physical aspect of place attachment is studied in two levels; home and neighborhood. First and foremost, it is crucial to understand the study area's location and distance from the essential services and city center. Next, participants are asked to describe their surrounding environment, if they can access the essential infrastructure services, the availability of public open spaces and social areas, and their house's status and conditions. Finally, asking if the place fulfills their needs is imperative in the study.

The second dimension is the person's aspect; questions are asked about their relationships with family and friends living in the same area. Some questions focus on whether social bonds exist and how their social bonds and relationships affect security and privacy. Of course, questions about psychological distress are asked if it generates any negative emotion toward the place and their desire to leave it. Additionally, they are asked about their desires and demands that could make the place ideal for them. Finally, questions are prepared to discover the religious component and find a correlation between religious network bonds and their desire to stay.

Thirdly, the process dimension questions focus on the people's memories, knowledge, meaning, and beliefs that they associate with as a resident of sector 13. For example, people are asked to express if they are being marginalized concerning the provision of public services and if they fear displacement. Additionally, it is imperative to understand their family's history and how they have arrived and organized in the study area. Finally, a series of questions are prepared to evaluate their formation of values connected to the place and the life-changing moments they have experienced as a resident of this area.

The above-prepared interview questions were designed to analyze and describe the place attachment mechanisms and levels of the residents and to have a comparison among the three generations. In addition, the questions are formulated to collect crucial information about their physical and social environments in their houses, street, and neighborhood.

Table 1

Design of the research

Generations		
First settlers/ later coming group/ new coming group		
Visual data	Photos. Videos. Mapping. Drawings. Notes.	

Qualitative data	**Place dimension**	**Neighborhood scale** How long is the distance to the essential services and city center? Family size compared to the number of bedrooms (non-proportional)? Describe the surrounding environment (built and natural?) Emotional connection to the environment? Connection to historical/symbolic features (mosque, some monuments, landmarks like a big tree, etc.?)
		House scale Define house features of your own house. Is housing status informal or legally documented structures? Describe your home's hygienic setting condition. Privacy level in your own house, and what are the physical elements that increase your privacy level? Do you feel secure at your house? Why?
	Person dimension	Relationships and connection to the community (family in the area)? People greatly emphasized the importance of their religious affiliations in Al Sadr City and how it keeps them together. Therefore, is there any correlation between staying in slums and religious beliefs? Privacy level in your own house, and what are the physical and social elements that increase your privacy level? Do you feel socially secure at your house? Why? Do you experience negative emotions experience? Would you like to move from here, and what factors are related to keeping or leaving you in the slums? If you choose to live somewhere else, or the government provides you with affordable housing, will you leave this place? If yes, why will you go? If not, why? What are the reasons for not leaving this place?
	Process dimension	What is your family history, how they arrived in the area, Duration of time lived in Al Sadr City (recent migrants or not)? and how they are organized. Do you feel marginalized as a slum settler? Why? Describe your memories from the area. Describe your experience in this place (life-changing moments). What is your formation of values connected to the place? Are there any demands you would ask the government to be fulfilled, so the lives of Al Sadr City residents would be easier and better? Are you emotionally connected to your house, and why? Self-built or already built by former owners/users?

4.2 Sampling of the Research

The method of snowball sampling was utilized to choose respondents. In the beginning, two to three of the studied population were ready to provide us with their connections to reach others who could assess the study. The primary reason for using this sample approach was to attract the targeted population for the three generations, and it was challenging to reach out and find the required sample. Plus, some Sector 13 residents were unwilling to participate in the interview when asked. Therefore, this technique worked well for the study because it served as an outline approach and saved time. Then, the same step was taken until the required sample size was achieved. This technique was designed to access sector 13 Al Sadr City dwellers who know more about the people in their neighborhood. This technique helped get the views of multiple generation groups in the study area regarding their conditions. In addition, specifications like participants with different generations, ages, education, and employment were examined in this research. Finally, a comprehensive image of the resident's living conditions was analyzed to find the place attachment level in the sector 13 residents of Al Sadr City.

Twenty people from different generations participated in the research: six from the first settlers, nine from the latter coming group, and five from the new coming group. Furthermore, the majority (65%) of participants are males because of their culture and traditions, which do not allow women to speak in public. Also, in slum areas in Iraq, the men always are the ones who represent their families. The following table shows the different generations' age, gender, marital status, occupation, education level, household sizes, incomes, and their children's schooling.

Table 2

General Features of the Interviewees

	Frequency	%		Frequency	%
Gender			**Generation in Sadr City**		
Female	7	35%	First Settlers >=50 Years	6	30%
Male	13	65%	Later Coming Group >20	9	45%
Age			New Coming Group <10 Years	5	25%
25-35	3	15%	**Household Size**		
35-45	5	25%	Avg.	7.6	
45+	12	60%	Std.	3.007	
Marital Status			**Household Income**		
Single	2	10%	Avg.	$361.00	
Married	15	75%	Std.	$109.72	
Widow	3	15%	**Children Per Household**		
Occupation			Avg.	2.95	
Driver	6	30%	Std.	1.465	
Store Worker	3	15%	**Children Schooling**		
Mechanic	2	10%			
Culture & Education	3	15%	In School	15	
Greengrocer	2	10%			
Unemployed	4	20%	Out of School	2	
Education Level					
No Schooling	5	25%			
Elementry	6	30%			
High School or Lower	4	20%			
Bachelor Degree	5	25%			
Total	20	100%		20	100%

Multiple generations of people and their families are living in Sadr City. Therefore, this study contrasts three different generations of Iraqi migrants. Iraqi migrants and their children who came to Al Sadr City in Baghdad, mainly from the southern regions of Iraq, in the early twentieth century, were defined as "first settlers," They all own their houses within this research. While the "later coming group" are the inner migrants who came to Al Sadr City within the last 20 years as the reason for the Iraq-Iran war in 1980 and 2003 US attack as thousands of rural farmers from rural areas, primarily from southeast Iraq, migrated to Baghdad, especially in Sadr City to escape the difficult economic conditions in regions like Kut and Amara, most of them own their houses. Lastly, the "new coming group" who left their houses are the migrant who came to Al Sadr City after the 2003 US attack, searching for a better opportunity in Baghdad.

Al Sadr City is a source of semiskilled and unskilled labor. According to the interviewers, affordable rental accommodations are available for these people, most of whom work with no academic requirements.

Table 3

Homeownership Status of the Interviewees concerning their generations

Generations	Owner	Tenant	Total
First Settlers	6	0	6
Later Coming Group	7	2	9
New Coming Group	0	5	5

4.3 Findings of the Research

The semi-structured interview was done with 20 persons from different generations according to the tripartite model of place attachment, including place, person, and process, to explore their physical and social experiences. Also, this chapter provides a detailed analysis of the study content. (Figure 16) shows the participant's distribution in the study area.

First Settlers

Later Coming Group

New Coming Group
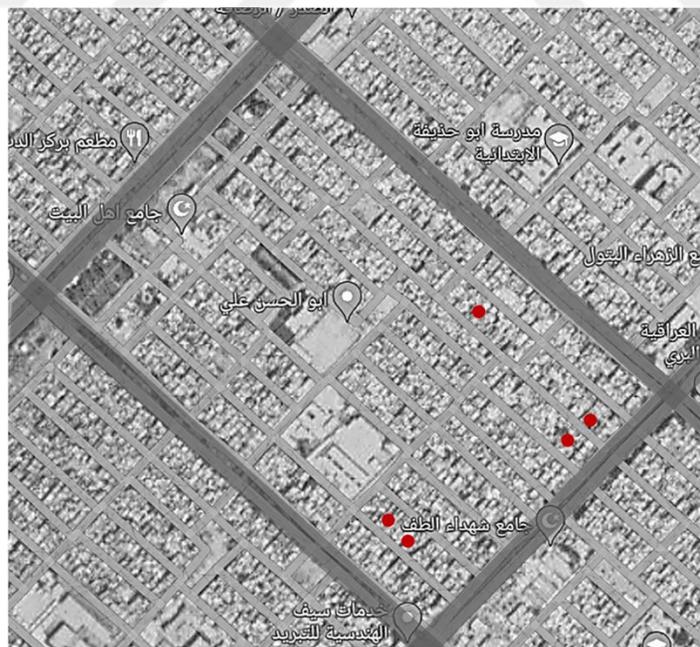
Figure 16. Sector 13 interviewees' locations
Source: (Author)

4.3.1 First concept: place

4.3.1.1 Themes related to location. The slum location includes accessibility and distance to essential services such as schools, markets, hospitals, and mosques. For example, the site observation indicated that sector 13 included two schools with a walking distance of a maximum of 10 minutes. Also, the study area is surrounded by multiple markets and mosques inherited through generations. Despite the functional benefit of mosques and markets, Sector 13 residents emphasized that there is a strong bond with the mosque space. An interviewee said, "Every Friday, I walk to the mosque with my son and elder grandson; most people do so. It is a must in our religion. We spend a pleasant time together, walking by the mosque and meeting the people we love too." Another resident mentioned, " I am most connected to Al Sadr City traditional markets such as Almaridi. The market is old and a good place to do your grocery and have a walk-in. It reminds me of my father; he used to take us there to buy our favorite dessert." However, the area has limited access to the healthcare facilities such as hospitals and health centers. An interviewee said, "We ride long distances to reach healthcare centers and hospitals."

Another factor affecting the location was the long distance to the City Center's essential services, such as government organizations. The field observation showed that Sadr City is an almost isolated area located on the outskirt of Baghdad. So residents must travel an average of 15 km to reach the city center considering the traffic during the day by using auto-rickshaws, known in Iraq as (Tuk-Tuk) as a popular means of transportation in Sadr City (figure 16).

Figure 16. An aerial map of the study area, including the traveling distance from sector 13 of Al Sadr City to the city center essential service 46 min (16.5 km) via Bur Said (Port Said) Street.
Source: (Google map modified by Author)

Figure 17. Auto-rickshaw (Tuk-Tuk) located in Sadr City.
Source: (Sadrist youth group).

4.3.1.2 Themes related to the physical environment

Street layout: Sadr City, including Sector 13, looks like a single block in gray colors. No river or lake can be seen, and it is very hard to see a park or a green area. On the other hand, there are rare well-constructed buildings. Also, most of the buildings are not more than two stories. Furthermore, the city is considered overcrowded with a large number of residents distributed in 79 sectors; the area of each sector is about 25,010 square meters, inhabited by about 70 thousand people.

The street layout consists of housing density and human congestion. The gathered data for the site observation shows that the slum area is overcrowded, as more than 2.5 million live in Sadr City (Kathem, M. 2020). For instance, between 7 am to 8 am, the school and market area are busy and crowded compared to other areas in sector 13, then between 9 am to 2 pm, the market area is still busy and crowded. On the other hand, people attend the mosque for praying time. Also, from 3 pm to 4 pm, the market area is still busy, and there is medium congestion in the residential area and mosque. After that, from 5 pm to 9 pm, the mosque, market, and park all have heavy congestion compared to the residential area. Finally, from 10 pm to 3 am, the residents of sector 13 were all in their houses to sleep until 4 am, when they again went to pray and to their jobs.

From the observation and interviews, crowded areas could benefit and negatively affect residents' quality of life. For instance, crowded areas may develop a sense of belonging while promoting interactions between people. However, crowded areas could cause noise pollution, road congestion, and an overall lack of privacy. However, place attachment may be affected by crowded and congested areas concerning each experience and feeling. Some people may develop a solid attachment to a crowded neighborhood, whereas others may prefer a calmer and spacious setting. For example, an interviewee said, "When I take my children to school, I meet all my friends in the area. The place seems crowded, but it is nice to talk a little and ask about each other's news and go to work together".
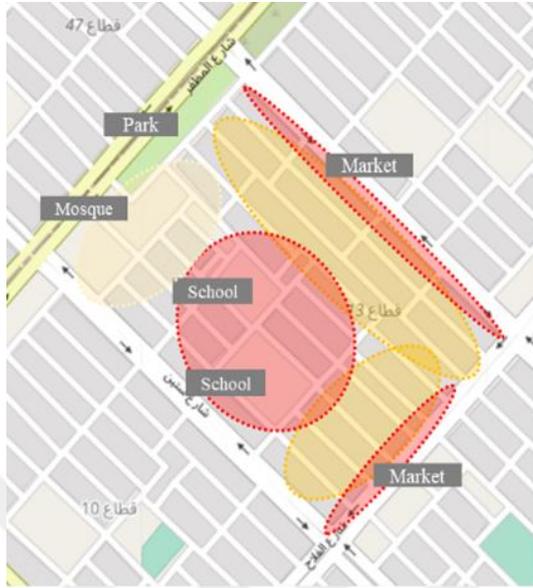
7 am– 8 am
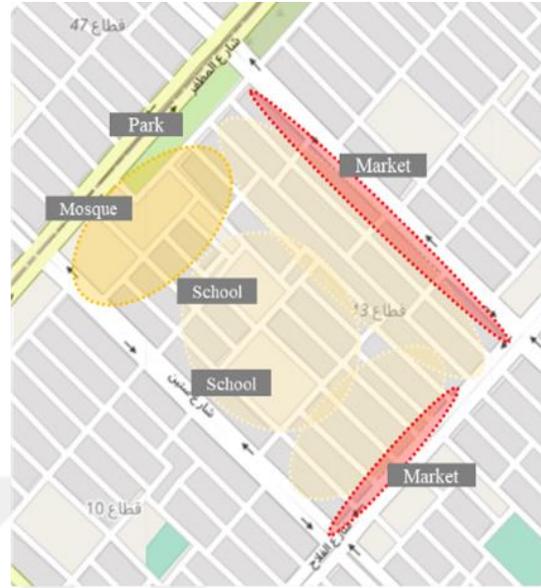
9 am– 2 pm
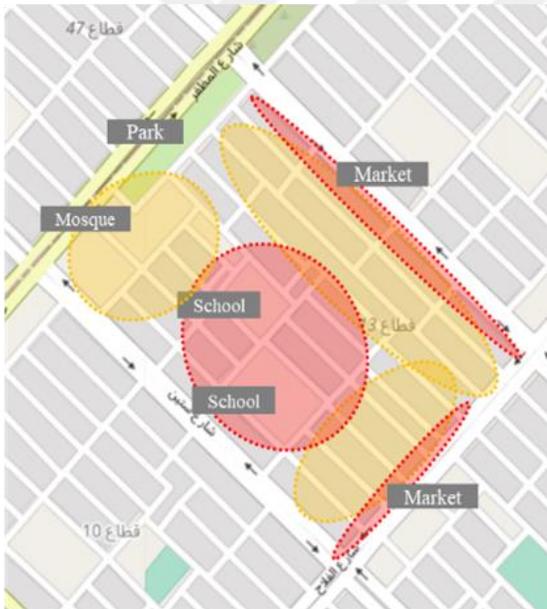
3 pm– 4 pm
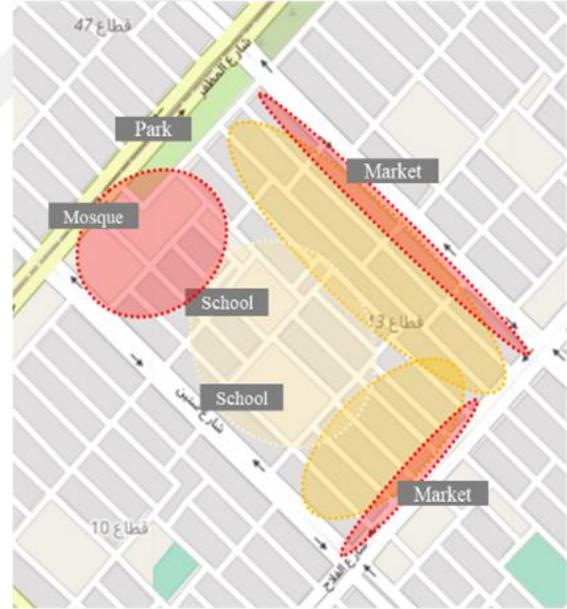
4 am– 6 am
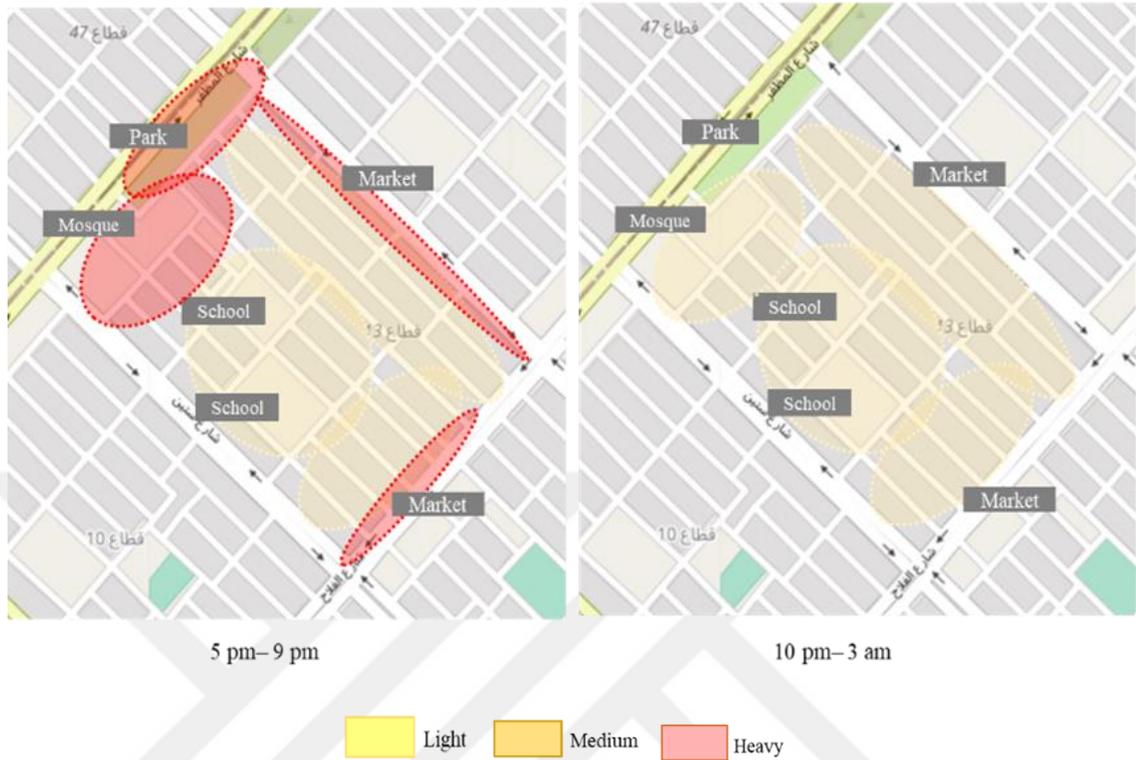
Figure 18. Study area density and congestion.
Source: (Author).

Another factor affecting the physical environment is street density. Public open spaces, playgrounds, and green areas for social gatherings were rarely available. Also, most of the streets and lanes are narrow and broken. An interviewee said, "You cannot find green areas or trees in our street. They used every single meter to build a house because the price of the land is high, and most residents cannot afford it." Another interviewee said, "It is not a good environment; all you can see once you set foot outside is a broken street and random houses. Our kids play football in an empty plot. There are no gardens or parks." Also, sector 13 consisted of narrow lanes due to the high density of housing, resulting in shaded streets due to the compactness of the building texture and crowd of the electric posts and cables, as well as visual relations between the facing windows. (Figure 19) shows a typical narrow road in Sector 13.

Figure 19. A typical narrow road in the study area.
Source: (Sadr City residents group).

Housing layout: Houses were built very close to each other, which plays a significant role in decreasing privacy for neighbors. An interviewee said, "Privacy level is deficient. There is no sound insulation. I can sometimes hear my neighbors while they talk in their houses. Also, our plot is shared by multiple families; we share the staircase and terrace. So, I do not feel comfortable."

Figure 20. A bird's-eye view of the research area shows the high density in the study area (Mawazin, 2019).
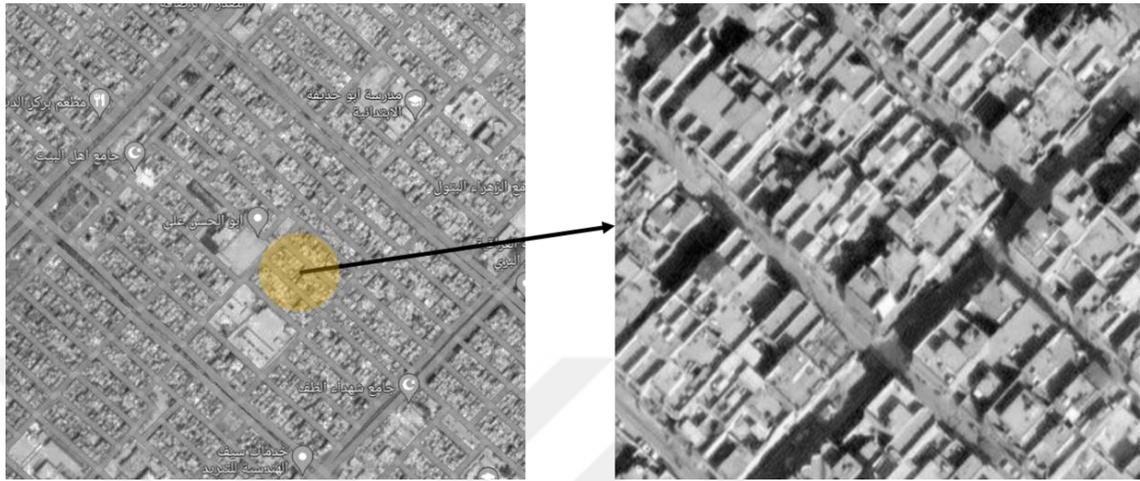
Figure 21. Housing density and loss of privacy.
Source: (Google Maps Satellite view)

4.3.1.3 Themes related to informal housing

There are several reasons for the Sadr City slum's formation, such as poor government decisions, the planning ministry's failure to meet affordable and decent housing requirements, poor state infrastructure investments, and an inefficient urban planning system, in addition to the more prevalent causes of urbanization and deprivation. On the other hand, increased migration from rural to urban areas has contributed to the housing shortage. Authorities failed to anticipate and fulfill the massive number of migrants settling quickly. Most rural-urban migrants are poor and cannot compete for high-quality housing. They are forced to accept substandard housing facilities.

From site observation, it is apparent that the housing pattern of sector 13 is poorly built, with crowded dwellings in an unsanitary environment, usually with insufficient infrastructure. Moreover, each dwelling is attached to the other, which minimizes privacy. Also, the streets are narrow and shaded because the houses are close to each other.

Also, most of the dwellings in Sector 13 are shared by multiple families. For instance, each floor of the same building unit is a different household residence. There are some reasons for this phenomenon, such as high dwelling rent and limited residents'

income. For example, an interviewee said, "I was forced to share the second floor of my house with different families because several years ago, I had an accident and could not work. My neighbors are great, but our privacy decreased. Every time the door was knocked, we questioned if it was for them or us."

Figure 22. Some of the study area housing conditions.
Source: (Author)
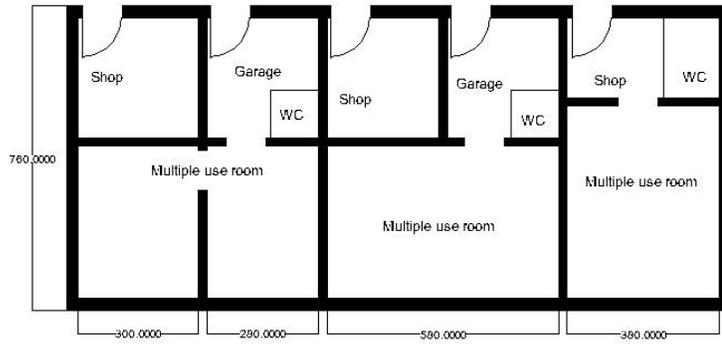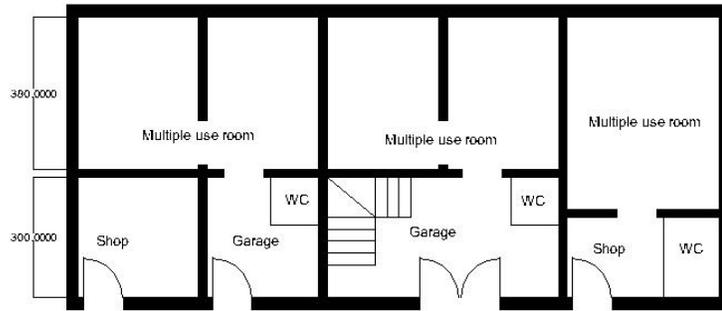
Figure 23. The plan of the housing pattern.
Source: (Author)
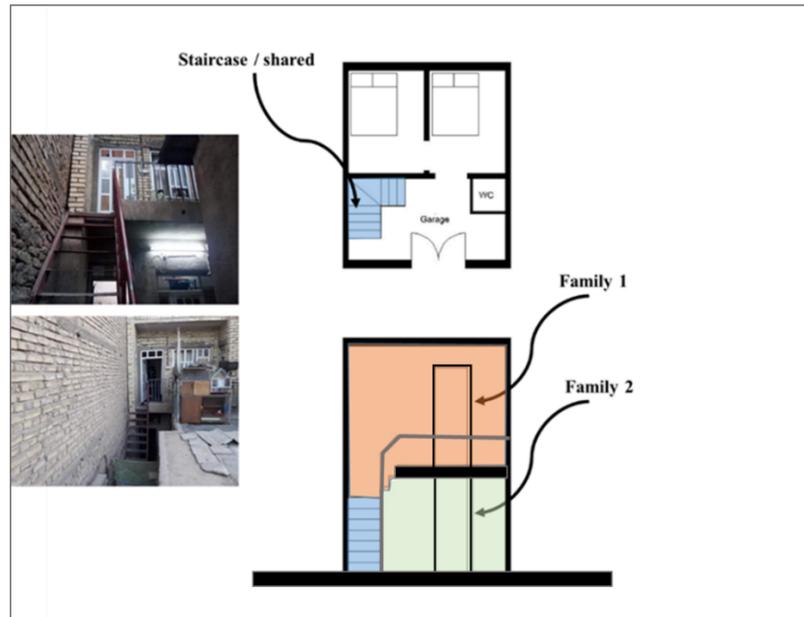
Figure 24. A section view of a dwelling in the study area. It shows how two families are sharing the dwelling.
Source: (Author)

In Sadr City, new semi-informal unit rooms were added to the existing tiny houses to accommodate more people. The people started to sell half or parts of their small lots of 141 square meters to get some income for survival. As a result, many families were forced to live on a tiny lot. The population increased noticeably during this period as other poor people moved to live in this city. The dire economic situation was the primary reason letting the Sadr area being worse than any government could control or repair. So, apparent deterioration in housing conditions, such as low-quality construction materials, became noticeable.

The primary characteristic of informal housing in the study area has been made of inadequate building materials. Field observation data revealed that many houses in the study area were made up of poor structural quality housing consisting of mud walls and floors, leaky roofs with non-sealed windows and doors, letting people use blankets and plastic sheets to cover them to cool their houses in summer and avoid rain in winter. On the other hand, several residents later upgraded their houses when they could afford them. For example, an interviewee said, "Recently, we renovated our two-story house to make it more efficient. In addition, we have changed the leaky doors and windows with ceiled ones to improve climate control. Also, we have fixed the roof and filled the gaps to avoid leaks."

Figure 25. A view of the physical features of some houses in sector 13.
Source: (Author)

The second dimension of informal housing is legal status. Originally the plots were legally divided into 250 square meters during Abdulkarim Qasim's role, but then, due to

the high housing rates and the absence of the municipality role, the residents in Sadr City sold parts of their plots to raise their income. Therefore, upon defining house features of their own house and housing status, either informal or legally documented structures, they responded:

"It is a poor quality house with a single floor and a roof; the land was divided into two plots, so we live in 70 sqm."

"Originally, the land of my house is divided into multiple plots. I believe this is not legal. However, the government is absent here. So my house is a single floor with a 60 sqm area. I have a neighbor who lives on my house's second floor."

On the other hand, other families have renovated their houses to make them more suitable. "We recently renovated our house to make it more suitable. It is a two-story building with a 100 sqm plot size. Also, it is a legally documented house."

The third dimension in informal housing is the household size compared to the number of bedrooms. The average household size is 7.6. On the other hand, the average room number per house is 2. So, the households share the perceived inadequacy of bedrooms as one interviewee has explained, "I have four kids with a single room. It is impossible to raise my kids in this critical condition."

The low-hygienic setting was the last aspect of informal housing in the study area. The data gathered from the field study indicated that the prevailing condition of housing units was unhygienic in the study area for multiple reasons, such as insufficient and dirty toilets, the proximity of toilets to the dining area, and the lack of appropriate liquid waste disposal mechanisms. Besides, most households lacked adequate liquid waste collection systems in their dwellings. As a result, the liquid sewage from those homes ended up in open areas where kids play.

4.3.1.4 Themes related to limited access to infrastructure. The Sadr City municipality administers the Sadr City area. The municipality's role is to provide services for the whole area. The director of the Municipality of Al-Sadr Al-Awwal, affiliated with the municipality, said, "The Projects Department has an effort during the coming days that

includes projects for cladding with asphalt material, as the completion of Al-Falah Street will start by covering the second section of it, in addition to civil and construction works in the third section, in addition to the completion of the fourth section by the sewage department." Baghdad by replacing the sewage line. Also, the municipality will be in charge of a new project of 90,000 housing units, which is part of the efforts to rebuild Sadr City. On the other hand, during the interviews, many residents complained about the municipality's limited services; for example, an interviewee said, "There are many potholes in the street and poor paving outside the specifications. The condition of the streets is critical, despite the huge money spent, especially the city reconstruction campaign that has stopped."

Furthermore, the interviews and observation analysis revealed that the area lacks access to essential infrastructure. Multiple factors emerged: limited access to electric power (Public electricity), lack of appropriate water system, limited access to municipal solid waste, and lack of facilities and human resources.

The site observation revealed that some residents had installed private tap water pipelines. In contrast, the majority of the dwellings in the neighborhood currently have electrical wires due to the absence of available electricity. In addition, they buy power meters from private generators that supply electricity to their houses with high fees compared to their economic condition. However, it is prevalent that power blackouts for hours, days, and weeks. An interviewee said, "Is it possible that the electricity is cut off for days and weeks while we are students and taking exams, and we do not have light to study? It is unfair. We want electricity. The government does not feel that way."

Figure 26. Electricity was introduced to the area, causing chaos; adding this service to Al Sadr City affected Baghdad.
Source: (Author)

The study area suffers from disposal and accumulation of waste in most of the Sector 13 streets and sidewalks, which have become swamps of pollution. For example, an interviewee said, "The Sadr City streets are an accumulation of rubble, waste, and overflowing sewage." We are in a time of epidemics, and this is the fourth complaint but to no avail." Another interviewee complains about solid waste accumulation in the middle of the street and above the drain holes due to the Municipality's absence of these harmful actions.

Recently, the phenomenon of continuous burning of waste has spread as a way of eliminating waste. As a result, Sector 13 faces adverse health and environmental impacts from burning waste, which prompted its resident to move and complain to the planning ministry, asking for a solution and removing the waste to reduce this dangerous phenomenon that threatens the health and safety of the residents. For this matter, Iraq's prime minister pointed out the need for the Ministry of Health and the Environment and the Baghdad Operations Command to take a responsible stand on this issue.

Figure 27. The continuous waste burning in a residential area in the Sadr City of Baghdad.
Source: (Emanalasady, 2019)

4.3.1.5 Themes related to space usage. The Sadr City residents of sector 13 transform their daily using spaces into multiple uses in different methods and times. Due to insufficient space, they organize their single spaces into three domains: public, semi-public, and private. They are using the public circulation spine not only for walking but also for their daily activities like cooking, walking, and some sorts of recreational spaces for children and the space for their social interaction. On the other hand, semi-public spaces are used in the daytime for social interaction and household work and night-time for sleeping. These multiple uses of spaces make their places more meaningful according to their everyday life experience.

Figure 28. Public spaces and kids' play area in Sector 13 streets
Source: (Author)

They contribute to their place with emotional attachment as their daily practice in the transitional space. Therefore, Al Sadr City residents feel like this is the best space as they make their place according to their choice and activity.

Figure 29. Multiple uses of space (Informal settlements of Al Sadr City typical plan).
Source: (Author)
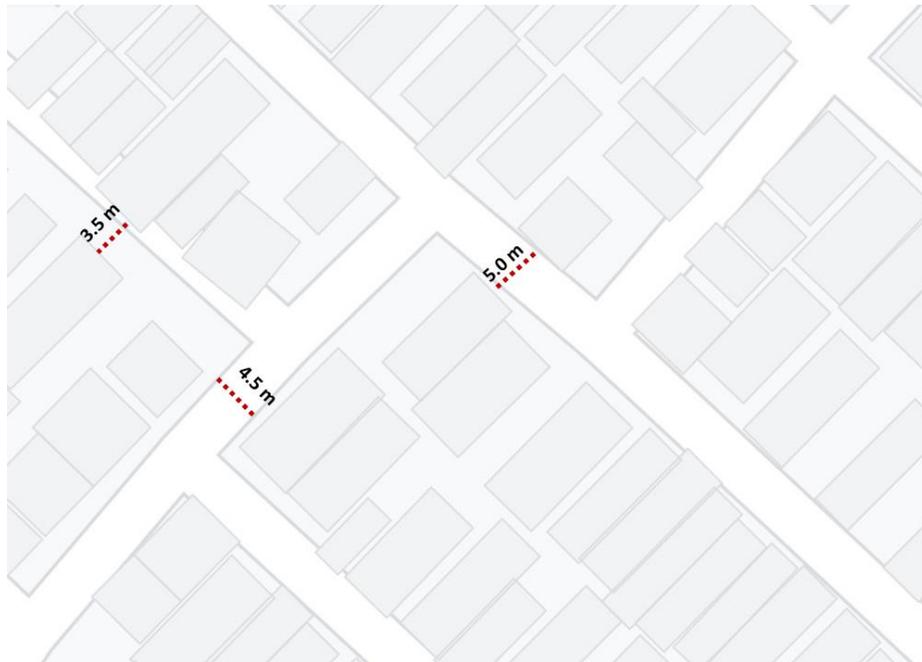
Figure 30. The distance between dwellings.
Source: (Author)
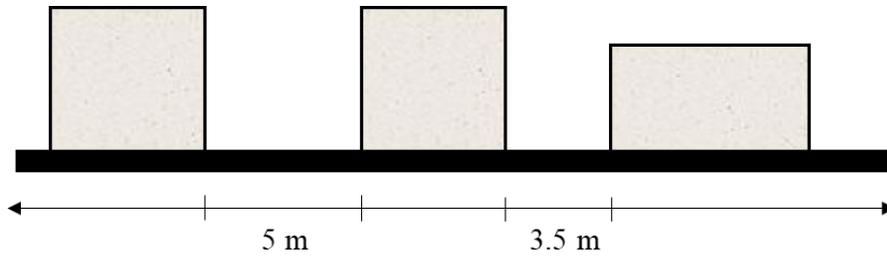
Figure 31. The distance between the two building rows.
Source: (Author)

The average household is high compared to the housing unit. As a result, many houses have a single room, exterior bathroom, and yard, all used for multiple purposes. At night, the bed and floor are used for sleeping while the remaining space is used for storage. When the family member wakes up in the morning, the room is used as a living room, as the kids use the bed for sitting. On the other hand, they used the outside yard for cooking day and night and the remaining space for storage. Again in the afternoon, when the cooking is done, they use the room for resting and home-based income activities as (figure 31) shows multiple uses of space in a single-room dwelling of Sector 13.
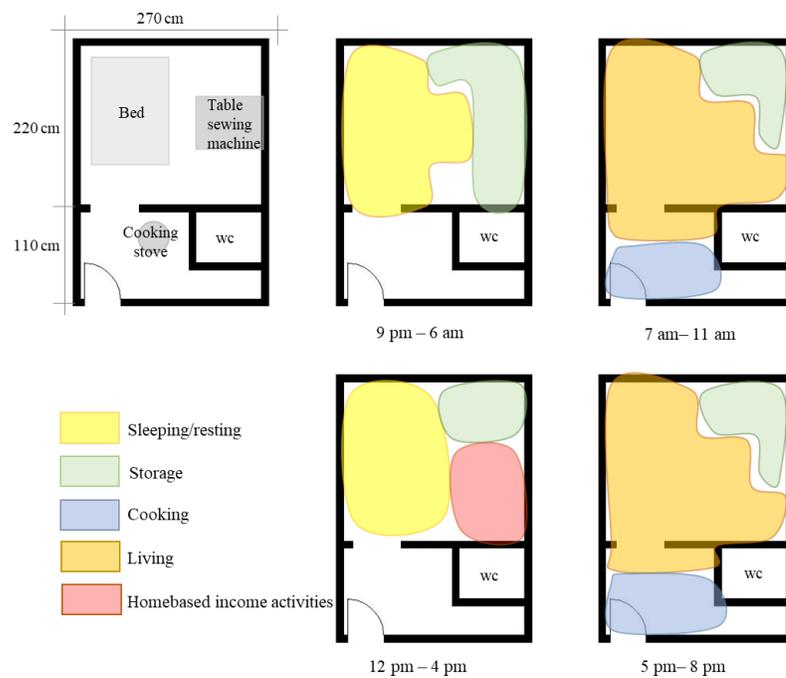
Figure 32. Multiple uses of space in a single-room dwelling of sector 13.
Source: (Author)

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Table 4

Conclusion of themes that is related to place concept

Concept	Themes	Key concepts
Place	Location	1. Accessibility and distance to essential services.
	Physical Environment	1. Limited access to green parks. 2. Overcrowded. 3. High housing density. 4. Crowded areas may develop a sense of belonging while promoting interactions between people. 5. Lack of privacy. 6. Narrow and broken streets.
	Informal Housing	1. Increased migration from rural to urban areas has contributed to the housing shortage. 2. Houses are poorly built. 3. Unsanitary environment. 4. Dwellings are shared by multiple families. 5. Legal and illegal status.
	Limited Access to Infrastructure	1. Municipality's limited service. 2. The area lacks access to essential infrastructure. 3. The area suffers from disposal and accumulation of waste as well as waste burning.
	Space Usage	1. Residents transform their daily using spaces into multiple uses in different methods and times. 2. Spaces to increase social interaction. 3. Multiple uses of space in a single-room dwelling.

4.3.2 Second concept: the person

4.3.2.1 Themes related to relationships. The relationship theme consisted of two sub-themes. The first sub-theme is family relationships. First settlers and the later coming

group came to Al Sadr City with their family, followed by the whole family, which created a firm root in the studied area. The second sub-theme is neighborhood relationships; as social relationships help develop a sense of belonging. They almost mentioned sharing the same past, present, and future. A resident said, "We have a strong friendship with our neighbors; we help and ask about each other. Also, we stand by each other in happiness and sorrow." Another resident said, "My neighbors have become more than a family here. We spend a lot of time together. For example, after finishing work, we sit on the sidewalk, drinking tea and talking."

Figure 33. Social life – sharing Ramadan Iftars for Al Sadr City families.
Source: (City_Sadr1 group)

Figure 34. Cleaning the streets by the families by self-effort.
Source: (City_Sadr1 group)

Meanwhile, the social bonds among Sector 13 residents are vital because they share the same disadvantaged socioeconomic statuses and experiences, including poverty, disability, or unemployment, which has made them develop a sense of belonging as they belong to the same social group and understand each other's struggles and hardships compared to outsiders. In addition, the residents shared mutual physical and social assistance due to their long-term residence there. For example, one of the participants is a 65 years' woman who has lived in a tiny dwelling with her family members for more than 40 years; her spouse got sick and could not move. She appreciated the support of her neighborhood. She said, "The next-door neighbor and other friends from the neighborhood stepped by my side on my hard time."

4.3.2.2 Themes related to security and privacy. Site interviews revealed that families' safety plays a significant role in why Sector 13 residents are still holding onto the area. The residents mentioned multiple reasons for increasing their safety level;

neighbors gather for help if needed, and people firmly trust each other within the neighborhood. They described how loyalty and friendship grew and helped them build it. Other people's honesty and trust have influenced their daily activities and assisted them in working together on solving their issues. For example, an interviewer said, "We are secure in our place; everyone in our neighborhood is responsible for other security. if someone needs help, we immediately run to give a hand." Also, another resident said, " I feel secure here because, in Al Sadr City, People have faith in one another. Luckily we have been here for fairly a while. I still remember the day my husband passed away. My neighbors and friends have never left us; they always ask about us, helping us. We know each other very well." On the other hand, a resident said, "Generally, we are secure here despite some random accidents, and some residents harm the area by irresponsible actions, which has a negative impact on our kids."

In Sadr City, Islam's concept is followed while defining public and private places. However, the house is associated with women's private lives and the neighborhood with men's public domain. The Islamic concepts of "mahram" and "non-mahram" are the foundation for what The Sadr City considers public and private spaces. Although, according to the religious codes, the people of the other sex with whom marriage is expressly prohibited are referred to as a "mahram" (e.g., for a woman: father, brother, and a man: mother, sister,) "non-mahram" refers to people of the opposite gender whose family does not constitute any barrier to marriage" (Junara, N., Mutiara, E., & Senjana, S.,2020). Furthermore, restricted spaces for both women and men are characterized as places, founded both in the house and neighborhood, where one is likely to encounter, meet, and engage with non-mahram persons. Moreover, spaces generally are not seen as "public" or "private"; their character is determined by the people using them.

The privacy theme consisted of the physical elements that increase privacy, such as the high fence wall for each dwelling and the limited number of windows. On the other hand, some physical elements decrease residents' sense of privacy, such as the absence of sound insulation. An example of a resident saying, "Privacy level is deficient. There is no sound insulation. I can sometimes hear my neighbors while they talk in their houses. Also, our plot is shared by multiple families; we share the staircase and terrace. "

Another element impacting the privacy level is social elements that decrease privacy levels. The site survey and interviews show that several social elements are decreasing the privacy level for Al Sadr sector 13 residents; They have mentioned that they share their house with non-relatives, sometimes causing them a feel that the privacy level does not exist. For example, a resident said, "We have a private house; my only concern is the garage and main door entrance. It is seen by the neighbors who live on the second floor. Al Sadr City houses are very close to each other."

The third sub-theme was the gender dimension. From the interviews, Al Sadr City's slum residents mentioned that their culture significantly affects women's freedom. Some families avoid their female members using terraces and roofs so neighbors will not see them. For instance, one of the participants said, "To be honest, we live in a crowded house; each family has a single room, and our kids share the living room to sleep. Even though we are one large family, the privacy level in our house does not exist. My wife wears her hijab from when she wakes up until she sleeps again. So we cannot have privacy in our own house." Another interviewer said, "Since we do not share our house with strangers, we have good privacy inside, but for the terrace and roof, I avoid my female members from using these spaces unless they cover their selves and wear hijab because they can be seen from neighbors who live in the second floor at the surrounding houses."

Behavioral Patterns in the House: When non-mahram male guests enter, that part of the house is redefined as public. In Sadr City houses, the front room or front verandah is considered a public used area where men can meet, work, and associate with other men who are not mahram to the women of the house. The public-private concept emphasizes the informal nature of space in poor people's houses by being less physical and more symbolic. To distinguish and separate the public from the private domain, screens and curtains are used.

A male interviewee said, "Even if a house has only one room, it may easily be converted from an internal family room to an external guest room by having the household headstand welcoming guests, bringing something special for the visitor to sit on, and place a barrier cover to separate the room so the women could move to."

Behavioral Patterns in public spaces: The chances of meeting non-mahram kin and non-kin are multiplied outside the house. As a result, women's mobility in this spatial area is strictly regulated. In Al Sadr City's traditional families, a woman who wishes to leave the house must first obtain permission from her father or husband. Plus, the outfit must be appropriate for the Islamic custom of the hejab (veil).

According to the interviews, there are certain areas where women are not permitted to enter. For example, women are never seen in tea/coffee shops, where men spend most of their time socializing and entertaining. Also, women are rarely seen in public holy places such as mosques. Instead, women are encouraged to pray at their houses, even though it is not forbidden in such places. On the other hand, men are required to attend congregational (Jumma/Friday) prayers in mosques, but women are not. However, women occasionally visit mosques with their husbands or female companions, especially during the hours when men are not there.

In addition, some public activities shared by Sector 13 residents play a significant role in increasing the social bonds between them, such as volunteering activities. Some financially capable residents created an association to help low-income families, especially women with no husbands or fathers left.

4.3.2.3 Themes related to psychological distress and leaving the slums. Interviews reveal that some Sector 13 of Al Sadr City Individuals suffer from adverse feelings. Furthermore, interview results indicate that the city authorities' perception of slums must be removed and modified after relocating occupants, which creates a sense of fear of being demolished. Hence, only a few residents express their willingness to leave whenever they get any opportunity, which develops a sense of anger or frustration toward the place. For example, an illegal informant said, "I am always concerned that the authorities would evict us at some point as an effort to Sadr City Slums rehabilitation."

Inhabitants fear experiencing changes suddenly in their life routines due to their fear of displacement. They feared losing their familiar surroundings, shared culture, and social relations that they gained from living in their familiar home environment.

Residents in Sector 13, particularly those of the first generation, worry about being forced to move from their homes and losing their familiar surroundings, which can substantially impact their sense of place attachment. For example, one of the interviewers said, "We fear being displaced one day; we keep hearing rumors that the government might force us to move." For this, people forced to leave their homes may feel disconnected from the place they used to consider home, resulting in unhappiness toward their place. Furthermore, the fear of displacement can long-term impact a resident's bond with their area and, in general, their place attachment.

Sector 13 residents experience mixed feelings about their willingness to stay or leave the area. People who wanted to move out were limited. Furthermore, employment, educational facilities, and markets all had a role in keeping these people in their place. On the other hand, socioeconomic and environmental deteriorating conditions were highlighted as a reason for disappointment and abandoning the area. A resident said, "The government must allocate the municipality to clean our streets because the streets are full of garbage and dirt. Also, the neighborhood lacks of basic services."

Another resident said, " This place suits me because I work in the local market, so I need to think about every aspect before going to a different area. I have become tired of living in my neighborhood, but we must remember that our children may be affected by this move and encounter difficulties if we leave our neighborhood."

4.3.2.4 Themes related to needs/demands. According to semi-structured interviews, some Sector 13 residents want to move to another place but aim to remain if the area becomes clean, well-organized, and provides essential services. Statements such as "we prefer our neighborhood" and "we feel at home here" highlighted how people are satisfied while living in their area, mainly because the surrounding places such as schools, markets, mosques, and work are all nearby. For example, a resident said, "I love being a resident of this place and will never move out even if the authorities provide us with affordable dwellings. Sector 13 is our home, and I hope I can own a bigger house in the same area." Also, they said," I cannot leave this place; this place is mine. It is my home. Also, I rarely go outside Al Sadr City; whenever I am out, I feel lost."

4.3.2.5 Themes related to religion and beliefs. Religion and beliefs theme consisted of the religious component, as Al Sadr City residents belong to the Islam Sadrist base; it is one of the most significant Islamist movements in the Middle East; the Sadrist movement consists of millions of people from a poorer, urban population segment. Also, despite multiple residents' generations, people greatly emphasized the importance of their religious affiliation to the Sadrist base in Al Sadr City and how it keeps them together. For example, a resident from the first settlers said, " Al Sadr City was a diverse area of multiple religions and beliefs, but so far, most of its residents are Islam Sadrist. So, of course, we have the same identity, belief, and belonging to this place." Also, a later coming group resident said, " I believe all Al Sadr residents share the same answer. Religion is a great factor in building a unique emotional bond between us. Islam religion is all about helping and looking after each other."

Table 5

Conclusion of themes that is related to the person concept

Concept	Themes	Key concepts
Person	Relationships	1. Family relationships. 2. Social support. 3. Creation of firm root in the area. 4. People are sharing the same past, present, and future. 5. The residents shared mutual physical and social assistance due to their long-term residence there.
	Security and privacy	1. Neighbors gather for help if needed. 2. People firmly trust each other within the neighborhood. 3. Islam's concept is followed while defining public and private places. 4. There are physical elements that increase privacy. 5. Gender dimension.
	Psychological distress and leaving the slums	1. Adverse feelings. 2. Fear of being demolished. 3. Inhabitants fear experiencing changes suddenly in their life routine.
	Needs/demand	1. People aim to have clean, well-organized, and provides essential services.
	Religion and beliefs	1. Al Sadr City residents belong to the Islam Sadrist base. 2. People share same identity, belief, and belonging to this place.

4.3.3 Third Concept: Process

4.3.3.1 Themes related to the marginalization of slum settlers. This theme consists of the marginalization of Al Sadr by the City Administration. From the site observation,

the city authorities are working more on developing spaces that are hotspots of socioeconomic and political activities, so they often neglect the slum areas by not providing public services as they do in other areas in Baghdad. Also, its residents face displacement threats as the government demolishes part of the excess homes in Al Sadr City slums instead of finding permanent solutions. A resident said, "Leave us to live in peace. I will never leave my area because we have been living for ages; all my family and friends are here, and we know each other very well." Another resident added, " We are not going anywhere. This place is a home for our family members, and we have collected more powerful friendships than family ties in our area. Also, I cannot leave my house. It is all I got. If I go somewhere else, I will lose my peace."

On the other hand, some residents have shown their willingness to leave, but only if the government could provide a better place to live with better facilities. For example, an interviewee said, I am leaving since we do not have services in our neglected area. However, if the authorities supply us with a new dwelling, I will happily construct it based on our specifications."

4.3.3.2 Themes related to migration. The migration theme consists of the family's history and organization. From the interviews, most families from the first generation mentioned that the father came first to prepare the house then the rest of the family followed. An interviewee said, " My father chose to migrate alone 55 years ago; after a while, he brought us from a village in Iraq's south. The house was good for him, and he decided to bring us. Unfortunately, we have a small space while our family become bigger. We intend to extend our home but do not have enough money."

Moreover, people's process of moving brought disappointment to the family, as it represented a sudden change in their living conditions and surrounding environment, and being disconnected, causing a negative impact on their sense of place attachment. Additionally, their new area lacks their basic needs, especially since Sadr City was almost empty when it was first established. As a result, many residents from the first generation experienced a feeling of isolation, disconnection, and loneliness. However, the impact of the people migrating to Sadr City on place attachment can vary depending on each

individual's experiences. Over time, most individuals, especially the generations who have lived in Sector 13 for a long time, were well adapted to their neighborhood and have developed a meaningful sense of place attachment.

4.3.3.3 Themes relate to emotional connection. Emotional connection consisted of the emotional connection to the house. From the interviews, everyone has a different opinion about it. However, most of Sector 13 interviewees have a strong emotional connection to their houses, especially the first settlers and later coming group; they believe their houses are not physical objects. Each house carries a deep emotional meaning for them. Each house represents the richness of their memories, experiences, and turning points. An interviewee from the early coming group said, "I am very connected to our house. I was raised here with my siblings. Also, the house is not changed. It is just as it was before 50 years. It is my home, and I cannot imagine living in another house; it is the only remaining memory from my parents." Also, a newly moved interviewee to a different house said, "Generally, I was more attached to my parent's home because they built it with the government's help. However, I was forced to move because it became very crowded and small to us; My two brothers are still there because they cannot afford a house."

Another factor affecting emotional connection is the connection to the surrounding environment (neighborhood). The interviewees have described their emotional connection to the surrounding environment. Most of them have agreed that despite their neighborhood's deteriorated condition, they still have a special connection to the area. Also, they have described the neighborhood as a home too. For example, an interviewee said, "This place is my home, and it brings me peace of mind since I know all my neighbors; my family house is nearby, so my kids could always meet their relatives." Also, there are times sector 13 residents share a moment as they do in Ramadan; each family cooks a meal, and they share it during iftar time. They eat together then they walk by the mosque to pray. As an interviewee mentioned, "One of my best moments is sharing Iftar with our neighbor, cooking and preparing a long table in our street, and eating and praying together. In Ramadan, we feel equal, just as a big family."

Also, connection to historical/symbolic directly impacts emotional connection. Again, most of the male interviewees agreed they mostly like to spend their time in the mosque and traditional markets of Al Sadr city, where they can meet their families and friends while praying, shopping, and working. As well as, women agreed that the park is the most suitable place to bring their children and have fun with their friends and relatives. They confirm that at least they have a weekly visit to the park on weekends; each cooks special meals and shares them there. A resident said, "The time spent in the surrounding traditional markets is the best; we meet many friendly people there because most of them live in Sadr City, so they cannot judge us based on what they hear from the news. They know in our deep that we are good and peaceful people. Al Sadr City is our home." Also, some residents have a non-sensual connection to the sound of the prayer call. A resident who lives near the mosque said, "The mosque is very near to my house; I love when the sound of a prayer calls wakes me up to pray. At that time, I stand at the front door seeing the people walking by to the mosque with the people they love. It is a very peaceful time."

4.3.3.4 Themes related to memory. From site observation and field interviews, memory consisted of memories from the place, and it shows that first settlers and older age groups of Al Sadr City residents are much more connected to the area as they have created memories that shaped their identity. However, these memories grew place attachment to the home environment, workplace, and neighborhood. For example, an interviewee said, " When we first came here, I was only 5; everyone I know is here. My father used to take my brothers and me to the market, and we loved it. I am a grandfather; I always take my grandson to the market and mosque, just as my father did."

The second sub-theme was a life-changing moment that started with their immigration from the Iraq countryside in 1954, followed by their sacrifice in protecting the country in Iraq's several wars. For example, a resident from the early coming group said, "Before I retired, I got shot in my leg, so I was forced to leave my job. The economic situation is worsening, especially since I have a massive commitment to my family. Since then, I wish that the government would feel the sacrifice and help me."

On the other hand, the newcomers to Al Sadr City could not build strong memories there. For example, an interviewer said, "It would be a straightforward question if you ask me about the house I used to live in with my family in the Shaab neighborhood. However, I could not earn a special memory from the place."

The contrast between the first generation and newcomers is that the first generation may have felt hopeful about their future when they moved to the area, whereas newcomers may have felt hopeless and unsure. The first generation may have come to the area searching for a better life for themselves and their family and may have developed a deep connection to their new surroundings. On the other hand, newcomers may be less optimistic about their future possibilities in their new place and may feel disconnected from their new environment.

4.3.3.5 Themes related to values. While interviewing in Sadr City, a formation of values connected to the place residents of Sadr City acquired in the three generations, such as loyalty, commitment, and generosity. These values resulted from the resident's experience and the bonds created with the other neighbors, family, and friends. Here are some examples, an interviewer said, "The values I have gained from being one of the Sadr City residents are loyalty, commitment, and to be generous. We help and look after each other here." Another resident said, " The most important thing I have learned by living here is friendship and helping each other. After my husband died, people around me supported me and stood for me until my kids grow up and they have their work."

Table 6

Conclusion of themes that is related to the process concept

Concept	Themes	Key concepts
Process	Marginalization of slum settlers	1. Neglect the area. 2. Displacement threats.
	Migration	1. Family's history and organization. 2. People's process of moving. 3. Sudden change in their living conditions and surrounding environment.
	Emotional connection	1. Richness of their memories, experiences, and turning points. 2. Emotional connection to the house and surrounding environment. 3. Connection to historical/ symbolic.
	Memory	1. Identity. 2. Shaped by life changing moments. 3. Long exposure to place.
	Values	1. Loyalty, commitment, and generosity.

Table 7

Themes and frequencies according to place attachment concepts and generations

Concept	Themes	Sub-themes	Codes	Frequency	First Settlers (a) Frequency	Later Coming Group (b) Frequency	New Coming Group (c) Frequency
Place	Location Position	distance to the essential services	Long travelling distance to schools	0	0	0	0
			Long travelling distance to Market	0	0	0	0
			Long travelling distance to Hospital	20	6	9	5
			Long travelling distance to Mosque	0	0	0	0
		distance to the City Center	travelling distance to the essential services (government	20	6	9	5
	Surrounded Environment	Housing Density	Houses are close to each other	20	6	9	5
			The absence of public open space	18	6	7	5
		Street Density	Absence of any green element eg. Tree	20	6	9	5
			Broken streets	17	6	8	3
			Narrow streets and passages	17	6	8	3
	Lack Access to Infrastructure	Limited Access to Basic Infrastructures	limited access to electric power (Public electric)	20	6	9	5
			Lack of appropriate water system	17	6	8	3
			limited access to municipal solid waste	17	6	8	3
			Solid wastes temporarily stored in an open space/plots	17	6	8	3
			Lack of facilities and human resources	20	6	9	5
	Informal housing	Housing status	Legally documented structures	10	3	6	1
		Family Size comparing to the Number of Bedrooms	Limited bedrooms as compared with the household size	17	6	8	3
		Hygienic Setting condition	insufficient and dirty toilets	11	4	6	1
			The proximity of toilet to dining area	8	4	3	1
			Lack of appropriate liquid waste disposal mechanism	8	5	6	
	Work	a source of semiskilled and unskilled labor.	work availability nearby	15	5	7	3
	Accomodation	Affordable housing	New migrant accommodation	6	6	0	0
			Accommodation for poor Iraqi people	17	6	7	4
	Spaces	Spaces usage	spaces usage through social interactions and relations	16	6	8	2
Person	Relationships	Families relations	family in the area	11	6	5	0
			neighbors that became more than a family	15	6	6	3
	Security	Families safety	neighbors gathers for help if needed	18	6	8	4
			people trust each other here	16	6	9	1
	Privacy	Physical elements that increase or decrease privacy level	Absence of sounds insulation	12	5	6	1
			high fence wall	12	6	5	1
		Social elements that decrease privacy level	We share our house with strangers	2	0	0	2
			The privacy level in our house is not exist.	12	5	6	1
		The Gender Dimension	Women are suffering more here	20	6	9	5
			avoiding female members to use terrace and roof	14	5	7	2
	Psychological Distress	Negative emotions experience	leaving whenever I get any opportunity	4	0	1	3
			Sense of anger or frustration toward the place	3	0	0	3
	Leaving Slums	Why I cannot leave?	Living here for a long time	15	6	9	0
			Connected to the place	13	6	7	0
			Connected to the people living here	15	6	9	0
			Jobs are nearby	10	5	3	2
			Cannot be adjusted somewhere else	14	6	8	0
	Demands	Things that could make your life easier and better	Bigger house	20	6	9	5
			Jobs	20	6	9	5
			Health care centers	20	6	9	5
			Basic services (clean water and electricity)	20	6	9	5
			Clean streets	20	6	9	5
			Crime to disappear	7	0	2	5
	Religion and beliefs	Religious component	Islam/Sadrist base	20	6	9	5
			Religion keeps us together	16	6	8	2
		Correlation between staying in slums and religious beliefs	unity and title	14	6	8	0
			Increases social bonds	16	6	8	2
Process	marginalization of slums settlers	Al Sadr to the City Administration	Marginalization in relation to the provision of public services	20	6	9	5
			Displacement threat	3	0	1	2
		Non-Slum Dwellers perspective to the slum dwellers	A place where a low standard people live in (economically)	12	5	6	1
	Migration	Families history	Families settled here to look for better opportunities eg. Jobs	10	6	4	1
			Families forced to settle here because of wars	8	3	5	0
		Organization	Father came first	3	3	0	0
	Emotional connection	Emotional connection to the house	Self-built house	10	5	5	0
			Only left memory from parents	8	4	4	0
			Born and raised here	9	5	4	0
			Home	13	6	7	0
		Emotional connection to the surrounded environment	Homely	14	6	7	1
			Peaceful	12	5	6	1
			Friendly	20	6	9	5
			Sharing moments together	18	6	9	3
			Emotional bonds with our friends and relatives	20	6	9	5
		Connection to historical/symbolic	Spending a pleasant time together walking by to mosque	12	6	6	0
			Mostly connected to Al Sadr City tradional markets	11	3	5	3
			Attached to Mosque Adan sound	3	1	2	0
	Memories	Memories from the area	People	15	6	9	0
			Places	14	6	7	0
		Life changing moments	Had Sacrificed in previous wars	4	0	4	0
			Moving to Al Sadr City	13	6	5	2
	Values	formation of values connected to the place	Loyalty	12	6	6	0
			Commitment	14	5	7	2
			Generosity	13	5	6	2

Individual participant columns — First Settlers (a): A.C.(1), D.N.(2), F.G.(3), G.A.(4), K.L.(5), A.I.(6); Later Coming Group (b): A.F.(7), S.H.(8), G.T.(9), M.A.(10), M.F.(11), S.A.(12), H.H.(13), D.T.(14), O.G.(15); New Coming Group (c): Y.T.(16), E.D.(17), W.K.(18), Z.A.(19), R.S.(20) — are indicated by shaded cells.

4.4 Discussion on Findings

This chapter identified several discussion themes developed from the interviews and underlying theoretical frameworks. Each theme is covered in its section, with quotes from interview participants supporting it.

The phenomenon of place attachment is for the migrants who have arrived in the area until the newcomers who have arrived late prepared in this study according to the three primary concepts of place attachment, person, place, and process. However, the bonds between the individuals and the place can vary in terms of spatial level, specificity degree, and the physical or social features of the place in three ranges: house, street, and neighborhood. Moreover, it is manifested through psychological processes and how they are affected by the place. However, why people develop such residual psychological bonds with the place affects their decision to stay or leave. Therefore, these concepts of place attachment are integral in this study, and they will be discussed narratively under the following headings putting particular assurance to the multiple generational differences of people.

4.4.1 Dimension of place "A place to call home." The dimension of place attachment is essential as it is the place itself. This thesis offers information about the attachment ranges and dimensions. It has been demonstrated that attachment varies at the house, street, and neighborhood levels. There is also a distinction between social and physical attachment to an area. This conclusion complements previous research that suggests attachment varies across spatial ranges (Hernandez & Hidalgo, 2001). In support of previous studies (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, Hernandez & Hidalgo, 2001), neighborhood and street attachment were also equal to house attachment, In contrast to the previous searches.

According to the location position of sector 13 concerning the traveling distance to the essential services, all the interviewees agreed that the distance to schools, markets, and mosques is short. On the other hand, all of them again agreed that the traveling distance

to hospitals, health centers, and government organization is long. One of the participants has quoted:

> [I asked about the traveling distance to schools, markets, health centers, and mosques]
>
> "The mosque, my kid's school, and the market are very near to my house, which makes our life easier and better, but the problem is that our sector has no health centers or hospitals. So if any of my family gets ill, we will ride for a long distance to reach a public hospital." (K.L. first settlers).

When we talk about place attachment, we are referring to the emotional bond that people have with their neighborhood (Giuliani, 2003). The location position of the neighborhood has a strong relation to the sense of place attachment. for instance, the accessibility of markets, schools, and healthcare centers plays a significant role in improving the level of satisfaction and belonging to Sector 13 residents as highlighted in the interviews. most of the participants agreed that having these facilities nearby makes them feel like they have everything they need within reach, which can increase their place attachment to the area. For example, an interviewer said, "We have young children, so because the school is nearby we feel more connected to the area," On the other hand, the residents wish for a healthcare center nearby, so they can feel more secure in their area.

The surrounding environment in the study area is divided into housing and street density. All the houses in Sector 13 are compacted and close to each other. Also, according to site observation, 90% of the streets are broken, narrow, and without any green element. In the northeast outskirt of the neighborhood, there is only one small open space crowded with the neighborhood residents in the evening. According to the interviews, the surrounding environment has a substantial impact on place attachment since it can produce a sense of neglect or abandonment as well as a sense of separation. When the surroundings are not well-maintained, it might raise safety concerns, weakening the sense of belonging to the area. An interviewer described in very much detail; she described the surrounding environment in her area of residence, she stated:

> "Mainly it is a built environment in the sector I live in. but we have a park and traditional market square on another area. But it is not near you have to walk for more than 20 min to reach it." (S.H. Later coming group).

Another interviewer stated, "Our kids play football in an empty plot; there are no gardens or parks." (Z.A. New coming group).

In researching the most vital dimension of place attachment in this thesis, the social element is much more apparent than the physical one. For instance, people have described their environment as 'homely,' 'peaceful,' and 'friendly.' One of the most significant indicators of social bonds within sector 13 residents is the frequency of interaction zones with other residents, as it appeared in the study findings.

An indicator in questions has been used among the participants; one represented iterative daily social contact with people. An interviewer represented social contact with the neighbors he interacts with daily. He said:

> [how frequently and where do you meet your neighbors?] "I meet my neighbors almost daily. We are talking, drinking tea, and walking around." (A.C. First Settlers)

Again, space usage in the study area found multiple spaces, such as cooking activities, are used from the whole street neighborhood. These spaces help to increase social interactions and relations for 80% of the residents.

However, the physical features of the place were still crucial to the positive/negative emotions that were reported, such as unhappiness with the state of the home despite the deterioration of their houses from the poor construction material, lack of appropriate infrastructure, and the absence of hygienic settings. In this regard, one interviewer described the features of her own house:

> [Define house features of your own house. Housing status?] "It is a poor quality house with a single floor and a leaky roof; the land was divided into multiple houses," she added, "we have two rooms which are not practical as compared with the household size." (S.A. Later coming group).

People, mainly from the first settlers born and raised there, still feel attached to their houses as they were self-built. Moreover, they were the only memory left of their parents. So, they emphasized the importance of 'home.' For instance, one participant from the first

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settlers who migrated in 1960 from the southern countryside to Sadr City described his special bond with the place itself:

> [What is your family history, how they arrived in the area, and when you lived in Al Sadr City (recent migrants or not)? and how you organized?] "I came here with my parents from Amara village when I was ten. My father was looking for a better opportunity to save money and return to our village, but we decided to stay once the government gave us a plot here. So then, my father built our house alone but with the government control."

> [Would you like to move from here, and why?] "I cannot leave my house; it is all I got. If I go somewhere else, I will lose my peace."

In addition, the study area is mainly liked because of affordable housing and work availability. The interview revealed that 30% of the houses belonged to migrant accommodation from the first settlers who moved from the Iraqi countryside and settled there. Also, 70% of its accommodation is for the poor Iraqi people from the late and new coming groups. Plus, Sadr City is considered a source of semiskilled and unskilled labor, as 75% of the interviewers revealed that they have a nearby job in the same area. These two essential factors are significant in making Al Sadr City residents more attached to the study area, as mentioned in an interview:

> [What does home mean to you?] "My home is where my house and job exist." (W.K. New coming group).

In order of their contributions, personal characteristics identified as solid indicators of place attachment in the study were generation, housing status, education, marital status, income, occupation, and participants' age. This result corresponds to prior studies (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001), which found that age, education, occupation, tenure status, and length of stay in a place all significantly influenced place attachment in residential settings (Adewale et al., 2020). In addition, the data found that most people in the research area who said they felt connected to their home surroundings were spouses, more than fifty years old, homeowners with legal housing status, employed in nearby jobs, and had lived there for more than ten years.

Table 8

Summary of place component

Place Component	Participants opinion	Relation to place attachment
Location position	Totally agreed	Most of the participants agreed that having these facilities nearby makes them feel like they have everything they need within reach. On the other hand, the residents wish for a healthcare center nearby to feel more secure in their area.
Physical environments	90% of the streets are broken, narrow, and without any green element	The surrounding environment has a substantial impact on place attachment since it can produce a sense of neglect or abandonment as well as a sense of separation. When the surroundings are not well-maintained, it might raise safety concerns, weakening the sense of belonging to the area.
Space usage	80% agreed	space usage in the study area found multiple spaces, such as cooking activities, are used from the whole street neighborhood. These spaces help to increase social interactions and relations for 80% of the residents.
Accommodation	30% of the houses belonged to migrant accommodation from the first settlers. Also, 70% of for low-income people from the second generation	The study area is mainly liked because of affordable housing and source of semiskilled and unskilled labor, as 75% of the interviewers revealed that they have a nearby job in the same area. These two essential factors are significant in making Al Sadr City residents more attached to the area.

4.4.2 Dimension of person "the social bonds of shared experiences and memories and place attachment." The person (individual) dimension is an umbrella of close ties between people and their surroundings through valuable stated experiences. This

study and previous literature focused on the importance of place, especially with an aged group of residents, namely, place attachment and what kind of bonds people have earned in the area. The study findings make a strong case for how the sense of identity and belonging is fostered by location connection. According to psychological and sociological viewpoints, "belonging is a complex and unclear operation split across a range of axes and social fields" (Schwarz et al., 2014). Individuals can bring their unique traditions and beliefs to a place or spread them with groups, giving them a sense of identification and belonging (Schwarz et al., 2014). These experiences that grow to be significant to the individual inspire a solid attachment to the place where they occurred.

Having relatives and friends who live nearby and are visited frequently is another positive element that contributes to the social links among people and the overall neighborhood. Housing and neighborhood choices are also highly interpersonal since they are shaped by personal experiences, family members, and friends. Previous studies show that housing choices and relocation are often impacted by the geography of family and social networks and connections (Clark and Coulter 2015).

People relationships in Sector 13 significantly increase the sense of place attachment and belonging in the study area. The relationships consisted of family, relatives, and friends. Personal relationships were meaningful for most participants in sector 13. Considerably, people, such as family and friends, were discovered to be highly valued components that were inextricably linked to the attachment process. As a result, 55% of participants, especially from the first settlers and later coming groups, were very attached to their families, and 75% of the participants had neighbors and friends who became more than a family to them. Those relationships connected them, and they were a strong reason that defined their place as their home. For instance, a participant said, "This is my home because it is where my family and friends live... My family will always be my home because it is where I am supposed to be… This place where I should return... I spent my whole life searching for a home until I arrived here. I have never been elsewhere". This expressive language usage represents the psychological characteristics of the home, which are linked to family (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004). In addition to multiple reasons for keeping

the people in the study area, 70% of the participants mentioned that they could not be adjusted elsewhere.

In terms of socioeconomic factors, it was noticed that people's sense concerning security in their surroundings was one of the most critical factors in explaining place attachment in the study, as 90% of participants, mainly from the first settlers and later coming group, agreed that neighbors gather for help if needed as well as 80% of them emphasized the importance of trust increasing security and safety as mentioned that people trust each other in sector 13 which is also following prior studies (Chow & Healey, 2008; Kamalipour et al., 2012) indicating that a high sense of being secure directly impacts a person's level of attachment in the home setting, which is not surprising because safety is one of the essential human needs, as described by Maslow's classification of needs.

I received diverse responses when I asked Sector 13 residents about their sense of security. Residents believed that their immediate surroundings, such as streets and blocks, were safer than the surrounding area of Sadr City. This latter perspective was made clear in the following part of the interview:

> "Sector 13, where I live, is one of Sadr City's friendliest neighborhoods, especially for children, but I believe that is not the case for the people who live in other sectors. Where I currently live, I feel secure. However, late nights or evenings can be quite risky for other sectors due to accidents and crimes." (A.F. Later coming group).

In addition, it was again noticed that security perception plays a significant role in increasing place attachment in sector 13. The study showed that 60% of the study area residents, especially from the first settlers and the later coming group, have built a high fence wall to help to increase their security level, but still, 60% of them complained about the absence of sound insulation as a result of low-quality building material. Plus, the study revealed social elements that decrease privacy level for sector 13 residents of two participants of the new coming group as they mentioned, "We share our house with strangers" due to their low income concerning high renting prices. Those residents were forced to move to the area because of the low rentals as compared with other neighborhoods of Baghdad as well as they are searching for a better opportunity to be able

to move out again; it also left a negative emotional experience for them and created a sense of anger or frustration toward the place.

Furthermore, the gender dimension in sector 13 was very noticeable as 100% of the participants agreed that women in the Sadr City are suffering more as 70% of participants are avoiding their female members using their house terrace and roof as these areas are open and multi-use spaces that strangers could use. Therefore, those factors directly affect women's freedom of movement in their houses and neighborhood.

Sadr City was founded by thousands of poor Shia farmers who escaped the feudal circumstances of Iraq in the previous century, leaving a ring of slums around Baghdad. In order to address Sadr City residents' social problems, people initially turned to Communist rule, then to the revolutionary belief developed thereby Ayat Allah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, who was put to death by government forces in 1980. according to Sheikh Abd al-Zahra, the head imam of the al-Hikma mosque in Sadr City, Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr was revolutionary since he demanded establishing a just Isla-mic state. Because he encouraged religious leaders to take the lead in the fight against injustice in society, he received the support of people experiencing poverty. Even after Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr's death, most people in Sadr City still adhere to his religious decrees and fatwas, which were agreed upon by all the participants from the first settlers and later coming groups. As quoted:

> "More than any other person, his memory serves as an inspiration for the neighborhood, as a reminder of bravery and shared grief." He added, "and the affection for al-Sadr continues a protective feeling for his son Muqtada al-Sadr." (M.F. Later coming group).

Furthermore, the religious component in the Sadr City is essential for its residents as 100% share the same religion as Islam/Sadrist base. Also, they confirmed the strong correlation between staying in slums and religious beliefs from their point of view, religion keeps them together, and religion is a significant factor in creating special bonds and memories among them.

People ought to wonder their selves and their feelings related to place to investigate phrases like ordinary social relations experience. This study claims that considering

emotion, experiences, and social memory processes with earlier settlers' place experiences. This perspective allows us to go further into concepts of place attachment while also creating new ideas within the current discourse about place experiences. To this day, earlier literature has sometimes not represented the place's purely social features. Not only are people exposed to place. Phillips, Walford, and Hockey (2013) described how place attachment is essential in elderly individuals due to the duration of 'exposure' to a specific area, but also the way a person's knowledge and memories gathered from experiencing an area, as well as those of others, become bound up in place and the expressed spatiality.

Place attachment is hard to be reduced from a person's experience but instead emerges and returns in lively, active types of social memory and related interaction and discussion among relatives, close friends, and neighbors (Degnen, 2016). When the study findings on social memory are combined with place attachment, we can broaden the variety of alternatives in how place, identity, and belonging can be understood to operate in ways that both go over and inform individual experiences while also highlighting the contextual and nature of place, identity, and memory.

Finally, 100% of the participants from different generations mentioned significant demands to make their lives easier and better, as they wish to have bigger houses, clean streets, better jobs, health care centers, and essential services such as clean water and electricity. As well as, 35% of them who expressed crimes asked for the crime to disappear. As quoted:

[Are there any demands you would ask the government to be fulfilled, so the lives of Al Sadr City residents would be easier and better?] For example, "I want the government to provide better electricity, water, and clean streets. Also, I want the government to make green areas and parks for our kids. Our houses are small; our kids need outdoor spaces." (Z.A. New coming group).

Table 9

Summary of person component

Person Component	Participants opinion	Relation to place attachment
People relationships	55% of participants, especially from the first settlers and later coming groups, were very attached to their families, and 75% of the participants had neighbors and friends who became more than a family to them.	The relationships consisted of family, relatives, and friends. Personal relationships were meaningful for most participants. People, such as family and friends, were discovered to be highly valued components that were linked to the attachment process. Those relationships connected them, and they were a strong reason that defined their place as their home.
Adjustment in a new area	70% of the participants mentioned that they could not be adjusted elsewhere.	Participants particularly those of the first generation, worry about being forced to move from their homes and losing their familiar surroundings.
Security	as 90% of participants, mainly from the first settlers and later coming group, agreed that neighbors gather for help if needed as well as 80% of them emphasized the importance of trust increasing security and safety	People trust each other in sector 13 which is also following prior studies (Chow & Healey, 2008; Kamalipour et al., 2012) indicating that a high sense of being secure directly impacts a person's level of attachment in the home setting. Residents believed that their immediate surroundings, such as streets and blocks, were safer than the surrounding area of Sadr City.
Privacy	Two participants share their house with other people who are not their family.	They are forced to share their house with other people due to their low income concerning high renting prices. They are searching for a better opportunity to be able to move out again. It left a negative emotional experience for them and created a sense of anger or frustration toward the place.
Gender dimension	100% of the participants agreed that women in the Sadr City are suffering more as 70% avoid their females member to use public or semi public part of the house.	Men avoiding their female members using their house terrace and roof as these areas are open and multi-use spaces that strangers could use. It directly affect women's freedom of movement in their houses and neighborhood.
Religion and beliefs	100% of Sector 13 participants share the same religion and beliefs.	Participants confirmed the strong correlation between staying in slums and religious beliefs from their point of view. Religion keeps them together, and religion is a significant factor in creating special bonds and memories among them.
Demands/ needs	100% of participants from different generations mentioned significant demands to make their lives easier and better	Wish for bigger houses, clean streets, better jobs, health care centers, and essential services such as clean water and electricity. 35% of them asked for the crime to disappear.

4.4.3 Psychological process. Most authors highlighted the psychological processes of place attachment by effect, cognition, and behavior (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). In this study, place attachment is practical as the participants have reported positive and negative emotional bonds. Positive feelings of belonging, feeling at home, being connected, and being safe in place have been identified as some of the main elements in the creation of place attachment in the study.

The study highlighted one of the most effective actions that have created a special and unique memory for the area residents, such as the migration of families from the first settlers who arrived and created their homes. They were divided into two categories, families who had settled there looking for better opportunities and those who were forced to settle here because of wars. They have lived in Al Sadr City for over 50 years; some were born, raised, and married. They do not know any other place to consider their home.

In the study area, affective bonds exist in both natural and man-made environments, such as markets and mosques, and they could also be tied to space-related social ties. In addition, the social ties cover neighbors or communities with whom positive affective experiences are also formed, and a positive sense of place and bonding are confirmed for 60% of sector 13 residents, especially from the first settlers and later coming group. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), a neighborhood's social assets and the people who live there impact the integration process and reduce residents' stress levels, satisfaction, and happiness toward the area appear appealing to participants. For instance, an additional participant's history of dwelling in this place for an extended period (2002) points to his experience, prior knowledge, familiarity, and attraction to "what exactly is familiar" as positive indications of attachment concerning the physical environment. He stated:

"We moved here 20 years ago. Our sector is very much lively. It has multiple markets. We frequently gather in the evenings to walk and talk." (S.H. Later coming group).

Participants in this study reported psychological components of place attachment, such as memories of location, faith, beliefs, and knowledge, supported by literature such as Steadman (2003); Seamon (2014). The cognitions support place

attachment via memory, making the place's connection and symbolic significance concerning life events and changing moments apparent. people in the area focused on life-changing moments or discoveries related to and situated in their neighborhood, for instance, "had sacrificed in previous wars," "moving to Al Sadr City." These quotes are both affective, cognitive, and transitory as they express a realization that triggers sadness but is also situated in an irreversible time which was confirmed for 65% of participants. People's connection to place may represent their identity and manifest and sustain beliefs and values through interacting with the environment.

A participant who has been a part of the study and lived in sector 13 for almost 52 years never thought about leaving since she feels so at ease in where she is today. She feels rooted and at home in her actual neighborhood, which is the source of her attachment to it. Her sense of connection is further enhanced by the area's accessibility from several familiar places concerning natural elements. Additionally, the length of her residency is a good mark of belonging and place attachment.

> "I will stay here until I pass away. I have not considered moving because I married and had my kids there. Also, my house is close to a market and a mosque; what more could I ask for?" (D.N. First Settlers).

In the given scenario, her long residence, mainly her residence stability in a single place, contributes to her strong connection with and attachment to that place compared to someone who has been more moving in terms of residency; she feels more familiar and connected to her neighborhood (Taylor, 1996).

On the other hand, Place relationship behavior reflects the need to keep living in or near meaningful areas, which may explain why people want to remake lost homes or the habit of going out and back, both of which contribute to the creation of place meaning, importance, and link to their self-worth. Other examples of place behavior are recurring actions that sustain an excellent affective link to places.

Table 10

Summary of process component

Process Component	Participants opinion	Relation to place attachment
Memories	Agreed from first settlers and later coming group.	Participants in this study reported psychological components of place attachment, such as memories of location, faith, beliefs, and knowledge, supported by literature such as Steadman (2003); Seamon (2014). The cognitions support place attachment via memory, making the place's connection and symbolic significance concerning life events and changing moments apparent.
Life-changing moments and migration	65% of participants	People in the area focused on life-changing moments or discoveries related to and situated in their neighborhood, People's connection to place may represent their identity and manifest and sustain beliefs and values through interacting with the environment.
Familiarity	Agreed from first settlers	They feared losing their familiar surroundings, shared culture, and social relations that they gained from living in their familiar home environment.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Through the theoretical frameworks of Scannell and Gifford (2010), Lewicka (2010), and Sampson (2012), as well as many other researchers' insightful ideas on the subjects under study, this thesis has examined the factors that influence the level of individuals place attachment to their residential neighborhoods and shedding light on the effects of living areas combined with social and physical aspects of residents' lives. Through the case study residents' responses in semi-structured interviews, these theoretical presumptions were confirmed and further investigated for their applicability. The case of Sector 13 of The Sadr City area acted as a case study for a multigenerational, mixed socio-economic residential class and religious neighborhood in Baghdad City. According to the research participants' narratives, people have an overwhelming sense of place attachment. However, according to the discussion on social and physical factors that impact place attachment, people have different levels of place attachment according to their personal and group experiences. The majority of social predictors have a significant impact on place attachment. It should be mentioned that social components of people's lives connected to physical places have a significant role in how people become attached to them. Moreover, place attachment is an important concept for comprehending residents' lived experiences in informal neighborhoods concerning a range of factors that influences it, including economic, environmental, and social factors, as well as individual perspectives and experiences. Thus, creating effective solutions for promoting a positive attachment in informal settlements demands an in-depth understanding of these variables and the unique challenges people experience.

According to the research findings, most of Sector 13 residents feel attached to their area for a variety of reasons, including a sense of belonging, familiarity, safety, and security. The most significant aspect contributing to their attachment is their perceived inability to move and be able to adjust to a new environment, as well as the financial limitations which prevent them from affording new dwellings. The emotional and complicated commitment that informal neighborhood individuals have to their area is comprised of a variety of aspects that interact in various ways. To completely realize the

emotional and social components of place attachment, it is necessary to take a comprehensive approach to understand the attachment that informal neighborhood residents have to their area.

According to this thesis it looks at resident groups according to the length of their residence and classify them into such groups, including first settlers, later comers, and newcomers, which could provide a variety of newly discovered insights on their practices related to place attachment. Furthermore, the scales of place attachment previously discussed show that residents of the first settlers and later coming group who have lived in the Sadr City area for more than 50 years tend to attach themselves to their nearby places and their neighborhood, while the new coming groups of residents have a more significant attraction to the neighborhood offered opportunities as their nearby jobs and schools. Meanwhile, the thesis found that residents experienced a strong feeling of place attachment, which appears to be shaped by various social and physical attachment factors and place scales.

Additionally, this thesis indicates that the level of place attachment varies depending on the variety of the multigenerational component of residents. People who first settled think in a more constrained space around their close surroundings and neighborhood, whereas younger people from the newcomers think in the larger space around the area events and activities available. Strong place attachment is further demonstrated by the fact that none of the first settlers' residents and later coming participants expressed any desire to leave the area.

In conclusion, this thesis confirmed that generational differences can result in differing levels of place attachment to a certain area, with the later coming group frequently feeling less attached to their houses and neighborhood. As a result, developing methods that concentrate on the community's strengths and good qualities are critical. This can be accomplished through the help of policymakers and urban planners by promoting social cohesiveness and empowering individuals to actively participate in improving their living conditions. By working together, residents may develop a sense of belonging and satisfaction in their homes and neighborhoods resulting in stronger place attachment and improved living conditions.

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